

Sudhanshu Bhushan *Editor*

The Future of Higher Education in India

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Preface

The higher education research community is small in comparison to the vast diversity of institutions, students and teachers. The research agenda is currently focused on understanding the access and equity dimensions and reforms relating to quality in the midst of structural shift in favor of privatization in higher education. Indian higher education reform process is heavily guided through the regulation and is very much state-centered. What is most important to understand, however, is the decentering of state through the state-initiated reform affecting structure, financing, and agency of teachers and students. The book is an attempt to understand the change process affecting the future of higher education in terms of macro influences accompanied through the micro-level changes. Current research agenda should help us to understand more and more the micro-level changes associated with the shifts in the structure and financing of higher education. The aim of the book is to initiate the research agenda towards understanding the new phenomena. The current trends of policies may be projected to understand the future of higher education. Current trend influenced by market affects the structure of higher education and the resources being made available for it. It also affects the agency of human being through its effect on freedom and capabilities. Various other processes such as teaching and learning and governance of higher education get affected by means of the role of market and technology. To capture the essence of the future of higher education, the book is organized into three parts of varying number of chapters. Part I deals with the structure of higher education, the way the response to market-driven policies is giving a shape to it. The idea of Teachers' University is an imagination built into it – a farfetched, nonetheless an alternative, to the mainstream emerging structure. Part II deals with the overall change in the financing of higher education resulting from a shift in the structure. The change process in terms of shifting burden on private household expenditure to finance the cost of higher education is worth understanding. Part III deals with understanding the development of human agency, the end result of higher education. This is examined in terms of freedom and capabilities of student or teachers. It also deals with understanding teaching-learning transformation and the practice implicit in the governance of higher education.

The Future of Higher Education in India is a critical understanding of the present policies which are in the process of molding the present and determining future directions. The study through its critical lens alerts us of the implications of the market-induced policies and makes us aware of the dangers that present policies might lead up to the future. The current market rationality inducing competition and efficiency and treatment of higher education as a private good, it is argued, questions the very existence of university as the place where autonomous community of scholars engage themselves in the free pursuit of knowledge. The blind faith in the technology, too, may result in failed optimism, as its absorption demands behavioral change not easy to come by. Besides, whether market or technology, both are not neutral to social and economic structure. It may have asymmetric effects on social and economic groups.

The book is not about the future. It is about the projection of present into the future of higher education. It is not about the future because we do not know the limits of market. It has immense possibilities of innovation. That is why, it holds hope for many people. Even state, mired into its own contradictions, looks at it as hope for the future. The hope lies in two forms of innovations. The first is the innovation that technology brings with it. The reliance placed on technological rationality is the hope of policy-driven measures. Another innovation is increasingly seen in the methods. The research in learning theories derived from experimentation opens new ways of teaching learning. The reliance placed on methods rationality is another hope of policy-driven measures. There has of course been too much reliance on the state bureaucracy who is expected to play the role of putting the innovations into practice. Hopes are high to project the present into the future in a deterministic manner. We are in the age of science, and this rational way of looking at the future may look optimistic to many. I do not want to dismiss the hope.

My humble attempt to look at the present is to alert the people of the present generation that market may have immense possibilities of innovation. However, the social structure, institutions, and behavior of people have few possibilities of innovations. The change may not exactly be as per the demands of market and its innovations. In particular, teachers and students as the main actors of higher education are not the passive agents. They respond with different response patterns, making future highly indeterministic. The challenge of the future of higher education is to understand the society and the politics that shapes it.

New Delhi, Delhi, India

Sudhanshu Bhushan

Acknowledgment

The Future of Higher Education in India is the collection of viewpoints of few young researchers who have authored the papers, and I would like to acknowledge their readiness to come on a single platform and present the papers at the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration on 7–8 September 2017. The papers were revised based on the feedbacks received in the seminar and the comments from the editor of the book. I would like to thank all the chairs and discussants of the seminar for their valuable points. I would also like to thank the faculty of the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, for their support and encouragement. MPhil and PhD scholars of NIEPA played an important role in the academic management of the seminar. The administrative staff of the NIEPA were also helpful in the hosting of the seminar. I would like to acknowledge their contribution for the same. Prof. N V Varghese, VC, NIEPA, was a source of inspiration for the seminar. I thank him for his moral support to the seminar.

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Sudhanshu Bhushan

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Chapter 1

Contesting the Present in the Evolution of Public Higher Education



Sudhanshu Bhushan

Immanuel Kant noted that the public character of the university consists of the fact that it is funded by the state and there is an implicit contract between the state and the faculty of producing the knowledge that is good for the people. To be specific, he says that the role of philosophy is to critically evaluate all knowledge in the interests of people (Kant 1798). He connected the knowledge to the idea of enlightenment which he says is 'man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another. This immaturity is self-imposed when its cause lies not in lack of understanding, but in lack of resolve and courage to use it without guidance from another' (Kant 1798). Hence, according to Kant, the public higher education stands for the active agency of teachers who examines critically the knowledge for the humanitarian cause.

John Stuart Mill stated that the public good relates not to the self-interest. It relates to the happiness of others. The awakening of individual sensibilities through arts and poetry leads to higher-order pleasures in the happiness of others. Higher education develops those sensibilities through intellectual discussion. Mill looks at education as public good in terms of knowledge as an end in itself (John Stuart Mill [1873] 1981). Newman's ([1852] 1959) notion that knowledge is capable of being its own end is also an argument that puts higher education intrinsically useful. Liberal training is to carry us to knowledge of ourselves and the world.

The public nature of higher education implies that access to higher education is available to all at a nominal price.¹ Hence, the higher education is funded by the government and is produced not for the sake of profit. This is an economic

¹In the words of Samuelson, public good is one where the consumption by one individual does not diminish the consumption of another individual (Samuelson 1954, p. 387).

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perspective. The economic argument then is made that if social returns of education are higher than private return, there is justification for government to invest to optimize social return. If in higher education, on the other hand, private returns are higher then there is justification for the private sector to invest. The debate on returns to education is not settled. From the point of efficiency, 'the size of the private returns to education and difference between private and social rates calls for selective cost recovery in higher education' (George Psacharopoulos and Harry Anthony Patrinos 2018, p. 455).

The issue of governance of higher education in India has been a matter of critical scrutiny by many academics. The fundamental point is whether university governance has been able to preserve the idea of university, namely, the academic freedom for the search of knowledge, and whether governance has been through the community of scholars who alone are thought to be responsible and capable to run the affairs of university, namely, teaching and research (Corson 1960). Within the framework of public funding whether state and university has built the trust so as to allow universities to function autonomously with the required funding support from the government.

The public nature of higher education received a critique in social science. The argument was that philosophers conceptualized the public character on the normative idea of benevolence. However, state is no more benevolent. Arrow (1951) noted that there are no such procedures that satisfy certain apparently quite reasonable assumptions concerning the autonomy of the people and the rationality of their preferences. It implies that collective social ordering of alternatives is impossible. Hence, education policy may not result in any social optimum. Buchanan and Tullock (1962) noted that collective action is composed of individual action. They reject any organic interpretation of the state. They suggest that the public interest is simply the aggregation of private decision makers.

In Indian context, the public character of higher education has been for critical scrutiny in recent years. There have been charges of overregulation by the National Knowledge Commission (Government of India 2007). It noted that 'The system, as a whole, is over-regulated but under-governed' (ibid. p. 62). There has been further argument that 'the rules and regulations that the UGC wishes to impose on our universities do not recognize ground realities' (Ramaswamy 2018, p. 87). UGC has been severely criticized for creating inefficiencies in the universities (Deshpande 2000; Singh 2004; Kapur and Mehta 2007; Kapur, Mehta and Vaishnav 2018; Hatekar 2009; Chandra 2017). It is, therefore, said that governance from this point of view has not been able to preserve the idea of a university.

It is argued that often there is a close nexus between the politicians and bureaucracy. In the appointment of vice chancellors, the nexus works to serve the vested interests and destroys the public character of universities as the academic leaders of the university system go in the wrong hands who will hardly have the ability to take decisions based on the merit.

In practice, the governance is said to be flexible and free from rigid rules and regulations. Flexibility in governance is desirable because it is argued that future of Indian university system has challenges that cannot be addressed with rigid

governance. The challenge of Indian universities is to achieve quality and excellence to match universities of high rank in the world. This means there should be high-quality research. This requires outstanding faculty and strategies to attract and retain talent. This also means that universities should be accountable and performance oriented. Students can be attracted only when the curricula are upgraded and interdisciplinarity is inculcated in the pedagogy of teaching and research. High-quality classrooms and technology-enabled pedagogy are required. Education needs to be oriented for a large number of students who come from all across many countries. This also requires a very high degree of partnership and collaboration with universities in the world. Such an ecosystem suitable for global university cannot be achieved, it is argued, with rigid rules and regulations. The role of the government needs introspection. 'They ought to become facilitators and ensure autonomy and independence of the Universities' (Kumar et al. 2016).

Debate on autonomy has drifted in three directions, namely, the strengthening of public universities by granting freedom to academia, the strengthening of private universities by granting freedom from the regulatory apparatus of the state and the strengthening of the state to the high-power commission with the power to monitor. The governance system ought to differ in all the three situations. In the first case, it has to be collegial, participative and democratic, notwithstanding the political deviance. In the second case, governance has to be guided by the market principles with sufficient flexibility to adjust to the market principles. In the third case, the governance will remain centralized and bureaucratic approach will be used to enforce accountability.

The higher education has been shaped currently by the decisions of the central government clearly signalling intent of real practices that is being contradicted by the draft National Education Policy of Kasturirangan committee (2019). The contradiction is that in real practice, the government has been relying more on promoting privatization and market-friendly principles such as competition and ranking and funding through self-financing and market loans and governance being guided through measures of accountability. The draft national policy contradicts it by recommending the most ideal ecosystem of higher education to be financed by the government.

Thus, we observe that the debate on public and private nature of higher education is far from settled. There is an ambivalence in the intent of the government, in practice, in favour of pursuing higher education influenced by private, although it talks about retaining the public character of higher education in policy and other documents. It is the current practices that are being critiqued in the present volume to clear the pathways for public higher education in the future.

Part 1: University System and Structure

Any consideration of the future of higher education cannot escape the attention of the past. The manner and the circumstances that led to the establishment of university system in colonial India have deeply influenced the expansion of Indian

universities in post-colonial India. There is no doubt that post-colonial developments over seven long decades have further influenced the development of Indian universities, mainly the influence of growing economy in different stages of development, the rising aspirations of youth from different sections of society, university administration dominated by bureaucracy amidst caste and popular politics and, most recently, the influence of the process of privatization and globalization. However, colonial influence that still exists cannot be undermined while we make any projection of Indian universities into the future. For example, a contrast that may be made between European universities and universities in colonial India relates to the core objective of university. European universities fought the battle of the dominance of church, monarchy and in this process laid the foundation of secular and liberal democracy through the awakening of the masses by the spirit of scientific methods of enquiry. This allowed development within university of a class of scholars who could work autonomously relatively free from the influence of state. This, in turn, permitted the synthesis of teaching and research in the production of knowledge which supported the development, both in the economic and cultural dimensions. On the other hand, the university in colonial India was established with a direct purpose to support British administration. As a result, during colonial India, the dominance of European knowledge and English as means of communication severely limited the scope of expanding knowledge to fight against the deep-rooted biases and prejudices through the awakening of masses. Besides, as a matter of design, the structure of affiliating system inherited from the colonial past failed to establish the unity of colleges and the university – both in terms of academic and administrative functions – that resulted in a failure of teachers becoming the community of scholars running their own affairs. Universities became much like a bureaucratic machinery to pass orders primarily to conduct examinations and much less bothered to empower and serve teachers, students and colleges.

Mona Sedwal, the author of the chapter ‘Emergence and Expansion of Indian Universities in India Before Independence: A Historical Perspective’, examines the emergence and expansion of the university system in India in colonial period with reference to the major transformation that took place amidst the national movement. She notes that amidst opposition to English by the Orientalists, the colonial administration succeeded in imposing English upon the natives in order to spread European literature and science. The future of Indian universities may also emulate the past in so far as knowledge produced abroad will continue to dominate in the classrooms and Indian universities will remain dependent upon the European and American knowledge system unless the policy in the present is geared to break the domination by means of language policy that encourages the knowledge dissemination and its generation in local and regional contexts.

The universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established on the model of London University whose main purpose then was to hold examination, affiliate colleges and grant degrees. While the affiliating system led to the fragmentation of teaching at the undergraduate and the postgraduate level, the undergraduate college teaching was subordinated to the University administration and the postgraduate departments which acted like masters. This colonial legacy continues till today.

There seems to be no concerted effort to break this fragmentation, leaving the majority of students at the undergraduate colleges on their own with shrinking resources and shortage of teachers, barring few colleges of excellence. If the present policy is any guide, there may be few colleges of excellence being converted into autonomous institutions; however, the majority may remain deprived at the periphery of the University.

The disjunction of teaching-learning and examining is the crucial element of colonial legacy. Universities even today are the examining body of all its affiliated colleges which have been reduced to the status of coaching institutions. The students are not rewarded of their knowledge by the respective teachers in terms of learning experiences and their contribution to shaping of mind. Students are tested through a standardized format by external examiners constituted by the examining body of the University. The disjunction creates a situation in which students are set to follow prescribed format of learning dictated by the pattern of examination. Universities, ignorant of teaching-learning experiences of the students, become the body to award degrees that become the end of teaching-learning. The degrees are then treated as a license to enter the job market. Invoking excellence in higher education requires reforms in teaching-learning through an active engagement with students by the teachers, and examination reform must be reflective of that experience.

The major transformation of Indian University system towards democratic governance may be traced back to the recommendations of Calcutta University Commission in 1919. Universities established since then developed the mechanism of governance through representative bodies such as Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, Examination Board and so on. This was certainly a transformation in the positive direction and was the result of demand both from the academic community and the larger community which the universities are supposed to serve. These representative bodies in the post-colonial setting were further transformed into larger bodies to accommodate the representations of executive and legislative organs of the state. Hence, the external influence upon the university began to be felt, quite often disrupting the unity of university administration and demands of academic circles. This created situations in which university was quite often sites of conflict and oppositions. Will the future of Indian universities enable the knowledge generation amidst political and academic conflicts that most universities face in India today? In my opinion while conflicts may remain an important feature of the university education system, efforts need to be made to deliberate and deepen democratic ethos. Imposition of a single dictate may exacerbate conflict rather than solve it.

The future of Indian universities, if they are to be built on a strong foundation, needs to break away from the colonial legacy. Language is a barrier to a majority of students. In many undergraduate colleges, universities must address the language deficit of the students. The University campus should welcome the students who speak different languages and develop the capacity of the students to a common language of communication. Indian universities must slowly break the division of undergraduate and postgraduate through the mobility of teachers and students from one college to another and the mobility of teachers from postgraduate to undergradu-

ate and vice versa. For the mobility of teachers to take place, it is necessary to incentivize some good teachers to teach in colleges which may be deprived of resources. All teachers must be provided opportunity to develop their abilities. Universities must also break the division of teaching-learning and examining. This is possible through an internal assessment system where teachers measure the learning experience of the students and degrees are not the end of teaching-learning. The most important challenge for the future of Indian universities is to settle the political and academic conflicts amidst increasing democratization. In my opinion, universities in India must strengthen the channels of communication among all the stakeholders, be it students, teachers, administrators and even the representative of political parties.

During colonial period, the expansion of universities may be seen as a result of the synthesis of ideas of colonial administration and views of the nationalist leaders. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was constantly fighting for a new space of Dalits in the mainstream political and economic activities. This fight was not only against the British administrators but also against the domination of the Brahmanical practices and their influence on the economy and society. One of the important agenda of education reform in the 1920s was the introduction of teaching in the University which so far was simply the examining body. Dr. Ambedkar's idea of teachers' University was much ahead of the Britisher's idea of the teaching University. A formal introduction of teaching, Dr. Ambedkar said, was not sufficient to transform the University system in India. He held the view that the teaching University should be teachers' University. His advocacy of teachers' University is of profound importance. The post-colonial development in the University reduced the agency of teachers. They were subjected to submit to the authoritative direction from above. They became the victim of politics of division along caste and ideologies. The division of intellectuals could no longer hold the organic unity. As a self-interested individual, few teachers began to flourish under the politics of patronage and favour for posts that rewarded them in many ways.

The chapter on 'Futures of Higher Education: Conceptualizing Teachers' University' by Dr. Sudhanshu Bhushan reinforces the idea of Dr. BR Ambedkar advocating teachers' University before colonial rule. This acquires importance in view of marginalizing the agency of teachers, given the dominance of privatization, bureaucracy and technology in all policy discourse today shaping the future of higher education. Teachers' University, advocated by Dr. Ambedkar, is an attempt to reposition the agency of teachers in shaping the future of higher education. It may not be surprising if the attempt is foiled in post-colonial India as well. However, the chapter is an appeal to the community of scholars to shape the future of higher education by working towards Teachers' University.

B R Ambedkar, the author notes, was of the view that University must remain under the authoritative control of teachers in all its academic affairs. The substance of the point made here is that the present system of authoritative control at the level of vice chancellor and centralized bodies like Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, Examination Board with few representation from teachers ultimately puts the authoritative control in the hands of administrators. Authoritative control of teachers in all academic affairs needs to be transferred at the level of schools/centres/

departments. Student intake, fees to be charged, admission process, curricular guidelines, fellowship decisions, teaching-learning and research guidelines, assessment and evaluation, professional development, participation in seminars, travel, etc. need to be decided in a decentralized manner. While the guidelines for the standard procedures may be laid out by the University administrators, the final decision must remain at the level of teaching unit. The function of the University is to facilitate students in providing infrastructure for residential, sports, library and canteen. It must support students for cultural recreation, meet language deficit and raise money for support to all the departments. Hence, University administrators must work at the level of facilitation rather than controlling the academic affairs.

Another very crucial element of teachers' university is the control over teachers' recruitment at the level of University by the teaching staff of the University. On the ground of mistrust, favour and corruption, there are attempts to centralize the recruitment of the teaching staff. If the well-laid-out procedure is formulated and transparency is followed, the chance of favour and corruption may be minimized. Ambedkar's broad vision in envisioning Teachers' University was that the senior teachers of the university alone are capable to judge the scholarship of teachers to be recruited. The proposition today may not be accepted in view of biases and favours at the level of university. However, an open and transparent system of recruitment may eliminate biases and favours rather than a closed-door method of interview by selection committee which is further subject to manipulation in the selection of experts.

Another feature of Teachers' University, BR Ambedkar pointed out, is the unity of teaching and examination. It means teachers in charge of teaching are most competent to evaluate the students' learning experience. Any disjunction of teaching and examining, as is the case today, will push the learning examination oriented and teaching will slowly lose its centrality. Control over learning through the examination conducted by the university is also based on the assumption that once such control is lifted, the biases and favours by the teachers will give rise to corruption. If, however, transparency is maintained through making answer sheets public after the assessment is done, there is little chance of manipulation.

The most crucial question today is the divide between undergraduate and postgraduate. Teachers' University, according to Ambedkar, must not create compartmentalization of UG and PG teaching. UG and PG must be treated as continuum where the influence of teachers upon students gets deeper in shaping the mind. The divide puts college teachers at a disadvantage and inferior position to the postgraduate teachers and disrupts the organic unity of teachers. Maintaining the organic unity of teachers is fundamental in the Teachers' University. Dr. Ambedkar makes practical suggestions to maintain the unity as well.

Teachers' University must award the teachers for the scholarship that they possess. No consideration other than merit and loyalty of a teacher to the profession should matter in promotion, privileges and pay of a teacher. Only then, the realization of Teachers' University can take place. Ambedkar supports the case of deep democratization of the university in the governance through effective participation of teachers. According to him, the faculty should be the basic governance unit taking most of the academic decisions.

Teachers' University, as suggested by Ambedkar, should be the basis of the future of higher education. This has not been realized during colonial as well as post-colonial period so far. There is no reason, however, why such a conceptualization will not be realized in the future? Teachers' University must remain the benchmark for the future development.

Policy of the government seems to favour the world-class universities to promote competition and efficiency among the universities. It is argued that these universities will be research intensive and promote knowledge. The world-class universities may also promote global networking among knowledge partners. By improving the ranking of universities in the world, such universities will be a hub of international students and promote the brand value of Indian universities in the world. The future of Indian universities seems to be guided by above features of competition, efficiency, global networking and knowledge promotion.

Saumen Chattopadhyay in his paper on "World Ranking of Universities: What Does It Entail for the Future" and Aishna Sharma, the author of the chapter 'The World-Class University-Discourse: Disentangling the Conflict Between Efficiency and World Class-ness', critically examines the new discourse on world ranking and world-class universities. They examine the new discourse on ranking and world class within new public management philosophy. The authors note that the new public management is an approach that favours the market principle in the governance of public university. Institutional autonomy is granted not to promote academic freedom but to follow business approach to government. In this model, there is an emphasis on accountability, output, fast decision-making and entrepreneurship. The new discourse is an attempt to reduce the public character and hence public funding to the universities, thereby altering the very character of universities. University may become a knowledge enterprise to be guided by short run.

The authors further point out that the policy move would create hierarchy among universities and many state universities would continue to suffer remaining lower in the hierarchy. Hence, claim that universities would gain by competitive spirit is false as there is no level playing field to generate competition. Applying Foucault's power knowledge perspective, Aishna Sharma notes that state reinforces a new power relation in which teachers and universities themselves become the subject of discourse and begin to self-regulate. Interestingly, the power so exercised is not repressive, yet it is effective in so far as it gets embedded in the practices exercised by teachers through discourse. The world-class university discourse is precisely the discourse of power knowledge relationship in which teachers have to perform irrespective of structural constraints. The leadership and the power to innovate are the appeals to overcome any such barrier. The future of Indian universities may place teachers as subjects of practices, thereby constraining the autonomy.

The authors note that in the new discourse practices would be shaped by the efficiency rationale. The focus would be on producing output which is concomitant with the demand in the market and the satisfaction of the student. In achieving efficiency, the role of technology will acquire importance in each and every stage of the production of output. They do not much emphasize the power of technology as much as a technology of power through the instrument of global ranking. The knowledge to the

teachers that they are the part of the discourse of global ranking of a University in which they work would begin to shape the practices of teachers. Thus, the behaviour of teachers will be set by the expectations of being a part of global University. Hence, there may arise a conflict between national and global expectations. For example, the national expectation will be the equity and inclusion, whereas the global expectation may be the focus on research and reputation. This will radically shift the agenda of the future of universities in favour of research, mainly applied research. Teaching will be a costly affair serving the select few. The new power knowledge relationship in a world-class university will thus alter the very character of public University in the future in so far as the output produced in these universities will serve the market by aligning itself to the forces of market. The global agenda will subordinate the national agenda of inclusion in the public University. The social character of public University may be in danger in the world class. The academic freedom of the teachers will be jeopardized as they become subject to the power of new discourse. A paper by Manisha Priyam is an interesting addition to the debate in terms of the dilemma of institutionalism of public universities. The experiences of developing society such as India – caught in the midst of market institutionalism, control and command approach and what author calls ‘locked-in’ institutionalism of vested interests – calls for new framework of institutions supported by the State and a public space for universities aspiring for universal citizenship where conflicts and contestations cannot be ruled out.

The emergence of private universities in India and the exponential growth is certainly determining the future of higher education. Hence, it is necessary to understand the nature and characteristics of private universities that had begun to determine a new direction. What is the mission or purpose of the private university? In which disciplinary area are they concentrating? How are they being governed? What is the resource mobilization strategy? The most substantive question is: does the emergence of private university alter the idea of university which the public system has so far been developing? Some of these questions are important to understand the future direction of university system in India.

Sangeeta Angom, the author of the chapter ‘Idea of a University: Rethinking the Indian Private Universities Context’, analyses some of the questions noted above. The author traces the origin of the modern European University from the mediaeval period. She notes that the public nature of University is one where knowledge is generated and disseminated for the benefit of public. The state protects the freedom of the faculty in the examination of knowledge for the simple reason that it finally benefits the public whose trust is necessary for the existence of state. The teachers being supported by the Exchequer has the responsibility to admit to the university the students, perform the teaching and confer the degree upon the successful completion of the programme. The public nature of the University in disseminating knowledge will be intact only when a synthesis of teaching and research takes place. An important addition to the concept of University in the idealist tradition takes place when it is asserted that the knowledge exists for the purpose of humanities. The knowledge generation is clearly a scientific process, and there is no role of politics in it.

It is this classical idea of University which was the basis of the emergence of University system in post-colonial India. The University is established by an act. It is

funded by the government. It is regulated by the regulatory bodies. It is accountable to the legislature. The fees charged are minimal so that higher education is accessible to all. The knowledge generation benefits the public. All disciplines are given equal attention for the balanced growth of knowledge. The purpose of regulation and control by the state is to maintain a minimum standard. To this core idea of public University, namely, knowledge generation for the benefit of public, there has been certain transformation in the public University in a post-colonial development. For example, University stands to the commitment of a just society and a vibrant polity, and it creates young people with skills relevant for labour market and opportunity for social mobility, and it also creates all responsible citizens who value a democratic and pluralistic society. In the twenty-first century, the challenge is to find a path to achieve the divergent goals for the growth of higher education. So, the universities are expected to expand to achieve enrolment target by additional capacity and ensuring equal access opportunities while being supported to improve the quality of teaching-learning, attain excellence in research and contribute to economic development.

The author asks the question whether the emergence and growth of private universities in India could preserve the spirit of public University system that developed on the lines of European Universities. While privatization of higher education was a response to the market, the author finds, there is a substantial difference in the public and private higher education. The mission of private University serves the private interests rather than the public. It is owned by the Private body and tuition fees charged from the students is the main funding strategy which is in sharp contrast to the case of public institutions. This makes all the difference in the admission of the students, courses being offered to the students and the pedagogy and the assessment practices. Education being guided by the private return makes private universities responsive to the skill needs of the market. The technological integration in the teaching-learning process is swift and fast, and it is demand driven. Governance model is entrepreneurial and business like with the purpose to earn profit. Hence, the emergence of private University makes a substantial departure from the past development of public university system in India. No doubt, it supports the process of economic growth, yet the idea of inclusive growth may be a serious casualty of the growth of private universities.

Part Two: Financing

Traditionally higher education policy has been supportive of public funding to universities and colleges. The effect of public funding on higher education participation has been studied in the literature. In the context of the decline in public funding studies have shown that students from lower income groups are forced to opt for labour market and drop out from higher education institutions. Those who join have choices restricted to get admitted to low-quality colleges. Hence, the impact of reduction in public expenditure and increased private source of funding is ultimately felt in restricting the access of poor to colleges. It is in this context that the understanding of state financing policy on the access and participation assumes importance.

Sandhya Dubey in the chapter 'Impact of Public Education Expenditure Across Different Levels on Higher Education Access in India: A Panel Data Study' examines the effect of public expenditure on higher education access in different states and across different social groups and also examines the access to higher education in high income and other than high-income states. The study highlights that from a long-run perspective of development, the future access policies of higher education in India should target schools to guide students and raise their aspirations for higher education. The access policies should also focus on achieving the higher levels of academic preparation of students for higher education by improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. There should be investment in confidence building among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes' students and the proper distribution of the financial aid information among students belonging to economically weaker section of the society. Some of these findings are important to appreciate the role of public funding across different levels of education to promote access to higher education in the future.

Financing of higher education has been undergoing major transformation. This transformation is going to shape the future of universities system in India. The major transformation has been the reduced role of state funding and shifting the burden of financing on the households. Households need to increasingly find resources to meet expenditure on account of meeting the living costs as well as tuition fees charged by the institution. They can meet the expenditure either from household income or sale of the fixed assets. Those who cannot meet the expenditure from the household source may have to fall back upon borrowing from banks or non-bank sources such as relatives or friends. Given the insecurity of funding, there will be high probability to drop out after the secondary education. Hence, the future of higher education will be susceptible to insecurity in the transformation from subsidy to loans as opposed to the system of state funding, providing stability and security of studies during the undergraduate years of college.

There will be a greater need to understand in some detail the components of households financing of higher education. For example, what is the distribution of fee and non-fee component? How does this distribution vary in institutions by type of management? How is this distribution sensitive across various social and economic groups? A deeper understanding of households financing will also give a clue to the question of affordability, issue that will acquire much greater importance in the future of higher education.

The greater reliance on the source of funding from the market will also affect the students' choice of subjects and disciplines. Students will be much more concerned with the private returns on education as they have to pay back the principal as well as the interest component of the loan. Choice of disciplines will be guided by the situations prevailing in the labour market. If the labour market is favourable to disciplines such as IT, engineering, management, education, medical, pharmacy and law, there will be much higher demand for such courses. Social sciences, physical sciences and humanities having lower private returns may not be in great demand. Hence, the market-based funding will lead to unbalanced development of courses and the institutions. The technical and vocational education to be supported by pri-

vate institutions will flourish, and the general education offered in government institutions will have few takers.

A completely new phenomenon in the funding of higher education institutions is slowly the shift from grant- to the loan-based funding. Hence, the institutions of higher education will have to compete for funding from higher education funding agencies for any capital expenditure such as addition to the infrastructure. Hence, the loan repayment by the institutions to the funding agency will increase the user charges for various services, other than tuition fees, provided by the institutions to the students. This will have the impact of overall increasing the cost of education. Loan-based funding to the institutions will create further division among institutions – those located in urban will flourish at the cost of institutions located in rural area.

The shift from grant-based to loan-based system of financing may be referred to as the structural shift in the financing of higher education. Such a shift may have impact on the social and economic composition of students. Institutions in the private sector offering courses of high demand may have less representation of students from marginalized sections of the society, whereas institutions in the government sector offering courses of low demand might witness overrepresentation of students from marginalized sections. Government and private institutions will differ in many ways leading to the fragmentation of higher education.

Increasing private source of financing higher education has also implication for the teaching-learning processes. The greater attention on teaching-learning process with learner centeredness acquires importance. The objective of studying higher education is to develop soft skills enabling student to get a job in the labour market. An important part of the cost of higher education is additional coaching in private tuition centres. Private tuitions have emerged as a result of competitive examinations for admissions and the need for certificates and diplomas granted by private training centres. These certifications help students get market-based skills to obtain a job. Many coaching centres have also emerged for coaching students to fetch high marks in university and college examinations.

It is against this background that structural shifts in the financing of higher education are going to determine the futures of higher education being sensitive to private returns rather than social returns and hence greater justification for private players in the financing of higher education. The future of higher education will favour vocational and technical skills being imparted in private institutions. The cost of education will rise, and the cost recovery from students will put pressure on household financing. Further, the rising loan component of household financing will lead to insecurities among students arising from the fear of non-repayment of loans if they fail to secure a job in the labour market.

P Geetha Rani in the chapter 'Shifts in the Financing and Provision of Higher Education in India: Is It Structural?' notes that from a state subsidy to the market loan system of financing, there is a clear shift from supply to the demand side. It implies that access, choice of course and quality of higher education will be driven by the demand for it. On the other hand, supply-side factors will be determined by

the income of the household and the availability of loans from commercial banks in relation to the cost of education.

As per the estimates made by the author, source of funding from the household has considerably increased from around 16% in 2007–2008 to 32% in 2015–2016. There has been a decline in the government funding from 45% to 37% during the same period. The third component of financing higher education through loans has been increasing from 2000–2001 to 2015–2016 at a growth rate of 33%. This has impacted the provision of higher education. The private unaided enrolment has gone up from 21% in 2000–2001 to 45% in 2015–2016. The share of enrolment in government institutions has come down from 41% to 32% during the same period. The enrolment of students in technical and vocational education in the private unaided institutions has been increasing. What is most significant to note is the fact that the cost of education for many technical and vocational education in private unaided institutions is almost twice as much prevailing in the government institutions. Hence, in the structural shift, the burden of payment by the households towards meeting the cost of education has considerably increased.

P Geetha Rani examines whether scheme of interest subsidy on loan has promoted inequity in higher education. For instance, she reports, ‘education loan, the proxy for cost of higher education for medicine is six times more than low-cost courses such as education. Given such structure of course costs (education loan), equal interest subsidies across courses essentially create unequal interest subsidy across courses. Interest subsidy for medicine, the high cost course gets the highest subsidy over the years’. The author further points out that relatively long-duration and high-cost courses getting higher subsidies are cornered by relatively rich and poor students opt short-duration and low-cost courses and hence lower subsidies. This may perpetuate inequality across lifetime earnings. This will further lead to subdivision as long-duration courses will attract talent, whereas short-duration courses will have less talented students.

The author concludes with a grim sense of caution. The private market-based financing has substituted government source of financing to a great extent. Both sources of financing are not complementary to each other. This means that public character of higher education as a means of good to the public will disappear. Higher education will be driven by private return and society may not benefit as much as an individual. The future of higher education will have a tendency to create fragmentation, subdivision, conflict and tensions within universities and colleges.

Sudhanshu Bhushan in the chapter ‘Future of Higher Education Financing and Governance’ expresses a similar concern in a move from subsidy- and scholarship-based funding to loan-based funding to individuals and institutions. Financing of higher education affects the mode of governance. Market-based strategies call for an efficient system whereby the debt is repaid to the lenders. Hence, the question of efficiency in higher education acquires importance. An overall policy drive may be seen to be guided by increasing productivity by increasing the hours of teaching and research, reducing salary payment to the teachers, increasing part-time teachers, ban in the recruitment of permanent teachers and increasing use of technology in governance as well as teaching-learning. There might be cut in library, infrastructure, etc.,

and an advocacy for the use of technology may be intensified. Fourth, the question of efficiency will also give rise to increasing accountability not only for the teachers and staffs who are being paid by the government but also for the students in terms of attendance, discipline and control over student's union activities. Wherever the autonomy to the institutions will be granted, there will be a rider to the autonomy in terms of performance and responsibility not only in the areas of teaching and research but also in terms of efficiently raising resources through the market.

The author examines the structural shift in financing from the point of view of equality of opportunity, equity and efficiency. It is pointed out that the shift in the financing of higher education was also necessitated by the logic of the capitalist growth. It may not be possible to tax the rich and support higher education without adversely affecting the rate of growth. It is relatively easier to reduce subsidy and transfer the burden of payment for higher education on the households. Hence, privatization of higher education is in the interests of corporate sector which does not get taxed to support higher education. Moreover, corporate sector is able to share the gains due to privatization in higher education.

The reality checks of various recent changes pronounced by the government indicate that the future of higher education financing will move towards raising internal resources through fees. Loan as component of financing households and institutions of higher learning will rise. Institutions of higher education will acquire more autonomy to raise resources and will be subjected to market risks. Institutions will furthermore be subjected to prove the accountability and fund support will be linked to performance of institutions. Hierarchy among institutions, as a result, will grow with three-tier system of autonomy and funding. Institutions of higher education located in rural areas will have to be closed down for want of funding or if they continue, they will impart low quality of education to the masses. The claim of fiscal federalism and resource transfer to states, if not translated to higher funding support to state universities and colleges, will siphon away resources to meet populist demands rather than meet the ambitions of poor to study in higher education institutions with subsidized support.

In the changed scenario, it is important to understand the components of household expenditure on higher education. Pradeep Choudhury, the author of the chapter 'Household Expenditure on Higher Education in Rural Odisha', in a recently conducted household survey in two districts of rural Odisha in 2016–2017, estimates per student annual household expenditure on higher education to be about Rs. 61,490. In rural Odisha, it is interesting to note that fee consists of only 5% of total expenditure on higher education. An important component of cost of study from household point of view is non-fee expenditure on food and accommodation, textbooks and study materials, transport, private tuition/coaching, computer class, mobile and the Internet. Students are spending on an average Rs. 11,349 on private tuition/coaching that constitutes 18% of the total household expenditure. Thus, the field reality is that in rural Odisha, there is low fee. However, the quality of education is also very low due to the poor infrastructure and shortage of teachers. The students of rural areas are able to afford higher education. However, the employability of students is low. As a result, they have to fall back upon private coaching

where fees are charged four times the fees charged in higher education institutions. It is also important to note that fees in the government colleges and aided as well as unaided private colleges are not substantially different. This is so because private and aided colleges cannot charge high fees due to the low-paying capacity of students. Yet, the privatization is active even in rural area in terms of the coaching institutions of some sort or other. High household expenditure for the hostellers further indicates that the students would prefer to commute even long distances in the rural areas. The author further reports that household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha varies widely across socioeconomic groups such as gender, caste and family income. OBC students spend more than SC and ST students in both fee and non-fee items. There is pro-male bias in household spending on higher education, i.e. the household expenditure on higher education is more for male students than the female students in rural Odisha.

The above result indicates that the future of higher education in large part of rural India may continue to be cheap in terms of the fees component. However, the rural colleges will suffer from the low quality of education due to the state withdrawing funding support to higher education institutions. In such a scenario, many of the students from rural background will have to fall back upon the private coaching which may prepare them to some extent for employment in the labour market. Further, the discrimination and differentiation that exists in rural area continues to be reflected in the household expenditure on higher education.

The emergence of private coaching is emerging as the phenomenon of future worldwide with the weakening of public institutions as the payment for coaching is substantially higher than the payment for formal degrees in higher education. In most of the developing countries, the reasons for the growing phenomenon of private coaching are attributed to low public educational expenditure, large-sized classes and inadequate number of universities. In addition to this, private coaching has been considered as a response to dismal quality schooling of the public education system. There are also studies that show that a smooth and successful transition from school education to university or professional higher education institutes and to the work places is another major determinant of private coaching. The private coaching has been favouring the privileged classes and communities, thereby adding to the inequality in higher education and labour market.

A study by the authors Anuneeta Mitra and Nivedita Sarkar in a chapter on 'Factors Influencing Household Expenditure on Private Tutoring in Higher Education' uses the latest National Sample Survey (NSS) round on education (71st round unit level records) to address the following question: Whether social, economic, locational, family background variables, type of institution and nature of subject influence an individual's household expenditure on private coaching in higher education. The author's calculation from 71st NSS round shows that within the higher education category, 19.1% of individuals take private coaching. An important aspect of private coaching is that private coaching as percent of household consumption expenditure varies across socioeconomic groups widely in such a manner that it leads to benefit the rich and privileged. The disaggregated information is shocking. Almost 65% in urban and 46% in rural area belonging to higher

castes group in top quintile are participating in private coaching. Participation and expenditure on private coaching is higher for households whose children are in government institutions. Why is this so? An important reason, in my opinion, could be the enrolment in government institutions for the sake of formal degree at low price and search for employability through the private coaching. Exponential growth in private coaching seems to be the last nail in the coffin so far as confidence in government higher education institutions are concerned. What is most worrying in the future is the fact that youth, employed or unemployed, failing to go through the process of liberal education would fall prey to false knowledge on nationalism bound by faith in caste, creed and religion. They may not be able to develop scientific spirit and values of deliberative democracy.

Regression results by the authors make the point most obvious in terms of discrimination. Result shows being a female lowers the expenditure on private coaching by 7% when compared with males. Being from a reserved category has an adverse impact on private coaching expenditure. Expenditure on private coaching has a positive impact with respect to the educational level of the household heads. A graduate and above level head would spend 13%, 7.7% and 14.5% more, respectively, at all India, rural and urban sectors than their illiterate counterparts on private coaching. Locational factor reveals that residing in the rural sector an individual spends 24% less (significant at 1%) on private coaching when compared with their urban counterpart.

Part Three: Capabilities

The future of higher education needs to be directed towards the development of human capabilities. Amartya Sen defines capability in terms of the abilities to be and to do. Higher education enables development of human capabilities and enlarges set of opportunities for an individual. If higher education reproduces inequality in terms of participation and graduation, then it may not be able to enlarge opportunities for some individuals or groups in the society. In fact, the labour market itself may represent inequalities and loss of potentials for development. Capability perspective suggests inclusive approach to higher education. All individuals must have the full opportunity and freedom to join higher education and thereby be entitled to access the job market and avail opportunities that he or she likes. Inclusive higher education requires all marginalized sections of the society to be treated favourably so as to develop capabilities.

It may be argued that human capital approach treats all individual alike. The differences in participation across social/religious/economic groups really do not matter. It treats higher education as production unit where all inputs are processed to form a product. The formation of human capital is simply treated as producing income streams in the future. Higher education graduate, irrespective of differences, is treated as a capital. By ignoring differences, issue of equity and distribution is of no relevance. Group differences in participation of higher education are ignored.

Human capital approach treats human being as a commodity and higher education is treated as private good. Capability approach, on the contrary, allows inclusive approach in which the participation of marginalized sections of the society is of much greater value for the development of a nation.

Highlighting the difference between human capability and human capital approach, Narendra Thakur, in the chapter 'Social-Economic Exclusion and Inequality in Indian Higher Education and Labour Market: A Capability Approach', highlights capability deprivation in terms of inequality in educational attainment and employment opportunity. The author notes differences in number of persons with graduation and above degrees (graduates) in general, technical and professional subjects between Hindu and Muslim community and the SC, ST and other category across different states. The author estimates that around 50% of graduates are not used productively in the job sector. Subsequently, the absence of the excluded workers suppresses their capability and their life plan. There is further inequality to be observed across social group with respect to the share of knowledge workers to total workers. There is also gender bias, the shares of total females including SCs and STs and the all socio, economic and religious categories in the knowledge workers, in 2001. Average spending per student has also been rising making higher education highly unaffordable.

The future of higher education warrants capability development through an appeal to inclusive higher education providing substantive opportunities to all social and religious groups. The future of higher education cannot escape attention to students with disabilities. Policy intervention has led to the formation of institutions such as Rehabilitation Council of India, Equal Opportunity Offices in the University and College. Regulation for the ease of access to institutions is in place. However, not much has been done at the policy level in terms of curriculum restructuring, delivery and evaluation as well as the provision for necessary support and accommodation to ensure that SWD have equal opportunity in real terms. Without appropriate support, students with disabilities are at risk of academic failure and associated loss of self-confidence and self-esteem.

Tiwari et al. in the chapter 'Persons with Disabilities and Higher Education: A Case Study of a Central University' note that 20% of the total disabled population falls in the age group of 20–29 years who are potential entrants into the higher education. The disabled in this age group who reach secondary stage need to be provided support to reach higher education institutions. The recent verdict of Supreme Court in December 2017 says that right to dignity applies with much more vigour in cases of persons suffering from disability. Based on the survey results from 159 respondents from Delhi University, authors have noted certain interesting findings. Students with disabilities have limited information to effectively utilize the facilities earmarked for them. Commuting to and fro from colleges is an important difficulty to attend classes; 42% of the students with disabilities were not even aware of EOCs in the colleges. Accessibility to Delhi University colleges was, however, found to be satisfactory. Sensitivity towards disability was found to be much more in the case of peers rather than teachers. In the academic performance at the college level, ease of access and sensitivity towards disabled campus colleges were ahead of non-campus

colleges in Delhi University. Authors furthermore analyse the determinants of academic success for the disabled students. Findings of the research are of interest to develop the sensitivity towards disabled students and develop their capabilities so far as the future of higher education to achieve the goal of inclusive education is concerned.

A key to capability development for the future of higher education is the preparation of academics for effective teaching-learning process. There has been increasingly recognition of faculty development with recent advances in the researches related to teaching-learning. Dr. Neeru Snehi in the chapter 'Faculty Development in Tertiary Sector: A Review of Global Practices' notes various innovative programmes of faculty development. She suggested teaching certificate programme for junior faculty; faculty learning communities in the USA; teaching-learning centres in the UK, the USA, Australia, etc; subject-based networks in the UK, teaching-learning associations and network; and peer-to-peer faculty mentoring and evaluation some of the examples from around the globe. They are all supported from the government which competent staff and organizational support.

There is no doubt that the preparation of faculty has been practised in Indian higher education institutions mainly through the academic staff College which is renamed as Human Resource Development Centre. However, the cut in funding by the government is a concern. The teaching-learning centres, faculty development centres and subject-based networks are some of the recent additions in the faculty preparation. A review of these centres and networks shows that most of them are guided by technological rationality. There is a need to understand the diverse needs of students in terms of language, content, social and cultural contexts, and accordingly teachers need to prepare the classroom transactions. The future of higher education ultimately rests on the capabilities of teachers in their effective engagement with diverse group of students.

Perspectives of capability development have been widening, providing a range of opportunities to the students. Internationalization of higher education, notwithstanding the dimensions of commercialization, has been an important phenomenon that will guide the future of higher education. Capability development now requires the graduates to be well-suited to the global labour market. To fully utilize such opportunity, it has become necessary to strategize the university administration and the teaching-learning process so as to prepare students for global demand. Higher education, therefore, has to be out towards looking in the future. The strategy for internationalization in a developing country must be planned with a view to accommodate the needs of higher education in a national context.

The chapter on 'Pathways to Internationalization in Indian Higher Education: Reflections on Policy Options' by Rashim Wadhwa suggests various alternatives to the traditional pathway relating to the mobility of students and teachers. Massive open online course (MOOCs), internationalization of curriculum and teaching and learning, extracurricular activities, mobility of programmes and the providers of higher education are emerging. Mobility of programmes includes twinning, franchise, joint degree and virtual arrangement, and mobility of providers operates through branch campus, acquisition, virtual university and independent institution.

Transnational education operating through the programme offered by home country to the host country offers many new challenges such as the relevance of curricula as well as following up of the regulations of the host country.

The trend of traditional pathway of internationalization in Indian higher education has been a slow process. The new pathway, particularly the mobility of programmes through twinning, franchise and joint degree, has been limited to non-degree programmes, particularly in the diploma. Some of the private institutions have been active in the mobility of programmes, while very few Indian providers have been engaged in transnational education. The author points out that so far internationalization strategy in Indian higher education has been not very successful due to policy failure. There are huge potentials to think in terms of internationalization at home in many Indian universities. This requires the role of institutional leaders to think proactively and innovatively for internationalization supported by policy intervention.

The future of higher education demands freedom in matters relating to academic affairs. Professors are trustees and the role of the state is to provide funding. The progress of knowledge and scholarship is considered the internal affair within institutions of higher education. The recruitment of faculty, admission of the students, determining curricula, teaching-learning process and evaluation are all governed through the democratic bodies within the university. There is no doubt above ideal perception of the University never existed as the state was not neutral to the functioning of the University. It was regulated in varying degrees in different countries depending on the socioeconomic context. However, the academic freedom has always been ideal guiding the University.

It is important to note that Dr. Amruth Kumar, the author of the chapter 'Freedom from Autonomy: A Critique on the New Managerialism in Higher Education', talks of freedom from autonomy which is contrary to the idea of freedom for autonomy ideally associated with the University. He makes the statement because the new idea of autonomy is linked to the forces of market and the surveillance of the state is steered through distance. The idea of autonomy implies that all academic affairs within the University are guided by competition, consumer sovereignty, accountability to the learners and responsibility. With autonomy and market linkages, the discourse on autonomy completely changes. Professors are no longer trustees of the knowledge generation system. The curriculum restructuring is with a view to impart skills necessary to get an employment. Teachers appear to be the managers. The new market-oriented managerialism with focus on efficiency is guided by productivity and accountability.

The author, following from the Foucault's idea on governmentality, notes that teachers need to be self-governed with informed choices and perform to attract students. Self-regulation of the individual and the institution is normalized, is made part of common sense and is measured in quantitative terms. The idea of governance shift towards performance measurement where state is not supposed to intervene in micromanagement. So, autonomy means freedom to start new programmes, freedom to determine the fee structure, freedom to give choices of courses to the students and freedom to assess the students. All this freedom is geared to serve students