

POLICY PRAXIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A SOCIO-POLITICAL ENQUIRY OF
GOVERNANCE IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITY

DISSERTATION

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PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION BY THE SCHOLAR

This is to certify that the M.Phil. Dissertation being submitted by me on the topic entitled 'Policy Praxis in Higher Education: A Socio-Political Enquiry of Governance in Public University' has been completed under the guidance of Prof. Kumar Suresh. It is declared that the present study has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship to this or any other University.

(Arushi Kaushik)

CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled 'Policy Praxis in Higher Education: A Socio-Political Enquiry of Governance in Public University' is the work undertaken by Ms. Arushi Kaushik under my supervision and guidance as part of her M.Phil. Degree in this University. To the best of my knowledge, this is the original work conducted by her and the dissertation may be sent for evaluation.

Supervisor's Signature

(Prof. Kumar Suresh)

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CHAPTER -1

INTRODUCTION

University spaces have ignited the sociological imagination of the students by exposing them to the multiple realities and the lived experiences of others in the multicultural context. Students who are broadly seen as part of the civil society, non-state actors, and critical agents have an indispensable role to contribute to the idea of justice as well as enriching the principles of democracy. Public universities in India are going through a situation of crisis in the recent wave of privatization and globalization. Indian universities lack a model of shared governance. The decisions are usually unilaterally taken and conveyed. There is a lack of trust between all stakeholders – from the student with their anxious parents, all the way up to the highest administrative body. Over-regulation has led to a corresponding hardening of bureaucratic minutiae on the part of the most conservative aspects of all managements (public and private), deeply retarding a quest of learning.

The Jawaharlal Nehru University appears to be an important case in this regard. The Jawaharlal Nehru University in the recent times has been passing through a situation of crisis. The university appears to be in a constant state of flux because of the change for the worse where the university administration has reversed the process of accounting into the views of students' representatives in university governance. The study decodes the term "crisis in governance" coined by the World Bank by deriving major propositions of the governance theory. It investigates the blurring boundaries and responsibilities by drawing sharp distinctions between state and civil society interrogating the role of students as major actors.

In this established framework the study addresses how the governance and objectives of Indian higher education have evolved and whether changes in governance are consistent with changes in the system's social objectives and reforms. The study seeks to understand Collaborative Governance and Crisis management thereby exploring student's Activism and Participation. It explores the role of students as an agent of change by focusing on the processes and not restricting to outcomes. The main objective is to unravel the role of students in voicing

the concerns of marginalized and collaborating to stage political movements against injustice at local and global levels forming part of the "new civil society". In the domain of education, it will be interesting to revisit the idea of human and collective agency and the principle of Inclusiveness.

In light of the changing nature of governance structures and how it works concerning the agency, the study aims at understanding the emerging models of network, collaborative and meta governance. It will approach the contradictions of the existing structures of governance with the emerging notion of agency by critically analyzing the existing literature. The research seeks to look at the problematic understanding and the role of student engagement in the scheme of university governance analyzing the model of shared governance and shared leadership comprehending power dynamics (decoding ideological and hegemonic barriers).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The study firstly addresses the changing nature of structures and how it works concerning the agency. It will approach the contradictions of the existing structures of governance concerning the emerging notion of agency by critically analyzing the existing literature. It further seeks to comprehend the various nuances of University Governance with different theoretical positions and perspectives. Thereby, having an empirical study with the secondary literature to understand the dynamics of the policy perspective in higher education. The research seeks to look at the problematic understanding and the role of student engagement in the scheme of university governance analyzing the model of shared governance and shared leadership comprehending power dynamics (decoding ideological and hegemonic barriers).

1.2 Why Governance has become a crucial issue in Higher Education

“Higher education has been facing dramatic changes over recent decades, including: expansion of tertiary education systems: in 2004, 132 million students enrolled in tertiary education, up from 68 million in 1991” (OECD, 2008). “A major issue for institutional governance and research funding is to make the latter more relevant to society and the economy. Paradoxically, institutions are no longer the sole key player in higher education since the main change, as far as universities are concerned, is that knowledge production and dissemination

research and teaching are no longer self-contained, quasi-monopolistic activities, carried out in relative institutional isolation. Today universities are only one amongst many actors involved in the production of knowledge” (Gibbons, 1998). Autonomy that allows institutions to manage their resources capably and quickly respond to the demands of a rapidly changing global market is essential, though not alone sufficient to establish and maintain world-class universities. Other crucial governance features are needed, such as inspiring and persistent leaders, a strong strategic vision of institutional direction, a philosophy of success and excellence, and a culture of constant reflection, organizational learning and change. Institutional governance thus becomes a vital component that will permit them to design, implement, anticipate, monitor and appraise efficient and effective policies.

1.3 Higher Education Governance – Tracing the scope for further exploration

“There is a shift from ‘government to governance’, suggesting that coordination originally exercised from one actor (state authority) has moved to the coordination by ‘various actors at various system levels” (de Boer, Enders, &Schimank, 2008, p. 35). “This ‘multi-level governance’ implies that for example agenda setting, policy development, and policy determination are coordinated through ‘interconnected policy levels with a substantial number of actors” (Leisyte, 2007, p. 28). “At the same time market type coordination in HE, which emphasis competition between universities, academics, and performance-based steering, may play an increasing role in regulating, steering and the organization of higher education institutions (HEIs)” (Leisyte, 2007, p. 31). “This shift from ‘government to governance’ shows that supra-national actors and competition has become more important, which leads to a general interest of scholars in studying shifts in governance. Furthermore, there is a general interest of scholars in converging or transforming governance modes and harmonization of national HE policies” (Mathur, 2008).

“Governance in this study refers to the setting in which HEIs are governed and govern themselves. A distinction between external and internal governance is made, where formal governance suggests the ‘relations between individual institutions and their supervisors’ and internal governance compromises the ‘lines of authority within institutions” (Leisyte, 2002, p. 2). “The HE governance models are based on the famous Clark triangle (1983), using the idea of

internal and external governance when it is looked at ‘patterns of control, coordination, and the allocation of autonomy among three levels - the state, the professoriate and university management’ (Dobbins & Knill, 2009, p. 399).

“The reform from an old public management to new public management in higher education, is a shift of management from ‘government to governance’, or more accurate, to be ‘less government and more governance’ (Leisyte, 2007; De Boer et al, 2007; Ziegle, 2008). “The shift from old public management to the new was further depicted into four aspects: from input-oriented to output-oriented, from process-political single interventions to regulatory policy framework, from ex-ante management to ex-post management, and from precision management to macro-management” (Ziegele, 2008). “The analysis of higher education and research governance system has been at the center of higher education research for decades. Several efforts have been contributed to develop the analytical framework on the issue” (Leisyte, 2007; De Boer et al, 2007).

Therefore, the main objective of the study is to critically engage with debates that attempt to reach an analytical clarity of governance and the transition and shift from government. It further seeks to understand various challenges engaging with the dichotomy of administration and the other stakeholders engaged in the university governance. Thus, aiming to understand the recent emerging models of shared and meta governance also revisiting the transformational thesis of governance.

“Hence the transformation thesis, the notion of a transition from government to governance is debated and has been subjected to substantial critique in recent literature. This study further explores how the tension between governance and government is treated in practice but based on two different critical stances toward the transformation thesis. The question of whether the notion of network governance represents a qualitatively new approach to public management is met with ambiguity in the governance literature” (Torfing, 2007, p-7). For example, while Sorensen and Torfing explicitly state that “the construction of, or reliance upon, governance networks is by no means a new phenomenon” (Sorensen et al. 2007, p. 4), and further argue that what is new is rather a tendency toward legitimizing governance networks, the same volume also contains numerous references implicating a qualitative transformation in

public governance. Here, Torfing et al. argue that “a simplistic narrative of a transition from government to governance carries three implicit dangers. First, it creates an oversimplified picture of a linear development where the government has gone from a state of omnipotence to suddenly being stripped of all its powers. Second, the narrative builds on the problematic assumption that governance can only expand at the cost of a hierarchical government. Finally, related to the two arguments above, it seems to deny, or at least obfuscate, the government’s role in public governance. In essence, interactive governance is interpreted as public decision-makers’ response to steering a society deemed ungovernable by hierarchical methods” (Torfing et al.,2012,p.9). Further, they argue that “this rise of interactive governance has produced several irreversible changes to the governing of society and economy. Broadly, these changes include: that stakeholders now have expectations to become actively involved in policy processes; that public agencies have become relatively “open organizations” involved in collaborative efforts; and that the legitimization of interactive governance has made governance a more reflexive enterprise” (Torfing et al., 2012, p. 31). “In a nutshell, the argument prompting the rise of governance network research is that policy, defined as the attempt to achieve a desired outcome, is a result of governing processes that are no longer fully controlled by the government, but subject to negotiations between a wide range of public, semi-public and private actors, whose interactions give rise to a relatively stable pattern of policymaking that constitutes a specific form of regulation, or mode of coordination” (Maynts 1993a, 1993b). “It is this pluricentric mode of coordination that in the literature is dubbed governance networks” (Sorensen &Torfing, 2007, pp. 3–4).

Thus, from this study I seek to analyze Shared governance as a fundamental principle of inclusion in key aspects of decision making and organizational responsibility. It provides the context for meaningful interaction in virtually every public and private university or institution. Efficient shared governance emphasizes open communication, shared responsibility, a commitment to accountability, and alignment of institutional priorities, is broadly seen as beneficial but is less commonly accomplished. The alignment of priorities for all three groups administrators, faculty and students “in shared governance can result from an effective, engaging planning process as well as regular opportunities for inclusive conversations about strategic goals and challenges, new markets and academic programs, and other critical topics”(Mathur, 2008). “Shared governance is vital and an emergent need to maintain the academic integrity of the

colleges and universities, to prevent the pressures of commercialization from distorting the institution's educational mission or eroding standards and quality, and to uphold the ideals of academic freedom and democratic practices" (Mathur, 2008).

1.4 Rationale of the Study

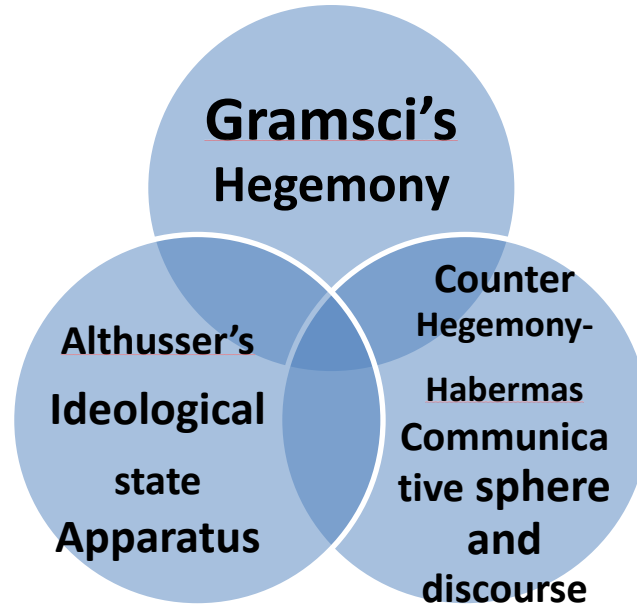
Governance refers to the formal and informal exercise of authority under laws, policies, and rules that articulate the rights and responsibilities of various actors including the rules by which they interact. Thus, it encompasses the framework in which an institution pursues its goals, objectives, and policies in a coherent and coordinated manner thereby addressing the larger question of who is in charge and what are the sources of legitimacy for decision making. This study initiates to comprehend the whole paradigm of governance concerning the structures and processes involved in higher education. It also seeks to evolve a comprehensive analogy aiming to understand external as well as internal dimensions, issues, and challenges of higher education governance. The aim is to conceptualize the notion of governance framework thereby interrogating the multidimensional, interrelated, and interdependent nature of government and governance as an approach to policy implications. The study would then elucidate a critical analysis of the prevalent Clark's model leading to the evolution and incorporation of new public management, thereby understanding the ambiguities and crisis in governance. Another rationale is to outline various overlapping themes including power, domination, identity, and authority which are critical for a deeper engagement with the idea of "good governance". The central idea is to evolve a comprehensive analogy on the idea of state, governance, and society at large. It also comprehends the recent emergent contestations on the idea of governance moving beyond the legal framework and transcending the boundaries of the state to encompass a holistic growth of civil and political society. The study thus explores a paradigm shift overcoming the structural limitations of the institutions deriving an emancipatory approach based on the principle of rationality, reflexivity, and pluralism. The study seeks to identify the idea of shared governance as an essential binding tool and a potential alternative to delimit the precedence of the neoliberal era. Thus, reinvigorating the various linkages and gaps in the governance of higher education; it also aims in understanding the emerging models of network, collaborative and meta governance. In this established framework the study addresses how the governance and objectives of Indian higher education have evolved and whether changes in governance are consistent with changes

in the system's social objectives and reforms. Lastly in this preposition the development of a more combined perspective is envisioned on how diverse governing practices intermingle, and how networked practices of governing survive in a continuum between the archetypical descriptions of government and governance.

1.5 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The recent emerging contestations regarding the significance and the role of a public university in the sphere of governance are of immediate concern. To growing differences, diversity and plurality is of critical importance recognizing the needs of the individual. Therefore, it is essential to understand the heterogeneity of the public sphere with its complexity, hierarchy, and ideological strands. The study aims to draw reflections on the current scenario of public and social policy in relation to the reflected crisis of governance in public universities. At the outset it aims to contextualize Gramsci's work and how he provokes to rethink the dominant hegemony supplemented by structural barriers. It also questions the power dynamics and inequalities in the scheme of equitable representation, primarily focusing on Althusser's conception of Ideological versus Repressive State Apparatus. With the existing ideological domination, Habermas public sphere and communicative action are proposed as a potential solution to check and balance the growing gaps leading to counter-hegemony. Therefore, in the philosophy of praxis both the ideas of hegemony and counter-hegemony will be interrogated and studied by empirical evidences. The idea is to thereby understand how the public university is dominated by hegemonies of narratives and meta-narratives. Is the novelty of thoughts, ideas, and actions restricted to aspirations only? Lastly, the study seeks to revive faith in dialogic relationships which encompasses exclusionary practices and prevents alienation by recognizing as well as encouraging associationism. Thereby involving different stakeholders and understanding the role of student unions, representation, and engagement analyzing the shift from shared governance to shared leadership. It lastly addresses the disillusionment with the state where student bodies are working in opposition rather than with state policies leading to a fragmented view of public universities.

Figure1.1: Theoretical framework



Critical and neo-Marxist theorists believe that human persons in modern capitalistic societies are unconsciously or consciously, caught up in a web of power inequalities. This too contributes to the “unfree existence” of human persons and agency. Critical Theory's primary goal is therefore to enlighten and emancipate human persons from forces of ideological beliefs or consciousness that are false. It introduced the ideas and the vocabulary that continue to frame most conversations in the field about social justice, such as hegemony, ideology, consciousness, praxis, and most importantly the word critical itself.

Althusser’s “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation” (1970) In this essay, “Althusser seeks to explicate how social institutions like the university play a fundamental role in the reproduction of capitalist exploitation and are thus significant sites of class struggle. To analyze the social reproduction of economic relations, Althusser provides a stylistically-elegant and conceptually-original discussion of ideology, though one that often raises more questions than its answers” (Althusser, 1970)

Althusser here often describes “state ideology as thematic, organized around “values” like nationalism, liberalism, and humanism that would appear to exist outside of or before practice. The precise relation between such abstract ideas and institutionally-directed behavior is under-explored” (Althusser, 1970).

Antonio Gramsci’s Theory on Hegemony and the ‘Philosophy of Praxis’: For Gramsci, “socialist transformation was more of a process than an event or series of events. It involved above all the role of a negating consciousness in shaping particular demands, in ‘structuring’ the revolutionary situation itself, in defining mass responses to issues and actions, and in setting the contours of future (post-revolutionary) development” (Boggs, 1976).

“The basic premise of Gramsci’s theory is that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas. His idea of hegemony is a cultural leadership based on ‘consent’ of the led, secured by diffusion and popularization of the worldview of the ruling class, internalized as common sense. This is done through intellectuals who are the deputies of the ruling elite. They constitute ‘civil society’, one of the two superstructural ‘levels’ of society as forwarded by Gramsci. When the intellectuals fail to spread the worldview of the ruling class, the other level- the State, takes over by coercion” (Boggs, 1976).

“Gramsci says revolutionary transformation must be associated with an ideological crisis in civil society. So, the main task of a socialist movement is to create a counter-hegemony to break the ideological bond between the ruling class and masses. Here too the leadership of intellectuals is required” (Boggs, 1976).

Habermas–Public Sphere, Communicative Action and Discourse:

Habermas favors constructive action to a merely critical approach. He examines the conditions that limit the institutionalization of practical discourses in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

“The emancipation of reason, meaning the comprehension of evolved thought, has always pursued the goal of liberating man from fear to make him a sovereign being, but the world, entirely illuminated by reason, shines under the sign of a triumphant disaster. The interest of knowledge is a particular category that is something other than the distinction between

empirical and transcendental or between factual and symbolic or again the distinction between definitions, motivations, and knowledge” (Habermas, 1971).

“The future of humanity depends on the existence of a critical stance that must naturally also contain certain elements from traditional theories and the outlived culture. The quality of the activity of thinking directs towards a historical change and to the production of a fair situation between people” (Habermas, 1971).

1.6 Objectives

- To understand the transition from government to governance by analyzing various governance models: Shared, Network, Collaborative, Metagovernance.
- To comprehend the role of students as stakeholders in the scheme of governance framework.
- To analyze the role of student union by understanding shared leadership/governance decoding power dynamics.

1.7 Research Questions

1. What are the attributes in shaping/transforming the models of Governance?
2. How does the change in governance models incorporate student union in the process of decision making?
3. How does hegemony reflect in the policy praxis of university governance?

1.8 Methodology

The research falls under the ambit of qualitative research design as the focus is on understanding the shift in governance models in the scheme of a university in higher education. The study employs both theoretical and empirical research. The initial part of the research is focused on tracing the transition and evolution of various governance models further contextualizing the Indian Context. Further, the study involves an in-depth analysis of the different dispositions held by students due to social, cultural, and economic diversity and its

negotiation with the administration in university. The focus is on understanding the impact of different dispositions on the governance model involving students in contemporary public universities.

1.8.1 Research Design

To answer the proposed objectives/ research questions an extensive study, critical/analytical reading, and review of existing literature on University Governance will be conducted. The sources would include academic books, journal articles, government report/ curriculum guidelines, and other electronic sources.

The study decodes the term “crisis in governance” coined by the World Bank by deriving major propositions of the governance theory. It investigates the blurring boundaries and responsibilities by drawing sharp distinctions between state and civil society interrogating the role of students as major actors. The proposed research would aim at establishing a chronological understanding of the present theoretical framework of neo-Marxist tradition in higher education governance drawing pertinent insights on ideology, hegemony, power dynamics, and politics of representation in the university. The research also aims to gather insights by dwelling into focused group discussions and field sensitization by engaging with students in Jawaharlal Nehru University. It seeks to conceptualize the role of shared leadership and adequate student representation in relation to the existing working setup. The sample frame includes students of JNU from different disciplines and socio-economic background. Interview and observation method have been followed during the fieldwork. Discussion and interview with heads and members of student union/ council have been conducted.

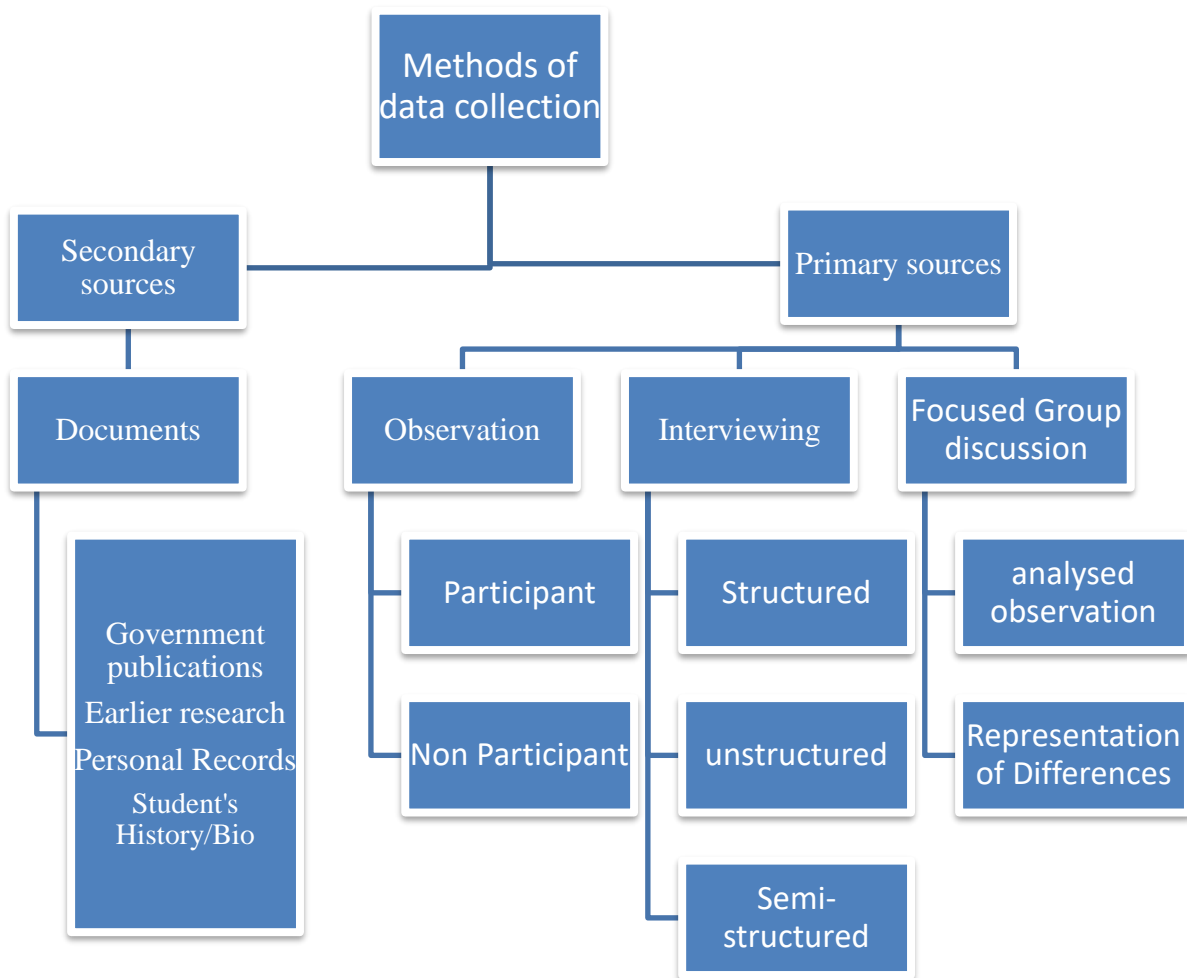
1.8.2 Data Collection Methods

The research aims to be qualitative in nature relying mainly on secondary and validating it through primary data collected during the fieldwork.

1. Focus Group discussion is conducted with the students to understand their experience and their level of optimism with the adequacy of representation. This helps the investigator to know their common standpoint and differences.

2. Observation is ideally most important because it enables the researcher to confirm the information thereby crosschecking it in reality simultaneously.
3. Discussions are held with the students from different disciplines, student union members, and head. Care taken to collect data from different social status groups and gender for the study.
4. Interviews are conducted to understand the different dispositions held by the student and their representatives to analyze the details of the experiences. A semi-structured interview schedule is prepared to deal with the complete uncertainty of responses.

Figure 1.2: Data Collection Methods for the study



1.8.3 Sampling method

Firstly, Jawaharlal Nehru University is taken as a case for the study. The choice is made because JNU is one of the top-ranked central universities in India facing a set down due to institutional crisis. It has a diverse and heterogeneous population of students and teachers. Hence it fulfills the requirements for being the case for the study.

Quota sampling technique is adopted to select responses representing subgroups at the undergraduate level, postgraduate level, and Doctorate level.

Snowball sampling is also initiated to gather information from students affiliated with different political organizations.

Table 1.1: Distribution of the sample of the study

Category	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Doctoral level	Total
Students	4	4	2	10
SFC members	1	2	4	7
Student Union Members		1	2	3

1.8.4 Data Collection tool

Observation

(Mckechnie, 2008) states “participant observation as ‘...a method of data collection in which the researcher takes part in daily activities related to an area of social life to examine features of that life through the observation” (p.598).

He has described that observation allows the researcher to have a deep understanding of the situation through the meaning ascribed to the situation by those who experience it in their natural context (Mckechnie, 2008, p. 598). It helps the researcher to gather more accurate and

detailed information and also to look at the discrepancies between what is told and how things are done.

The researcher made informal observations of the university campus, colleges, and interaction among students, interaction among the elected representative body, interaction among students and peers during the field visits, and also during the interviews. The researcher observed one meeting in the school of social sciences and made notes from it. Field notes were made after each visit describing the interactions, activities, and overall environment. The informal observational patterns were kept in mind while addressing the research questions of the study.

Interview

According to Burns (1997: 329) "an interview is a verbal exchange, often face to face, though the extension may be used, in which an interviewer tries to extract knowledge, views or beliefs from another person, any person-to-person conversation, either face to face or otherwise, between two or more people with a specific goal in mind is called an interview. "To understand the different dispositions held by students regarding their relationship and their experiences as well as feedback the in-depth interviews were conducted. In-depth Interviews prompt participants to talk in-depth about the problem under investigation, such interviews involve introduction of the topic by researchers, sharing of the experiences by participants and further probing of the experiences to yield information useful for analysis" (Cook, 2008, p. 423).

For this study, both students and elected heads of the student's body were briefed about the topic of the study before the interview and were asked to narrate their experiences inside and outside the classrooms and about the governance practices and existing policies in place. The theoretical roots of in-depth interviewing are in what is known as the interpretive tradition. According to Taylor and Bogdan, in-depth interviewing is 'repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words' (1998: 77). This definition underlines two essential characteristics of in-depth interviewing: (1) it involves face-to-face, repeated interaction between the researcher and his/her informant(s); and (2) it seeks to understand the latter's perspectives. Because this method involves repeated contacts and hence an extended length of time spent with an informant, it is assumed that the rapport between

researcher and informant will be enhanced, and that the corresponding understanding and confidence between the two will lead to in-depth and accurate information. Their experiences were further probed to obtain relevant information for analysis. The responses were not controlled rigidly but brought to the line of subject in case they went out of the context. The respondents were asked to recall their experiences and narrate the detailed account of events happening inside the boundaries of the university, they were asked to describe their negotiations and experiences with the administration in the university to understand the details of their experiences and the meaning associated to them. Hence, the researchers adopted a semi-structured interview schedule that provided a middle way between the rigid structure and complete uncertainty of responses.

Semi-structured interview

(Ayres, 2008) defines Semi-structured interview as ‘...semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions’ (p.810).

The semi-structured interview allows researchers to use a variety of probes that helps in eliciting in-depth and build rapport by listening to participants (Ayres, 2008). Separate Semi-structured interview schedule was made both for the leaders among the students and the general students that consisted of open-ended questions. The questions were based on the principles framed from the analysis of the texts. The open-ended questions were followed by some theory-based questions and confrontational questions that focused on making the implicit knowledge of respondent explicit such as “According to you what could be the probable reasons for student distrust from the administration”?

The interviews were conducted during the second half of the university schedule after most of the classes were over; each interview lasted between 55 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes in the university spaces including the room of student bodies in departments, vacant classroom, canteen, and in the lobby areas.

Focus group interviews

The main contrast between a focus group interview and an in-depth interview is that the previous is embraced with a gathering and the later with a particular person. The inner group discussions helped the researcher to investigate the discernments, encounters, and understandings of a gathering of understudies who share some experience practically speaking concerning a circumstance or occasion. For instance, it guided to investigate inside important gatherings such issues, for example, power maltreatment in types of both verbal and non-verbal directions. It helped in exploring broad areas of themes with the vibrancy of interactive discussions between all the students of the group. It, therefore, provided a broader framework with also determining the specific areas of discussion. The students involved in the group mentioned a variety of issues and differences in opinions were also taken care of.

1.8.5 Data Analysis

The data collected from the field through interviews and field notes were in the form of narratives or subjective experiences of the students, heads, and the elected student representatives. The audio recordings were transcribed with the utmost care and each response was transcribed without any interference. The text that emerged from the transcriptions was analyzed to understand and explain the nature of the involvement and interaction between administration and students. The purpose of content analysis was to reduce the text data into interrelated themes that may provide useful insights to the subject under investigation.

Klaus-Krippendorff has proposed that the researcher following the Interpretivist research design tries to find out multiple interpretations of the texts by taking diverse voices, alternative ideological positions, and critiques into consideration through content analysis of qualitative data (Krippendorff, 1989). In the light of the Interpretivist nature of the study an Inductive –deductive approach guided the data analysis. The researcher had developed a prior understanding of the proposed operational framework keeping students as the stakeholders for the analysis and the questions were framed keeping that in mind. So, the researcher analyzed the data from two different positions: one position aimed at looking for the concepts and themes attributing governance models related to specific dimensions like leadership And its implications and the

other position aimed at finding new concepts and themes related to the nature of engagement and participation by integrating theory and dwelling into the practical insights.

The unit under consideration was themes emerging from the responses of the students and their representatives pertaining to specific questions. The process of analysis began with the labeling of the chunks of text into codes. The initial coding involved open coding process. The researcher read the texts many times and annotated each interview transcripts. During this phase, the text was broken into chunks of data consisting of words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs. These were highlighted and labeled. During this phase, the researcher identified 65 open codes on various dimensions of the nature of university governance and students in Jawaharlal Nehru University and the factors involved with each dimension. For subsequent coding the researcher constantly compares the new transcripts with the previous ones and in the process new dimensions and activities emerged out that were not listed earlier. All the codes were re-examined to assess the listed codes and resulted in a combination or elimination of the codes that did not fit the overall study (Lofland & Lofland, 1995).

Further, open codes were grouped into a few overacting codes and were used to develop themes based on their relation to the research question. The process was repeated many times to do a constant comparison between the transcriptions to look for the emergence of new themes. The themes that emerged subsequently are discussed in chapter 5 with the integration of the theoretical framework and chapter 6 elaborated all the themes explored. The findings from these themes were used to develop the narrative that answers the research questions and explains the social and political nature of governance and the role of student participation in the analysis section. The data analysis was carefully done to include the complete observation of the researcher and other stakeholders. The researcher has tried to cover and reflect on all the aspects concerning the student's representation and related issues

1.9 Significance

The research aims to suggest reform in the area of governance by decoding the paradigm shift in the sphere of education and governance and university models by including a stakeholder perspective for much better management and outcomes. Researching problems plaguing university governance acquires criticality because of the undeniable role that universities have in

working towards the development of society and the country. The research would investigate for a scheme of governance which is not only accommodative of student concerns but is also accommodative of diversity, as universities have a larger role than just places of academic exertion. Universities are spaces that help in nation-building through the practices working in opposition to forces that historically propagated inequality and marginalization. An innovative governance framework that is inclusive and open to ideas is important for building universities that matter and end the current crisis in public universities.

1.10 Delimitations of the study

- The present study does not claim to explore all the attributes and functioning of the public university nor it is going to give any judgment over the disciplinary status of education, rather it is a systematic historical socio-political reading of available literature on governance models. The approach is to comprehend existing works on critical and Neo Marxist tradition in education and public university governance framework.
- The study is aimed at drawing the analysis of the university governance models and doesn't aim to suggest or replace any model. The study looks into the student participation as one of the stakeholders in the university governance framework.
- Primary data is collected from one public university.

1.11 Limitations of the study

The data is qualitative; hence no generalizations can be drawn from the study.

1.12 Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter presents the background of the proposed study along with the introduction of major themes covering the aspects associated with higher education governance. This would include the purpose of the study, rationale, significance, and delimitations of the study. This chapter will deal with the method and methodology of the entire research work, its objectives, research questions, research design, and theoretical framework of the study to be conducted. This

chapter describes the method and methodology followed by the researcher to plunge into the exploration of the rationale of the study. The methodology specifies the strategy of the research undertaken (Howell, 2013). It tries to present the lens through which the analysis is done by the researcher. The chapter specifies the research questions, research objectives and methods used to answer the research questions.

Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature

This chapter attempts to review related literature wherein the study tries to locate the change in trends in the model of higher education governance. These models operate in global as well as national context. The literature review also leads to identify the research gaps of the available research and studies conducted on the theme.

Chapter 3: University Governance Models: Tracing the shift from Government to Governance

This chapter aims to understand the transition and the various models of higher education governance in place. It also operationalizes the framework of the existing models and traces the critical dimensions of the governance structures and their functioning.

Chapter 4: Contextualizing the emerging model of Shared Governance

This chapter majorly focuses on the model of shared governance deriving the pathways for incorporating students as stakeholders and enriching participatory governance at the university. The chapter then analyses the shortcomings and implications of the model.

Chapter 5: Understanding the model of governance in public university: The case of Jawaharlal Nehru University

This chapter focuses on understanding the nature and the multidimensional nature of the relationship involved between the stakeholders of governance. The chapter focuses on integrating the theoretical framework with practical insights from the data collected. Therefore it reinvents the model of shared governance by taking students as the locus amongst the stakeholders.

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion

In this chapter the narratives and data collected through the interview schedule will be analyzed to understand the perspective of the students concerning the functioning of the governance model. This chapter will therefore summarize the findings from chapters 4, 5, and 6.

It, therefore, reflects the multidimensional nature of university governance and how it incorporates students as stakeholders in the framework.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Suggestions

This chapter provides the concluding remarks, the nature of findings and suggestions based on the study of higher education governance. It focuses on synthesizing the empirical evidences gathers from the site of the study with the models and theories analyzed. It also recommends for further area of research focusing on the efficiency of higher education governance, therefore incorporating students as stakeholders further enhancing their participation and strengthening the model of shared and collaborative form of governance.

CHAPTER - 2

Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the existing literature to explore the various dimensions attached to the concept of university governance. While there is considerable research literature available on the University Governance Models and Higher education, this chapter aims at reviewing major studies highlighting the idea of evolution and transition of models in governance. It does not claim to be an all-inclusive review of the literature. It primarily focuses on the literature which has relevance and important bearing on the study.

Governance refers to the formal and informal exercise of authority under laws, policies, and rules that articulate the rights and responsibilities of various factors including the rules by which they interact. Thus, it encompasses the framework in which an institution pursues its goals, objectives, and policies in a coherent and coordinated manner thereby addressing the larger question of who is in charge and what are the sources of legitimacy for decision making. This study initiates to comprehend the whole paradigm of governance concerning the structures and processes involved in higher education. It also seeks to evolve a comprehensive analogy aiming to understand external as well as internal dimensions, issues, and challenges of higher education governance. The aim is to conceptualize the notion of governance framework thereby interrogating the multidimensional, interrelated, and interdependent nature of government and governance as an approach to policy implications. The chapter would then elucidate a critical analysis of the prevalent Clark's model leading to the evolution and incorporation of new public management, thereby understanding the ambiguities and crises in governance. Lastly, the chapter seeks to identify the idea of shared governance as an essential binding tool and a potential alternative to delimit the precedence of the neoliberal era. Thus, it reinvigorates the various linkages and gaps in the governance of higher education. In this established framework the chapter addresses how the governance and objectives of Indian higher education have evolved and whether changes in governance are consistent with changes in the system's social objectives and reforms.

2.1 Issues and Challenges in Governance of Higher Education

In India, the higher education institutions as per the level of governance and autonomy in terms of framing curriculum and awarding degrees may be broadly categorized into two: University and Colleges. Universities are autonomous bodies whereas colleges are affiliated to universities. Universities therefore, have the prime responsibility of developing the higher education system and maintaining the quality of it. Here we need to review the governance issues for all aspects of the higher education system prevalent in India. We should begin examining how the governance had been evolving since the pre-independence period to the present context. Models of institutional governance and administration with particular reference to autonomy and accountability are the most important issues of governance that need much pondering. We may divide issues of governance of institutions into two major groups:

1. Issues of external governance of higher education
2. Issues of internal governance of higher education

Issues concerning interaction with the Governments, statutory bodies, etc. are issues of external governance of higher education systems/institutions. Likewise, the issues of academic and administrative matters of the institution; and matters of its vision and mission are considered as issues of internal governance within.

2.1.1 External Governance: The authorities for external governance are the Central/State Governments and their organizations/bodies, and national/international accreditation authorities. This includes any policy directive concerning the national agenda through the statutory bodies like UGC and other bodies responsible for governing the performance of the higher education institutions in terms of course content/duration of courses of study etc, particularly, concerning matters concerning maintenance of uniformity of norms and standards of higher education. The governance of the institutions in pursuing the subject areas of studies and the areas of research are by and large through broad policy directions as prescribed by the national bodies. Internal systems of Institutions have significant scope of autonomy through their Academic Councils and the Governing Boards.

2.1.2 Internal Governance: Likewise, the internal governance within the Institutions is mostly carried out by the Governing structure of the institution as per provisions of respective Acts/ MoAs, etc which includes apex authority of the University/Institute, namely, the Board of Governors called by many names like University Court, the Senate, Governing Council, etc. These are various names assigned to the highest body of the governance of a specific institution or a university. These apex authorities are supported through various other bodies namely, Academic Council, Board of Studies, Research Board, Planning Board, Admission Committee, Faculty Selection Committee, and likewise many other committees. The financial management of the institutions is looked after by the Finance Committee. In the State universities, the highest body is presided over by the Governor of the State as Chancellor whereas in the case of Central universities the central government appoints an eminent person to be the Chancellor. Private institutes/universities are normally headed by the Chairperson or President of the sponsoring Trust with a significant number of family members in the Governing Council.

2.2 Higher Education Governance – Transition from Government to Governance

Governance is changing to multi-level governance, due to these new developments. There is a shift from ‘government to governance’, suggesting that coordination originally exercised from one actor (state authority) has moved to the coordination by ‘various actors at various system levels’ (de Boer, Enders, &Schimank, 2008, p. 35). This ‘multi-level governance’ implies that for example agenda setting, policy development, and policy determination are coordinated through ‘interconnected policy levels with a substantial number of actors’ (Leišyte, 2007, p. 28). At the same time market type coordination in HE, which emphasis competition between universities, academics, and performance-based steering, may play an increasing role in regulating, steering, and the organization of higher education institutions (HEIs) (Leisyte, 2007,p. 31). This shift from ‘government to governance’ shows that supra-national actors and competition has become more important, which leads to a general interest of scholars in studying shifts in governance. Furthermore, there is a general interest of scholars in converging or transforming governance modes and harmonization of national HE policies.

There are manifold definitions and conceptualizations of governance in HE. Governance in this study refers to the setting in which HEIs are governed and govern themselves. A

distinction between external and internal governance is made, where formal governance suggests the 'relations between individual institutions and their supervisors' and internal governance compromises the 'lines of authority within institutions' (Leisyte, 2002, p. 2). The HE governance models are based on the famous Clark triangle (1983), using the idea of internal and external governance when it is looked at 'patterns of control, coordination, and the allocation of autonomy among three levels - the state, the professoriate and university management' (Dobbins & Knill, 2009, p. 399).

Traditionally "educational policy is central to national politics and due to various reasons a sensitive topic. Educational provision is perceived to be the obligation of the state, and especially education has been prominent in the areas of funding and quality assurance state intervention. To some extent this is also true of the HE sectors. Traditionally the state played a central role in regulating and controlling universities, because they were viewed as a key social institution for developing the nation-state" (Leisyte & Kiziene, 2006, p. 380). "Clark was among the first to establish a typology of governance systems in 1983. By positioning the university within the borders of a triangle, the partial influence of three determining dimensions could be shown. Depending on the set-up of the higher education system and, in particular, of the university, the strength of state authority, market forces and academic oligarchy were variables and opened the way to different modes of co-operation in higher education" (Clark, 1983). "Given the New Public Management administration reforms, a distinction within the different categories became necessary. In 1997, Clark added a fourth element to his triangle which he described as the hierarchical self-guidance of university leaders" (Clark, 1998). "All of these elements are present in the Indian case, but as mentioned, despite a growing tendency for the market axis of Clark's triangle to play a major role in the Indian university system, and the increased impact of the globalizing economy on higher education through the labor market rapidly increased demand for engineering and business graduates, and the boom in private college provision in those fields the government still dominates the shape of higher education governance" (Mathur, 2008).

"Broad literature suggests that there is a transition towards new processes in terms of governance modes from traditional state-centered governing models towards alternative modes of governance" (Torfing et al., 2012 p. 155).

The **‘Triangle of Coordination’** developed by Clark (Clark,1983, p. 143) is looking at the relationship between ‘state authority, the academic oligarchy and the market’ or according to Dobbins &Knill (2009, p. 399) “it comprises ‘patterns of control, coordination, and the allocation of autonomy among three levels – the state, professoriate, and university management’. The three central actors can be defined as follows: ‘universities as the organization and their inter-organizational relations, the academic communities as professional communities, the state as the actor with the greatest power to shape the governance regime” (Kehm&Lazendorf, 2006, p. 15).

“The ‘Triangle of Coordination’ introduces three ideal types of HE governance being ‘state system, market system, and professional system” (Clark, 1983, p. 136). “The three models state control model, academic self-rule model, the market-oriented model is useful to address the ‘direction of policy change” (Dobbins &Knill, 2009, p. 399) and “make the ‘national systems’ comparable” (Clark, 1983, p. 136).

The governing of governance:

Metagovernance

“For network governance arenas to perform under the formulated and tailored criteria they are dependent on careful and complex management, ‘hence, the attempts of governments at multiple levels to reap the fruits of interactive governance call for a reflexive and strategic meta governance” (Torfing et al., 2012, p. 122). “Meta governance can be stated as the “governance of governance”, and involves the deliberate effort to assist and supervise more or less self-regulating processes of network governance” (Torfing et al., 2012, p. 122).

“The concept of meta governance is a central concept within the second generation of the governance literature. Concerned with improving the performance of networked arrangements, the general idea is that the new emerging reality of network governance requires new and distinct management tools as traditional (hierarchical) tools are obsolete and incapable of managing networks” (Agranoff& McGuire, 2001; Sørensen&Torfing, 2009; Torfing et al., 2012). “Representing a third layer of government, the tools of meta governance include both “hands-on”

methods (i.e. process management and direct participation) linked with traditional hierarchical steering and “hands-off methods” (i.e. institutional design, and goal and framework steering) associated with NPM reforms” (Torfing et al., 2012, p. 135).

Shared governance is a dynamic process emphasizing constant engagements and deliberation, it is a reflexive practice of engaging in a critical analysis of contextual issues-social, political, ideological, and educational. It emphasizes change and development by demolishing the hegemonic power structure leading to a cooperative environment.

Then it is natural as well as logical that in governance such terms as partnerships, stakeholders, participation, and sharing of power are deliberated intensively to achieve efficiency, economy, and effectiveness in public sector performance as reflected in service delivery.

“Shared leadership is defined as moving away from the leader/follower binary; capitalizing on the importance of leaders throughout the organization, not just those in positions of authority; and creating an infrastructure so that organizations can benefit from the leadership of multiple people. Shared leadership is different from shared governance.

Shared leadership, by contrast, is more flexible and identifies various individuals on campus with relevant expertise. This allows multiple perspectives rather than those of a single decision-making body.

On a conceptual level, the notion of shared leadership seems well aligned with notions of collegiality and professional autonomy which have traditionally been characteristic of higher education leadership, while also recognizing the wider institutional needs for effectively managing the challenges that turbulent environments impose on Higher Education institutions” (Van Ameijde et al. 2009).

“It envisages that the government is not limited to the conception of the state as it covers the code of conduct for governing the self and others. It aims at the empowerment of subjects with freedom of decision making and responsible “collective action”(Lemke T, 2002).

The theory of government and its application by understanding the nature of the governance theory as an emergent need for effective policymaking and framework is revised by Kemping. “It decodes the term “crisis in governance” coined by the World Bank by deriving major propositions of the governance theory. It identifies the blurring boundaries and responsibilities by drawing sharp distinctions between state and civil society, public and private actors. The earlier notion of power and authority in an administrative mechanism is shifted to a “collaborative network” where power is multidirectional rather unidirectional” (Kemping Y, 2018).

Kuldeep Mathur reflects that in the good governance discourse, democracy emerges as the necessary political framework for successful economic development, and within this discourse democracy and economic liberalism are conceptually linked. “Thus, governance reforms do not merely mean establishing new implementation institutions that are modeled on the managerial practices of the private sector. It also means the adoption of practices of participation and democratic accountability. Governance as a concept thus began to encompass a wide array of issues relating to the restructuring of state-market-society relationships. The theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality consists of the fact that it construes neoliberalism not just as ideological rhetoric, as a political-economic reality or an anti-humanism but above all as a political project that endeavors to create a social reality which incorporates the existing disparities. In a broad sense, governance is about the culture and institutional environment in which citizens and stakeholders interact among themselves and participate in public affairs. It is more than the organs of the government” (Mathur K, 2018).

2.3 Operationalization: Dimensions of Governance

A set of five governance dimensions helps to identify and compare changes, which makes it a valuable tool for the research project, as the main question is concerned with investigating the governance modes in, HE systems. In this study we compare governance changes at two different points in time:

The following typology of the governance dimensions is used:

◆ “State regulation describes the traditional notion of top-down authority, which is vested in the state. The state has a regulatory role, exercised mainly through legal rules, describing the conditions under which activities may be undertaken. The actor's behavior is controlled through mechanisms like monitoring, standard-setting, inspection, warranty approval, arbitration” (Leišyte, 2007, p. 58).

◆ Academic self-governance is concerned with the role of professional communities within the universities. Academics control their work with institutionalized mechanisms like collegial decision-making and peer review-based self-steering of academic communities. Academics play a main role in running the university, which is exercised through the senate or faculty boards, where they participate in the decision-making, e.g in the financial policy of the university (Leišyte, 2007, p. 58).

◆ Managerial self-governance is a dimension with the central element of hierarchical steering within the universities and the roles of institutional leadership outside the universities. University leadership is represented by rectors or presidents on the top level and deans on the intermediate level (de Boer, Enders, &Schimank, 2007, p.4). Examples for managerial self-governance are elected or appointed management positions, management oversight of the budget allocation to academics, and the strategic planning of research coming from the management (Leišyte, 2007, p.58).

◆ Stakeholder guidance concerns activities that direct universities through goal setting and advice. A framework with provisions of general objectives and procedural rules is set, in which actors have room to maneuver. The government is likely to be an important stakeholder in public university systems, but is certainly not the only player in this respect. Certain powers can be delegated to other stakeholders (national agents) regulated by state law. A good example of stakeholder guidance could be the participation of external stakeholders in the university boards or representation of external stakeholders in external funding bodies providing grants (Leišyte, 2007, p. 59). Students in this context can be stakeholders as well.

◆ Competition for scarce resources is seen as a tool for achieving order in a system. These resources are money, personnel, and prestige, which are, e.g. competition for university funding to attend conferences, competition for external grants, competition for a permanent position, and

competition for publications in top-quality journals (Leišyte, 2007, p. 58). Deregulation and the establishment of a new powerful leadership result in greater competition for resources between and within universities (Leišyte&Kiziene, 2006, p. 379).

2.4 Ambiguities of Managerial and Administrative Governance: Analyzing the Current Crisis

Governance breakdowns may be procedural, in the sense that rules have been broken or governance norms have been ignored, but we should not delude ourselves into ignoring the fact that such actions are the product of acts of omission or commission by individuals, of failures of judgment, of professional competence or simply of lack of thought for the likely consequences. Governance and management are always closely interlocked and management failure is as often the trigger for governance failure as the other way round.

Thus management and governance go hand in hand, and since universities do not have relatively simple and universally recognizable measures of comparison such as profitability, shareholder value or return on capital, any slippage of performance is difficult to identify within the governance structures even if it is recognized very clearly by some sections of the management. Even the most obvious indicator of the need for concern, along with run deficit situation, can be dressed up as a necessary phase while investment bears fruit because the bottom line is not necessarily viewed as the sovereign or even the most relevant performance indicator for an academic institution.

Poor management and ineffective governance are intertwined; good governance practice may eliminate some of the grosser failures but it will not always, or even very often, address the 80 percent of the iceberg which lies below the waterline. Where academic staff have risen and protested in votes of no confidence it is often because they can see some of this 80 percent which revealed shortcomings which were much less evident, if evident at all, to the governing body. Good governance is not, therefore, the prerogative of only one body, but must run through the institution.

There is no doubt that well-understood governance structures, defined terms of reference for committees and agreed delegations of powers bring clarity to decision-making because they

impose a process and a timetable to the conduct of university business and an assurance that there has been an appropriate level of consideration of important issues. At the same time the interrelationship between governance and management requires that managers and administrators have clear lines of communication and reporting, both horizontally as well as vertically. It is also imperative that the governance culture imposes on professional officers a responsibility to express themselves positively or negatively on issues at decision-making bodies if they feel obliged on professional grounds to do so. It is especially the case that in complex financial decision-making the impartial advice of a professionally qualified university officer can be of critical importance because the decision-makers will probably not themselves be experts in the area and may not have fully comprehended the ramifications of the facts placed before them.

2.5 New Public Management & Governance Equalizer

Since the 1980s, the New Public Management (NPM) has been the dominant paradigm in public administration theory and practice. Bruggenmeier once provided a more substantive definition of NPM, emphasizing on its strong foundation in empiricism, the central importance of management, the significant of intending to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. (Ziegele, 2008, first cited from Bruggenmeier, 2001). NPM could be viewed as simple terms with the application of business-management tools in the public sectors (Ziegele, 2008). When it comes to the employment of NPM in the field of higher education, the term ‘management’ involves both the state management of higher education institutions and the management of decentralized levels within a single institution, e.g. faculties, institutes, central units, by a particular management level (Ziegele, 2008). The reform from an old public management to new public management in higher education, is a shift of management from ‘government to governance’, or more accurate, to be ‘less government and more governance’ (Leisyte, 2007; De Boer et al, 2007; Ziegele, 2008). The shift from old public management to the new was further depicted in four aspects: from input-oriented to output-oriented, from process-political single interventions to regulatory policy framework, from ex-ante management to ex-post management, and from precision management to macro-management (Ziegele, 2008). The analysis of higher education and research governance system has been at the center of higher education research for decades. Several efforts have been contributed to develop the analytical framework on the issue (Leisyte, 2007; De Boer et al, 2007). One of the most well-known and classic example is Clark’s ‘triangle

of coordination’ (1983) (the state, the market, and the academic oligarchy). De Boer et al (2007) viewed the governance perspective provides a general analytical framework for studying all kinds of coordination problems in higher education systems concerning NPM and developed a governance equalizer model as an analytical tool for that. The governance equalizer includes five dimensions: state regulation, stakeholder guidance, academic self-governance, managerial self-governance, and competition. De Boer et al (2007) believed that ‘a configuration of governance is made up of a specific mixture of the five dimensions at a particular point of time’ (p.139). The five dimensions are further depicted as follows:

1. State regulation concerns the traditional notion of top-down authority vested in the state. This dimension refers to regulation by directives; the government prescribes in detail behaviors under particular circumstances.
2. Stakeholder guidance concerns activities that direct universities through goal setting and advice.
3. Academic self-governance concerns the role of professional communities within the university system.
4. Managerial self-governance concerns hierarchies within universities as organizations.

Competition for scarce resources – money, personnel, and prestige – within and between universities takes place mostly not on “real” markets but on “quasi-markets” where performance evaluations by peers substitute the demand-pull from customers. (p.138-139)

2.6 Shared Governance: A Critical Appraisal

One of higher education’s most distinctive values is its commitment to shared governance. Simply put, shared governance is a fundamental principle of inclusion in key areas of institutional responsibility and decision making.

Shared governance provides the context for meaningful engagement and decision making in virtually every private and public college or university. It strengthens institutions by providing the means of aligning priorities and including key constituents in mission-related decision

making. Effective shared governance, focused on open communication, shared responsibility, a commitment to accountability, and alignment of institutional priorities, is broadly seen as advantageous but is less commonly achieved.

The debate about what shared governance is and the tension among governing boards, presidents, and faculty will likely continue, especially as resources grow scarce and stakes remain high. Each group must recognize that ensuring the value proposition for higher education will require working together on behalf of students and society. Perhaps the best indicator of how well shared governance is working on any campus is whether it enables, rather than constrains, thoughtful decisions to enhance student success, institutional health, and innovation. Boards, working with key administrators and faculty leaders, hold responsibility for ensuring that the practice of shared governance embodies and advances institutional values.

The alignment of priorities for all three groups administrators, faculty, and students in shared governance can result from an effective, engaging planning process as well as regular opportunities for inclusive conversations about strategic goals and challenges, new markets and academic programs, and other critical topics.

For improved governance system role of political leaders in power is critical. Visionary and committed political leaders who command support and respect of people across the political spectrum will be needed to devise appropriate strategies and courses of action premised on transparency, accountability, and participation to face an uncertain yet challenging future. Shared governance is vital and an emergent need to maintain the academic integrity of our colleges and universities, to prevent the pressures of commercialization from distorting the institution's educational mission or eroding standards and quality, and to uphold the ideals of academic freedom and democratic practices.

2.7 Role of Students in University Governance

Over the last few centuries, the continued quest for improved student participation in university governance has been driven by a multitude of factors related to dissatisfaction with institutional rules and disciplinary procedures, the need for extracurricular outlets,

disengagement with the academic curriculum, and the overall desire for academic empowerment.

In this regard, the influence of new concepts and theories such as participative decision making, distributive leadership, the university democratization process, and writings on student rights have been substantial in fostering the needed changes (Boland, 2005; Luescher-Mamashela, 2013; Menon, 2005; Planas, Soler, Fullana, Pallisera, & Vila, 2013; Zuo&Ratsoy, 1999). However, the growing managerialism within Higher Education has equally set a conflicting trend that is challenging the importance given to student participation by eroding the status and restricting the form and quality of participation sought (Klemencic, 2011, 2014; Luescher-Mamashela, 2010).

In addition to the changes in university climate and legislative frameworks which have a substantial impact on student involvement, the nature and success of student participation in university governance can also be influenced by how other partners like administrators and faculty view student participation in the decision-making process of universities, students' lack of knowledge about the mechanisms for participation, and how students view their roles (Boland, 2005; Lizzio& Wilson, 2009; Planas et al., 2013; Zuo&Ratsoy, 1999).

Luescher (2011) argues that the debate on student involvement in university governance has been influenced by various perspectives – in terms of its modern origins in student political activism; concerning students' role and position in universities; concerning democratic principles and the purposes of higher education in democratic societies; and on the grounds of the potential positive consequences of student participation.

2.8 Literature gap and concluding remarks

The review of literature on Higher Education Governance points towards that the focus of articles and research has been skewed towards the idea of the university in general and the relationship between administration and students is theorized as one of the important conditions for the existence of the university. The review of the articles on the idea of the higher education in India reflects that only Clark's model has been explored and analyzed whereas the other models which had been consecutively emerging is analyzed in terms of their reference point to

the previous model and not regarding specific nature and values of the university. The relationship between administration and students that forms the essential foundations of the university is also explored only in terms of their ideal roles in university with no focus on the nature and basis of the relationship formed between them. The articles on the adoption and institutionalization of this idea in various parts of the world indicate that due to changing conditions of universities especially the massification of higher education, fragmentation of subjects, and increased focus on utility-based education the idealization of a single model is unfeasible. However, only one study has tried to support the theoretical analysis with empirical evidences. The literature in the Indian context provides similar insights, with very less understanding of the practice from the perspective of administration and students. Drawing from the insights developed from literature, the present study aims to understand the nature of higher education governance that had evolved had how it incorporates the roles of administration and students in the present university. The study will reflect upon the attainment of unified relationships in contemporary universities in the presence of the challenges imposed by increasing diversity in terms of caste, class, religion, and language resulting from the massification of the university system of education. The study will also focus upon understanding several bases of the relationship such as place and scope of critical inquiry for the pursuit of truth in present universities, assumptions regarding the apolitical attitude of students and administration, equitable participation and representation, decision making, rational reasoning, etc.

The review of literature also indicates that though in democracy universities no longer retains the original model of governance, a need is felt by universities worldwide to revisit and revive the nature of the university governance to protect universities from losing their essence of being the institutions of representation and scholarship. However, in the case of Indian universities there is an additional challenge of framing the governance model in the university in Indian context based upon the needs, demands, and culture of Indian society rather than adopting an imitated model. The relationship between students and administration has mostly been theorized rather than establishing this relationship based on ground realities.

University spaces are now marked by multiculturalism, multiple identities, and multiple ideas that need to be settled with the free exchange of ideas and negotiations of dispositions held

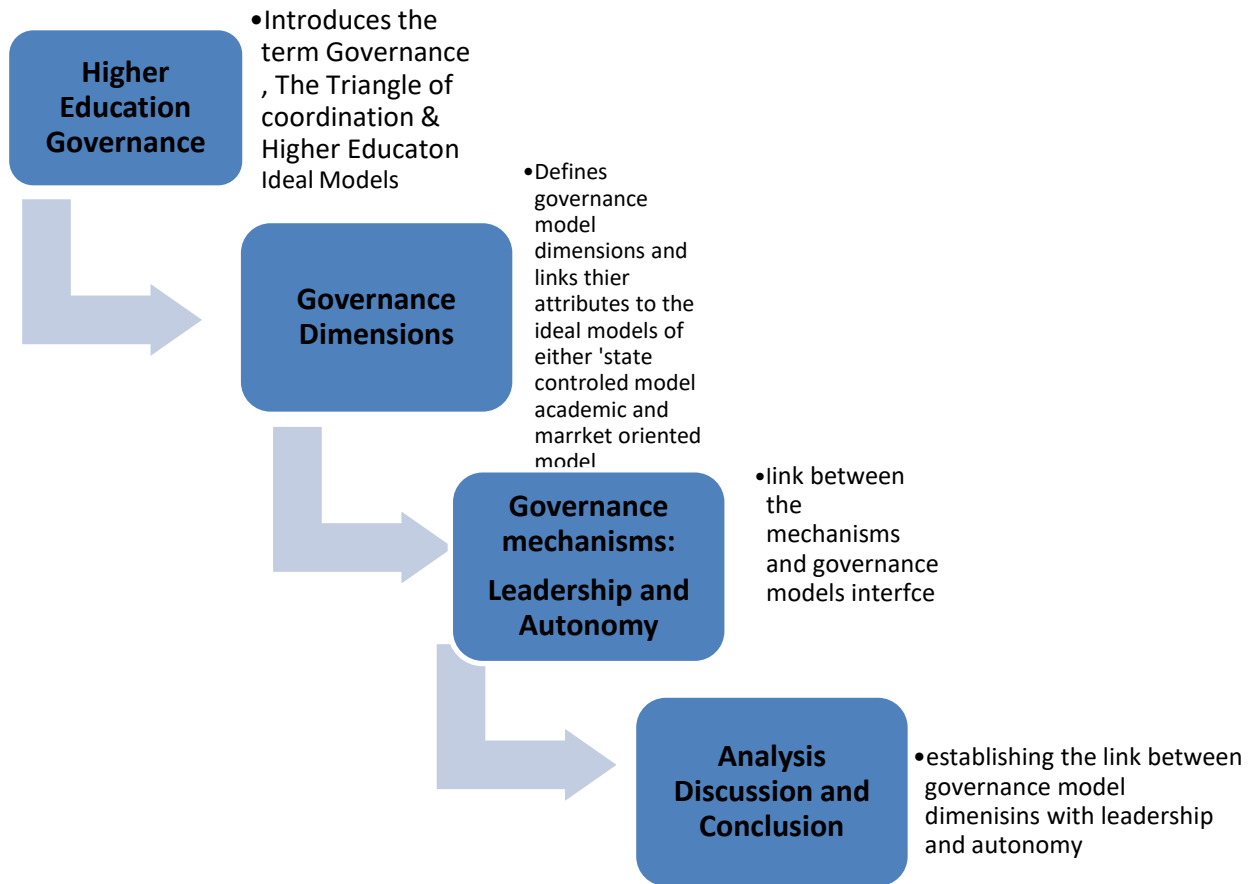
by students and administration. The forceful domination of ideas by the faculty, administration, university, or state may lead to a culture of conformity or silence or revolt among scholars and all of these are harmful for unity of science and scholarship. Hence, the voice of students and the professional community embedded in the idea of university needs to be revisited and critically assessed for the promotion of critical reasoning and inquiry among students further decoding the current crisis. This will also help to develop insights into the broader concept of university governance in a democratic context.

CHAPTER- 3

University Governance Model: Tracing the Shift from Government to Governance

The chapter will focus on understanding these governance dimensions and its linkages to higher education models. It can be concluded that the state control model has a high degree of state regulation and academic self-governance, whereas the market-oriented model scores high on competition, managerial self-governance and stakeholder guidance. The chapter will then focus on drawing an analysis with the rentable governance dimensions including leadership and autonomy also drawing relationship with the various stakeholders involved. The manner and direction of change in these overlapping mechanisms can reveal the shifts in governance models. The figure below summaries the operationalisation and the conceptual framework with its various stages developed above. As an analytical tool five governance dimensions - state regulation, academic self-governance, managerial self-governance, stakeholder guidance, and competition, were developed.

Figure 3.1: Operationalized and conceptual framework

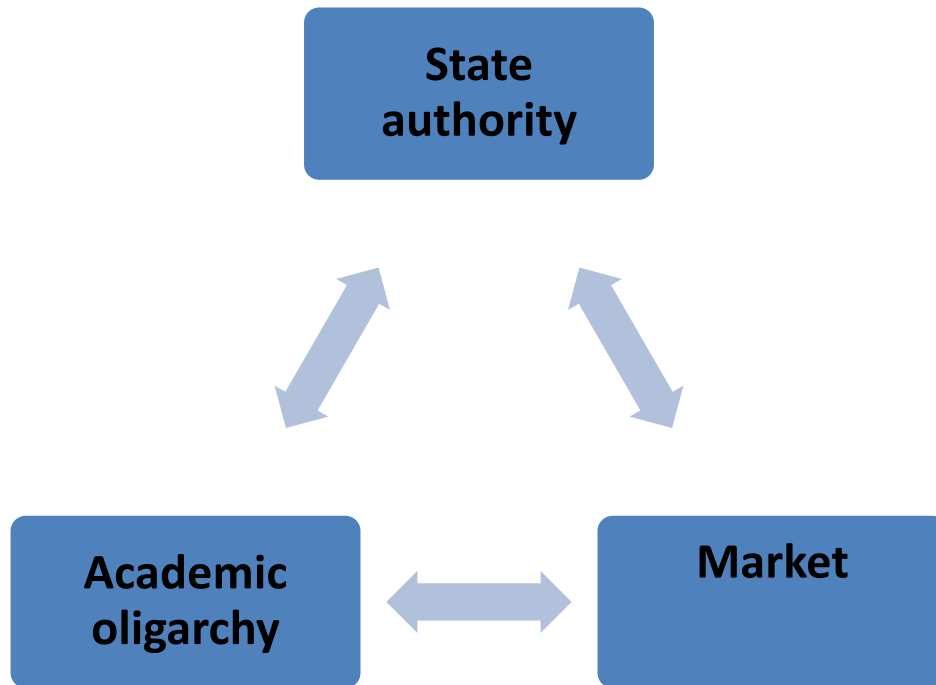


Definition of governance

“Governance encompasses the structures, relationships and processes through which, at both, national and institutional levels, policies for tertiary education are developed, implemented and reviewed. Governance comprises a complex web including the legislative framework, the characteristics of the institutions and how they relate to the whole system, how money is allocated to institutions and how they are accountable for the way it is spent, as well as less formal structures and relationships which steer and influence behaviour”(OECD, 2008, p. 68).

3.1 Existing Theoretical frameworks

Figure 3.2: Clark's theoretical framework



Clark was among the first to establish a typology of governance systems in 1983. By positioning the university within the borders of a triangle, the partial influence of three determining dimensions could be shown. Depending on the set-up of the higher education system and, in particular, of the university, the strength of state authority, market forces, and academic oligarchy were variables and opened the way to different modes of co-operation in higher education (Clark, 1983).

Based on Clark's work, a range of models has evolved (*e.g.* Becher and Kogan, 1992; Bergquist, 1992; McDaniel, 1996). The most commonly cited is van Vught's reduction (1995; 1989) of the original model.

He discards the category of market forces, since universities function as quasi-markets under state influence and distinguishes between two opposing systems: the —State control model found mostly in continental Europe and the —State supervising model based on Anglo- Saxon

tradition. The former is characterized by strong state regulation and an influential academic oligarchy, while the latter shows a lessening of state influence (to provide the overall framework only) and interference due to failing expectations, while the steering power of intermediate organizational actors (such as deans, rectors, boards of trustees) increases (Braun, 1999).

Several scholars have developed intermediate models between the two extremes, *e.g.* John Fielden (2008, p. 9) who follows a four-step process from state control, semiautonomous, semi-independent to independent.

Given the New Public Management administration reforms, a distinction within the different categories became necessary. In 1997, Clark added a fourth element to his triangle which he described as the hierarchical self-guidance of university leaders (Clark, 1998).

Robert Berdahl's distinction (1999) between *substantive autonomy* (*what to do in university governance*) and *procedural autonomy* (*how to do something in university governance*) develops this idea further.

Working with Clark's model, Braun and Merrien (1999) developed the cube of governance which can position individual higher education systems in three categories:

- a non-utilitarian/utilitarian culture (degree of service and client orientation);
- a loose/tight procedural model (degree of administrative control by the state);
- a loose/tight substantive model (degree of goal-setting capacity of governments).

The newest model of higher education governance has been developed by de Boer, Enders, and Schimank (2007) which transforms the cube concept into five governance equalizers. Each equalizer represents a relevant governance attribute and can be adjusted independently from the others, meaning that radical changes in one area need not influence the others. This model comprises:

- *state regulation* referring to the initial governance notion of regulations by directives

through the government. It measures the detail and the rigidity of government direction;

Again, the most influential categories stem from the Clark framework in 1983 and adjusted in 1998. Even though this first avoided direct typologies by distinguishing only between a market model and a collegium model (Braun, p. 6, 1999), Clark later offered the notion of entrepreneurial university. This is characterized by a strengthened managerial core, an enhanced development periphery, diversified funding, and a stimulated academic heartland. Based on the early triangle, van Vught proposes bureaucratic oligarchic to describe governance which is strongly influenced by academics and government.

Supported by the governance cube outlined above, Braun and Merrien (1999) realign the categories in their models and create five ideal types, which find their equivalent in different countries:

- new managerialism
- market
- corporatist-statist
- bureaucratic–oligarchic
- collegium

The university's mission and relations with the outside world are now defined by strong corporate executive control imposing economic performance targets on internal structures. The actors within universities have shifted from councils and senates to governing boards, shadow university structures, and vice-chancellor advisory committees. On the institute level, co-operative research centers and a variety of soft money funded entities have been founded. Funding is characterized by a need to diversify towards soft budget allocations, tuition fees, and competitive earning via new enrollments and research funding, making market forces in some areas the main driver. The inner culture of historical institutions gives way to an increasingly restricted menu of commercial options and strategies (Marginson and Considine, 2000, p. 4).

Leon Trakman (2008) is even more specific in his analysis by outlining five models:

1. faculty governance sees the power on the side of the academic staff and is based on expansive governing powers distributed towards collegial senates or strong influence of academics on governing boards;
2. corporate governance is prevalent in universities, mostly consisting of smaller boards of governors or trustees, as well as chief executive officers with financial and managerial responsibilities;
3. trustee governance differs from other governance types in that it is explicitly based on trust in a governing board.
4. stakeholder governance is based on the identification of interest groups that should be involved in university governance to secure a balanced system where all important interests are voiced.
5. amalgam models of governance combine the four mentioned models and no clear pattern is visible (Trakman, 2008, pp. 63-83).

3.2 Neoliberal governmentality and higher education

In this model, education is represented as an input-output system which can be reduced to an economic production function. The core dimensions of new public management, are: flexibility (concerning organizations through the use of contracts); clearly defined objectives (both organizational and personal), and a results orientation (measurement of and managerial responsibility for the achievement of). Also, new public management in applying quasi-market or private sector micro- techniques to the management of public sector organizations has replaced the 'public service ethic' whereby organizations were governed according to norms and values derived from assumptions about the 'common good' or 'public interest' with a new set of contractual norms and rules. Hence notions of 'professional', 'trustee', or 'fiduciary' are conceived as 'principal/agent relationships'. When organizations are ruled by new governance arrangements and models, under relations of managerial- sized accountability, what happens to the presumption of trust that public servants will act in the public good?

There is also a complex and subtle shift in political philosophy. Under liberal governmentality, the ‘professions’ constituted a model of institutional organization characterized by a principle of autonomy that characterized a form of power based on ‘delegation’ (i.e., delegated authority) and underpinned by relations of trust. Under neoliberal governmentality, principal-agent line management chains replace delegated power with hierarchical forms of authoritatively structured relation, which erode, and seek to prohibit, an autonomous space from emerging. This shift in regulative modality constitutes a structural shift that is likely to transform.

Neoliberalism cuts across the spaces of classical liberalism in other ways as well. The institutionalization of models of principal-agent chains of line management inserts a hierarchical mode of authority by which the market and state pressures are instituted. For academic staff this carries with it the effect of de-professionalization, involving:

- A shift from collegial or democratic governance in flat structures, to hierarchical models based on dictated management specifications of job performance in principal-agent chains of command.
- The implementation of restructuring initiatives in response to market and state demands involves increasing specifications by management over workloads and course content by management. Such hierarchically imposed specifications erode traditional conceptions of professional autonomy overwork concerning both teaching and research. Neoliberalism systematically deconstructs the space in terms of which professional autonomy is exercised.
- Traditional conceptions of professionalism involved an ascription of rights and powers overwork in line with classical liberal notions of freedom of the individual. Market pressures increasingly encroach and redesign their traditional understandings of rights, as TEIs must adapt to market trends (for example, just as individual departments and academics are being told of the necessity for acquiring external research grants, so they are also being told they must teach summer schools).

The essence of contractual models involves a specification, which is fundamentally at odds with the notion of professionalism. Professionalism conveys the idea of a subject-directed

power based upon the liberal conceptions of rights, freedom, and autonomy. It conveys the idea of a power given to the subject, and of the subject's ability to make decisions in the workplace. No professional, whether doctor, lawyer, or teacher, has traditionally wanted to have the terms of their practice and conduct dictated by anyone else but their peers, or determined by groups or structural levers that are outside of their control. As a particular patterning of power, then, professionalism is systematically at odds with neoliberalism, for neoliberals see the professions as self-interested groups who indulge in rent-seeking behavior. In neoliberalism the patterning of power is established on contract, which in turn is premised upon a need for compliance, monitoring, and accountability organized in a management line and established through a purchase contract based upon measurable outputs.

Some recent writers have maintained that the impact of neoliberalism on the nature of professionalism is problematic. For instance, Nixon et al. (2001) and Du Gay (1996) argue that professionals have constructed a new form of identity more suited to managerialism. They have claimed that managerial reforms have restructured the identity of professionals. Susan Halford and Peter Leonard (1999, p. 120) also argue that 'we cannot assume that this is in any way an automatic or linear process, or that individuals respond in ways in which are consistent or coherent'. Or, as Simkins (2000, p. 330) suggests:

It is dangerous ... to draw sweeping conclusions about the replacement of the traditional bureau-professional organizational order in education by a managerial one. Rather, it is better to view the process as a dynamic one in which growing tensions between 'old' and 'new' are worked out within particular policy and management areas as different value systems and interests of influence.

While we are open to the contention that new 'emergent' possibilities exist, in our view neoliberalism constitutes a 'structural selectivity', in Offe's (1984) sense, that alters the nature of the professional role. Targets and performance criteria are increasingly applied from outside the academic role that diminish the sense in which the academic—their teaching and research—are autonomous. The rising importance of 'managed research', and the pressures to obtain 'funded research' constitute further evidence that academic freedom, at least in terms of the academics' determination over research are concerned, are increasingly 'compromised', or at least 'under

pressure'. The extent to which the ideal expressed by Kant and Newman, of the university as an institutionally autonomous and politically insulated realm, where there are traditional commitments to a liberal conception of professional autonomy, in keeping with a public service ethic, has any relevance in a global economic order, is increasingly seen as an irrelevant concern.

3.3 Actors in Higher Education Governance

Students

While students are central for the development of quality procedures at higher education institutions, they very often occupy a marginal role as political actors in the discussion of university governance (Bergan, 2003, pp. 5-6).

Compared to other stakeholder groups, students have been involved in university governance since the 1960s. Their decision-making political influence within governing bodies is rather low – between 1/5 and 1/10 of members of governing boards are students (Bergan, 2003, p. 4), but their advisory capacities and informal structures that reach up into ministries give their voice a stronger impact (Bergan, 2003, p. 8). Unlike other stakeholders, they possess strong short-term mobilization capacities (*e.g.* student protests in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom). Recent empirical research is scarce (exceptions are Bergan, 2003; van Dyke, 1998; Rhoades, 1999) or concentrates on the status of students as consumers or clients rather than on their governance capacities (Bergan, 2003, p. 10). This limitation may be a consequence of taking quality assurance as the central point of reference for research, thereby denoting students as passive recipients of wealth-creating skills and knowledge (Morley, 2003, p. 142).

Central administration

The central administration has always been a powerful force in university governance. Especially in higher education systems with a minimal entrepreneurial structure, this has an information advantage over academic authorities as it is continuously and fully involved in administrative issues. Academics normally postpone their research while assuming governing positions in universities and are less well equipped to deal with administrative matters. While older attitudes towards the administration saw this as —merely a device for bringing pupils face to face with the right teacher (UGC, 1936, p. 19), its new power is increasingly recognized

through best practice guidelines and the rise of New Public Management. In countries with strong state regulation, the administration was also seen as a state instrument for financial accountability. In Germany, for example, the head of the administration is appointed by the Ministry of Education and very often plays the role of counterpart to the academic self-government. This official, however, plays a much smaller role compared to vice-chancellors in countries with more corporate university bodies.

In many universities, the position of the vice-chancellor, president, or chief executive officer has been established. This position is responsible for the day-to-day management of the university and hence formally responsible for different administrative tasks. As these include the implementation of goals set out by the legislative authority or governing board, leadership, and decision-making based on the strategic framework are necessary attributes for the administrative head. In several countries, the post has become more influential especially in combination with weakly performing governing boards (*e.g.* Lauwreys, 2008, p. 5). Deputy vice-chancellors are responsible for special tasks and support the vice-chancellor in his/her duties.

Head of the university

The head of the institution is known as president, chancellor or rector. This position and its power differ from system to system. While in higher education systems with a strong multi-stakeholder governing board, she/he very often has only a representative role to play.

However, countries such as Hungary, France, or Germany, still assign strong executive powers to this office. Similar to the vice-chancellor in Anglo-Saxon countries, she/he is the head of the executive and is supported by pro-rectors. The main duty is to prepare and implement decisions of the academic board, but there are also various decisions she/he can take.

To distinguish between the head of administration and the university head in a country comparison is difficult and sometimes impossible. As higher education systems have evolved, these posts have individual histories that explain why their powers differ.

Boards

The variety of boards in higher education is probably just as wide as the backgrounds of their members. Traditional forms are collegiately governed assemblies such as institute and faculty boards, as well as senates and university councils. In the 1960s, representatives of academics, students, and administrative staff were involved and their numbers were quite large. Newer developments either added or replaced the old boards with university governing boards. Power shifted from the less forceful old bodies to the mandates of the new boards (Bleiklie and Kogan, 2007, p. 3). The distinction between supervision and important decision-making and day-to-day management is very common in the new system. The former function belongs to the governing board, the latter to the chief executive.

Stakeholders

Stakeholders are groups within society with a particular interest in university performance. These can range from conventional actors such as students, academics, or the government itself to newly recognized actors such as industry representatives, community authorities, alumni, unions, and cultural groups. Depending on the country, their influence can range from membership of supervisory or governing boards to simple funding functions (Lazzaretti and Tavoletti, 2006, p. 24).

New distribution of powers

In the face of funding problems, governments increasingly held students and enterprises responsible. The income of higher education institutions diversified, thereby introducing new stakeholder interests into university governance: a much larger group of users is making claims on them (universities) (Marginson and Considine, 2000).

Agencies

Quality assurance agencies are rather new actors in higher education governance. Based on government directives and ethical codes (*e.g.* NAAC guidelines, AISHE guidelines), they review programs and/or institutions and judge whether these are appropriate and effective. Their influence varies from audits of program accreditation to system accreditation.

Government

Although foundations have picked up self-governance, the administration's job is still as significant as ever in advanced education. As the major money related source in a large portion of the advanced education frameworks looked into government despite everything chooses who gets which subsidizing and on which premise. Ongoing advancements have fortified this methodology as governments have moved from conventional guiding in advanced education to controlling from a separation. Agreements with colleges, money related responsibility measures, and legitimate structures are the establishment of this controlling methodology. Moreover, an augmentation of go-between bodies among government and establishments is regular at the degree of national advanced education administration. Outside bodies authorize quality confirmation offices or perform reviews and research committees give advanced education financing (and particularly for investigate ventures) on a serious premise (OECD, 2008, pp. 74-75).

Leadership

Leadership is a key notion within governance arrangements. However, what is to be understood by leadership itself is not clearly explained. Some see this as the ability to chair the governing board while others describe leadership not as an attribute but as a function (*i.e.* the person(s) at the top of an institution).

However, in some higher education systems such as the United Kingdom, this is a concept perceived as a panacea for organizational skills (Boyett, Currie and Suhomlinova, 2005, p. 268).

Defining leadership through its absence opens the possibility of aligning it not to an individual but a group or a contextually embedded process (Bolden, Gosling and Petrov, 2008, p. 360).

This means that, when it comes to change, leadership is acutely context-sensitive. Change in colleges and universities comes when it happens in the trenches; what faculty and students do

is what the institution becomes. It does not happen because a committee or a president asserts a new idea (Leslie, 1996, p. 110).

The concept of leadership can thus be seen as a problem in the governance process rather than in a particular individual. This becomes a question of how to accomplish a mission, how to work towards institutional goals, or set priorities it is known that top-down structures do not work and many actors are involved in the process. This may explain why no specific arrangements for leadership in governance or governing boards have been drafted.

Leadership is influenced by a particular cultural context which also affects its links to governance arrangements. For this reason, leadership cannot have a universal definition.

The Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges look at leadership from the perspective of the integrity expected of the governing board. The concept of collaborative but decisive leadership combines:

Leadership of the institution (government and president) which fosters

- a shared mutual understanding of expectations, responsibilities and institutional culture
- the development of a strategic plan
- a united front on contentious issues

Internal leadership that helps to

- engage faculty in pursuing a shared academic vision
- connect effectively with students' needs and aspirations
- recognize the essential contributions of high-quality institutional staff

External leadership that

- engages alumni, donors, and parents in a shared sense of the institution's history, recent

accomplishments and future opportunities

- establishes partnerships for common civic, economic and workforce goals with policymakers and the business community
- builds relationships and open lines of communication with all levels of local and regional news media

These precise governance arrangements relate to an individual higher education system. However, like other approaches, they separate the characteristics of the leader from the other parts of the institution. In other words, if good governance is working within the institution, leadership is working as well. Information on the personal capabilities of leaders (and what distinguishes good from poor leadership) is not an issue.

The chapter thus operationalizes the various dimensions and factors operating in higher education governance tracing the trajectory from its evolution of university models and how it incorporated the changing needs and demands. Thus, identifying the emerging model for the study and rationalizing the dimensions associated with higher education model in place including the neoliberal reforms and shared leadership.

CHAPTER - 4

Contextualizing the Model of Shared Governance

The chapter aims to analyze the emergent model of shared governance and its relevance in higher education governance. It further decodes its implications and drawbacks leading to a failure of the model. Thus, the idea is to understand the crisis in governance by contextualizing the various attributes associated with it including the emergence of shared leadership. It also aims to understand the scope of its expansion and how the model of shared governance can be strengthened by focusing on the processes and is not limited to outcomes. The focus of analysis is finding the need and importance of the model of shared governance which takes into account the neoliberal reforms, networks, academic freedom, autonomy and the emergent collaboration engulfing all the stakeholders of the university governance system.

4.1 What Is Shared Governance & Why Is It Important

Shared governance is the set of practices under which college faculty and staff participate in significant decisions concerning the operation of their institutions. Colleges and universities are very special types of institutions with a unique mission the creation and dissemination of ideas. For that reason, they have created particular arrangements to serve that mission best. For example, academic tenure protects the status, academic freedom, and independent voice of scholars and teachers. Shared governance, in turn, arose out of a recognition that:

- academic decision-making should be largely independent of short-term managerial and political considerations;
- faculty and professional staff are in the best position to shape and implement curriculum and research policy, to select academic colleagues and judge their work; and
- the perspective of all front-line personnel is invaluable in making sound decisions about allocating resources, setting goals, choosing top officers, and guiding student life.

Shared governance creates the opportunity to educate students that can perform their civic duties, fit into the workforce, contribute to the socio-economic growth of their country, provides an excellent working environment for all, promotes interpersonal relationships leading to trusting one another, and promotes multiculturalism that can lead to high productivity of an academic institution (Bejou&Bejou, 2016; Lencioni, 2002). Giving the ultimate authority and the overall decision-making to the governing boards over other stakeholders can make some governing boards to make unilateral decisions that may lead to conflicts (Pierce & Trachtenberg, 2014; Tierney & Holley, 2005).

It is widely understood that broad participation in decision-making increases the level of employee investment in the institution's success. As a result, organizational theorists for many years have recommended shared decision-making as a key strategy to improve productivity in all kinds of organizations. In higher education, due to the high turnover rate of top administrators, the faculty and staff are often in the best position to provide the institutional history so valuable to institutional planning. Without that institutional history, institutions are apt to repeat past failures.

4.2 Why Is Shared Governance Under Attack?

Until recently, top college administrators, boards of trustees, and political leaders could be counted on to recognize and defend the right of individual faculty and staff members and their representative assemblies to participate in the design and implementation of the educational goals and policies of the institution. But no longer. Why?

Increasing numbers of public officials, institutional board members and administrators have come to view higher education as a multi-billion-dollar industry, with money and power to be amassed and used for purposes remote from core academic values such as contemplation, reflection, neutrality, objectivity and critical thinking. To exploit the commercial and political potential of this industry, they seek to run our colleges more on a "corporatized" business model. The corporate model is characterized by commercializing and breaking apart the elements that make higher education great.

The corporatized college president has become the CEO, no longer the academic leader. The agendas of the top administrators in public colleges often are informed by political considerations, not academic ones. The educational mission is seen as just one aspect of a multi-faceted “business” in which the institution is engaged, which may include job training, entertainment, sports, housing, health care, and private corporate research and development.

Under the guise of efficiency and confidentiality, top administrators are being recruited by professional search firms with a diminished faculty role in their selection. The voice of the faculty and staff is relegated to an advisory role rather than that of a full partner in the institution’s success.

4.3 The Real Crisis in Shared Governance

The corporatized model of college governance has engendered a real crisis in higher education.

It threatens the integrity of the key educational and research functions that faculty and staff perform, through:

- outsourcing jobs essential to instruction, including the design of courses and introduction of computer-based teaching elements;
- redirecting the teaching of courses from full-time dedicated professionals to exploited part-time and temporary faculty, graduate teaching and research assistants, with low pay, little security and no academic freedom;
- re-orienting the curriculum toward business-oriented coursework, including more courses designed to “train” students for the “real world.” Traditionally “academic” courses are pressured to be more “practical,” and generally there is less concern for a broad-based liberal arts curriculum intended to help students develop and mature intellectually into critically thinking democratic citizens;

- buying and selling “courseware,” through the appropriation of computer-based intellectual property for purposes of commercial exploitation;
- developing for-profit teaching and/or research subsidiaries of colleges and universities, which are out of the reach of public scrutiny; and
- forming commercial consortia with other universities and private investors.

Increased workloads, restrictive tenure standards, pressures to incorporate new technologies in teaching, and demoralization resulting from top-level assertions of power have had the predictable, if perverse, the effect of decreasing the willingness of faculty and staff to participate in the shared governance of their institutions.

The erosion of shared governance imperils the elements that produce quality education and scholarship. Shared governance is like the system of checks and balances in state and federal government. Excessive power and control concentrated in any one level of the institution virtually guarantees that there will be a distorted perspective on crucial aspects of the academic enterprise. When politicians, boards and administrators seek to “corporatize” higher education, they hurt the recipients of educational value, namely students and the public.

4.4 Shared Governance Should Be Strengthened and Expanded

The interdependence among constituent groups at all levels of the college requires complex coordination, excellent communication among the levels, and appropriate joint planning and execution. Faculty and administrators depend on a wide variety of specialist co-workers to perform their academic functions. In the increasingly complex world of higher education, many of the traditional duties of those holding faculty rank have been reassigned or shared with other professionals. For instance, many groups of specialists assist in key ways:

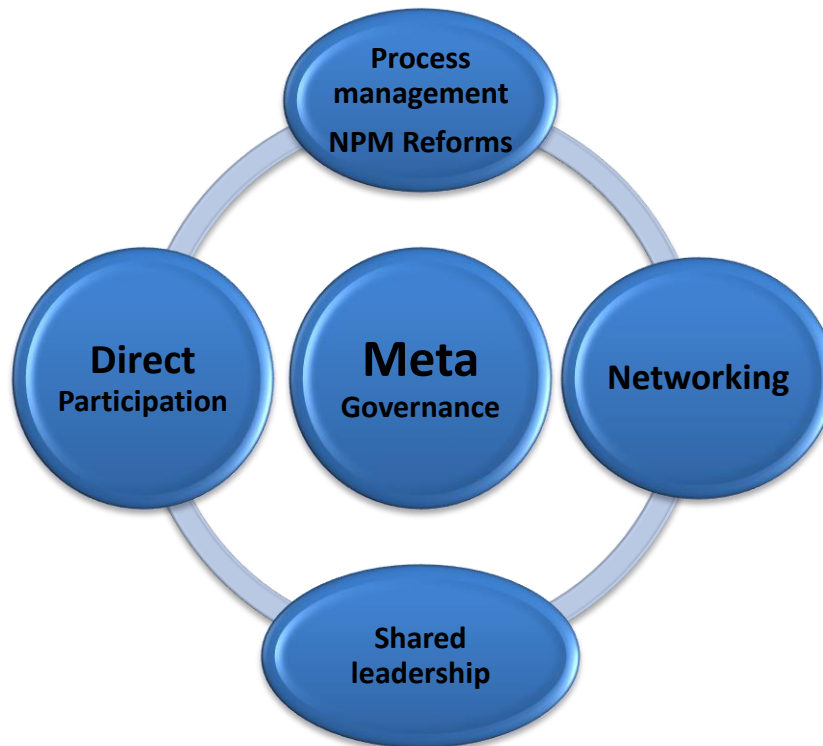
- Student counselors provide academic and career guidance;
- Information technologists help enhance teaching, learning and research; and
- Laboratory managers and assistants maintain and teach scientific work in laboratories.

Part-time/adjunct faculty used to be adjunct to the central instructional function, but they have become indispensable and ubiquitous, though overused and exploited, in many colleges. Classified and support staff, traditionally not represented at the table, also deserve representative participation in making decisions related to their areas of expertise. Employees of all kinds have long sought vehicles for effective voice in workplace decisions, often through unions and professional associations. In some states and institutions, staff members without faculty rank have been explicitly included—sometimes mandated by statute—in representative decision-making and planning committees, task forces, and assemblies. At hundreds of institutions, academic and classified staff have expressed their right to be heard through engagement in collective bargaining. In still other cases, their voice is ignored. When their influence is denied a place in policymaking, the institution and its students suffer.

Institutional structures of shared governance should be constructed to incorporate the views of faculty and staff at all levels of decision-making. The institution's administrators must provide the participants in shared governance time, encouragement and the information necessary to be effective.

Shared governance is vital to maintain the academic integrity of our colleges and universities, to prevent the pressures of commercialization from distorting the institution's educational mission or eroding standards and quality, and to uphold the ideals of academic freedom and democratic practice. Strengthening shared governance is the responsibility of all colleges and universities, and a *priority* of the union.

Figure 4.1: Moving beyond Shared Governance and the emerging model



The above figure points out the analysis of the emerging governance model evolved from the previous models as discussed in the previous chapter. The various dimensions of the model will be explained according to the developments and analysis of the existing literature.

4.5 Process Management and NPM Reforms

As Marginson (1997, p. 5) points out:

What such a competitive ordering results in is a new type of approach to academia which, with the addition of a particular funding model, conflicts with and interferes with traditional notions of professional academic autonomy and freedom. In this process the values of disinterested inquiry and respect for the integrity of the subject matter compete with a new set of pressures to ‘dumb’ courses down, as well as to demonstrate their relevance to labor market conditions and prospects.

In that competitive neutrality is a state-engineered ‘market-driven’ program, it must be considered as a series of supply-side levers introduced to increase responsiveness of the universities to the market order and market interests of their customers. Yet, it must also be considered as an imperfect program, for as Marginson (1997, p. 8) points out, the elite tertiary institutions can rely on their reputations ‘obtained ... in a long slow accumulation of social investment’, and in this sense, the top segment of the tertiary education market is not contestable: As competitiveness is ratcheted upwards, the seller’s market is enhanced. The leading schools and university faculties have long waiting lists. These institutions choose the student-consumer, more than the student choosing them. They do not need to become cheaper, more efficient, or more responsive to gain support, and to expand would be to reduce their positional value. (Marginson, 1997, pp. 7–8)

Marginson (1999) has observed that various organizational changes have accompanied these changes in universities under the period of neoliberal restructuring. In a major study of ‘management practices in higher education’ in Australia, prepared for publication as *The enterprise university: governance, strategy, reinvention* (Marginson & Considine, 2000), management practices were examined in some 17 Australian universities. Summarizing some of the findings from this study, Marginson (1999, pp. 7–8) notes the following elements as they affect the organizational form of universities:

- The emergence of a new kind of leadership in universities. In this model, the vice-chancellor is a ‘strategic director and change agent’. Universities are now run as corporations according to ‘formulae, incentives, targets and plans’.
- The appointment of vice-chancellors who are ‘outsiders’ and who are not organically linked to the institution. This practice is in turn supported by a growing apparatus of DVCs and PVCs, AVCs, executive deans, etc, with loyalty to the center rather than to disciplines or faculties.
- The partial transformation of governing councils into corporate boards and the sidelining of academic boards.
- The rise of flexible executive-directed systems for internal university consultation and communication, from internal market research to vice-chancellors’ advisory groups.

- The rise of new property structures concerning international education, intellectual property, relations with industry, and work-based training.
- The removal from the collegial view of key decisions regarding governance.
- The partial breakdown of traditional disciplinary structures in the creation of schools (rather than departments) for teaching purposes.
- Research management is subject to homogenizing systems for assessing performance.
- A diminishment of the role of peer input into decisions about research.
- An increasing irrelevance of the disciplinary organization of research.
- A prioritization of research in terms of quantity of research income rather than in terms of numbers of publications produced or in terms of quality of scholarship.

A further consequence of marketization has been the increased emphasis on performance and accountability assessment, with the accompanying use of performance indicators and personal appraisal systems. This has generated a concern with corporate loyalty and the use of discipline against employees who criticize their universities. Universities in this model have become concerned with their market reputation and become increasingly intolerant of adverse criticism of the institution by the staff. Such policies are the logical outcome of privatization: in the private sector employers are not permitted to criticize their employer in public. Under neoliberal corporatization many universities are employing advertising and public relations agencies to ensure that only positive statements appear about the university and its products.

From the neoliberal perspective, however, professionalism is distrusted in that it generates the conditions for opportunism, sets self-serving standards, and is prone to provider-capture. Neoliberalism has thus advocated a shift in the forms of accountability to an emphasis on market processes and quantifiable output measures. We can distinguish two main types of accountability:

- Bureaucratic: professional accountability, is ex-ante, where rules and regulations are specified in advance and accountability is measured in terms of process; formulated in terms of standards, based on the expertise of those who work in a particular area.
- Consumer: managerial accountability, associated with market systems, based on price; which works in terms of contracts in which the performance is rewarded or punished according to the achievement of pre-set targets and externally imposed objectives.

Under the neoliberal period there has been a shift from ‘bureaucratic–professional’ forms of accountability to ‘consumer–managerial’ accountability models. Under consumer–managerial forms of accountability, academics must demonstrate their utility to society by placing themselves in an open market and accordingly competing for students who provide the bulk of core funding through tuition fees. If academic research has value, it can stand up to the rigors of competition for limited funds.

An ideal-type model of the internal governance of universities which indicates the conflict between neoliberal managerial and liberal professional cultures, as we are distinguishing those terms here, is presented in Figure below:

Table 4.1: Distinguishing the Neo Liberal and Liberal Culture of University

	Neo Liberal	Liberal
Mode of operation	Private	Public
	‘Hard’ managerialism,	‘Soft’ managerialism,

Mode of control	Contractual specification Between principal agent, Autocratic control	Collegial-democratic Voting, professional Consensus, diffuse control
Management function	Managers, line management, cost center	Leaders, community of scholars, Professions, faculty
Goals	Maximize outputs, Financial profit, efficiency, Massification, privatization	Knowledge, research, inquiry, Truth, reason, elitist, non- profit
Work Relations	Competitive, hierarchical, Workload indexed to market, Corporate loyalty, no adverse criticism of university	Trust, virtual ethics, professional norms, freedom of expression and criticism, role of public intellectual

Accountability	Audit, monitoring, consumer-managerial, performance indicators, output-based (ex post)	‘Soft’ managerialism, professional-bureaucratic, peer review and facilitation, rule-based (ex ante)
Marketing	Centre of excellence, Competition, corporate image, Branding, public relations	The Kantian ideal of reason, specialization, communication, Truth, democracy
Pedagogy/teaching	Semesterization, standardization of courses, modularization, distance learning, summer schools, vocational	Full year courses, traditional academic methods and course assessment methods, knowledge for its own sake
Research	Externally funded, Contestable, separated from teaching, controlled by government or external agency	Integrally linked to teaching, controlled from within the university, Initiated and undertaken by individual academics

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Source: Olssen, 2002,p.45

4.6 Shared Leadership

The next emergent component which transcended and evolved after the crisis in the ideal model of shared governance was the nature of leadership.

Shared leadership is defined as moving away from the leader/follower binary; capitalizing on the importance of leaders throughout the organization, not just those in positions of authority; and creating an infrastructure so that organizations can benefit from the leadership of multiple people. Shared leadership is different from shared governance. Shared governance is based on the principles of faculty and administration having distinct areas of delegated authority and decision making. Shared leadership, by contrast, is more flexible and identifies various individuals on campus with relevant expertise. This allows multiple perspectives rather than those of a single decision-making body; for example, only faculty or administration.

In order to reap the benefits of shared leadership, organizations should ensure that shared leadership structures and processes are authentic and thoughtfully designed. Conditions that promote and sustain shared leadership include team empowerment, supportive vertical or hierarchical leaders, autonomy, shared purpose or goal, external coaching, accountability structures, interdependence, fairness of rewards, and shared cognition. Moreover, leadership development in higher education as currently designed is ineffective for fostering shared leadership. Most leadership development programs tend to focus on individuals who are already (or aspiring to be) in positions of authority. Few programs are designed to cultivate a broader number of individuals or the structures to support shared leadership, although this is starting to change.

This chapter examines how a changing environmental context in higher education requires new leadership skills and approaches, chief among them being the principles of shared leadership. I will review the new leadership environment, the research on shared leadership, and the small body of research in higher education on shared leadership. it will examine the

significance of this research for leadership development, discuss challenges to this approach, and offer implications for practice on college and university campuses.

Today's higher education leadership challenges necessitate new forms of leadership. A volatile financial environment, the rise of international partnerships, greater accountability pressures, the need for new business models, new technologies, and changing demographics are just some of these challenges, which call for leadership solutions that are tested both inside and outside of higher education. Shared leadership consistently emerges as a key factor for organizations that were better able to learn, innovate, perform, and adapt to the types of external challenges that campuses now face.

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Given this current era of significant change in higher education, there is growing attention to the importance of understanding the leadership required to guide campuses successfully, and a growing concern that existing approaches to leadership are ineffective.

Research studies over the following decades clearly identified the practices that make organizations more adaptable and the type of leadership that supports innovation: shared leadership (Senge 1990; Wheatley 1999). In fact, shared leadership consistently emerged as a key factor for organizations that were better able to learn, innovate, and perform (Senge 1990; Wheatley 1999).

Among other attributes, many argue that shared leadership could make higher education more accountable to external stakeholders, as shared leadership enables institutions to create meaningful and lasting changes in organizations that address external challenges (Wheatley 1999). Shared leadership builds institutional memory and creates co-ownership over aspirational goals and strategies that could otherwise vanish with executive turnover. All studies are in agreement that the rapid social, political, economic, and technological shifts that are taking place are producing greater complexity and an increase in instability, which places major constraints on conventional top-down constructs of leadership (Uhl-Bien, Marion, and McKelvey 2007). A recent ACE report—*Evolving Higher Education Business Models: Leading with Data to Deliver Results*—also makes the case that campuses need more networked and shared forms of leadership for budget decision making to address increasing complexity.

In summary, campus leaders face the challenge of implementing more changes than ever, in a shifting social, political, and economic landscape, shaped by complexity. Shared approaches to leadership that capitalize on the broader knowledge of the institution and foster learning are needed moving forward. While many campuses think they foster shared leadership through mechanisms like shared governance, we will demonstrate in this paper how our campuses are on the whole woefully inadequate in supporting true shared leadership. We also demonstrate how campuses can move forward to take advantage of and foster shared leadership.

Shared forms of leadership dispense with the idea of a leader/follower binary, maximizing the contributions many more individuals can make to solving difficult problems (Gronn 2002; Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond 2001). Shared leadership also recognizes the importance of

leaders in positions of authority, but focuses on how those in positions of power can delegate authority, capitalize on expertise within the organization, and create infrastructure so that organizations can capitalize on the leadership of multiple people. Leadership is a process—not an individual—and can be supported by professional development, access to information, team-based work, and incentives.

Furthermore, shared leadership is included in virtually every new leadership model, such as adaptive leadership by Heifetz (1994), leadership for complexity by Wheatley (1999), systems leadership by Allen and Cherrey (2000), connective leadership by Lipman-Blumen (1996), and situated cognition practice (Spillane, Reiser, and Gomez 2006). All these new models are focused on how leadership best operates in a complex environment, and shared leadership emerges as a central concept to managing and addressing complexity. Lipman-Blumen (1996) notes: “the changing context of leadership, a world where cultural and social differences are more prominent and where multiple, complex forces such as changing demographics, technology, faster decisions, and greater competition require leaders and organizations to abandon outdated scientific management techniques and enact new leadership processes that emphasize interdependence and adaptability”.

Shared leadership is also seen as complementary to long-time situational and contingency models of leadership (Bolden 2011). Because shared leadership can capitalize on varied leadership traits, behaviors, styles, and processes, it is seen as more adaptable to varying situations and contexts. Contingency models of leadership have long suggested that leaders cannot use the same behaviors or approaches in varying situations. A crisis versus a more ongoing change process will utilize and require different forms of leadership to be successful.

For example, complexity leadership frameworks demonstrate that traditional scientific management principles of leading—bureaucracy, authority, predictable leadership behaviors, and social control—are unsuccessful strategies in times of environmental turbulence (Allen and Cherrey 2000; Wheatley 1999). In stark contrast to these traditional views, complexity leadership theorists acknowledge the ambiguous, multiple, and ever-changing realities of organizations operating within modern global societies. They instead advance a leadership framework that posits achievement of global, system-level stability through support for autonomy, flexibility,

creativity, and adaptability at the local level. The implementation of strict organizational rules applied without consideration of context, centralized decision-making mechanisms, and the differentiation of tasks associated with organizational hierarchy (all hallmarks of traditional leadership) serve to cement structures and practices incapable of responding to the constant fluctuations and shifting priorities that characterize chaotic and complex organizations.

In order to thrive in the midst of complexity, organizations should embrace organizational processes that prioritize collaboration, shared leadership, and local decision making. Decentralization and the promotion of local autonomy increase the adaptability of organizations and allow them to creatively and quickly respond to changing environmental conditions (Heifetz 1994; Wheatley 1999). In complexity and system leadership theories, team and collaborative leadership processes challenge organizations to look beyond individual skills and achievements and instead focus their energy on cultivating environments that emphasize interconnections, a shared vision for the future, and collective accomplishments. O’Conner and Quinn elaborate: “When leadership is viewed as a property of whole systems, as opposed to solely the property of individuals, effectiveness in leadership becomes more a product of those connections or relationships among parts than the result of anyone part of that system (such as the leader)” (2004).

Shared leadership, collaboration, and creativity are also critical components of adaptive leadership (Heifetz 1994). Heifetz critiques traditional models of leadership for their preoccupation with resolving routine, technical issues instead of mobilizing leadership efforts to tackle the complex, adaptive challenges confronted by global organizations operating in a constant state of flux. Heifetz describes a model of adaptive leadership that embraces complexity and ambiguity and actively pursues innovative solutions via organizational learning, creative problem solving, experiments, and collaboration. Higher education needs to better respond to outside pressures for change, and the research on shared leadership suggests that it will enable campuses to create changes that are sustainable with more authentic buy-in.

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Lastly, some argue that shared leadership not only meets today's challenges, but also is a better fit for higher education. Historically, colleges and universities have operated under principles of shared governance and collegial decision making (Macfarlane 2014; Middlehurst 2012). By capitalizing on this historical commitment, shared leadership can be a more natural fit in higher education than in businesses and corporations that have long been characterized by top-down structures. It is important to point out that shared leadership is different from shared governance, even though they both ascribe to principles of distributed decision making and collective input. Shared governance is based on the principles of faculty and administrators having distinct areas of delegated authority and decision making; faculty typically has responsibility for curriculum and administration typically oversees budgeting. Shared leadership is more flexible in identifying expertise, noting that various individuals on campus might have expertise in budgeting or curriculum. All perspectives are drawn in and decisions are not delegated purely to a single group; rather, collaboration across groups in decision making is emphasized. Shared leadership is also associated with adaptable and flexible decision structures, rather than the fixed structures common to shared governance such as faculty senates. Instead, shared leadership structures tend to look more like task forces or cross-functional teams set up to address issues in real-time as they emerge.

4.7 Autonomy and Academic Freedom

Shared leadership is best understood or studied with an appreciation of the organizational values of higher education, such as shared governance (noted earlier), institutional and professional autonomy, and academic freedom. Many of these characteristics that have defined higher education often prevent shared leadership, even though they may appear complimentary at first glance. As noted earlier, shared governance (as well as academic freedom and autonomy) focuses on the distribution of authority rather than collaboration. And yet it is the collaboration that is key for creativity and cognitive complexity (Bensimon and Neumann 1993; Senge 1990; Wheatley 1999). Autonomy and academic freedom also rest on principles that professionals as

experts have delegated authority, but there are often no clear accountability structures for that authority. Shared leadership focuses on establishing distributed accountability structures. Thus, one of the reasons campuses often experience difficulty establishing shared leadership is that while it is related to these historic structures and complementary, it also differs in core respects.

A final concern related to shared leadership is that individuals working together, particularly in close-knit teams, can develop groupthink. Groupthink, originally conceptualized by Janis (1982), is characterized by a kind of “extreme consensus-seeking” in which alternative viewpoints are quashed, criticism becomes impossible, and poor decision-making results (Turner and Pratkanis 1998). While this concern is legitimate, many studies have found that team cohesion generally does not lead to groupthink and instead usually facilitates groups’ relationships, interactions, and performance (Ensley and Pearce 2001). Additionally, if shared leadership is developed to truly capitalize on a broad range of skills and experiences, as it is intended to do, groupthink becomes less likely.

Therefore, for colleges and universities to truly reap the benefits of more collaborative forms of leadership, institutional decision-makers should be willing to thoughtfully reexamine their own conceptions of what it means to be a successful leader. If a president or provost continues to think of leadership as a solitary, heroic pursuit, any efforts to establish shared leadership structures will inevitably prove to be merely lip service and will not create meaningful change. Campus leaders are right to couple their external support for shared leadership efforts with internal reflection on how leadership can and should work in an increasingly complex higher educational system. If leaders are willing to experiment with these new approaches, their institutions stand poised to meet these complexities and challenges head-on.

The evidence from the discussions and interviews I conducted is that leadership, trust, and relationships supersede structures and processes in effective decision making. A governance system can operate with imperfect structures and processes, but if leadership is missing and relationships and trust damaged, the governance system will likely fail for lack of direction, motivation, meaning, integrity, a sense of common purpose, ways to integrate multiple perspectives, open communication, people willing to listen, and legitimacy.

A new perspective is gaining support: campuses can build effective governance through an investment in leadership development and through mechanisms that nurture faculty, staff, and administrative relationships (for example, sponsoring campus-wide events). These actions (fostering leadership development and building relationships) will also contribute positively to the intangibles of human interaction, such as trust. Investment in training for leaders is perhaps the best way to create better relationships and trust since leaders are pivotal in the development of both of these areas.

CHAPTER -5

Student participation in University Governance: Theory and Practice

(The case of JNU)

This chapter focuses upon dwelling into the insights of the nature and the dimension of the relationship involved between the various stakeholders of governance. It thus analyses the factors determining the functional attributes of shared governance by taking Jawaharlal Nehru University as the site of inquiry. The analysis of in-depth interviews of students, the union heads, and the elected representatives from various schools were taken into consideration. The themes are selected based on the theoretical framework and its operationalized dimensions have been rationalized by the empirical findings generated from the secondary data collected.

The themes are thus classified concerning the students as stakeholders in the scheme of governance their effective role in attributing active student participation deriving from strong student activism and politics at the university campus. Through the analysis of interviews and narrative given by students and representatives in Jawaharlal Nehru University, the researchers have tried to find out the dimensions which revalidate the active social and political conditioning of the idea of a university space and how it revalidates the existing theory in practice. Three seminal theoretical contributions by Gramsci, Althusser, and Habermas have been taken into consideration in the analysis of university governance and get to get insight into connect or disconnect between theory and practice.

5.1 Antonio Gramsci's theory on Hegemony

The basic premise of Gramsci's theory is that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas. His idea of hegemony is a cultural leadership based on 'consent' of the led, secured by diffusion and popularization of the worldview of the ruling class, internalized as common sense. This is done through intellectuals who are the deputies of the ruling elite. They constitute 'civil society', one of the two super structural 'levels' of society as indicated by Gramsci. When the

intellectuals fail to spread the worldview of the ruling class, the other level- the State, takes over by coercion. Consent is historically caused by the prestige the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Boggs, 1976).

Gramsci says that to successfully assert hegemony, it must operate dually.

- As ‘general conception of life’ for the masses.
- As ‘scholastic programs’ or principles advanced by a sector of individuals (Boggs, 1976).

Gramsci says revolutionary transformation must be associated with an ideological crisis in civil society. So, “the main task of a socialist movement is to create a counter-hegemony to break the ideological bond between ruling class and masses. Here too the leadership of intellectuals is required. The huge masses must pass from a state of political passivity to activity and put forward certain demands which taken together add up to a revolution”. Gramsci says that when the ruling class is no longer ‘leading’ but only ‘dominant’ exercising coercive force alone, this precisely means that the people have become detached from the former’s traditional ideologies (Boggs, 1976).

Thus, the struggle for Counter-hegemony operates in two phases:

- To penetrate the false world of established appearances rooted in the dominant belief systems.
- To create an entirely new universe of ideas and values as the basis for human liberation.

Gramsci’s conception of ideological hegemony is of much sociological relevance as it helps in contextualizing and analyzing the dynamics between the base and superstructure. For Gramsci, socialist transformation was more of a process than an event or series of events. It involved above all the role of a negating consciousness in shaping particular demands, in ‘structuring’ the revolutionary situation itself, in defining mass responses to issues and actions, and in setting the contours of future (post-revolutionary) development.

Gramsci's theory reflects over different forms of ideological control and manipulation that were socially pervasive. He made a fundamental distinction between two types of political control: 'domination' i.e. direct physical coercion and 'hegemony', i.e. ideological control, which corresponds roughly to the Hegelian distinction between political society and civil society. Gramsci argues that any authoritative regime would only be able to sustain itself in the long run by gaining popular support or 'legitimacy'. For him, civil society meant a system of beliefs, values, attitudes, morality, etc. which were permeated through the institutions of family, church, schools, trade unions, etc. which in turn led to legitimize the ruling class and helped in propagating and maintaining their class interests. Hegemony then may be understood as a 'world view' or an organizing principle that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and socialization into every area of life.

The basic premise of Gramsci theory helps to contextualize the idea of domination which legitimizes forms of control and mechanisms of legitimate authority. It also justifies the surveillance done by the authorities to ensure and adhere to the power structures. All these factors were analytical in engaging with the discussion and interviews of the students who mentioned that there is nexus operating at the campus which legitimately assures the control of the powerful. They cited instances that recently perpetuated violence in the campus in various forms harming the student community as well as the faculty. It targeted the academic and professional community operating at the university. the administration wasn't aware of the intruders and was incapable of both restricting violence and catching hold of them. It further leads to an environment of threat that not only affected students physically but had left a deep impact psychologically. The acts of violence which are against the basic thrust of the university are getting normalized and the power seems to be victorious.

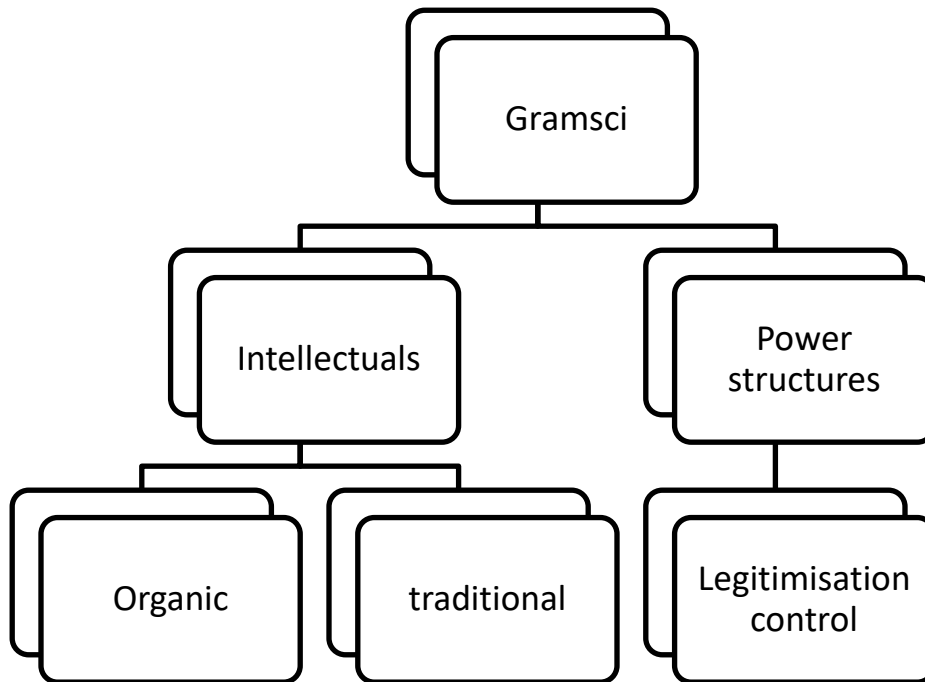
Further the ability to question and think critically which is advocated and recognized as the basic value of the university is conditioned to be in threat.

The university is a public space that promotes and encourage debates and discussions on various issues addressing both societal and political changes. The students mentioned that it should therefore a safe and secure environment where the vibrancy of dialogue and fearless communication is revised and cherished.

Therefore, to reaffirm in Gramsci's view, forms of domination is exercised as much through popular 'consensus' achieved in the university as through physical coercion by the state apparatus. To the extent that 'super-structural' phenomena such as culture, myths, traditions, values, and beliefs function on a mass level to perpetuate the existing order, it follows that the struggle for liberation must stress the task of creating a 'counter-hegemonic' worldview or what Gramsci calls a new 'integrated culture' through an ideological erosion of the bourgeois order (Hoare and Smith, 1971). He stressed that revolutionary change can be authentic only when it is total- embracing all aspects of the society, and not only the economy but includes politics, culture, social relations, ideology, etc. which were earlier seen as a reflection of the material base and as elements of the superstructure.

The idea of hegemony functions by inducing the working or oppressed classes to accept or consent to their exploitation and misery emanating from beliefs, values, lifestyles, and attitudes which are permeated through popular media, education, language, culture, etc. He outlines most of his ideas in one of his most influential works, 'Prison Notebooks' and evolves the concept of domination conceived in the Marxist framework and also extends his theory of revolutionary struggle by introducing the idea of 'counter-hegemony'. Gramsci argues that "to break the existing system of social order, the socialist movement must create a counter-hegemonic force to break the ideological hegemony of the ruling class" (Boggs, 1976). He endorsed that for any kind of structural change to materialize, a crisis of ideological in civil society must follow in the form of struggles against traditional authoritative and social relations, lifestyles, cultural patterns, etc.

Figure 5.1: Thematic map of the analysis of the idea of Gramsci



5.1.1 The Intellectuals

Gramsci's concept of intellectuals' question that whether intellectuals are a group of autonomous people functioning individually in the society is a complex one. "The relationship between the intellectuals and the world of production is not as direct as it is with the fundamental social groups but is in varying degrees, interrupted by the whole fabric of society and by the complex of superstructures, of which the intellectuals are precisely the functionaries" (Hoare and Smith, 1971). Gramsci says that the relationship between the intellectual and the world of production is not very direct and is thus mediated by a network of specific superstructures and society as a whole. They are said to be the "functionaries" of the superstructures they belong to. Gramsci fixes two major super-structural "levels" namely:

- Civil society,
- Political society or the State.

As pointed out by Gramsci, "All men are intellectuals, but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals". The role of intellectuals is therefore to make the particular ideology

penetrate down the concerned superstructure of which they are the facilitators. Intellectuals, according to Gramsci's broad definition of the term, play crucial roles in maintaining the hegemony of a dominant system, for this to take place Gramsci classifies intellectuals into two categories, namely:

A. Organic Intellectuals

The organic intellectuals are created alongside every social group that comes into existence on the "original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production". They are directly linked to the class they represent the beliefs and views of. They maintain a local touch with the struggles and experiences of people of their class. According to Gramsci the organic intellectuals should not just be mere orators but active organizers of the masses and their "permanent persuaders".

B. Traditional Intellectuals

This represents "categories of intellectuals already in existence and which has resulted out of the preceding economic structure and as an expression of a development of the structure" (Hoare and Smith, 1971). They are philosophers, artists, and writers according to Gramsci. They regard themselves as autonomous and independent whereas giving the example of the Ecclesiastes Gramsci shows that they too have their vested interest and are eventually a part of the larger structure of opinionated beliefs.

The Indian organic intellectuals challenged the hegemony of the Britishers. M.K Gandhi can be the best example of the counter-hegemony created by Indian intellectuals. Similarly, in the university context all the three stakeholders involved in the process of governance can help maintain check and balance by taking the role of the organic intellectual.

The hierarchy created by the rigid nature of the structures in place can be altered when each student assumes their role as organic intellectuals. It will further reunite the student community and make their role for vibrant transcending the traditional assigned role which is limits to knowledge consumerism and academics.

The students should thus consider their role as active agents of change to create a counter-hegemony against the current structures which legitimizes the power structures and the authoritative nature of governance schemes. It will also help to challenge the hidden power struggle and create an equilibrium for sharing productive thoughts and ideas. It will indeed encourage the entire professional community which is considered to be in the background and placed below in the hierarchy. The counter-hegemony created by the intellectuals as mentioned by Gramsci will lead the students to a united movement strengthening student activism and participation at the campus. It will further strengthen their belonging in the framework of taking decisions by creating the need and space for active representation.

Students when taken the role of organic intellectuals will also feed the path for active leadership and facilitate discourse for limiting the power struggle and the established nexus between all the three stakeholders (students, teachers, and administrators).

5.2 Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus

Althusser is best known for his theory of ideology and its impact on politics and culture, as well as culture and his interpretation and further development of Marx's work. He discussed the idea of ideology extensively, which is defined as how an individual consciousness becomes a social object (Douglas, 2008). Ideology is a system of representations such as forms of ideas, concepts, myths, and images. His vision of ideology was influenced by Saussurean, Lacan's, and Marx theory of the unconscious.

Althusser takes forward the idea of hegemony by understanding its relation with ideology. For him this also includes an understanding of hegemony. He suggests that ideology and hegemony present a constructed version of reality one which does not necessarily reflect the actual conditions of life. In the same context university spaces are not apolitical they are working in consonance to a multiplicity of identities. As they encourage and celebrate diversity and multiculturalism. Similarly, student's role in the university is of critical importance and is closely related to the ideological setup in place. In thy discussions with the students it emerged that ideology plays a major role in influencing the administrative as well as the academic aspects as none of them can operate in isolation.

He focused on the relationship between ideology and the roles society takes on which inevitably enable these conditions. He emphasized that outside factors shape influence society's ideologies, and therefore shapes the individual identity, the dilemma lies in the fact that society does not realize the impact these outside agencies are having, and so they go virtually unnoticed.

Althusser believed that the ruling classes of society are in control, and turn, condition society to believe that these ideologies are a way of life. Althusser developed the structural model of society with three spheres located at two different levels: the first sphere the economic base is based on the sites of production. The next level, which is referred to as the superstructure, contains two spheres: the political-legal, which stands for the political and legal systems, and the ideological sphere. The ideological sphere includes institutions that makes certain believes and values dominant. He mentioned that many establishments in society reinforce stereotypes and discriminations, such as the church, education, family popular culture, and mass media. Ideologies can vary widely, including the beliefs held by members of a group, to their attitudes and concepts they adhere to. Each group of society has some sort of ideology that members will typically pledge to. Althusser believed that ideology is integrated into every possible form of society even a classless one.

Althusser also argued that individuals are altered into subjects through the ideological method of interpellation or hailing. This concept is used to account for how individuals adopt the role they are given by the structures of society primarily through language.

Althusser believed that there are two types of state apparatuses: repressive and ideological.

The use of force by police, prisons, military, and courts causes people to behave through the language that these forces use. Althusser refers to this language as being hailed: the action of innocent individuals believing they have done something wrong if they are confronted by one of these ruling forces. On the other hand, the ideological state apparatuses, including schools, churches, and mass media, exist to persuade the population that the ruling ideology is correct by spreading dominant views that serve as a dominant political function. Althusser believed strongly that no class can maintain its state power for a length of time if it loses its supremacy over the ideological apparatuses.

Althusser writes that democracy can also operate and manifest itself as an ideology. It can operate as a governmental appearance and is also conterminous as democracy gives the “illusion that all people are equal, and have equal power” (and hence masks relations of exploitation).

In the context of Jawaharlal Nehru University, it was validated by most of the students that the campus is politically active on various issues covering most of the national, international as well as regional-specific issues. It makes it a highly vibrant space but there are also inclination and biases which remain unrecognized and are manifested in various forms.

Students feel that their multiple ideologies operating at the university which leads to inclinations towards the one and generates prejudices and biases for the other.

The ideological variations manifest in three forms also concerning the stakeholders involved in university governance

-Administration

-teachers

-students

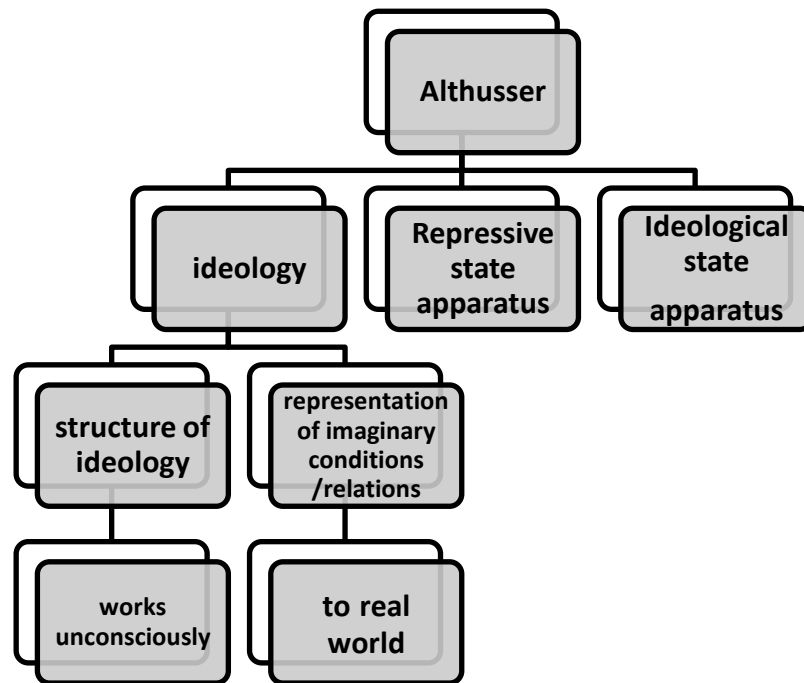
They mentioned there is also a nexus which seems to be operating between all the three stakeholders. As discussed above there are structures which maintain hierarchy and domination the ideology of the powerful is mostly considered to be in question and legitimized by power or authority. Students mentioned that faculty also plays a major role in promoting or advocating an Ideology and influencing the academic orientation at large.

Thus, students mentioned that the teachers should play the role of catalyst and should not influence based on their personal political/ ideological inclination.

They mentioned that even if there are ideological differences, they should not be reflected in analyzing performance and merit. Similarly, students mentioned that administrators and the leader of the university who are placed at the top of the hierarchy should aim at increasing the student welfare rather than promoting any ideology. There should be less value judgments and

more of value neutrality amongst all the three stakeholders to maintain harmony, the rationality of thoughts as well as the smooth functioning of the university. Students mentioned that even if there are ideological differences, they should not affect the overall goal and value of the University and encourage critical thinking and questioning of patterns that dilute equitable and justiciable orientations.

Figure 5.2: Thematic map of the analysis of the idea of Althusser



5.3 Habermas- Communicative Sphere and Communicative Action

Habermas writes in an essay titled "The University in a Democracy - Democratization of the University that through research and instruction the university is immediately linked with functions of the economic process" (Habermas, 1971, p.2). Besides, he notes, the university assumes at least three important responsibilities. First, the university has the responsibility of producing graduates with attributes and attitudes such as leadership and loyalties necessary to rationally use professional knowledge and skills. Second, it belongs to the task of the university to transmit, interpret, and develop the cultural tradition of the society. Third, the university must be able to form the political consciousness of the students without that long term structural change in a democratic society would not be possible, howsoever great the technological gains

are. Thus, university simply cannot be the producer and transmitter of technologically exploitable knowledge, adapted to the needs of industrial society. Habermas' argument towards a rational society and the role of university in making this possible through leadership, cultural and political consciousness needs to be understood to have a "public reasoning" perspective on policies aimed at addressing problems.

5.3.1 Public Reasoning

In the university spaces and the campus student activism emerged as one of the main components enhancing and building the scope of public reasoning. In the university student union also continuously intervene to address and revisit the growing privatization of education as discussed in the previous chapters. They have kept the spirit of questioning and also fight for inclusion. It further enriched the political consciousness needed to make students as active citizens and efficient stakeholders without politicizing the ideal educational transitions and modes of communication.

Habermas championing the cause of public reason writes in the essay "The University in a Democracy" that "the only principle by which political discussions at the universities can be legitimated is the same principle that defines the democratic form of decision making, namely: rationalizing decisions in such a way that they can be made dependent on a consensus arrived at through discussion free from domination" (p. 10). It's the same principle that defines the democratic form of decision making, namely: rationalizing decisions in such a way that they can be made dependent on a consensus arrived at through discussion free from domination" (p. 10).

5.3.2 Rational Consensus

For Habermas the antidote to the trouble of rationalization of the purposive action lies in the rationalization of communicative action. The rationalization is communicative action directs to communication free from domination. Rationalization here means "removing restrictions on communication". In the same context as disused above by tracing Gramsci's and Althusser's ideas "ideology", "power" and "legitimations" are the three main causes of imprecise communication and are also pointed out by Habermas.

These must be eliminated if the aim is to have free and open communication. It further aims to decrease normative repressiveness and rigidity leading to an increase in reflexivity. Thus, rationality more generally means a communication system in which ideas are openly presented and defended against criticism; unconstrained agreement develops during argumentation means removal of the barriers that distort communication. It, therefore, means the removal of the barriers that distort communication,

Thus, in the university space student activism can be enriched as it works in the ground of communicative action and Rationality. It helps to bring forward issues concerning all the spheres political, economic, and social. It also addresses issues about academic, Educational financing, and even curriculum. These student groups and organizations help in restoring the active nature and value of the university. It acts as bedrock of liberal democracy and represents the collective interests of various demographics further enriching diversity on campus. The aim as identified by Habermas is to bring forward student's concern peacefully which is demonstrated by various forms at the campus in the forms of strikes, posters, protests, and movements.

Habermas advances the concept of the rationality of an expression. He notes "An expression satisfies the precondition for rationality if and in so far as it embodies fallible knowledge and therewith has a relation to the objective world (that is, a relation to the facts) and is open on an objective judgment. A judgment can be objective if it is undertaken based on *trans subjective* validity claims that have the same meaning for observers and nonparticipants as it has for the acting subject himself ... We use the expression "rational" as a disposition predicate for persons from whom such expressions can be expected, especially in difficult positions (Habermas, 1983, pp.9-10) Habermas explicitly states that rationality is not regarding expressions that can be true or false. It refers to various forms of argumentations as possibilities of continuing communicative actions with reflective means. Further "*Communicative rationality*" carries with it connotations based ultimately on the central experience of the unconstrained, unifying, consensus bringing the force of argumentative speech, in which different participants overcome their merely subjective views and, owing to the mutuality of rationally motivated conviction, assume themselves of both the unity of the objective world and the intersubjectivity of their lifeworld." (op. cit. p 10)

Habermas intends to apply this meta-ethical doctrine to social relations and interactions, and the resolution of interpersonal and social conflicts. Rationalism refers to a "position in which, at least in principle, social institutions can always be founded, and interpersonal conflicts resolved, based on a rational consensus, an agreement between people on terms which can be justified by objectively valid grounds or reasons" (Wood, Allen, p. 146).

His appeal to rationalism is that a society may not truly be founded on the rational consensus. The critical function of rationalism is that a society is based on rational consensus by individuals who are autonomous and responsible. In actual practice society may not have attained a position based on a rational foundation, yet all societies must aim at those positions utilizing people's autonomous and responsible consensus through reason. Habermas begins with the transcendental approach to rational consensus through the route of language.

The consensus is arrived at through the discourse. The term communicative action refers to speech action aimed at reaching understanding. The rationale of communicative action is not to achieve something, even without consensus, through some strategic effort. It is always to produce consensus or reaching understanding. The aim of all rational policies, according to Habermas, must be to arrive at consensus through communicative action which helps to reach understanding.

5.3.3 Communicative Rationality

Habermas argues that undistorted communication implies that all validity claims are agreed upon by the participants in a dialogue. If any of the validity claims are doubted by the hearer, the communication act stops. In this case argumentative discourse should take place. In a discourse the force of the argument is the only criterion. Argumentative reasoning helps achieve consensus. In terms of his approach to human psychology, an individual is not a passive embodiment of human relations. The basic dynamics of personality development is a move towards increasing autonomy, self-consciousness, and responsible human being. Identity is produced through the successive stages of socialization and individuation (Nader S, 1987, p. 256).

While for Habermas the essential tension is between normative and real in the functioning of democracy. What democracy ought to be is far from what it is. The solution is then offered in terms of rational foundations of democracy by strengthening civil society. This is achieved through consensus built through communicative rationality. The framework is, therefore, suitable to argue that higher education institutions, too, suffers from the tension of normative and real. What higher education institutions ought to be is far from what it is. The solution, therefore, is in terms of strengthening the higher education community of which teachers, students, and employees are a vital part. Democratizing, building consensus, critical discourse in the case of differences in reason and argumentative approach would help to achieve rationality. Any policy that builds the block in developing the culture of critical discourse, in subordinating the teachers by administrators and bureaucrats and subverting democratic ways of sorting out differences would not help build a vibrant higher education institution. The empowerment of teachers is key to the vibrancy of universities in India and many developing countries that face subversion and subjugation in the hands of authorities.

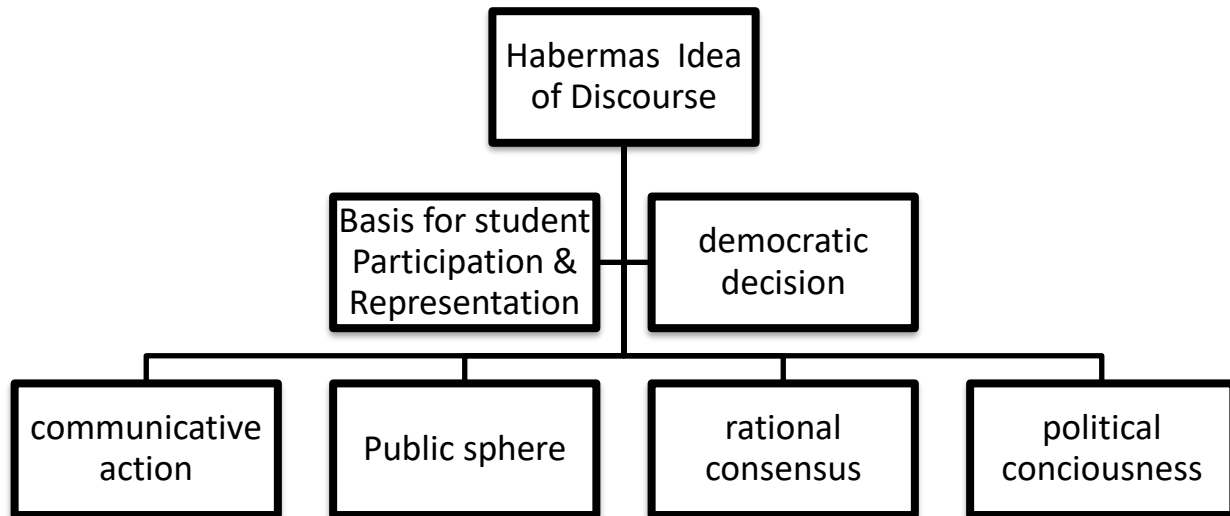
5.3.4 Concept of Public Sphere

The concept of the public sphere needs to be explored for policy based on sufficient deliberations. If deliberations are simply private affairs to be determined by the heads and the executives - important agents of policy formulation - the policy may suffer from the lack of consensus built based on reason. The concept of the public sphere used by Habermas in the deliberative form of democracy is a useful concept for a strong foundation of policy.

The public sphere is a form of communication. It is constituted wherever and whenever any matter of living together with difference is debated. The public sphere is not a homogeneous, definite public but it is about the whole array of complex networks of overlapping and multiple publics constituted through the critical communication of individuals or the groups. The public sphere refers to “universal public and to the idealized form of the conception derived from the presupposition of communicative rationality”. The public sphere conception posits a reasoned, reflexive, impartial exchange of validity claims where only the force of better argument prevails.

As opposed to the powerful voice argument Lincoln (2005) shows that public sphere conception does accommodate negative as well as positive forms of power in communication and is a powerful tool to thrash out contentious issues. Rather than as an endpoint result the conception of the public sphere is process-oriented identifying multiple voices. There's no doubt that policy should pass through acts of deliberation, discourse, and multiple voices. It should not be the authoritative act of the few persons holding political power. The contribution of Habermas through the public sphere conception, therefore, assumes importance in deliberative policy decisions.

Figure 5.3: Thematic map of the Analysis of the idea of Habermas



The chapter aims to contextualize Gramsci's work and how he provokes to rethink the dominant hegemony supplemented by structural barriers. It also questions the power dynamics and inequalities in the scheme of equitable representation, primarily focusing on Althusser's conception of Ideological versus Repressive State Apparatus. To the existing ideological domination, Habermas public sphere and communicative action are proposed as a potential solution to check and balance the growing gaps leading to counter-hegemony. Therefore, in the philosophy of praxis both the ideas of hegemony and counter-hegemony will be interrogated and studied by empirical evidences.

Lastly, the study seeks to revive faith in dialogic relationships which encompasses exclusionary practices and prevents alienation by recognizing as well as encouraging associationism. Thereby involving different stakeholders and understanding the role of student unions, representation, and engagement analyzing the shift from shared governance to shared leadership. It lastly addresses the disillusionment with the state where student bodies are working in opposition rather than about state policies leading to a fragmented view of public universities.

It encourages to incorporate the benefits of involving students in University Governance (Luescher, 2011) argues that “the debate on student involvement in university governance has been influenced by various perspectives – in terms of its modern origins in student political activism; concerning student’s position and role in universities; in relation to democratic principles and the purposes of higher education in democratic societies; and on the grounds of the potential positive consequences of student participation”.

CHAPTER -6

Findings and Discussion

The focus of this chapter is on the findings of the study drawn from the analysis of the data done in chapters 4, 5, and 6. In this chapter the empirical work conducted will be substantiated as the second phase of the literature concerning the analysis drawn in the previous chapters. As the study focuses on students as stakeholders in the scheme of university governance it will also address the emerged dimensions of shared governance and shared leadership. The responses of the respondents were collected through interview schedule and focus group discussions. Participant observation also emerged as an important tool for the study. All these responses are transcribed, then coded and categorized. From different categories, themes have emerged. These themes are analyzed based on responses received. All these themes and analysis of the collected data will try to justify the objectives and questions while doing the literature and theoretical review of the study. The chapter thus analyses the data and the findings are presented according to the research questions of the study. The findings of the last research question have been merged with discussion due to the overlapping nature of the findings. The discussions; were frank, honest, and lively, and provided a broad range of insights into and perspectives on the state of shared governance at the colleges and universities. This chapter presents the key themes we heard from participants and an independent analysis of implications.

To consider shared governance pragmatically means asking questions that go beyond principles. Shared governance is more than an artifact of academic values (though it may be that as well). Effective shared governance is an essential vehicle for ensuring an institution's capacity to thrive.

Making shared governance work is often challenging for a variety of reasons, as this chapter will demonstrate, but in a period of challenge, stress, and change for higher education, it is more important than ever that shared governance works well. Because times have changed in the higher education sector, it is also important to ask whether and how the practice of shared governance has adapted and whether further change is necessary.

In the last part of the chapter the researcher has tried to bring the whole analysis together, through discussion to provide a better understanding of the work.

Findings

The following themes are useful in understanding key takeaways from the listening:

1) making sense of shared governance policies; 2) aligning structures with goals; 3) cultivating working relationships; 4) upholding principles of best practice, and; 5) confronting special circumstances. Each category is addressed separately below, beginning with a description of thematic findings and concluding with a discussion of implications.

6.1 Lack of Consensus on What Shared Governance Is:

In *Shared Governance in Times of Change: A Practical Guide for Universities and Colleges*, author Steven Bahls overviews four perspectives on shared governance (the first three of which he appropriately identifies as inadequate):

- Shared governance as equal rights to governance
- Shared governance as consultation
- Shared governance as rules of engagement
- Shared governance as a system for aligning priorities.

With these definitions in mind, it was clear in the interviews as well as discussions that there was a significant diversity among respondents on what shared governance *means*, and how it should be operationalized. This was not only apparent among different students but in several union heads among members, presidents, and faculty of the same institution.

6.1.1 Process vs. Outcomes

Many respondents in our conversations noted that, in their experience, discussions about shared governance tended to focus on process, structure, and areas of authority/accountability in decision making. While these topics were recognized as important, discussants emphasized the

importance of prioritizing discussions about governance—and focusing the practice of governance itself—on *outcomes*. How does shared governance relate to institutional outcomes—the education of students, measurable learning outcomes, retention and completion, quality of the student experience, career and graduate school placements, research productivity, and service to the community?

In this context, participants emphasized the importance of connecting the governance structure and practice to the institution’s strategic policies and the context it is situated in. If governance conversations are not focused on the aspirations and priorities of the welfare of students, then they can become inward-looking and focused on prerogative rather than progress. Clear and inclusive (or shared) institutional direction may not reduce disagreement among constituents, but it can help ensure disagreements are more often substantive and constructive. This view is entirely consistent with contemporary wisdom on strategic governance. For example, as applies to board governance:

... Boards of organizations increasingly do well to set their fiduciary responsibilities within a strategic framework... Which can set the terms for the board’s place in the strategic leadership of the organization?

6.1.2 Authority vs. Accountability

Participants observed that discussions about shared governance have focused almost exclusively on the notion of “authority” (i.e., who has control over what, and who gets to make which decisions). Bahls refers to this as the “rules of engagement” approach to shared governance. While the respective areas of authority accorded boards, presidents, and faculty remain foundational, there was a meaningful shift in our discussions: the word “authority” was often accompanied by an emphasis on “accountability.” This is far more than a semantic issue; it reflects a seismic shift—particularly on the part of the head, but on the part of presidents and faculty as well— to the recognition that they are being held, and must hold themselves, accountable for the decisions to which they contribute.

The respondents mentioned that authority should be completed with accountability so that it keeps a check and balance between the legitimacy of power. It shouldn't be arbitrary making the former more superior and diluting the functioning of shared governance.

6.2 Implications: Making Sense of Shared Governance Policies

Shared governance is complex. It requires action from multiple people serving in a variety of roles; regular policy review, habitual reflection on policy implementation, and ongoing dialogue should be sought by all involved and ensured by the members of the union. One's sense of authority in a matter should closely follow one's accountability for the outcome.

Heads and members are responsible for the effectiveness of institutional policies, including shared governance. Therefore, they must hold themselves accountable first and foremost for ensuring shared governance both reflects core academic values and supports institutional progress.

6.2.1 Aligning Structures with Goals

Committee Structures

As respondents made clear, boards and presidents are often finding that the formal committee structure of the board (as codified in the bylaws and other "constitutional" documents) is not well-suited to addressing the major strategic challenges and opportunities facing them. These issues include financial sustainability, student demographics, enrollment challenges, strategic planning, campus climate.

An increasingly common practice in addressing these major issues is the creation of student body committees composed of those with the experience and expertise to best explore the issue and options, and make recommendations to the board and the administrative leadership. These task forces (or *ad hoc* committees) could also include members of other stakeholders in addition to board members— specialized administrators and staff, faculty, and students, depending on the nature of the issue.

This practice (and other strategies for bringing stakeholders together to consider important issues) reflects one of the points emphasized in our discussions with the idea of

university governance structure wherein strong shared governance is dependent not so much on formal structures as on organizational cultures in which members of the organization have a sense of ownership, responsibility, and accountability for the institution's health, vitality, and relevance.

Implications: Aligning Structures with Goals

Governance that is properly aligned with strategic goals may benefit from *student body* structures that recognize standing board or faculty committees are not best-suited for a given task for reasons such as timing, workload, and expertise.

Whether committee, heads, or faculty senates seek to empower special committees, the organizing authority should anticipate legitimate concerns about shared governance principles and should ensure that the values of the community are being upheld.

What We Heard: Cultivating Working Relationships

A. Knowledge Silos

Respondents in all three categories in our listening sessions (union members/, student representatives, and heads) acknowledged and indeed emphasized that there is a huge information gap between students and administrators. They noted that board members of the administration often have very little if any understanding of the nature of faculty work, of the nature of academic culture, of the real meaning of academic freedom, and the history and importance of student self-governance and the student role in shared governance. At the same time, student body members appear to have little knowledge of a board's roles and responsibilities and about how and why board members are chosen to serve.

It is not surprising that these gaps in knowledge are often filled by unsubstantiated assumptions about the "other" that are significant obstacles to the kinds of mutual respect and trust essential to effective shared governance.

This lack of mutual knowledge and understanding has at least one obvious cause. The data further indicate that slightly less than two-thirds of institutions address the roles and responsibilities of self and shared governance in their board orientations, barely half review the

processes of academic decision making, and less than half address the concept of academic freedom. At the same time less than half of the public institutions address the roles and responsibilities of the governing board in their faculty orientations.

Providing a more robust focus on these issues in student representation and board orientations is the most apparent solution. But it is also clear that intentionally creating opportunities for student members and administrators to interact outside the formal governance structure—from serving on cross-functional *ad hoc* committees or task forces, to holding face-to-face discussions about institutional governance policy and practice, to hosting social interactions—can go a long way toward mitigating this problem.

Implications: Cultivating Working Relationships

All administrators can be more effective institutional citizens if they understand the fundamental role of the board. Student members can serve more effectively if they understand the essential work of the student body organization. Student union members and faculty are responsible for demonstrating curiosity about the work of the other and inviting meaningful dialogue. The board as a whole is responsible for ensuring constructive opportunities for learning and collaboration becomes commonplace.

Senior administrators can play a key role in either facilitating constructive interactions or stifling them. Today’s senior administrators would do well to become adept at facilitating strong working relationships between the union and the faculty.

6.3 Cultural Markers of Shared Governance

Various attributes emerged out of the discussions and interviews with the respondents suggesting that the “other” is often misunderstood and the role is either undetermined or underestimated.

The students viewed the administration and the decision-making body is slow in addressing as well as recognizing the student needs and concerns, especially which requires immediate measure. They often cited the issue of price hike and the arbitrary nature of the

administration in imposing policies which were against the very essence and values of the university.

The respondents stressed the idea of authority to be supplemented with accountability whereby students as well as heads from various departments have the say in decision making as well as in framing and making changes in any of the policy. The emphasis thus is on both the planning and the proper implementation of rules, regulations, policies which are accomplished through a democratic procedure of reasoning and rationality. The students felt that concerns regarding there being can be equitably represented well the student body becomes part of both the processes involved.

Students and the elected heads of the student representative bodies also mentioned the importance and the inevitable need for communication and transparency. These two factors are also elaborated and considered detrimental in enhancing and improving various governance dimensions. Respondents mentioned

The students elaborated by citing various examples wherein communication was seen as a major huddle and shortcoming between the stakeholders in the university system. They mentioned that there are different and divergent needs of the student but mostly is addressed as a student community. There are issues related to hostels, admissions, financing which remains and continued to be unresolved. Students mentioned that continuous games and meetings help in bringing forward the issues but they remain still till that point due to a huge gap between the administration and the students.

It is also evident by the discussion with the students that they come from diverse and multicultural backgrounds the administrators can't dwell on each of there concerns and issues specifically so it's an indispensable need to have a student body representative and union in place.

Most of the critical issues are highlighted to them so that they can be taken up forward by the elected student heads and the concerns of the community of students can be addressed as a whole.

Some of the respondents also cited that ideological tilt and political agendas are major deterrents for university growth.

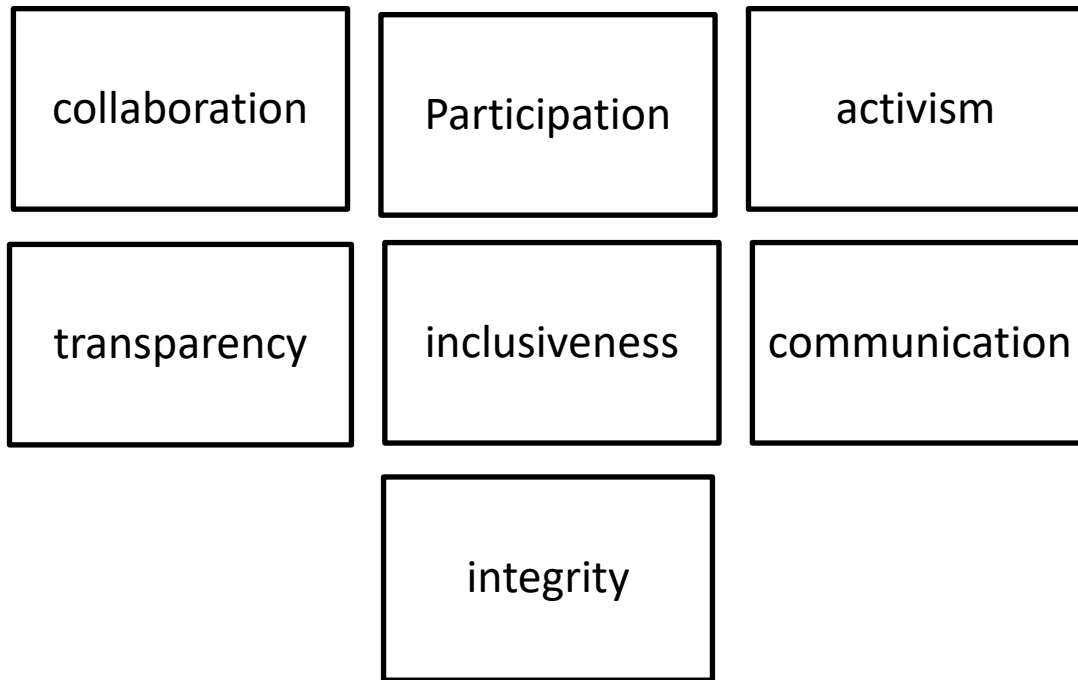
They mentioned that the left and the right two opposing ideologies are always into force on the campus which dilutes the issues of the student's problems and issues in hand.

Thus, student's needs and problems must reach up to the administrators timely without inappropriate delay and ignorance as it can result in complete failure and incompetence on the part of all the stakeholders involved.

Thus, every critical issue at the institution should be addressed and upheld to ensure that the governance mechanism is not lopsided and works concerning the changing needs and demands of all the stakeholders.

Students also mentioned that leader is mostly in isolation with the students so he is not in the best position to take care of the student's concern. Therefore, student union and heads of the schools are generously aware to take forward the demands and needs of the students. In all of the discussions—with students, leaders, and committee members—seven words emerged with frequency: participation, *collaboration*, *communication*, *transparency*, *inclusiveness*, *activism*, and *integrity*. All the students (members, leaders, and the nonaffiliated) emphasized that these concepts and behaviors were critical to successful and effective shared governance and, even more, to the health and vitality of the campus culture.

Figure 6.1: The seven dimensions of governance engaging with students as stakeholders



Two takeaways were clear from our discussions on these markers that indicate a healthy governance model:

- 1) They do not happen by accident but rather as the result of sustained and intentional efforts on the part of the board, administration, and leadership; (also emphasizing on the role and responsibilities of the faculty in place)
- 2) As noted earlier, when commitment to these principles are well established in the culture of the institution, the importance of formal structure retreats somewhat into the background. And, as we heard, commitment to upholding these principles is a prerequisite factor for boards, leaders, and faculty to consider new approaches to institutional challenges and opportunities without innate opposition.

6.4 Inclusiveness

Participants frequently pointed to three concerns about the structure of university governance as it relates to the contemporary environment on Indian campuses: 1) while the most important point notes that, “Ways should be found to permit significant student participation within the limits of attainable effectiveness,” it does not provide much guidance for dealing with contemporary student demands for a greater role in institutional decision making; 2) the working model has nothing to say about the role of staff concerning the elected student heads and; 3) while noted in separate the governance model and framework itself does not address the significant presence of contingent faculty in our colleges and universities.

Participants emphasized repeatedly that it is vital that institutional and board leadership find ways outside the formal governance structure to incorporate the voices of all faculty, staff, and students in the campus discourse on issues of importance, to take those voices seriously, and to include those voices in ways that the stakeholders themselves find valuable.

There were a variety of approaches to the issue, including faculty and students serving on governing board committees or task forces that addressed important strategic issues. Alternatively, some participants cited the use of regular forums (retreats, conferences, meetings), where cross-constituent groups might discuss and debate matters that affect the institution’s future. We also heard from some participants that voting positions on the governing board had been created for representatives of different schools and centers in the university. The existing model does not recommend adding vote-holding positions on a governing board that is representational.

6.5 Simultaneous and Collaborative vs. Serial and Discrete Governance

The most important finding which emerged out of the discussion was concerning the timely process of decision making. As the current situation of the university was in academic turmoil due to the delay in decisions and pending status of various policies that directly affected the students of the university. In particular it emphasizes the duration of the delay and the lamented nature of the estimated time required to make important decisions in the most common approaches to shared governance. They expressed the concern that the current practice of shared

governance impedes an institution's ability to be agile, flexible, and responsive in a rapidly changing environment—whether the issue was taking advantage of opportunities or responding to acute challenges.

The students mentioned the need for continued involvement and assessment of policies incorporating student feedback they also emphasized on the lacuna between the faculty and administrators in the functional setup of the governance scheme. They mentioned that students are more comfortable and in direct conversation with the faculty and the teachers thus most of their concerns are negotiated with them. It's then the responsibility of the faculty to take forward the emergent needs of the student as an academic community in large. Therefore, it requires proposals and programs that incorporate the voices of all the three stakeholders in place at the structural level operating at the university for democratic as well as procedural governance.

The students pointed out that there should be an equitable representation of the members incorporating all the departments head and chair, the faculty (teacher association), the dean of the particular unit, the president/head of the academic council, the vice-chancellor, the president/leader of the elected representative body, academic affairs council, executive council, and the board of trustees.

6.6 The Erosion of Faculty Participation in Governance

Both students and union members expressed deep concern about what they see as declining faculty commitment to and participation in governance—both faculty self-governance and faculty participation in shared governance. They attributed this phenomenon to a variety of factors: 1) faculty workload and competing responsibilities; 2) the fact that, at the university level, participation in governance does not contribute to salary increases, promotion, and tenure; 3) changes in generational attitudes regarding

The relationship of the individual to an organization, as well as a stronger commitment to work-life balance, and; 4) the preponderance of contingent faculty (e.g., part-time, non-tenure track, contract faculty) on the campus who in most cases do not have a formal role in governance.

6.6.1 Faculty Preparation for Effective Participation

All three categories of participants in our discussions noted that, through no fault of their own, faculty members are often unprepared in terms of experience and expertise to participate effectively in decisions on major strategic issues (e.g., finance and budget, strategic planning, student recruitment and enrollment, facilities planning, and campus climate). This concern was in no way intended as a criticism of faculty, but a recognition that faculty members' training is typically focused on their discipline and teaching and research. It led to a robust discussion on the kinds of professional development opportunities administrators and faculty leaders should consider providing in service of shared governance.

6.6.2 Complacency: “What Problem Are We Fixing?”

As one participant noted, “The current practice of shared governance works just fine when there are no problems. It breaks down as soon as the institution faces a significant challenge.” While there are admittedly few colleges and universities that are not facing some kind of serious challenge, this observation foregrounds the critical notion that colleges and universities—their boards, presidents, and faculty—need to be attentive to the effectiveness of their governance practices on an ongoing basis. Neither an emergency nor a brief window of opportunity is the time to discover that an institution's governance structure and culture of decision making are not up to the task. Reliable shared governance requires continuous, intentional effort.

6.6.3 Issues within the University

Students and their elected representatives noted that leader and the vice-chancellor's selection for the university and systems—most commonly political appointments by the governor can result in boards that lack the expertise, experience, perspectives, or even motivation to fulfill their governance roles well. While some students and elected heads praised individual board members, or even a majority of them, some were characterized as disadvantaged for effective governance in contrast with the self-perpetuating boards typical of independent needs from the university.

Further, students, union members, and heads all agreed that the open meeting laws regarding the boards of the university in most states significantly impede effective governance. While they also agreed without reservation on the importance of transparency and accountability to the public, they saw the fact that any utterance at a meeting could end up as a headline in the local press was a virtually insurmountable obstacle to productive debate and discussion at board meetings. Participants argued that the open meeting format stifled governing board members' ability to engage in open dialogue, both among themselves and with the vice-chancellor and faculty.

6.7 Student Unions

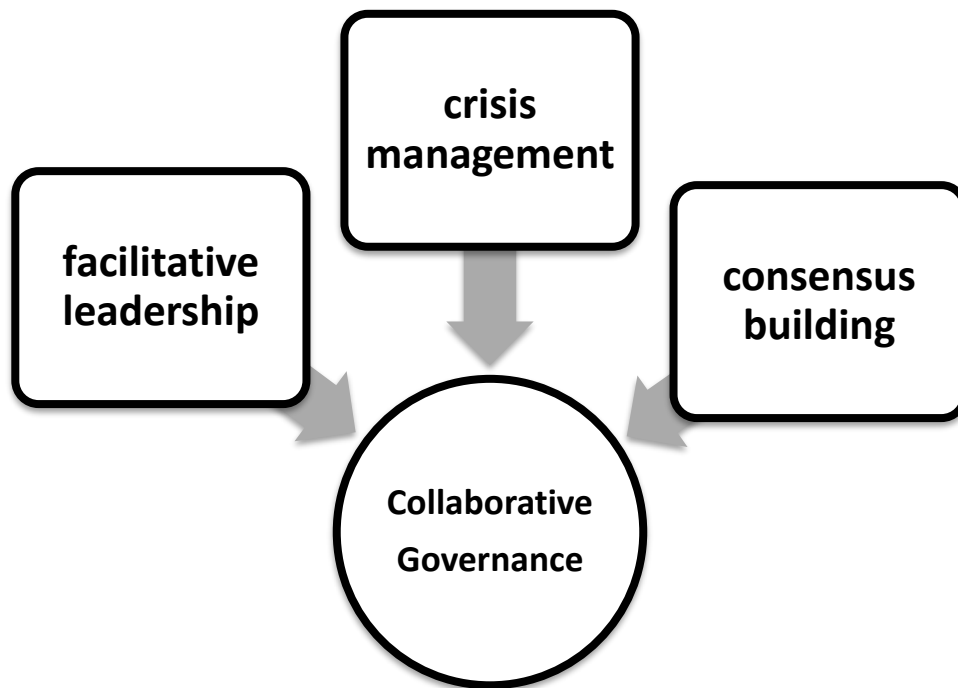
Several of the respondents in our discussions indicated that the growing presence of factions and ideological drifts concerning the functionality of the union and the political space at the university. It presented challenges to shared governance and decision making. On few instances at the campus, it was clear that the jurisdiction of the elected student union was limited to issues of compensation, benefits, and workload, and the student community(or student as a diverse population) exercised authority over traditional governance issues like admissions, provisions for backward students and financial/fiscal changes including the recent policy of fee hike and increasing share of the private sector. However, on other instances at the campus, the dividing line between governance and collective bargaining was less clear, or had even been breached in the past. A lack of clarity on these issues often made the processes of decision making unnecessarily complex and, at times, burdened shared governance by inhibiting trust across constituencies. This is most evident by the lack of clarity between the roles and responsibilities of the management and the administration. Students felt that there is a nexus operating which keeps them isolated to the issues of governance and policymaking.

They mentioned that management should serve as the link between the administration and the student community rather as the watchdog for the powerful and the authoritative. The management role was also unclear to most of the students and how it is distinguished from the administration body as a whole.

Implications: Confronting Special Circumstances

The challenges and opportunities facing higher education today differ significantly from those of decades ago. Many circumstances encourage new and adaptive approaches to shared governance. Institutions benefit when heads, committee members, and student leaders consider together how to manage the most acute challenges they face, and new connective mechanisms are increasingly necessary.

Figure 6.2: Collaborative and Shared Governance: A framework to incorporate students in decision making



Collaborative governance covers both the informal and formal relationships among the stakeholders such as public, private, and community sectors in making decisions and solving problems through support, leadership, and a forum (Quintin, 2012). That is, the support is a process to identify policy problem that needed to be rectified, the leadership is a process to galvanize various sectors into a forum while the member of the forum collaboratively work together to develop policies, solutions and answers to the problems (Ansell & Gash, 2008). It further enhances Facilitative Leadership as another veritable variable of collaborative governance that also appears to be of great importance to the management of student crises in the

university system. It also strengthens consensus building as an approach to managing crisis is a collective means of solving problems with equal participation of representatives of all the necessary parties that have stakes in the conflict.

It therefore, recognizes the participation in university governance making the student body have a sense of belonging and most specially to see themselves as part of the decision-making process in the university system... gives participants greater feelings of self-direction and has a positive relationship with motivation.

Students' input in decision making can facilitate the evaluation of curricula and teaching practices through the identification of deficiencies in higher education programs and instruction (Menon, 2014). In the institution in which this study was conducted, students are allowed to evaluate their tutors, programs, and the modules used in the programs. Feedback from such evaluations is meant to improve service delivery. Student involvement can affect immediate issues such as social issues, the learning environment, and educational content. Bergan (2004) advances three reasons why students should be involved in university governance. The first reason is that students are the main stakeholders in higher education institutions therefore they have to be in the picture regarding key decisions that affect them. The second reason is that as members of the academic community students share a responsibility for their education. The third and final reason according to Bergan is that if people believe that higher education has a role in developing the democratic culture without which democratic institutions cannot function and democratic societies cannot exist, then students must be encouraged to participate in governance, and they must feel that their participation has an impact. Bergan (2004:16) states that:

Governance issues are not a luxury or a concern of the few while the majority of staff and students get on with their work. Rather, they are part and parcel of the contribution of higher education to developing and maintaining the democratic culture without which democratic institutions cannot function, and they are crucial to ensuring that the academic community of scholars and students be not only an imagined community but a real and healthy one.

Student involvement in decision making creates an atmosphere of openness and trust in universality, leading to a positive organizational climate, which can reduce the likelihood of

conflict within the university. Students' acceptance of, and support for decisions taken in this domain of governance is particularly crucial, and students' collective power to demand or reject certain decisions must be taken seriously into consideration by management of universities.

CHAPTER -7

Conclusion and Suggestions

One of the major principles of good governance in Higher Education alludes to the concept of shared governance. This principle, among others, demands the representation of various stakeholders in the decision-making processes of universities. However, as compared to administrators or faculty, student participation, which is defined as “students formal and/or actual ability to persuade decisions made in the context of a Higher Education institution and administration “(Klemencic, 2012), remains one of the most disenfranchised aspects of Higher Education governance both in theory and practice.

Student participation and activism their role and representation in university governance have received little attention in the Indian Higher Education sector. It is further elucidated by most of the analysis, theoretical and empirical findings conducted during the research study.

The research showcases that with the right measures and incorporation of more inclusive communicative action representation as well as participation can increase significantly. Hence, the changes that need to be made in the university should focus on creating the needed alignment and link between the legislations and actual practices promoting more student representation in governance structures, improving the quality of student participation, improving existing attitude towards students activism/politics and the guidance students should be accorded to realize their own potential and goals.

This research has shown that though the availability of policies for student participation is in place at the universities there say and representation in governance schemes does not guarantee its success on its own. The alignment between what is guaranteed in legislative frameworks and what is realized in practice is more important in terms of encouraging meaningful student engagement leading a more equitable system in theory and practice.

The existing limitation of student engagement in the university can be broadened to include more discourse-based actions including arrangements within the domains overcoming the challenges of structural barriers. The public space within the university provides the arena to

improve all the components as well as dimensions of governance leading to effective synchronization within the systems by encouraging and incorporating change. Therefore, tracing the shift from a consultative to more active and fruitful participation of students that provides scope to freely put forward issues and concerns pertinent to students and their representation.

The primary and secondary data collected for the study highlights that there are certain challenges concerning the higher education governance related to changing student demographics, sustainability of the working model, dramatic changes in the composition of the representation of stakeholders in the committee. Further increasing demand for both accountability and inclusion as major factors suggest that a review/update of the existing model will be useful to serve the higher education community.

Most of the findings also suggest the need to revisit and review the transformational thesis. The students in the discussions also pointed out the importance of communicating action and discourse as discussed in the previous chapter by Habermas will lead to dissolve the existing gaps and problems incorporating the real essence of democratic decision making. It will also act as counter-hegemony to keep a check and balance as power relations and domination (Gramsci's idea of Hegemony) that is generalized to be operating within the structures of higher education governance.

The critical questions which emerged out of the discussion were also reflected in the data analysis including aspects of power dynamics, legitimacy, authority, political consciousness, and ideological shifts which are crucial to be addressed.

The findings and the analysis also reflected the themes of student politics and activism leading to rational consensus by incorporating and enhancing the involvement of students in the decision-making processes and enhancing the scheme of democratic and equitable governance at large.

Therefore, through the primary and secondary data generated for the study following concluding remarks are identified:

- Concerns and issues regarding management of student-oriented crisis of multi-dimensional nature and varying magnitude can be dealt when there is proper implementation of shared governance in practice as it ideally already exists within the university system.
- To deal with the crisis in the governance and management of the university system – the most crucial and essential variables are facilitative leadership and consensus building so as to adequately recognize and acknowledge collaborative governance.
- A shared appreciation by board members and faculty of the complexity of the leader's role in facilitating a constructive relationship between all the stakeholders.
- Recognizing the need for change in governance structure if necessary is a vital first step in making such changes.
- Being able to recognize and respond to governance issues in the advancement of a crisis will act as a precursor and avoid further disruptions.
- Therefore, restructuring governance models in conjunction with structural change such as increasing interactions (formal & informal).

7.1 Suggestions for Further Research

- Understanding the relationship between students and administrators Management and how shared decision making can be beneficial, as it would provide a comprehensive field for research.
- Analyzing the perspective of administrators and students on political consciousness can be a contributory work in the area of university politics.
- The idea of the university Governance can be studied in the democratic context, concerning all its assumptions.

7.2 Recommendations

Base on the analysis and findings gathered from the data collected, the following recommendations will help in envisaging a participatory and shared model of decision making in the university framework:

- The management and the administration of colleges should put full and sufficient significance on the utilization of community-oriented government through the contribution of essential stakeholders including the students to the dynamic procedure of decision making, most predominantly the one that fears how to guarantee peaceful concurrence in the university framework.
- The university administration should guarantee grounds for consensus building and its effective utilization in resolving sites of conflicting issues. Where students and other stakeholders of the university are involved from the very beginning and are part of the process leading to a common agreement. Also, it must be guided with the principles of consent to empower satisfactory execution of particular agreement.
- Facilitative leadership style should be adopted by university managers where every stakeholder will be relevant and treated with almost equality and motivation devoid of autocracy and fostering democratic practices.

Therefore, to incorporate shared governance students should be motivated for self-organizing in unions and organizations to take part in decision making, their role should be fostered and supported at all levels. This includes providing the opportunity for the organizations to be legally independent. Support structures should be put in place for student representatives to enable them to adequately perform their job and duties on behalf of their peers. This includes training of high quality on the work of the forum they enter and the structures, rules, and culture in decision making. Students 'unions should be seen as a partner in providing this and get support for doing so. The interconnection of governing structures and student representation is also an aspect worth studying. How could govern structures be altered to ensure more effective student representation? Another important governing facet that is to be studied in future research is the factors that motivate students to participate in governance. Is there is a difference between

student involvement in their unions and student's involvement in University governance and how both can be enhanced and equitably placed in the scheme of higher education governance?

Hence the attitude towards students as participation is critical, legislators and administrators should be convinced about its value in the decision-making processes of universities. Garnering positive attitude should also include bringing university administrators and faculty on board since, without their positive outlook, students could be easily discouraged from university-wide participation.

The overall improvement that is being sought also requires preparing students for their new roles which might demand the necessary resources and the development of skills needed to effect meaningful student participation. Providing students, the needed information, encouragement for participation and support in the form of meeting their training demands are important areas that should be addressed by university administration.

Last but not least, the role of students and their councils in terms of the improvements sought cannot be underestimated. It is through representing the right candidates that students can improve the quality of their participation and recompense for what they may lose through underrepresentation at the various levels of university governance. The student unions should thus work very closely with university administrators in influencing their meaningful participation and in ensuring that student representatives discharge their roles appropriately.

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Annexure 1

Interview Schedule for Students

1. Name

2. Age

- 18 – 23
- 24– 29
- 30 – 35

3. Sex

- Female
- Transgender
- Male

4. Religion

- Hindu
- Muslim
- Christian
- Jain
- Buddhism

5. Caste

- Schedule Caste
- Schedule Tribe
- OBC
- General

6. Highest level of Education achieved by respondent

- Graduation
- B.ED
- M.ED
- M. Phil
- PhD

7. Subject of study

8. Place of belonging

Annexure 2

Semi Structured Interview Schedule (Students)

1. In your opinion do you feel the need to have a student body representative? If yes why?

2. As a student how do you see your ideas being reflected in the body of student union?

3. What is the attitude of your peers/parents towards taking part in student protest and being union?

4. Do you have an experience being part of the union or any interactions with the union? If yes please share your experience?

5. According to you what could be the probable reasons for student distrust from the administration?

6. According to you how important/relevant is leadership?

7. In your opinion what should be the roles and responsibilities of a student head/leader?

8. Which type of activities do you think the administration should organize for the inclusion of both students and heads perspective?

9. What are the policies in your university which support students decisions and representation? Cite any example/case?

10. In your opinion what measures can be taken to promote shared governance with students as active participants in decision making?

11. In which areas you feel the role of student is imp management or administration?

12. In your opinion what measures can be taken by the government and educational stakeholders to promote equity in participation and decision making?

13. According to you how important is the management of delegation of power with equal share to students as stakeholders? Please support your answers with examples?

14. Does the administration focus on team work and are inclusive (Including both students and heads perspective)? According to you who perform better in representing the changing needs of the university?

15. Do you think that students, student representatives, teachers, administrators and university head can work together in decision and policy making? Please support your answer with examples?
