GLOBALISATION, NEOLIBERALISM AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PUNJAB, INDIA

MANPREET KAUR GILL

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2017

Department of Development Studies

SOAS, University of London

Dedicated to

My Mother

Narinder Kaur Gill

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have been instrumental and influential in making it possible for me to reach this stage in my studies. First of all, I would like to thank my husband, Narinder, who supported my decision to continue to pursue my graduate studies, despite the significant personal and financial impacts it had on our lives. He has also endured many long periods waiting for me to come 'home' to Canada from the U.K and India, which I have appreciated throughout this journey. I thank my parents, sister and brother-in-law for their understanding and encouragement. Without the support of my parents and husband in my decision to continue with my graduate studies, I would not be at this stage of submitting my doctoral thesis.

My supervisor, Dr Navtej Purewal, greatly helped, encouraged and taught me at every stage of this research. She has been an invaluable source of excellent advice that I could access whenever and wherever I needed it; I thank her for her patience, tolerance and encouragement in the course of the last five years. I also thank her for her continuing support and guidance on my thesis.

My thanks also to Dr Harbans Singh Sidhu, Surjit Singh Kalra, Professor Virinder Singh Kalra who provided me with many ideas, insights and comments to help me find a path between the original research proposal and this dissertation. They have been great role models for my future plans.

I also would like to thank my Panel at SOAS Dr. Subir Sinha and Dr Jens Lerche for their comments and suggestions, as well as their encouragement.

I am also grateful to Sukhpal Singh, Maninder Kaur, Arshdeep Singh and all my friends (Veerpal, Haripriya, Rupinder, Kheraj, Ajit and Anand) for their continuously robust and often competitive motivation to finish the Ph.D. Last but not least , I would like to say thanks to the junior members in my support team - Nuvpreet Kalra, Komalpreet Goraya, Eesher Kalra, Anoopinder Goraya.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my family in the memory of my Bapu Ji and Nana Ji (maternal and paternal grandfathers) who I miss and remember.

Abstract

The contemporary global context of higher education is showing increasing processes and patterns of interconnectedness, privatisation, and global 'flows' of students, finances, and institutional arrangements by means of growing numbers of private universities, partnerships and franchises. Since the GATT/WTO agreement in 2009 which stated that education would become a tradable commodity, there has been a dramatic transformation of the structures and processes of higher education in India due to the ways in which neoliberalism has shaped the higher education economy in terms of its economic base, values, and policies. This thesis examines the expansion and intensification of globalising market processes in higher education in the Indian state of Punjab. By engaging with literatures and debates in globalisation, the sociology and political economy of education, and social and cultural capital, the thesis highlights how the goals of equity, public investment, and quality have been replaced by profit, private investment, and quantity. The contours of the rapid shift taking place in India show that the state's role in investment, resource allocation, delivery and regulation has been diminished which has subsequently seen higher education go from being a 'public good' to a 'private good' or commodity. One contribution of the study is its examination of how different forms of capital have been mobilised and reshaped through the neoliberal shifts that have occurred in higher education in Punjab.

The study is based on a mixed methods approach employing both qualitative and quantitative methods. The empirical research was conducted in Punjab from 2014-2015 at a selected sample of central, state and private universities. The study has utilised quantitative secondary data in tracing the flows of finances, students and other forms of exchange. Additionally, qualitative interviews and focus groups were conducted with a stratified sample of senior administrators of universities in Punjab; lecturers; students; and parents. Another contribution of the study is its broader empirical scope which incorporates a small sample in Canada in order to illustrate an international 'tie-up' with an institution in Punjab operating as a franchise arrangement. This augments the typology of central, state and private universities in order to understand how education is being delivered and accessed as a trade commodity through new actors and arrangements. The research has been based on a multi-sited, global approach to the fieldwork in order to approach globalisation and 'internationalisation' at different points of delivery and access while also attempting to be analytical at global, national, transnational and local junctures.

The thesis ultimately argues that internationalisation policies have been implemented as a tool for the penetration of market forces in education rather than merely facilitating global interconnectedness and 'flows.' As the findings show, HE has not only been restructured, as is seen in Punjab, but has simultaneously seen new values being attached to higher education which is having profound effects on society as a whole.

List of Abbreviations

- ABVP: Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad
- AIIMS: All India Institute Of Medical Sciences
- AICTE: All India Council for Technical Education
- BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party
- CABE: Central Advisory Board Of Education
- FDI: Foreign Direct Investment
- GATT: The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- GER: Gross Enrolment Ratio
- GDP: Gross Domestic Product
- GIAN: Global Initiative for Academics Network
- GNDU: Guru Nanak Dev University
- HE: Higher Education
- HEI: Higher Education Institutions
- IELTS: International English Language Testing System
- IIT: Indian Institutes of Technology
- IIM: Indian Institute of Management
- IMF: International Monetary Funds
- IMPRINT: Impacting Research Innovation and Technology
- JNU: Jawaharlal Nehru University
- JNUSU: Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
- MHRD: Ministry of Human Resource Development

- MOU: Memorandum of Understanding
- M.SC: Master of Science
- M.PHIL: Master of Philosophy
- NEP: National Education Policy
- NOC: The National Occupational Classification
- NIRF: National Institutional Ranking Framework
- NPE: New Policy of Education
- PH.D: Doctor of Philosophy
- RSS: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
- SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies
- SWAYAM: Study Webs of Active-Learning for Young Aspiring Minds
- UGC: University Grants Commission
- UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
- WTO: World Trade Organisation
- WWICS: Welcome to World Wide Immigration Consultancy Services

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3 ***The Evolution of Higher Education in India***

CHAPTER 4: ***Methodology***

CHAPTER 8: *Conclusion*

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 6

CHAPTER 7

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 7

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Beginnings: Background to my research interest in higher education

Higher education has been an aim, a process, a trajectory, an experience and ultimately a topic of study for me. From being a high school and a first generation university-goer in my family as a BSc student in Punjab to venturing to JNU in Delhi as an MSc and MPhil student, I found myself embarking on a journey of higher education the moment I set foot on the campus of Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar. After completing my MSc and MPhil from JNU, I began my Master's research in educational research at the University of Manchester in 2011, after which I joined the School of Oriental and African Studies as a first year PhD student in 2014. I can easily say that I have witnessed the changes that have taken place during the past decade in higher education in terms of my own experience as well as through that of my peers. The campuses of JNU and SOAS, in particular, are known as having particularly outspoken and left-wing student unions in voicing resistance to the privatisation, amongst other issues, of higher education. While the UGC occupation in 2015 was linked to the cuts announced by the newly elected Modi government of the N-Net scholarships for students, the SOAS occupation which began 6 October 2015 reflected a stance against supposed plans as the new SOAS Director Valerie Amos took up her position to cut SOAS's budget the following year by £6.5 million. Therefore, the occupations of the Brunei Gallery building at SOAS and the UGC buildings in the autumn of 2015 were indicative of the times but also of the fact that voices across India and the UK (as well as elsewhere) were connecting the issues around public funding cuts and the demise of education as a 'right' or public good in these respective demonstrations of opposition.

Figure 1.1 Student occupations at SOAS October to November 2015

Source: Photo taken by me (6 October 2015)

1.1 Statement of Research

Higher education in Punjab is in the midst of a period of rapid change, extension, and expansion. The aim of this research is to make sense of how neoliberalism has impacted upon higher education processes in Punjab, India by exploring how it can be understood in the context of aspirations for social mobility as well as the HE sector's increasingly marketised features. The study's scope is directed at evaluating critically the theories of neoliberalism and internationalisation in the HE sector, and, in the process, to examine the historical and empirical context of this evaluation in the emerging economy of India with a special focus on the state of Punjab.

The growth and expansion of the global higher education economy has created a diversified and interconnected market for the delivery of and access to higher education. While it is recognised that this has increased opportunities for countries such as the US and the UK, with strong infrastructure and skilled human capital to expand their HE delivery, this global context presents a challenge for developing countries to enter such a competitive global market in the HE sector, who have comparatively less skilled human capital and educational infrastructure (Carnoy, 1999; Stewart, 1996). As Appadurai's (1997) concept of global 'flows' indicates, South Asia is a region which exhibits many dimensions of globalisation, which, for our purposes, shows how education fits within the globalising context of the higher education economy, aspirations and educational objectives that are reflected in how higher education institutions promote themselves. The HE sector has become globalised and its main objective, which follows the World Bank perspective, is to privatise the higher education sector within India (World Bank, 1994).

The progress of Indian higher education in the past has predominantly been based on state support. The presence of the state in public welfare activities suffered severe erosion in the late 1980s and early 1990s, whereby the Indian state subjected itself to the forces of globalisation, adopted structural adjustment programmes, and introduced an economic reform package at the beginning of 1991 under the direction of the IMF and World Bank (1996) (Tilak, 2002). The new economic reforms that were introduced entailed a low public budget for HE, an increase in tuition fees, and an increase in private sector and franchise arrangements in HE. An additional factor that led to decreased funding for HE (though not directly connected with globalisation) was the Indian government policy decision to expand primary education in order to increase literacy and access to basic education. The consequence of this policy choice was the shift in public expenditure from HE to primary education in the late 1980s (Rani, 2002; UGC, 1993). The relative decline in the importance of higher education in government policy measures has come under criticism, as it is argued that "higher Education is not a luxury: it is essential to national, social and economic development" (UNESCO, 2000).

The intensity of internationalisation activity within higher education has gathered pace, particularly since the 1990s when neoliberalism began to gain momentum and spread on a global scale. Furthermore, it expanded the activities of internationalisation. At the same time, GATT introduced trade in the service sector and education started being treated as a trade commodity.

There was a decline in public funding in the HE sector and the opening of new private universities, including the establishment of franchise arrangements, setting up MOUs, and direct collaboration. Therefore, this research explores the meaning and fundamental nature of globalisation and internationalisation of HE and investigates how the universities studied have responded to the opportunities presented by globalisation in their policies and practices.

While globalisation involves economic, political and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement, the term "internationalisation" has been defined as the "process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 1994). While some scholars believe that globalisation and internationalisation are one and the same, others believe that the two terms are distinct. Meanwhile, some use the two concepts interchangeably. Internationalisation/international education is not a new concept, as it featured before the 1990s and after the 1990s. Knight (2005) indicates that modes of internationalisation changed after the 1990s, and he further discussed the different modes of internationalisation in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Different modes of internationalisation

Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary level
1. Mobility of students 2. Strengthening international research collaboration	3. Mobility of faculty members 4. International dimension in curricula 5. International development projects 6. Joint academic programmes	7. Development of twinning programmes 8. Establishment of branch campuses 9. Commercial export/import of education programmes 10. Extracurricular activities for international students

Source: Adopted from Knight (2005)

In applying the concept of globalisation to this study and in building upon Bourdieu's social construction of 'economic' processes (2005), I will also be utilising Held et al.'s concept of "diffused globalisation" from their typology of globalisation. I will position this study's analysis of Punjab within this typology in terms of how it reflects the dominant neoliberal ideology's framing of globalisation processes through "high extensity of global interconnectedness, combined with high intensity, high velocity but low impact propensity" (p. 21). While the processes of global higher education flows show engagement with overt processes, more subtle and underlying impacts are also significant and provide the qualitative base of, in Bourdieu's (2005) terms, the "social structures of the economy". This reflects the multiple, unfixed, complex and often intangible effects. In my empirical exploration of this typology, I will continually reflect upon the distinctions between globalisation and internationalisation within this understanding of *diffused globalisation*.

Giroux (2014) highlights what he calls a "neoliberalism war" on higher education in his book *Neoliberalism's War Against Higher Education*. This work contributes to our understanding of the penetration of neoliberalism into higher education by pointing towards the broad-scale global context of how higher education's marketisation is influencing and shaping the sector and how education is viewed, accessed and delivered. Held's concept of *diffused globalisation* is relevant to this study. Because the diffused globalisation concept is considered a 20th century process of globalisation, it can be seen in the flows that emerge out of the global context of HE in Punjab, India during the late 20th Century. Diffused globalisation's different forms (extensity, intensity, velocity and impact) are useful for this research. In the methodology of this study, we can see diffused globalisation through private universities and franchise campuses where the extensity, intensity and velocity of institutions/universities are high but impacts/outcomes are low. Diffused globalisation is relevant to understanding the dynamic of internationalisation after the 1990s, when GATT introduced trade in the education sector and a neoliberal agenda emerged.

Similarly, Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction and cultural capital will highlight the social processes at play in order to develop an understanding of "stakeholders'" perceptions of globalisation and internationalisation. As secondary data and the pilot study conducted as part of this research indicate, the demand for higher education has significantly increased in Punjab. Students mentioned that their parents are supportive and are willingly paying their education expenses, which indicate that there is a market of consumers of Punjabi parents who have enough economic capital. Indeed, this would not be surprising amongst landed families, the subject of Byres' work on the socioeconomic effects of the green revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, who showed an increased demand for cultural and social capital, which is now being amassed through children's education. In the same way, the opening of private universities and franchise arrangements with lower standards than those of state institutions indicates how social reproduction further leads to social and gender inequality in private and franchise institutions. Byres' (1980) work was seminal in noting the momentous changes that came about due to the green revolution. He highlighted, among other things, how peasants who already had access to the means of production through larger holdings and information benefitted from the green revolution.

This resulted in the creation of a new, rich class of peasants who had enough resources to buy new machinery and expand their agricultural profits by applying new techniques and new innovations such as fertilisers and mechanical inputs. While Byres' study focussed on the period immediately following this initial phase of green revolution impacts, my study will update this and follow it up with an analysis of how cultural capital (through the expansion and proliferation of education through privatisation) has become the contemporary means by which class interests are being served. With economic power, rich peasants began to enter into non-agricultural activities, thus furthering the demand for education and higher education. Some of the motivations, which I will also explore, are that education has become a vehicle for families to improve their status. Here, we can say, the desire to gain cultural capital through education of children has particularly availed with rich peasants, following the green revolution, in order for them to bridge the rural disadvantages, which might have been previously experienced. Therefore, the demand for higher education can, in part, be explained by this desire for cultural capital; however, it is not merely accessed by the rich peasantry. The aspirations and motivations for higher education are shared by other groups as well. While migration has certainly been a means for dalits' and other non-landed groups to acquire mobility through transnational movement and settlement (Taylor and Singh 2013; Taylor 2015), it is clear that it is dominant groups who are most readily availing of the opportunities that internationalisation is offering, not surprisingly because of the fees and investment which are required to gain access. Also, higher education in itself represents an exclusive sector. In light of the reduction of public funding for state universities, which have traditionally represented assurances of reservations for underrepresented groups for access and inclusion, it is not surprising that dominant caste and class groups are occupying centre stage in this 'new era' of higher education in Punjab. Moreover, private universities and franchise institutions are capitalising on an increasing demand by providing a sought-after resource and charging the market rate fees for these services.

1.2 Why study higher education under neoliberalism?

Higher education is increasingly being promoted as a marketable service globally and is proliferating through new modes of activity and becoming embedded in the global market. This is due to the marketisation of higher education within the neoliberal principles, which govern the global economy. There is need to further understand the impacts that marketisation are having upon the sector. Neoliberalism is mainly associated with the 20th century, but it originates as an

idea of 19th century laissez-faire economic liberalism. Many believe that neoliberalism is an economic and political ideology, which came into existence after the failure of the liberalism model of Keynes in the early 20th century. The notion of neoliberalism was heavily criticised and rejected in the 1960s, however, but began to recirculate on a global scale at the time of Augusto Pinochet's economic reforms in Chile in 1980 (Hagen 2006).

The terms "neoliberal" and "neoliberalism" have been around for a long time, which were earlier considered by authors such as Cros (1950), Nawroth (1961) and ver Eecke (1982). However, the theory of neoliberalism as we know it today was mainly introduced by two economists, Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, in the late 1970s. Neoliberal ideology is taken to include the school of Austrian economics associated with Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek, and Joseph Schumpeter, characterised by a strong commitment to methodological individualism, an antipathy towards centralised state planning, a commitment to principles of private property, and a distinctive anti-rationalist epistemology; the so-called Chicago School of Economists, also associated with Hayek, includes leading monetarist economist Milton Friedman (Touraine 2001).

The period of economic crisis during the 1930s also brought a transformation in ideology from economic liberalisation of Keynes to neoliberalism. International agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have played a significant role in the diffusion of neoliberal ideology globally. The period of great reversal was when neoliberalism replaced Keynesianism and his liberal economic theories between 1945 to 1970 (Palley, 2005).

However, Keynesianism was replaced by a more "monetarist" approach inspired by the ideas of Milton Friedman (1962) and Friedman and Schwartz (1963). Since then, we have been led to believe that neoliberalism, i.e. monetarism and related theories, has dominated macroeconomic policymaking, as indicated by the tendency towards less severe state regulations on the economy, and greater emphasis on stability in economic policy rather than Keynesian goals such as full employment and the alleviation of abject poverty. While advocates of neoliberalism argue that proper allocation of resources is only possible through the mechanisms of the market without the interference of the public sector, critics of neoliberalism (e.g. Blomgren, 1997; Bourdieu, 1998; 1998a; 2001; Giddens, 1998; Chomsky, 1999; Campbell and Pedersen, 2001; Touraine, 2001; Rapley, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Hagen, 2006; Plehwe et al., 2006) have this belief of a neoliberal

market and described the consequences of neoliberalism for different nations' economy, which is discussed in detail in the literature review chapter.

Neoliberalism is not only an economic theory. It is a politico-economic belief system which brings policies such as deregulation, privatisation, and a withdrawal from the state in social welfare. Munck (2005) highlights that a self-regulating market is a core assumption of the neoliberal market and efficient allocation of resources is the most important element of the economic system. As David Harvey has highlighted, the rise to ascendance of neoliberalism has meant a complete reworking of meanings and values associated with economic and political activity, with an evolving position of the state in relation to markets:

> *Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices…It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets (Harvey 2005: 2).*

The focus of this study is to understand the changes which are emerging in the adoption of the new ideology of marketisation in the higher education sector. Marketisation of higher education is both complex and controversially contested. Like other social sectors, the state has withdrawn public funding from the higher education sector where such reforms have taken place. Mishra and Sirguroh (2014) use the phrase "homo economics us", in defining the singular focus upon marketisation of higher education sector under neoliberalism in which individualism super cedes public good benefits of education. Mishra and Sirguroh (2014) go further in highlighting that it is not merely the economic and political aspects of education which are being shaped by neoliberal ideology but also social relations in the ways in which education institutions are being transformed:

> *The social relation of the educational institution is a replica of the economy. Students enter as customers and graduate as finished products. Teachers and support staff are production workers and administrators act out the role of a boss. Everything from student evaluation procedures to curricular development, and from scholarships to student evaluation of teachers (customer satisfaction), is purely based on factory modes of production (Mishra and Sirguroh, 2014).*

Thus, as the declining value of the manufacturing industry in terms of returns from investment continue, the rise in the value of the service sector in terms of profit is likely to see market principles to continue to dictate the terms of the higher education sector for the foreseeable future. The next section will highlight how reforms have occurred in different national contexts.

1.3 Why Punjab?

The rapidly evolving market-oriented higher education system of Punjab needs to be studied, as there is little existing literature or analysis. Punjab has four types of universities and institutes: Central Universities, State Universities, Private Universities, and franchise institutes. This typology was a state-served system before neoliberal reforms were introduced.

The liberalisation process of economic policies expanded the commercialisation in higher education sector in Punjab and India. A large number of private institutes run by business interests, individuals and families, religious endowments and a host of other investing agencies are creating commercial hubs rather than imparting quality education. This is the nature of capital and highlights how in Punjab higher education is becoming increasingly a new site to amass cultural, social and economic capital by both capitalist interests as well as student/parent consumers. However, there are some institutes run by education trusts which consider the issues of quality and equity to some extent in Punjab.

Punjab is also an important site to explore for other reasons. It is not only a place where neoliberal processes are rapidly extending and expanding. It is also a place which has an interesting trajectory of capitalist development (from the colonial economy to the green revolution to more

recent neoliberal reforms) which has seen its economic and social character shift from being a largely agricultural or rural region to one which is a burgeoning place of international economic ties and a globally aspirational area of social mobility. The economic reforms that have taken place since the mid-1990s show a gradual reshaping of the HE sector, in particular, in the ways in which the Punjab state has embraced the privatisation of education namely through the Akali Dal government during its 1997-2002 and 2007-2017 periods in power. The Akali Dal, when in power, has utilised the neoliberal paradigm to further its own power politics and capital accumulation through the Prakash Singh and Sukhbir Singh Badal patriarchal, feudal family network. For this reason, the perception of Punjab as a predominantly agricultural society needs to be challenged and understood for these dramatic shifts that have taken place, not least in terms of urbanisation, privatisation, migration and a changing political landscape between the Punjab state government and the Indian government. Education and higher education institutions more specifically have become an important part of capital accumulation, and Bourdieu's *Three Forms of Capital* resonate with this study of higher education in Punjab and many levels.

My own ontological experience helped me to understand the transformation of higher education in state universities of Punjab such as shifts from low to high fee, changes in admission criteria and increase in the number of students to generate funds for university. Theoretical debates in the literature review explored privatisation, internationalisation processes, and the impact of neoliberalism at global and local levels in the higher education market. My fieldwork experience explore the new structure of higher education market, problems, experience, opinion of the 'stakeholders' of different types of the universities.

The major changes found after processes of marketisation began have been that the demand for higher education is expanding, the number of private universities and foreign institutes rose after the 1990s, and a state decline in public funding. Just as agriculture had formed the basis for the amassing of economic capital by landed groups during the green revolution, education has become the new frontier for amassing cultural and social capital. This, in addition to the existing literature on capitalism, globalisation and education, developed my interest in pursuing this research topic on Punjab. I was born and brought up in Punjab and have own ontological experience and experience in fieldwork, as my previous research influenced me to pursue my research on Punjab.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions have shaped the study's mode of enquiry, which will further explored in the methodology chapter.

1. How has the higher education system in Punjab witnessed an intensification of internationalisation activities since the 1990s?

2. What are the features of the contemporary global higher education economy and what are the perceptions of 'stakeholders' behind the internationalisation of HE in Punjab?

3. What are the impacts of these changes and how are they occurring?

1.5 Aims/Objectives

1. To make a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in relation to higher education in Punjab

2. To identify and explain how 'stakeholders' are shaping and engaging with internationalisation processes in HE in Punjab

3. To make policy recommendations for key stakeholders and governments in Punjab and India in relation to the findings of the research

Table 1.2: The relationship between research questions and different sources of data

Research Questions	**Data Sources**
1. How has the HE system in India witnessed an intensification of internationalisation activities since the 1990s?	Literature review and secondary data
2. What are the features of the contemporary global higher education economy and what are the perceptions of stakeholders behind the internationalisation of HE in India?	Literature review, secondary data, and qualitative content analysis technique of data collection
3. What are the impacts of these changes and how are they occurring?	Qualitative semi-structured interviews and focus group method; participant observation

Table 1.3: The relationship between aims/objectives of the study and different data sources

Aims/Objectives	**Data Sources**
1. To make a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in relation to HE in India	Qualitative data collection such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and content analysis
2. To identify and explain how stakeholders are shaping and engaging with internationalisation processes in HE in India	Secondary data and qualitative data collection such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and content analysis; participant observation
3. To make policy recommendations for key stakeholders and governments in Punjab and India in relation to the findings of the research	Qualitative data collection such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and content analysis

My study of globalisation and neoliberalism in higher education is based on a sample of seven higher education institutions:

- Central University Bathinda (the only Central University in Punjab)
- Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar (a State University)
- Punjabi University Patiala (a State University)
- Lovely Professional University Jalandhar (a Private University)
- Chandigarh Private University (a Private University)
- Punjab's Continental Institute for International Studies (a Franchise College)
- Georgian College Ontario, Canada

Each of these institutions was selected because they reflect key components of the sectors in which they have been located. For instance, GNDU is a state university, which continues to receive funding from the state and central governments, and maintains competitive standards for admission and relatively lower fees. Georgian College Ontario, on the other hand, is a franchise institution, which admits students on lower criteria, charges relatively higher fees, and operates as a global business in partnership with an institute in Punjab, India (Continental Institute for International Studies).

1.6 Limitations of Study

Although the research aims of this study were addressed, there were some unavoidable limitations. Firstly, this research is based on a relatively small sample and therefore cannot be seen as a comprehensive or representative study. Secondly, I was not able to get a wider distribution of social groups, especially in the case of Chapter 7, in terms of gender, class and caste in assessing access, mobility and inclusion/exclusion. Finally, my first language is not English, and I often found it a struggle to more fully express my thoughts and reflections in a written, academic format of the PhD.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, as shown in the table below:

Table 1.4: The numbers and names of different chapters

Chapter No.	Chapter Name
Chapter 1	*Introduction*
Chapter 2	Literature review: *Neoliberalism, globalisation and the Internationalisation of the higher education economy*
Chapter 3	*The evolution of higher education in India*
Chapter 4	*Methodology*
Chapter 5	*The state of higher education*
Chapter 6	*The contours of privatisation of higher education in Punjab*
Chapter 7	*Internationalisation of higher education between Punjab and Canada: Neoliberalism in practice*
Chapter 8	*Conclusion*

Chapter 2, the literature review, explores the key concepts of neoliberalism and globalisation and proposes that globalisation on its own does not inherently lead to interconnectedness or 'global flows'. The chapter poses two particular concepts of social reproduction through the social structures of the economy (Bourdieu) as well as *diffused globalisation* (Held et al) in developing a picture of the impacts and scale of neoliberal processes in higher education.

Chapter 3 will provide a historical background of higher education in India. A number of shifts in India's higher education system will be explored as they relate to broader processes in the Indian economy. The current structure of higher education and the relevant management bodies will be outlined, and the current BJP government's approach to higher education will be analysed in

terms of the deepening private forces that are setting in with the backing of the Indian government.

Chapter 4 will outline the methodology and research design of the study. By focusing on the "what," "why" and "how" of the research, I will explain my sampling strategy, data sources and data collection, and processes of making sense of the empirical material that was gathered during the fieldwork. Chapter 5 will discuss the Punjab state's role, aims and impacts on higher education in making sense of how the state has managed the reforms that have taken place and how various "stakeholders" in government and higher education institutions understand the changes that have taken place. Chapter 6 will examine the contours of the privatisation of education by highlighting the moves to introduce the Private Universities Bill and resistances to it. Ultimately, the state withdrawal from education has provided an opportunity for private forces to enter into the market. The final empirical chapter, Chapter 7, will explore internationalisation as a concept in highlighting how strategies, programmes and policies promoting internationalisation are by and large imbued with neoliberal ideology, which operates on many levels. The chapter utilises the idea of the 'student experience' as a means of accentuating how 'customer-students' in the market economy of education reflect on their journeys on the internationalisation Punjab-Canada corridor. Finally, Chapter 8 will explore the findings of the thesis and make suggestions for further research and policy consideration.

1.8 Contribution to Knowledge

This research contributes to the field at three levels in its aim to contribute to the growing literature on competing theories of globalisation and internationalisation in higher education by asking:

How are certain modes of internationalisation being carried out by higher education institutions? Conversely, why are certain kinds of higher education institutions not engaging in internationalisation or engaging in different ways?

1. At an applied and policy level, the study identifies changes that are occurring in Punjab's higher education sector within the current global context.

2. At a policy level, this study intends to contribute to the body of knowledge by augmenting researchers' and policymakers' understanding of higher education and will give a critical understanding of the perspectives of 'stakeholders' on higher education and implications of the globalisation of the higher education sector by not merely taking the market and neoliberalism for granted or as the status quo. One of the contributions of this thesis will be the institutional spectrum in providing a critical analysis of the higher education sector in India. Another contribution will be its engagement with the concept of internationalisation in uncovering and situating its meanings within the neoliberal ideology, which governs it.

3. At a methodological level, the study contributes by using a mixed methods approach in its methodology to answer the research questions. A unique contribution of the study is its methodological framework, which incorporates a small sample in Canada and illustrates an international 'tie-up' with an institution in Punjab, enabling a multi-sited, global approach to the fieldwork in what I call the 'Punjab-Canada corridor'.

4. Finally, a central conceptual contribution of the study is its inversion of neoliberal concepts now being commonly and normatively applied globally within education such as "stakeholders," "producers" and "consumers" which are critically addressed in posing new ways of reflecting on education with the greater common/public good in mind, and not merely private interests and profit.

Chapter 2

Literature Review:

Neoliberalism, Globalisation and the Internationalisation of the Higher Education Economy

2.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights a number of debates, which inform the analysis of the thesis. The chapter begins with an examination of neoliberalism as an ideology and explores the ascent of neoliberalism as the dominant framework in international and national policy by highlighting some of the key debates and processes relevant to my study. The chapter goes on to examine debates within globalisation in which I attempt to both clarify how the concept relates to this study and what some of its limitations are. I pose the notion of *diffused globalisation* as a means for examining the global context of HE, and, in doing so, differentiate between the terms globalisation and internationalisation.

The chapter then goes on to position Punjab within the global higher education economy. I draw upon several strands of Bourdieu's work (social structures of the economy, social reproduction, and three forms of capital) in order to position my theoretical approach towards neoliberal internationalisation as is evident in the empirical dimensions of my study.

2.1(a) The ideology of the neoliberal turn

Neoliberal ideology, as Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue, is a combination of open, competitive and unregulated markets, which are free from state intervention and represent the 'optimal mechanism' for economic development, which formulate the "intellectual roots of this *utopia of unlimited exploitation.*" According to David Harvey:

> *Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices proposes that human well-beings can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. (Harvey 2005:2).*

The foundations of neoliberalism lie in the decline of Keynesianism. The term neoliberalism was introduced immediately after the Second World War, but came into force after the failure of the Keynesian model in the 1970s. The Keynesian model, which favoured the private sector along with the intervention of the state, is in direct contrast to neoliberal ideology which is based on minimal intervention of the state and strong property rights of the private sector.

Hayek and Friedman's (1979) use of the term neoliberal as a belief in the open market began to spread in popular policy discourse during the 1970s and 1980s. However, it has evolved to take on further defining features such as: a) deregulation of state control, b) privatisation of public services, c) dismantling of welfare programmes, and d) international capital mobility. The process of the privatisation of public welfare is directly related to the shift from the ideology of Adam Smith to that of Friedman. Smith focused on public welfare of society while Friedman's ideology was a move from the public sector to private sector. An underlying question remains around the role and function of the state in both. The state under neoliberalism serves a distinctive role in safeguarding the 'free market' while ensuring private property and the private sector and the values of neoliberalism which highlights the state's contested and contradictory role (Mises 1962; Nozick 1974; Hayek 1979). Neoliberalism as a political ideology saw the replacement of the Keynesian state as dominant in the economic system. Neoliberalism increases the income of the rich, and the growth of wealth of elite classes is faster than that of other individuals. There is a

need to understand the neoliberalism critically, which controls the economic and political system on a global scale (Saad-Filho and Johnson, 2005).

Saad-Filho (2011) highlights the re-composition of the rule of capital at five levels: domestic resource allocation, international economic integration, the reproduction of state, ideology and the reproduction of the working class under neoliberal ideology. He further discusses the process of financialisation, which is a core feature of accumulation and social reproduction under neoliberalism, which highlights that, far from being 'open' and non-regulatory, neoliberalism has a skewed regulatory function towards capital and growth, away from concerns around equity.

The core features of neoliberalism as explained by Olssen and Peters (2005) are an emphasis on a free market economy at national and global levels, promotion of private rights, decline in the state's share from the social sector, and commitment to free trade without tariffs, subsidies, and fixed exchange rates. Further, Wacquant (2010) described the features of neoliberalism as a market-oriented ideology: a) economic deregulation belongs to the market agenda where the market gains optimal use of resources without taking care of equity and quality and the private provision of core public good; b) welfare state devolution, retraction and re-composition designed for the expansion of the market where the main focus is the commodification of goods and services and where citizens of any country are treated as a client; c) an expensive, intrusive and proactive penal apparatus generating social insecurity and inequality; d) the cultural trope of individual responsibility indicates the minimal role of state and the evasion of cooperative responsibility.

In a nutshell, neoliberal ideology is primarily based on *laissez faire* principles, which is an economic system in which transactions between private parties are free from state interference such as regulations, privileges, tariffs and subsidies. However, the state under neoliberalism has come to take on distinctive functions in ensuring laissez faire principles are defended, which, in many ways, produces a contradictory set of practices.

Harvey's *The New Imperialism* and *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* highlight these contradictions in detail. His depiction of the ascent of neoliberalism in the US, Western Europe

and Japan before the mid-1970s show where it was expanding on the basis of the "class compromise between capital and labour." Harvey illustrates the shifting nature of class under neoliberalism and also describes capitalist social relations and the impact of the crisis of over accumulation. Harvey (2005) also argues that the restoration of class was the agenda of neoliberalism during the economic crises of the 1970s, which further led to the re-establishment of the condition of capital and also the regeneration of the economy of the elites.

According to Duménil and Lévy (2001) neoliberalism serves particular class interests to bring about economic and social changes which occurred mainly because of ruling class crises during the mid-1970s. This transformation took place after the Second World War as new markets were introduced with minimal governmental role and elite classes were in crisis and needed to re-establish capital (Duménil and Lévy, 2011). Neoliberalism is not only related to ideology, but also restores the capital for the upper class, which can, in short, be termed as a phase of 'managerial capitalism' (Klein and Smith 2008; Harvey, 2010; Duménil and Lévy 2011).

'Accumulation by dispossession' is a concept used by Harvey and defines the neoliberal capitalist policies, which began in the 1970s in many developed nations. Accumulation by dispossession is mainly a centralisation of wealth and power in the hands of a few by dispossessing the public of their wealth and land in undermining the concept of common or collective good. In brief, accumulation by dispossession involves the transfer of income and wealth from the mass population to the elite classes. This is a concept derived from Marx's notion of 'primitive accumulation'. Primitive accumulation, as defined by Marx, allowed for the expansion of capitalism. For Marx, primitive accumulation was not only a rising stage, but was also related to the 'theft' of land from farmers and also exploitation by the capitalist class to increase their wealth through enforcement. Primitive accumulation describes the nature of capitalism in which the rich class expands its wealth through the creation of a new class of 'free' workers with no choice but to sell their land power to those who have control of the means of production (Winter, 2008). As Byres noted, primitive accumulation occurred in the colonial empires that persisted after the Second World War, even though it was "far less successful in its separation of the producers from means of production than domestic primitive accumulation was in Western Europe". Callinicos (2006) indicates that privatisation is a key element of "accumulation by dispossession" whereby the "enclosure and the assignment of private property rights is considered the best way to protect against the so called 'tragedy of the commons'" (Harvey, 2005).

The neoliberal policies aligned to this 'tragedy' have been guided by four processes: privatisation, financialisation, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistribution (Harvey, 2005). Harvey further highlights within these four process the commodification and privatisation of land; conversion of other property rights (common, collective, state) into private property rights; seizure of assets and natural resources through colonial, neo-colonial and imperial processes; usury, national debt and credit as a radical means of primitive accumulation; and the removal of communal property rights via the abolition or reduction of pensions, paid leave, education and health care.

Further, Rosa Luxemburg, in alliance with the concepts of primitive accumulation and over accumulation, argued that a shortage of demand for capitalism's products meant the system could only continue to expand by cannibalising the pre-capitalist world around it. This phenomenon is very similar to Harvey's concept of "outside capitalism". Harvey (2003) argued that the 'outside' is a concept which is necessary to stabilise capitalism and, for our purposes here, highlights the drive towards 'globalisation' and 'internationalisation' in relation to developing countries and their markets.

The impacts of the neoliberal turn are highlighted by Harvey (2010):

> *The failure of neoliberals to imagine the consequences of imposing private property rights and monetised market institutions on divergent geographical, ecological and anthropological situations is one of the more astonishing conceits of our time.*

He also adds that private property is not a necessary condition for economic development in being a remedy for employment and poverty. Instead, it leads to further and deepened economic exclusion, dependency and collapse (Sassen, 2006; Hall, 2010). Fine (2000) points out how neo-classical economics focused on static efficiency of the market. The assumption of a static efficient market argues that people are rational, that all actors have access to information, and that both individuals and firms maximise utility.

This is the neoliberal shift from the supposed static to dynamic. Therefore, under neoliberalism the dynamic nature of the market includes market failure, unequal distribution of resources and lack of information of the particular product (Fine, 2004).

Bourdieu (1992) also argued that neoliberalism is not about economic and political change. It also draws its social power from the economic and political power of those whose interest it expresses, such as financial operators, stockholders, industrialists and conservative politicians. These belong to the part of social change that seeks to introduce a laisser-faire neoliberal ideology. According to Bourdieu (1984), neoliberalism refers to "conservative revolution and historical restoration." Neoliberalism introduced different layers or processes, including the minimal role of state, the agenda of a free market and private property rights on public property.

Bourdieu (1992) discussed the consequences of this social change, such as structural inequality, low quality product, which is a further reason for market failure in the long run, exploitation of the world of labour, considerable social-class stratification, unemployment, and a decline in the quality of life for most of the population on the planet.

Bourdieu's work focuses on different forms of capital through which society is reproduced and dominant classes retain their position. In addition to economic capital, which is covered by the authors discussed so far, his further elaborations of cultural capital and social capital have been a significant contribution to our understandings of neoliberalism and capitalism. His book *Distinction* (1984) explores the ways in which the middle-class taste and cultivation are used by people as cultural signifiers, as they seek to identify themselves with those 'above' them on the social ladder and to demonstrate their difference from those 'below'. As Bourdieu argued:

> *A general science of the economy of practices that does not artificially limit itself to those practices that are socially recognised as economic must endeavour to grasp capital, that 'energy of social physics'... in all of its different forms... I have shown that capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. (Bourdieu, in Wacquant, 1992, pp. 118–119)*

The idea of a social physics of capital as posited by Bourdieu opens the field for a wider and deeper enquiry into the outcomes of the neoliberal turn. Hence, Bourdieu's contributions have augmented the economic and political analysis of neoliberalism by creating intellectual space and vocabulary for examining the social field and the cultural expressions of the ideology of neoliberalism:

> *Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." (Bourdieu, in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119)*

Coleman (1988) also believed that social structures act as mediating agents of social capital through collective resources which are utilised to satisfy goals of the agents. Social capital has been utilised by others such as Putnam (2000), who has been heavily critiqued for his understanding of social capital. In 'Bowling Alone' he argued that civic engagement and aggregate social capital have been on the decline in the US but that localised networks of social capital have been on the rise. In formulating a diagnostic measure of social capital, Putnam's body of work has been focused on developing an understanding of cross-national and cross-community discrepancies and differences in economic growth, therefore (unlike Bourdieu) separating economic capital from social capital. Fine (2004), on the contrary, highlights how social capital is implicitly tied to economic capital and engages with social theory in developing his definition and conception of social capital. According to Fine, capital refers to a) resources and value of the resources, which includes tangible (public space and private property) and intangible (actors, human capital and people); b) relationships between the resources; and c) the impact that these relationships have on the resources involved in each relationship. He outlines how social capital and social relations have changed during the ascent and dominance of neoliberal ideology. He further argues that the impact of neoliberalism is not only in relation to political and economic conditions, but can also be seen clearly within social structures which have become more closely tied to private property rights and the state's withdrawal from the social sector.

2.1 (b) Neoliberalism and Punjab:

Neoliberalism has become the dominant ideological force in Punjab and India most notably through the converging forces of capitalist development (including the green revolution), the centre-right political project of the Akali Dal government (which has notoriously placed ownership of key media, transport, and entertainment in the personal hands of the Badal family) and the deepening of global economic ties and links through diaspora and other forces of 'internationalisation'. This new direction of outright privatisation policies could be interpreted as a straightforward cause-effect relationship between neoliberal ideology and the emerging Punjab political project. Neoliberalism has not been adopted as the sole ideology in India but it has been implemented as a socio-economic and political force to strengthen landed and feudal forces while weakening working class struggle. This in turn has presented an opportunity for the middle classes to reproduce their own assets by means of exploiting the poor and the landless. Therefore, the green revolution period (1960s and 1970s) played a vital and pivotal role in the generation of income for middle class families in Punjab. This income generation further led to the introduction of the private sector in Punjab through the New Economic Policy of the 1980s. The expansion of privatisation and international involvement can be clearly observed during the period of financial crisis in all states of India. The global force of neoliberalism is forcefully implemented in Punjab because of the pressure of international agents such as IMF, World Bank etc. (Partha, 1998).

As Patnaik (2005) has described, Indian neoliberalism can be seen as a combination of liberalisation of mining, the accelerated growth in infrastructure sectors, privatisation of natural resources and the creation of Special Economic Zones. Punjab has focused largely on attracting electronics and engineering SEZs, but it is not clear if this helps diversify the Punjab economy, or if it simply creates another dependency model of economic organisation.

Beyond the question of economic organisation and development, however, is a larger question of what a just social/economic order would look like. The adoption of neoliberal ideology became evident in the 1990s as the state began to withdraw its share from social sectors such as education and health. Another clear indication of this process was the concurrent expansion of the private sector. Universities also underwent radical structural transformation. The expansion of private universities, technical and professional institutions and the new modes of internationalisation are

the main features of the new incarnation in terms of what H.E. Kaul (1993) explored in the possession of private universities in the hands of political parties in India with particular focus on Punjab state of India. Punjab state holds complete control over the establishment of private universities in the post-liberalisation period which has led to the expansion of private universities and franchise institutions in Punjab.

2.2 Globalisation

Globalisation, which is a highly debated and contested term, is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture. As David Held et al note, it is not a new process and therefore it is more appropriate to speak of each specific *epoch* of globalisation in terms of dominant modes of interaction. When viewing India this is particularly evident when taking a long-term view of this phase or *epoch* of globalisation. This section seeks to point to existing tensions and debates in the literature and to also outline the main aspects of the phenomenon that are relevant to this study of higher education.

Globalisation is multifaceted and encompasses many heterogeneous forces. The difficulty in conceptualising the term is partly due to the wide range of disciplines and perspectives that have focused on it. Marxist analysis of capitalism indicates the idea that the major point of reference is capital and the economy rather than globality itself. Marxists' emphasis on capitalism, colonialism/imperialism and Western hegemony posits that globalisation is the final stage in the development of capitalism and problematically confirms the idea that capitalism is an inflexible force, thus making it difficult to conceptualise alternative futures (Robertson and Khondker, 1998). In this light, economic notions of globalisation reflect the desire of Western capitalist nations and newly developed nations to sustain a competitive edge, rather than meeting the needs or shaping the form of a new integrated state of the future.

Jan Scholte (2000, p.49) argues that there is much confusion and inappropriate usage of the term and that only 'transworld relations between people' or the growth of supraterritoriality allows us to explore the far-reaching and fundamental changes to how the world is being shaped by

globalisation. Other conceptions of globalisation, as Scholte argues, are repetitive and redundant in restating terms that have very specific senses, such as 'free trade', universalisation, modernisation, deterritorialisation (Held et al 1999) and westernisation (Mehmet 2002). Maybe most significantly for my study, Scholte notes that the terms internationalisation (where it relates to the growth of interaction and interdependence between different countries and people in different countries) and "free" trade (which he argues is based on a value-ridden liberal/neoliberal sense of the breaking down of regulatory mechanisms) in particular should not be viewed as synonymous with globalisation. Frameworks which make or have implicit neoliberal assumptions of globalisation, thus, are applied in this study of internationalisation in an applied way to the HE sector.

The far-reaching sense of globalisation has been noted by Manuel Castells (2001) who argues that in the last twenty years of the twentieth century, a new economy emerged around the world due to globalisation. He characterises it as a new brand of capitalism with three fundamental features:

- Productivity and competitiveness which are mainly a function of knowledge generation and information processing
- Networks of production, management and distribution through firms and territories
- The capacity to work as a unit in real time, or chosen time, on a planetary scale (Castells, 2001).

Thomas Friedman approaches globalisation through what he calls 'flattening', in which production is dominated by complex supply chains based on value-added services, with products in all industries being increasingly exchanged through competitive commodification and the possibility of using labour and services in emerging markets like India and China. Friedman argues that this is a process by which individuals as well as companies become empowered. He describes how accelerated change is made possible through intersecting technologies and social protocols, such as cell phones, the Internet and open source software. Friedman criticises societies that resist these changes, arguing that the inevitability of global change forces all societies to either adapt to its forces or be left behind. He emphasizes the inevitability of a rapid pace of change and the extent to which emerging abilities of individuals and developing countries are creating many pressures on businesses and individuals (Friedman, 2006).

However, globalisation, while promoted by Friedman as a neoliberal process that should not be resisted, is a 'risky' process, as Ulrich Beck (2000) argues. Beck states that globalisation presents risks which can catch up with those who profit or produce from those profits. In what Beck (1992, p.21) has termed 'the risk society', as knowledge has grown, so has risk. Indeed, Beck argues that the social relationships, institutions and dynamics within which knowledge is produced have accentuated the risks involved. Therefore risk has become part of globalisation (Beck, 1992; 2000).

Pierre Bourdieu (2005) posits that there is a 'double meaning of globalisation' as both unification and expansion and that it is not just a descriptive, normative term but one which is value-laden and reflects economic policy. Thus, neoliberalism as the dominant ideology is implicit within how globalisation is commonly understood and, according to Bourdieu, constitutes a global economic field or *habitus*.

In applying the concept of globalisation to this study and in building on Bourdieu's social construction of 'economic' processes (2005), I will also be utilising Held et al's concept of 'diffused globalisation' from their typology of globalisation. I will position this study's analysis of Punjab within this typology in terms of how it reflects the dominant neoliberal ideology's framing of globalisation processes through 'high extensity of global interconnectedness, combined with low intensity, low velocity but high impact propensity' (p. 21). While the processes of global higher education flows show engagement with the overt processes, more subtle and underlying impacts are also significant and provide the qualitative base of, in Bourdieu's (2005) terms, the "social structures of the economy." This reflects the multiple, unfixed, complex and often intangible affects. In my empirical exploration of this typology, I will continually reflect upon the distinctions between globalisation and internationalisation within this understanding of *diffused globalisation*.

While, as stated by Scholte (2000) that globalisation and internationalisation are not synonymous, my exploration of shifting processes in the higher education sector in India requires a selective and careful understanding of both globalisation and internationalisation and how they relate to one another. As Balachandran and Subrahmanyam (2005) concisely point out in their critique of economic histories of globalisation, "the changes in the past decade and a half in India must not

be seen therefore as the first time the ‘market’ has played a significant role in Indian history. What is new is the conjuncture, and the institutions- both internal and external- that underpin the market today” (p. 39). This conjuncture is where I will be specifically exploring is what constitutes the higher education economy in Punjab, India.

Despite nation-states becoming part of an increasingly interconnected and expansively interacting world, national policies are placing stronger emphasis on regulating activities, transactions, and flows. Thus, globalisation in the context of higher education policy highlights the policy implementation of internationalisation by higher education actors, state and other regulatory bodies while the impacts, outcomes, and effects show globalisation in action. As Matthews argues (2002) international education or internationalisation is not sharing boundaries with globalisation, rather internationalisation includes a particular configuration of neoliberal globalisation ideology (Matthews, 2002). According to Thorsen and Lie (2006), neoliberal ideology is “the dominant ideology shaping our world today in the age of neoliberalism". Rather than being a ‘new’ formulation of liberalism, according to David Harvey, neoliberalism is, in its own right, a distinctive economic theory which represents far more than liberal value and policies but a specific notion of an agenda to liberate individual entrepreneurialism and skills through institutional frameworks set up to protect free trade, free markets, and private property rights (2005, p. 2).

Neoliberal economic priorities of international education are not explained through the discourse of intercultural internationalism, but instead through discourses of globalisation through internationalisation Equity and social justice are completely absent in education and highlight an implicit neoliberal agenda (Levin, 1999). According to Matthews (2002), “neoliberal globalisation ideology offers a bewildering array of performance indicators, benchmarks, competencies, standards, objectives, outcomes and assessments.” Education policy and neoliberal ideology are both rationalised through the discourse of globalisation, thus highlighting the economic field or *habitus* of global higher education as a participating element within these debates. However, in my study I will not use the terms globalisation and internationalisation interchangeably. I will selectively apply them in reflecting the above understanding of the economic field of education in which institutional actors (universities, institutes) engage with internationalisation while globalisation processes highlight the far-reaching, often unexpected outcomes and effects.

2.3 Globalisation and internationalisation in the higher education economy

Altbach (2004) describes globalisation as involving economic, political and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement. In relating this to the global context of education, global capital has, for the first time, heavily invested in knowledge industries worldwide, including higher education and advanced training (Altbach, 2006).

Globalisation in higher education is also demonstrated by the cross-border activities of blurred national systems, which are often employed to depict worldwide trends and growing global competition (Teichler, 2004). The phenomenon is demonstrated by: recruiting students, faculty and staff from around the globe; students, faculty and staff exchanges with partners across the globe; global themes in the curriculum; off-shore campus developments; and collaborative research and other projects involving partners across the globe (Beerkens, 2004).

While some scholars believe that globalisation and internationalisation are one and the same, others believe that the two terms are distinct from one another, while some use the two concepts interchangeably. Globalisation and internationalisation are commonly used terms in academic circles, but are often confused in the wider world. As Bruch and Barty (1998, p.21) note, many staff, at all levels in UK higher education institutions, believe and argue that internationalisation is a positive process in its own right, but that there may be fewer who would welcome globalisation in the same way.

Scott (2006) tried to distinguish between the two concepts and argued that internationalisation mainly emphasizes strategic relationships and includes recruitment of students, student and staff exchange programmes and university collaboration at a global level. Globalisation, on the other hand, reflects global competitiveness and intensified collaboration and also involves the identification of national cultures, the impact of information and communication technology (ICT) on the standardisation of teaching and the emergence of global research networks and culture (Scott, 2006). Daly (1999) also believed that these two concepts were totally different, stating “inter-national means between the nations”. He also pointed out that internationalisation

referred to the increasing importance of trade in services, especially in the education industry, and international relations between universities worldwide. Daly (1999) also defined globalisation as "a global economic integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also uncontrolled and easy migration". This study agrees with Scott and Daly's views of these two terms. In brief, globalisation is reshaping universities and refashioning the environment of higher education institutions, both within and without the nation while internationalisation shows the regulatory and institutional management of globalisation.

This study aims to examine the contours of higher education processes as evident in the state of Punjab in India as a means to further see how the concepts of internationalisation and globalisation can be understood. For our purposes here, this became most pronounced in the early 1990s after the liberalisation of the Indian economy. According to Knight (2005), the term internationalisation was commonly used in the late 1980s. In the education sector, the term internationalisation was defined as the "process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post secondary education" (Knight, 1999). Further, Arun and Van de Water (1992) indicated that internationalisation referred to "the multiple activities, programs and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchange and technical cooperation." Knight (2005) argued that internationalisation has different meanings for different people and is defined in a variety of ways. Some believe that internationalisation involves a variety of international activities, such as academic mobility for students and teachers, international linkages, partnerships and projects and new international academic programs and research initiatives. For others, it refers to the delivery of education to other countries through new types of arrangements, such as branch campuses or franchises, using a variety of face-to-face and distance techniques. Finally, some scholars have stated that internationalisation refers to a situation where there is an increasing emphasis on trade in higher education. This is a very interesting debate, which has been covered by Knight (2005). Today, developed and developing nations are opening their doors for international trade in higher education. Griffith and White described internationalisation as a process where higher education institutions "spread their wings" from the home market to the international market (Held,1995).

Enrolment in the higher education sector has been increasing around the world since the 1980s. With the rapid growth and expansion of trade liberalisation after this time, education institutions

are following the new trend of internationalisation in the era of globalisation. The entry of the education sector into the profit-making sector, rather than as part of a welfare system to develop human resources, has become a part of the economic field within which education is also a part of. However, at an increasing rate, many nations have begun treating education as one of the most important export sectors, and it has become a significant cash flow source in economies such as the USA, U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand (DFID, 2000).

If it can be argued that education should be treated as a trade commodity within the neoliberal paradigm, then there should be an understanding of the notions of public/private good and global public/private good. This section will explore what is meant by a 'public good' and a 'private good' in the context of higher education. According to Tilak (2009), higher education is regarded as a public good, benefitting the individual, but also the whole of society. Educationists, social scientists and other scholars, including economists, believe that higher education is recognised as a public good and benefits the whole of society in different nations. The notion of public good has long been universally accepted (Tilak, 2009), but the phenomenon has changed since the 1980s and a new debate is taking place in literature with the introduction of trade in the service sector under the GATT agreement. The GATT/WTO was created in 1947, but was only concerned about trade in goods. Trade in services came after the Uruguay round in 1995 and a new General Agreement was made regarding trade and services (GATS). GATS includes four types of supplies in services, as described in the Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 GATS: Four types of supplies in services

Mode of Supply	Definitions	Examples in Education Services
1. Cross-border supply	Cross-border supply refers to services which cross the border from one country to another country among the member states, meaning that service providers will be able to deliver the service in another country. Not necessarily service providers.	Distance education E-learning Testing Services Education Materials
2. Consumption abroad	Consumption abroad defines the possibility of the service consumer being to go another country and obtain the same service	Students studying abroad
3. Commercial Presence	Commercial presence refers to the opportunity to establish a territorial presence, meaning that a service provider from one member state will be able to establish branches wholly owned subsidiaries, agencies and joint ventures.	Local branch or satellite campuses Twinning arrangements Franchising with local institutions
4. Presence of natural persons	Presence of natural persons means the possibility for a service provider to be located in another member state to deliver the service.	Professors, teachers, researchers working abroad

Source: Iga (2002)

After the GATT/WTO agreement, higher education began to be viewed as a private good, as a tradable commodity. According to Tilak (2009) " As Knight (1999) summed up:

> *With the massification of higher education, increasing at an exponential rate, there is strong interest on the part of large and small countries to make export of education products and services a major part of their foreign policy. In fact, we see major shift in foreign policies where education was primarily seen as a development assistance activity or cultural programme to the one where education is an export commodity (Tilak, 2009, pp.450).*

In brief, the higher education sector is experiencing pressure from the domestic versus the international market, from traditional versus modern, state versus market, national versus global and education versus commercial (Tilak, 2009). Therefore, this section will review the positioning of higher education as a tradable commodity and what the implications of this are. However, first it is necessary to establish an understanding of what constitutes a public good.

Economists such as Samuelson (1954) and Musgrave (1959) defined the public good as referring to a good that is both non-excludable and non-rivalrous, in that individuals cannot be effectively excluded from use and where use by one individual does not reduce availability to others. Levin (1987) also believed that education served not only children and parents, but also the nation, by addressing a variety of social needs. He pointed out that education must be a social or public good, because education contributes to creating good citizens and economic growth and fulfilling private needs. Further, if the benefits of public good are limited geographically, they are called local public good and, if the benefits accrue to the whole world, they are known as a global public good (Stiglitz 1999).

Stiglitz (1999) also explored whether higher education is a global public good or global private good. Global public good means that goods have the significant characteristics of non-rivalry or non-excludability and that the good is available across the population on a global scale. Further, Tilak (1996) believed that higher education was a public good creating positive externalities by providing benefit to the whole nation whereas Kaul (1999) argued that global public good may also create negative externalities for many countries and economies, such as 'brain drain'

migration.

Similarly, some economists argue that higher education is not treated as a public good because it does not satisfy the conditions of non-excludability and non-rivalry. Tilak (2009) stated, "entry into some education institutions can be restricted to some and others can be excluded; and since the places of admission are generally given, admission to or consumption by some necessarily means reduction in the consumption levels of others." However, Stiglitz (1999) used mathematical theorem in his argument to further indicate that higher education does satisfy all the conditions of public good. He stated that it is equally available for all consumers and there is zero marginal cost in making it available to additional consumers. Kaul, et.al. 1999) also believed that public good/global public good met the demands of the present generation without sacrificing the future generations' needs (Kaul, et al., 1999).

The above debate indicates that higher education is a public good. It provides benefits to all, and its motive is public welfare. If it brings benefit at a local level, then it is considered as a local public good, but, in this current phase of globalisation it is now available at global level and students/consumers can move anywhere to obtain their degrees. If it is a public good, then why was higher education included in the trade in service sector under the GATT agreement? We have briefly already discussed this, but this section will further explore the issue and seek an answer to the question. The answer mainly depends upon two interlinked factors. The first factor relates to public funding. As described earlier, before 1980 higher education was still treated as a public good in many developing and developed nations, such as Europe, Canada, India, Latin America, etc. The higher education sector is facing financial strain in many developing and developed nations because of the growing number of students on the one hand and shortage of public funds on the other. Public funds have even declined in developed counties such as the U.K., Australia and New Zealand as well as in developing countries such as India, China, etc. (Tilak, 2009).

The second factor is that the IMF and World Bank have become global agents for spreading the neoliberal agenda of development and had introduced a structural adjustment programme (SAP) in the 1980s (in almost the same period). The major recommendations of this agenda were: the need to reduce state funding in higher education and increase the presence of the private sector, raise student fees and mobilise, private financing for public higher education, and a focus on trade

in the education sector. During the mid 1980s, those countries that followed the SAP programme reduced public funding in higher education, even though they were able to maintain the relative demands of public expenditure (UNESCO, 2003). In this way, many nations who were interested in exporting higher education encouraged negotiations on higher education under GATS and WTO. These nations also emphasised that trade in education was essential for the economic development of any nation (Suror, 2005).

During this time, it was further believed that trade in higher education would be beneficial for 'exporting' and 'importing' countries; students would gain quality education which is further beneficial for India and exporting countries (developed countries) would reap benefits in terms of the generation of fee income (Tooley, 1994). During the 1980s a majority of exporting educational institutions continued to belong to developed countries and developing countries suffered economic and academic loss in this period (Tilak, 2007). However, India is both an exporter of education to students coming from other developing countries while also being an importer.

Marginson (2007) also argued that higher education was treated as an export commodity and the presence of a market environment indicated that the production of global private goods was recognised in this era of globalisation. An example of a global private good is a self-financed degree obtained by cross-border foreign customers (students). Many Western countries, such as the U.K., Canada and the USA, provide professional courses (Business Studies, Information Technology, etc), which further provide reputable degrees, which appear to have the potential to open individual career opportunities. According to Moore (2004), the world's ruling class is more globalised and states are transitioning from municipal to global. These classes refer to those who still own the actual means of production and are compelled to make innovation and expand their market. The political intellectual engages in the local and global level with varying degrees of co-ordination and conflict. Their property is exchanged on the market and bought or sold for profit. This privatisation or commodification is beneficial only for elites.

Ntshoe (2003) believed that privatisation could be helpful to some extent, as it is useful to balance supply and demand in higher education, but that quasi-privatisation is a more suitable term for the market-oriented higher education sector in the process of globalisation, which also further leads to

the problem of shortage of public funding and an increase in the number of franchise and private institutions which have only profit goals.

Levy (1986a) discussed a pluralist model, which was basically a move from state to market dynamics, although even pluralist models combined state with market and social actors and also focused on the different waves of the privatised higher education sector. These waves were generally not pre-planned on a global scale, but there was an end to public monopoly and a shift of enrolment from public to private. Policy makers and the elite class tried to make public universities less attractive, so as to increase the demand for private universities. Bond University in Australia, Bilkent University in Turkey and Moscow International University in Russia do not follow state policy designs. Instead, wealthy entrepreneurs have initiated these elite projects and, as the Chinese case shows, there is sometimes a mix of initiatives by business people and leading academics or administrators with public university experience. Such private actors do indeed have plans for their institutions, but this micro planning is a distinctive feature. Such micro planning is consistent with pluralist rather than state-centred models.

The World Bank (1994) is in favour of private higher education and has argued that private provision of higher education is beneficial for low-income nations and groups by remedying unequal distribution. The World Bank's position is important as it sets the stage for the acceptance of new liberal policies which further lead to the removal or reduction of the state from higher education and increases the participation of private institutions including those that are bringing in international players to open their franchise campuses in developing countries (Williamson, 1993). This concept further reduces the participation of the 'weaker sections of society' and increases inequality in the higher education sector (Tilak, 1997). It is not only the case of developing nations but is also found in studies of developed nations. Harden and Majhanovich (2004) examined the market system in the Canadian higher education and noted that privatisation was affecting its public education system and would further lead to issues of inequity and decreasing quality in education.

2.4 Internationalisation of higher education: India and Beyond

In this era of globalisation, over the past two decades there has been an increase in the trend for international education. Some prestigious institutions have well-recognised degrees for international recruitment. There are various factors/driving forces influencing student flow within international education, which will be highlighted in this section and further in the methodology discussion.

Particularly within the neoliberal internationalisation framework of higher education, Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) concept of social reproduction through education and cultural capital explains the value placed upon education for the purposes of class aspirations and social mobility. I will be developing on this point further in the qualitative dimensions of the empirical research by illustrating how the global education economy is being shaped by the idea of education as a private good in the internationalisation of education discourse. The drive and demand for higher education must be understood within the cultural and economic context of aspirations associated with attaining higher education, with a hierarchy of status allocated to elite, private and foreign universities.

McMohan (1992) and Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) emphasise that the flow of students internationally results from a combination of 'push and pull' factors. On the one hand, Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) indicate that pull factors operate within the host country to make that country relatively attractive to international students while on the other hand, McMohan (1992) states that the push factor depends on the level of economic wealth, the degree of integration of the home country in the world economy, the priority placed on education by the home country government, and the availability of educational opportunities in that country, family decisions, language proficiency in the host country, etc.

Similarly, Mazzarol and Sutar (2002) emphasised that the cost of a particular course or financial support are very important factors that influence student flow for international education. Financial support mainly depends on the family's decision which further expands or limits the student's desire to go abroad for study (Pimpa, 2004). Similarly, Varghees (2006) found a direct

relationship between cost of education and student flow for international education. In countries such as the USA and U.K. the cost of education is very high, while in others such as Australia and New Zealand, it is comparatively lower whereas in France, Greece and Hungary fee structures are the same. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have not yet started levying tuition fees from students. Australia is currently the favourite student destination from India, China and some other Asian countries to send their students for international education, which they traditionally never used to do. Price, et al. (2003) indicated that the availability of a desired course at a particular university is a more important factor. However, the cost of going to university is the most influential when choosing between different universities that offer similar courses (Price et al., 2003). Petruzzellis and Romanazzi (2010) also pointed out that 'value for money' is a fundamental issue for students and parents to choose particular international universities. Pimpa (2004) also considered that financial cost and family expectations were the strongest variable for Thai students when choosing a foreign university.

Chen (2007) argued in his analysis that students' motivations and characteristics played an important role in the selection of international universities. Lee and Morris (2011) indicated that the internet was sufficient to get information. Online communication and the Internet play a very significant role in students choosing a university (push side) and also in selecting students from other countries, because students can be recruited via Skype and recruitment teams can judge whether that student can adapt to their culture or not (Lee and Morrish, 2012). Varghees (2006) also pointed out that the academic ranking and reputation of institutions in host countries is important when students choose international universities. For example, many students from China go to Hong Kong because it provides a better quality of higher education in its academic institutions while Arabian students move to Egypt and Jordan to pursue their higher education and a large number of students migrate from Bangladesh and Nepal to India. Generally speaking, most students from developing countries pursue their higher education in developed countries such as the USA, UK and Australia due to their higher quality and standards but also in terms of migration aspirations which extend beyond student life in shaping a cultural politics around migration and settlement abroad (Qureshi et al 2012).

Varghees (2006) also considered the employment opportunities and better careers in foreign countries. He pointed out that the main influencing factor for students to study abroad was the better employment opportunities in developed countries such as the USA, UK, Canada, Australia,

etc. Although some developing countries offer high pay scale jobs to students with an international degree, many who went from India and China to the USA stayed on after completion of their studies and got jobs there. This factor is also supported by other scholars, such as Chen and Zimitat (2006) and Counsell (2011).

In India, the expansion of higher education continues to lag behind the growing demand for places in higher education institutions. In India, 54% of the population is below the age of 25, but only 6-7% of Indians in the 17-23 age group has access to higher education, and of these only 10% receive an opportunity to join post-graduate classes with only 1% continuing on to M.Phil and PhD levels of study. The ratios of access to higher education in other developing countries are as follow: Indonesia (11%), Brazil (12%), Mexico (14%) and Thailand (19%). In contrast, the situation in developed countries shows ratios of access to higher education varying from 52% in the U.K. and 50% in the USA to almost 100% in Canada (Das, 2007). There has been a continuous decline in public spending on Indian HE since the 1980s, largely due to the liberalisation of the Indian economy and cuts in public expenditure on education.

Diffused globalisation can be seen in the flows that emerge out of the global context of higher education. In India, Wigan and Leigh College has 15,000 students from 26 countries, including 10 campuses (Hindustan Times, 20 November, 2005, New Delhi). Doctors trained in India are working for British medical services and scientists are working in the research laboratories of the USA and other developed countries. Of 140,000 IIT graduates, roughly 40,000 have gone to the USA. They have been given credit for creating 150,000 jobs and $80 billion US dollars in market capitalisation. According to Kaul (2006):

> *It is said that when a new IT company is launched, investors inquire if there is an Indian in it. In the second meeting of IIT Alumni in the USA, prominent persons like Jack Welch of GE, Larry Summers, President of Harvard University, and Tom Friedman, the globalisation columnist of the New York Times, were present. The states of Virginia and Maryland declared the month of May 2005 as IIT Indian American Heritage Month.*

Kaul observed that there was a need for an effort by the Indian government to restrict entry to foreign universities. However, such restrictions also highlight how and where internationalisation remains a key element within the global education economy. The growth and expansion of the global economy has created a diversified and interconnected market for the delivery of and access to higher education, however, not without regulation and restrictions. While it is recognised that this has increased opportunities for countries such as the USA and the UK who have strong infrastructures and skilled human capital to expand their HE delivery, this global context presents a challenge for developing countries with comparatively less skilled human capital and educational infrastructure to enter the competitive global market in the HE sector (Stewart 1996; Carnoy, 1999). As Appadurai's (1997) concept of global 'flows' indicates, South Asia exhibits many dimensions of globalisation, which, for our purposes, shows how education fits within the globalising and international contexts of higher education in terms of the HE market and the aspirations and educational objectives reflected in how HE institutions promote themselves. The move towards internationalisation entails not only mobilising funds from foreign students, but also helping to subsidise domestic students' funds. On a broader scale, cross-border flow of students also contributes to the "brain drain" of developing countries, because many foreign students do not return to their home after completing their studies (Varghese, 2008). The Indian HE context shows a system, which spans central government-funded institutions, state government controlled institutions and private colleges and universities (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Structure of Indian Higher Education*

	Formal Education**	Technical and Professional Education	Vocational Training
Composition	● Institutes of national importance ● Universities ● Colleges ● Polytechnics	● Engineering colleges ● Management Schools ● Law, Medical, Pharmacy etc.	● Finishing Schools ● English Trainings ● Air hostess Academies
Key Regulators	● UGC ● MHRD ● State Government ● IGNOU	● AICTE ● Bar Council of India ● Medical Council of India ● ICAI	● No Regulator
Accreditation bodies	● NAAC	● NBA	● None
Key Players	● IITs/IIMs/IISc ● Amity University ● SRCC	● MDI Gurgaon ● K.J. Somalya College of Engineering	● VETA ● Frankfinn

* Higher education is mainly divided into three categories such as formal education, technical and professional education and vocational training.

** This study will focus only on formal education.

While, until now, the progress of Indian higher education has predominantly been based on state support, the presence of the state in public welfare activities suffered severe erosion in the late 1980s when the Indian state was subjected to the forces of globalisation and adopted structural adjustment programmes, introducing an economic reform package at the beginning of 1991 under the direction of the IMF and World Bank (Tilak, 2002). During the period of economic reforms, the Indian government also gave permission for 100% of foreign direct investment (FDI) controlled institutions to be established in the country. With the growing interest of international actors (WTO, World Bank and multinational corporations), education became a tradable commodity. Education was introduced into the negotiations list of the WTO under the GATTS agreement (Tilak, 2009).

The beginning of the 1990s witnessed the start of this era of globalisation and also saw a massive cut in public expenditure. This period also saw the introduction of deregulation policies, increased reliance on market forces and the private sector being encouraged to participate in education activities, which were dominated by public interventions. In this way, India adopted the neoliberal ideology in both the productive and social sectors. Thus, market friendly reforms in education further brought diversion of public resources from education to the productive sector and also reduced subsidies in education. With the induction package of economic reforms, there have been shifts of resources from higher education to the development of primary education, resulting in an overall neglect of achieving global standards in higher education (UGC, 1993). Tilak (2004) indicated that basic education goals could be achieved at elementary level, if the government reduced attention from secondary and, especially, higher education. Accordingly, the Government of India declared, “the higher education system in the country is now sufficiently developed to meet the nation’s requirements. The unmet demand for higher education is not considered economically viable” (Government of India, 1994:75).

From 19 March 1998 to 12 May 2004, the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance accepted the World Bank’s recommendation, which categorised education as an export commodity (Das, 2007). There were also reductions in the funding of libraries, laboratories, scholarships and faculty improvement programmes in higher education, which further affected the quality of higher education. From May 2004 to May 2014, the Congress-led UPA government under Dr. Manmohan Singh also treated higher education as an export commodity (Das, 2007).

According to the UGC (1993), the Government of India appointed two committees, one on central universities under the chairmanship of Justice K Punnayya and the other on technical education institutions under the chairmanship of D Swaminadhan, to outline the methods of mobilisation of resources for higher education. Both the committees had identical recommendations and both indicated the importance of the state financing of higher education. However, the Government of India completely ignored the recommendations and focused on another, which included the mobilising of resources from non-government actors. The Government enacted a) raising fee levels, b) the introduction of self-financing courses, and c) the introduction of student loans. The student loans and hike in fees shifted the responsibility from the social domain (state) to the household domain and, within the household, from parents to children, and from the present to the future. As Srivastava and Sen (1997) discussed, higher education was a non-merit good and elementary education a merit good. However, because of the drastic reduction in public subsidies to higher education, the Ministry of Finance modified the term 'non-merit good' to 'Merit Good 2', which indicated that there was no need for the state to subsidise higher education at the same level as merit goods (Srivastava and Amarnath, 2001).

At the same time, the Private Universities Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha in August 1995 (Government of India, 1995) for the purpose of establishing self- financing universities; however, the bill is still pending in parliament, not because the Government of India is not in favour of privatisation in higher education, but because the private sector is not happy with some clauses in the bill (Tilak, 2004). Tilak also points out what he views is the Government of India's fallacious argument:

> *Quality of higher education is poor is not relevant, as higher education serves only a baby-sitting role; it increases unemployment, teachers do not teach and, hence, there is no need to spend on higher education (p. 2163)*

However, UNESCO states: "higher Education is not a luxury; it is essential to national, social and economic development" (UNESCO, 2000), thus showing that there are frictions operating at all levels of the global higher education economy in this respect.

As Kumar and Sharma (2003) indicated, there was need to take urgent action to expand the quantity and to improve the quality of higher education which is a top development priority for developing countries. In India, this was only possible with state intervention because the private sector was focused on increasing the number of franchisee institutions and completely ignored the quality of education.

The Government of India appointed a committee, headed by M. Ambani and K. Birla, to recommend necessary reforms in the education sector and their report advocated that higher education should be paid for by the user, even in public institutions, through a number of mechanisms, such as a hike in fees, the introduction of self-financing courses and by shifting resources from the higher to the primary level of education. The report also suggested that the government should, therefore, not worry about higher education, which should be the responsibility of the private sector, and should also open the door for international traders in the higher education sector. In addition, the number of foreign universities and franchises of multinational educational institutions has increased in India. Foreign educational providers have opened their franchises at higher levels with the help of local partners, collaborators and providers (Rani, 2002). Tilak (1995) noted the UGC and AICTE reports, which were submitted in a seminar and talked about the problems of the financial sector in higher education and recommended higher education subsidies and the cost recovery of higher education, which would mean a rise in fees at higher education institutions.

Higher education institutions have taken on a brand orientation with a special focus on the hierarchical position of the USA. According to Frank (2001), higher education is a “winner-take-all” market. For example, US universities such as Harvard, Stanford, Princeton and MIT are global brands and, in a similar fashion, India has the IIT and IIM brands, which send out a positive image of India’s higher education sector across the world.

In India, students have long gone abroad for higher education and foreign faculties have come to India to teach while foreign books and journals are used by Indian students and teachers. As such, teaching, learning, research and institutions are influenced by different forms of internationalisation. However, in the era of globalisation, the internationalisation phenomena have changed (Paul, 2009). Between 1980 and 1995, there were a growing number of students studying for a foreign degree/diploma without travelling overseas. However, in the era of globalisation, new twinning and franchise institute arrangements have been introduced by private actors. Simply

put, the interconnected trends of privatisation, commercialisation, globalisation and deregulation of higher education have accelerated in a big way. It has happened because of the growing demand for higher education in developing countries such as India, China, Brazil, and Korea, with these countries being unable to fulfil that demand. The number of foreign universities and franchises of multinational educational institutions has increased in India. Foreign educational providers have opened their franchises at higher levels with the help of local partners, collaborators and providers (Paul, 2009).

Nayer (2007) also observed that there are different kinds of producers and consumers within the Indian higher education sector:

a) Those in which the producer moves to the consumer (students), as in the case of universities, particularly those from English-speaking developed countries, which have established campuses in different parts of the world;

b) Those in which either the producer or the consumer moves to the other, such as universities running short duration courses or summer schools, either on their own campuses at home or in leased facilities abroad in the home countries of the students.

c) Those in which neither the producer nor the consumer moves to the other, utilising the mediums of distance education, satellite television or open courseware to dispense with the need for physical proximity between the teacher and the taught (Nayer, 2007)

Abrol (2005) also notes the same terms of the GATT agreement wherein the WTO defined four forms of trade in education services, also known as the 'four modes of supply', for which the member countries make specific commitment:

- Mode 1: distance learning or e-education, virtual university
- Mode 2: students studying in another country
- Mode 3: branch or satellite campus, franchise, twinning arrangements and presence of native staff
- Mode 4: teachers travelling to foreign countries to teach

Under this agreement, there was no assurance about quality in education and the agreement may

affect the Government of India's ability to regulate in the public interest (Abrol, 2005). According to Abrol (2005), Indian government policies allowed foreign investment in the higher education sector and negotiations to treat education as a tradable service under international agreements, such as the General Agreement on Trades in Services (GATS), which takes the internationalisation of higher education to a new level.

Rajkhowa (2013) believes that international higher education presents opportunities, challenges, as well as both threat and opportunity. By increasing the supply of higher education institutions, a greater diversity of programmes are on offer, there is greater access for students, development of joint degrees, less brain drain of gifted and bright students to foreign institutions, exposure to a variety of teaching and learning methods, growing comparability of qualifications, exposure to established systems of education administration and management, fusion of cultures, exchange of research ideas and enhancement of research capacity, establishment of multinational and cross disciplinary team and the generation of new academic environments. However, this can also be perceived as a threat. The challenges and risks concern the quality of provision, inequality of access leading to a two tier system, mismatch between home country provision and off shore provision, high fees leading to an elitist provision inconsistent with the equity and access drivers of the education policy and unsustainable foreign provision (Ibid). Abrol (2005) also focused on NIEPA's (The National University of Educational Planning and Administration) analysis of the programme offered by foreign institutions, which indicated that courses offered by foreign universities/institutions usually related to hospitality services, management or medical and information technology and that there were no minimum conditions for entry requirement. Even the duration of a degree programme may be less than that prescribed for the same degree in India. The majority of students who did not achieve admission through entrance exam due to their poor academic performance, but who had enough money to pay for the degree, usually secured admission to these kind of institutions. Thus, there is a need to ask whether any harm is being done to Indian higher education through entry to foreign institutions.

In India, there is big gap between demand and supply in the higher education sector, something well recognised by foreign producers and investors. Aggarwal (2006) believed that it came about with the rise in income of middle class families and an increase in awareness of education among low income groups. The other factor is state failure in terms of investment in India's higher education sector. The demand for professional education is increasing in India, which has given

further rise to franchise institutions through private actors. According to Paul (2009), the private sector fills the gap in demand in Indian higher education. Foreign programmes and partnerships have largely been brought to India by these private sector players. The vast majority of colleges in India are private entities, though a good proportion of them receive government aid. A similar trend can also be found in other developing countries. There is no framework to monitor and accredit the new players in terms of quality and standards. Liberalisation policies that opened the doors to foreign investment also gave permission for unregulated entry in the private sector, but only had a marginal impact on such basic higher education problems as access and quality. As such, these liberalisation policies introduced foreign providers who only focus on the professional fields of study that can earn a good market return.

A very significant part of this is the lack of attention to employability within the neoliberal expansion of higher education. The marketisation of higher education in India and Punjab has greatly facilitated the selling of cultural capital such that colleges, institutes and universities are aggressively marketing and pandering to the appeal of higher education qualifications in a society, which is increasingly valuing 'other' forms of capital. While material assets continue to be valued, degrees are now also part of the picture in terms of capitalist social relations in Punjab. However, material inequalities are also rapidly increasing, which means that education is not an alternative route to acquiring capital but it has become another necessary asset. Without employability, it is only those with material capital who will benefit from the value-added by education. However, the opportunities for mobility that education imparts has yet to be studied or explored and goes beyond the scope of this study.

Many of the private universities are affiliated to foreign universities and charge fees at levels close to international pricing, while teaching an international curriculum in domestic universities. In this way, the emergence of the private sector, cross-border institutional linkage and the full pricing of educational arrangements, franchise arrangements, etc. help to bring education under trade law (GATS) (Varghese, 2006). In some developed countries, public universities provide social welfare for home country students, but open franchise campuses in developing countries are run purely for profit maximisation. Thus, some countries protect their own interests and do not care about students' interests, quality of education, etc.

With the emergence of the private sector, franchise and collaborative/twinning arrangements have been introduced and have become a part of the global education economy. A significant outcome of collaborative split programmes is the "brain drain" effect (Varghese, 2008). Under such arrangements, after one year of the course, consumers (students) are transferred to foreign institutes on the basis of one year's performance by the foreign and local producers, resulting in the "brain drain" effect. The entry requirements of these institutions are different to other institutions and examples can be found in the Punjab which are directly linked to Canada, such as the Continental Institute for International Studies, which is an extension campus of Georgian College, Ontario, Thompson Rivers University, Red River College and the Canadian Institute of Management & Technology.

The main motive of a higher education internationalisation project is profit and to maximise from the global market. To secure this, higher education providers such as Laureate (formerly Sylvan Learning Systems) and the Apollo Group (the parent company of the University of Phoenix, now the largest private university in the United States) entered the international market by establishing new institutions, purchasing existing institutions and partnering with firms or educational institutions in other countries (Altbach, 2004).

Internationalisation does not only mean student exchange or the in/out-migration of students. It also embraces various other aspects such as staff exchange, staff training and research collaborations. Abrol and Nayers' discussion was much about student movement by using different modes of out migration, such as student exchange, migration for further study, etc. Much debate in literature focused on other approaches of internationalisation, but completely ignored the process approach. The process approach basically covers all the elements of internationalisation in terms of programme and organisational activities. As such, this study will seek to cover staff, students, funding and research related activities in terms of internationalisation. Some scholars, such as Aggrarwal (2006) and Paul (2009), observed that the private sector plays a central in bringing international players to establish franchise/branch campuses after globalisation. However, they did not discuss in detail. This study will seek to identify how internationalisation processes are penetrating the higher education economy in Punjab through a number of different activities. Punjab has witnessed a steady flow of out-migration to places such as the USA, Canada, the UK, Australia and other parts of the world, particularly over the past six decades and thus provides an interesting context to examine

questions around globalisation and internationalisation. However, previous studies, which have focused on the impact of globalisation in Punjab, have largely focused on either remittances (Thandi, 1994), kinship practices across the diaspora (Ballard, 1994), and Sikh identity (Tatla, 1997), apart from Qureshi and Osella's (2013) examination of transnational schooling in the context of global migration. Qureshi and Osella's study is important for my research, in that it similarly utilised the concept of *diffused globalisation* as a means for exploring the education economy in Punjab, although that study was focused on primary and secondary schooling. This study will focus on the impact of globalisation on HE in which the actors and processes operate distinctly and within different modes of engagement with internationalisation.

Appadurai's (1997) concept of global "scapes/flows" will be reflected in this study's focus on how the ideology of neoliberal, privatising education is being embraced by the recent and emerging global patterns exhibited in the HE sector in the Punjab, India. The impact of globalisation on higher education has been studied, even if not sufficiently or exhaustively, in Turkey, China, India, etc. A few studies of the impact of globalisation on higher education in India have also appeared (Varghees, 2006). Due to the position of education in the Indian federal system, where it is a concurrent subject with shared power and responsibilities between the centre and the states (entry 25 in the Concurrent List in the Indian Constitution), the Indian HE context reveals a system which spans central government-funded institutions, state government controlled institutions and private universities and franchise colleges.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of several debates and themes within the literature which pertain to my study of Punjab and the higher education economy. Globalisation has been highlighted as a contested concept which has been adapted to fit the neoliberal turn through a distinctive ideology of 'free,' 'open' markets with an assertion of private sector interests and the defense of capital's dominance. Another argument made in this chapter has been that internationalisation policies in higher education are a form of neoliberal globalisation. Within this, I have also highlighted how neoliberal ideology has become embedded and made implicit within how different forms of capital are utilised and inflect policy formulation. I also pointed to how higher education, while presenting a route to enhancing one's cultural capital, is not

delivering in terms of employability, an issue which will be further discussed in the latter chapters of the thesis.

Another point raised in this chapter has been how, contrary to *laissez faire* principles, the state under neoliberalism has become an enforcer of capitalism through an adherence to growth, capital and withdrawal from the public social sector. On the other hand, globalisation has not had an all-encompassing effect but instead has shown localised features which see certain dimensions accentuated and others muted. In this sense, I have utilised the notion of diffused globalisation in showing that global 'flows' have incorporated Punjab into the higher education which will be pointed out in the subsequent empirical chapters.

Chapter 3

The Evolution of Higher education in India

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the historical backdrop, which has shaped the evolution of higher education in India. As will be highlighted in this chapter, India's higher education system reflects a number of shifts that have taken place over time showing how such changes in higher education have been continually tied to broader processes going on in the Indian economy. The first section outlines the current structure of higher education and management bodies of higher education in India. The second section gives an overview of the history of higher education in different time periods in India. The third section focuses on the current BJP government's approach to higher education in which I critically analyse how neoliberal policies, rather than providing "*ache din*" (transl. 'good days' or 'good era') for higher education, are presenting an unprecedented threat to the entire higher education system in India by not only deepening private forces but also by challenging the intellectual, ideological and academic autonomy of higher education institutions across India. The conclusion, in addition to summarising the main points of the chapter, also alludes to why the recent controversies around 'academic freedom' and 'anti-nationalism' have come to the fore in shaping the Indian state's aggressive and interventionist stance towards universities, activism and the right to 'dissent'.

3.1 Structure of Higher education in India

Indian higher education is the world's third largest education system after the United States and China. The structure of Indian higher education is supported by an institutional framework through a number of key government constitutional acts:

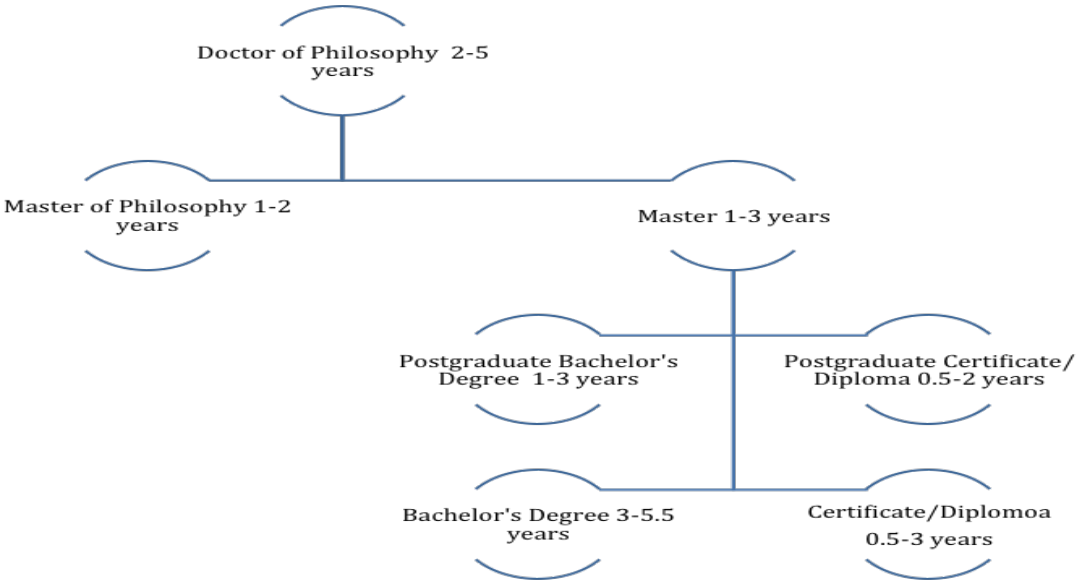
a) The Parliament Act (Central universities)

b) The State Act (State and private Universities)

c) The UGC Act (Deemed universities)

Figure 3.1 indicates that the higher education system which mainly starts after receiving a secondary school certificate (10 years) and higher secondary schools (2 years). These are at different levels such as Certificate/Diploma (0.5–3 years), Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma (0.5–2 years), Bachelor's degree (1–3 years), Postgraduate Bachelor's degree (1–3 years), Master's degree (1–3 years), M.Phil (1–2 years), and Doctor of Philosophy (2–5 years) in different subjects such as art, humanities, science, and medical. The progression for students through this system can be generally summed up as follows: Students can take admission in either certificate/diploma (0.5 - 2 years) or Bachelor's degree (1-3 years) after completing higher secondary schools. Students should pass a bachelor's degree for postgraduate/master's degree and need to complete bachelor's certificate/diploma for postgraduate certificate/diploma. There are two routes to start Ph.D (Doctor of Philosophy): a) Either complete M.Phil (Master of Philosophy) and then students can start Ph.D degree b) Students can start Ph.D directly after the completion of Master's degree.

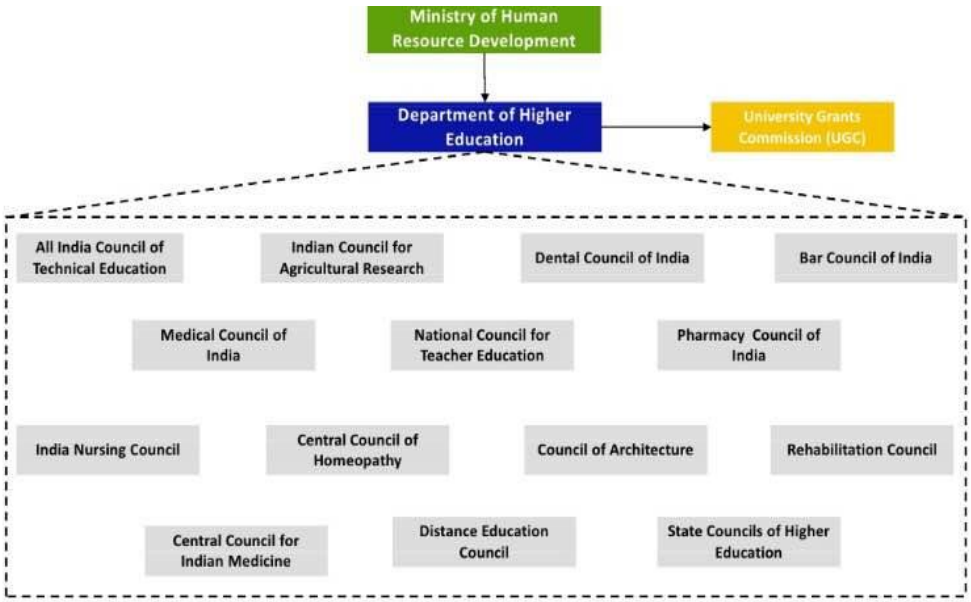
Figure 3.1 Structure of Indian Higher Education programmes



The Ministry of Higher education (MHRD) came into existence on 26 September 1985. It was called Ministry of Education before 1985. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) is comprised of the Department of School Education and Literacy and the Department

of Higher Education. The Department of higher education mainly deals with university and technical education which is divided into different sections. Figure 3.2 highlights the tiered management of higher education.

Figure 3.2 Management body of Higher Education in India



The Modi government changed the vision of the MHRD, and new schemes were launched. These schemes were summed up in the Year End review report on 31st March 2015 (MHRD, 2016), which is summarised below:

1. IMPRINT India: Imprint India was launched by the Modi government and cabinet Head of MHRD Smriti Irani on 5th November 2015. The goal of imprint India is to focus to solve engineering and technology related challenges. It is also called Impacting Research Innovation and Technology (IMPRINT).

2. Global Initiative for Academics Network (GIAN): The GIAN scheme was launched by former MHRD minister Smriti Irani on 30th November 2015. The focus of GIAN is the partnership between Indian universities/colleges and foreign universities. The programmes/courses are being

offered by foreign faculty from 38 countries and cost of foreign faculty is covered under GIAN scheme.

3. National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF): NIRF was released by MHRD on 29th September 2015. NIRF provided ranking of different departments in different higher education institutions on the basis five parameters such as teaching/learning resources, research, graduation outcomes, outreach/inclusive nature and the public perception.

4. Study Webs of Active-Learning for Young Aspiring Minds (SWAYAM): It was also launched by MHRD on 31st March 2016. It is a web portal where online courses on different subjects are available. It is also called SWAYAM-MOOCs which is intended to address the needs of the students who belongs to different schools and higher education institutions across the India.

5. Saksham scholarship scheme: This scheme was launched by the All-India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) to support and encourage students for the expansion of the technical education.

6. Engineering skills to unemployed youth (PMKVY): PMKVY is a BJP government initiative to encourage students to participate in technical institutions and learning engineering and technical skills for unemployed youth.

The initiatives of the BJP government clearly highlighted the vision of the new MHRD in terms of the BJP making its mark on the higher education system. Under the Modi government, further initiatives are taken to expand technical and professional education and to promote internationalisation of higher education, which is further expanded by the government's adoption of the commercialisation policies.

3.2 From Higher Learning to Higher education

The system of higher education cannot be viewed through a lens limited merely to post-colonial India. The evolution of higher education has its roots in different forms of higher learning, some of which are still in existence in contemporary India, which tied advanced learning to traditional forms of knowledge with belief systems and the social structure rather than institutions governed by the state.

Higher education in ancient India, for example, was tied to religion such as Brahminical education and the pursuit of knowledge through Sanskrit and Buddhist education centred in monasteries. The Vedic period, however, has been particularly highlighted in asserting Brahminism as elitism and Brahminical education as a systematised form of knowledge (Ghosh 2001: 12-14, Jha 1991). The archetypal Brahmin scholar or 'Pundit' was a vestibule of knowledge who could only be accessed by being granted pupillage. The associations of caste and knowledge through this have been significant, not least through the *guru-shiksha parampara* (traditional teacher-student) system.

Buddhist monastery education, though also religious, rejected the caste system, and as a result, did not reproduce the social hierarchies of caste but maintained its own system of learning through the monk training and monastery system which were remotely located and thus away from the centres of political and military conflict. The virtual disappearance of Buddhist monasteries can be attributed to the dominance of both the Brahminical and Madrassa systems of education that developed subsequently which were tied to broader political developments and power shifts taking place. During the Mughal period the Madrassa education system, which in its incarnation today appears religious in scope, during that time mainly taught Persian, Arabic, Islamic philosophy and scripture, law and mathematics in the curriculum. Emperor Akbar is said to have encouraged the addition of further subjects such as medicine, agriculture, geography, and texts from other languages and religions. However, this education system was reserved for the elites. Importantly, as Ghosh (2001) states, this system was not merely limited to Muslims but also open to other groups who were eager to learn Persian and Arabic as a means of gaining employment within the Mughal bureaucracy and administration, whether they converted to Islam or not.

The British colonial era imparted further effects on higher education in India. Firstly, it was tailored to appeal to Indian upper castes and classes keen to ascend the British colonial apparatus through Western education and English language, which were necessary attributes for this era of colonial governance and aspiring civil service. The British system understood that existing forms of Indian education through the Pundits, Madrassas and monasteries earlier mentioned were not of use for the mission of British power in the region. Therefore, as Thomas Babington Macaulay's 'Minute' of 1835 stated,

> *It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.*

However, in opposition to Macaulay were those in favour of expanding and patronising knowledge of 'Oriental' languages, literatures, laws and customs. Earlier under the East India Company, Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal, showed keen interest in spreading the learning of 'oriental' subjects and was joined in this effort by Jonathan Duncan, Nathaniel Halhed and Sir William Jones. Sir William Jones, the Justice of the High Court in Calcutta, established the Asiatic Society at Calcutta (1784 A.D.), which supported research on oriental education and culture. At the time of Lord Wellesley, Fort William College was established in 1800 A.D. to teach British civilians Indian languages, laws, customs, religion, geography and other disciplines. Through the endeavours of Wilkins Jones, Colebrook and William Carey, this oriental education began to spread amongst liberal Indian and British officers who valued the pursuit of Indian and other 'Oriental' languages and scriptures. However, it was Macaulay's 'Minute on Education' which would prevail in shaping the Indian education system's development thereafter. It is not surprising, therefore, that Indian elites during the 19th and 20th centuries such as Nehru, Jinnah, and Gandhi went to England for further study. However, less privileged elites were also able to access English education by staying in India through the expanding university and college system that was being developed under British rule. Education was a matter for state policy and planning, and the British government invested in the education system in accordance with the English Education Act of 1835 which coincided with Macaulay's 'Minute on Education'.

The current university system is widely considered to be a creation of the British colonial government's policies of the 19th Century. As Power (1995) reports, the first university was established under British rule as Bombay University and Madras University in 1857 A.D. The idea of establishing a university in India based on the model of the University of London was first promoted in Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 which has been described as the Magna Carta of English education in India (Power, 1995).

In 1887, almost 21,000 civil servants were appointed in which 45% were Hindu, 7% Muslim, 19% 'Eurasians' (European father and Indian mother), and 29% by Europeans. The top rank positions were reserved only for British citizens and further down the hierarchy for Indian males. Many liberals such as Gandhi and Nehru got the opportunity to under their studies from universities in England. Aspiring Indians understood that the route to prestigious jobs in the British bureaucracy and civil service was in gaining access to the English higher education system (McCully,1940). At the same time, the British government took initiative to raise the number of universities and students in India. The curriculum followed established British standards set by Oxford and Cambridge which emphasised English literature, history and philosophy.

One of the contradictions of this was that the very system that was shaped by Macaulay's vision of grooming educated 'Brown Sahibs' became critical sites and forces of Indian nationalism. By the 1920s, student bodies had become hotbeds of Indian nationalism which not only contributed to but also led the Indian independence movement. The student movement was active and protested when the Simon Commission visited India to investigate Indian self-government in 1928 (Altbach 1968).

However, as Partha Chatterjee (1993) argues, the urban educated anti-colonial nationalists who had attended higher education institutions had already been producing their own domains of sovereignty within colonial society before waging political resistance to the colonial state. Thus, the class dimension of the Indian independence movement highlighted its fractured nature whereby the urban educated elites staked claim as being spiritual and political national leaders of the independence movement and thus inheritors of power in postcolonial India.

The growth of higher education in India during the colonial period to the early decades of independence shows a steady increase in the number of colleges and students enrolled. Table 3.1 highlights the growth of higher education institutions and enrolment of students which continuously increased from 1883 to 1947. However, major improvements in higher education occurred after independence.

Table 3.1 The expansion of higher education in India during and after colonial rule 1883-1962

Year	1883	1928	1947	1961–62
No. Of Colleges	139	307	591	2,282
Enrolment of Students	16,088	90,677	2,28,881	11,77,245

Source: http://www.education.nic.in/cd50years/n/2j/3j/2J3J0201.htm p.1 of 4 Dated 31/8/2011xiii

Despite the expansion of higher education in India during this period, inequalities in access to education were rife, with urban, male, and upper caste participation in higher education opportunities. As Choudhary (2008) comments:

> *Higher education in colonial India remained concentrated in and around the cities and towns and was more widespread among men than women and amongst the higher castes. It would have been almost impossible to find a rural scheduled caste or scheduled tribe woman studying in a college. There were serious inequalities in the colonial system of higher education (Choudhary, 2008).*

3.3 Higher Education in Postcolonial India

While the previous section highlighted how the formal higher education system was the creation of the British colonial state in its objective to differentiate elite education from vernacular education, education needed to be further reconstructed and configured within the postcolonial Indian economy.

India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, made a specific point in addressing the importance of education through state development planning in making the system more inclusive. At an education conference in 1948, Nehru made a speech in which he declared,

> *Whenever conferences were called to form a plan for education in India, the tendency, as a rule, was to maintain the existing system with slight modification. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must also be in keeping with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised (Speech cited in Ghosh, 2000).*

With the backdrop of the independence movement and mass mobilisation not only by the Indian National Congress but also Communist parties, Nehru incorporated a socialist agenda in his outlook, at least in rhetoric, while the Indian Constitution, authored by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, presented an ethos of equality, justice, liberty and socialism. This was simply stated in its preamble:

> *We, the people of India, have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and or opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.*

The Indian constitution was introduced on 26 November 1949 and came into effect on 26 January 1950. Education was an important element in addressing the aims in stating the following:

- Higher education is the state's responsibility
- The state is responsible to provide education to all equally, irrespective of religion or caste
- Special provision and initiative should be taken by the state for women and disadvantaged groups to participate and successfully complete education
- The national language should be promoted as the medium of instruction

Chopra and Jeffery (2005) discuss the history of higher education in India in analysing the Nehruvian goals of state planning, egalitarianism and secularism after independence. The public sector played a vital role for the development and investment in Indian higher education. The Nehruvian model also designed a model for technical and professional education. The establishment of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Indian Institute of Management (IIM) and All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) were outcomes of this. All of these have become prestigious technical and professional education institutes through the state's support which is a contribution of the Nehruvian legacy. English was also introduced as a compulsory subject (Corbridge and Harris, 2000). While education was "for all" under the Nehruvian model, this aim was addressed through a system of positive discrimination in terms of caste and gender (Ghosh 2000). This issue of positive discrimination through 'reservations' has become highly politicised in India in terms of the politics of recognition and caste politics subsequently. The Radhakrishnan Commission of 1948 envisaged the following:

> *The academic problem has assumed new shape; we have now a wider conception of the duties and responsibility of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literacy and scientific, technical and professional (knowledge). They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge (Government of India 1950, Report of University Education Commission).*

As Chair of the Commission, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan recommended the reconstruction of university education as essential to meet the demands for scientific, technical and other fields needed for the socio-economic development of the country. The Commission gave the following recommendations:

> *Covering all aspects of university education in India, they emphasised the 10+2 structure at the pre-university stage, correction of the 'extreme specialisation' in the courses, development of research to advance the frontiers of knowledge and of professional education in agriculture, commerce, law, medicine, education, science and technology including certain new areas such as business and public administration and industrial relations and suggested reform of the examination system by assessment of the student's work throughout the years and introduction of courses on the central problems of the philosophy of religion. They also emphasised the importance of student's welfare by means of scholarships and stipends, hostel, library and medical facilities and suggested that they should be familiar with three languages--regional, federal and English at the university stage and that English be replaced as early as possible by an Indian language. The Commission was also in favour of the idea of setting up rural universities to meet the need of rural reconstruction in industry, agriculture and various walks of life. The universities should be constituted as autonomous bodies to meet the new responsibilities, (Central) University Grants Commission should be established for allocating grants, and finally, university education should be placed in the concurrent list" (Government of India 1950, Report of University Education Commission, cited in Ghosh, 2000a p. 178–179).*

In 1950, the Radhakrishnan report was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), and most of the recommendations were accepted by the committee but the recommendation of inclusion of education in the concurrent list[1] was rejected by the CABE committee. As a background, Part XI of the Indian constitution defines the power distribution between the federal government (the Centre or union) and the States in India. This part is divided between legislative, administrative and executive powers. The legislative section is divided into three lists: Union list, States list and Concurrent list. One of the Radhakrishnan Commission report's recommendations was the expansion of women's education at all levels.

From the onset during the first decades of independent India, education was treated as a public

commodity and state responsibility. The number of students and higher education institutes/universities almost tripled from 1950 to 1980. The National Education Policy (NPE) was established in 1968 for the development and growth of the education sector in India and was further revised in 1986. However, the state infrastructure of education in India was established in 1949 when the University Education Commission was created under the first education commission. Its first tasks were to undertake and review the reorganisation of courses, techniques of evaluation, media of instruction, student services, and the recruitment of teachers. This resulted in the creation of important sub-bodies within the University Education Commission: the All-India Council of Technical Education (1945), the University Grants Commission (1953), and the National Council of Educational Research and Training (1961).

3.3.1 Kothari Commission 1964-66

Two important education policies considered by the Indian government were the Kothari Commission (1964–66) and the National Education Policy (1968 and 1986). The structure of the higher education system was designed on the basis of the British education system. However, as Bagulia (2004: 8) argues, “in a post-independence period, a good deal of expansion occurred in the field of education. This expansion reduced the quality.” As the quality of education continued to be a concern, the Indian government attempted to improve the quality of education through these two policies (Reed & Mookerjee, 2004).

The most important higher education commission was the Kothari Commission whose committee was headed by Dr. D.S. Kothari, the chairman of the University Grant Commission (UGC) at the time. The commission was set up for the modernisation and standardisation of education in India.

The report of this commission covered all aspects of development of national higher education (Power 1995).

> *Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution. We need to introduce work experience as an integral element of general education to improve quality of teachers at all levels to strengthen centres of advanced studies and strive to attain in some of our universities, at least, higher international standards; to lay special emphasis on the combination of teaching and research; and to pay particular attention to education and research in agriculture and allied sciences" (Report of The Education Commission 1964–66: Education and National Development, Government of India, New Delhi, Part I and Part II. 1985).*

The Education Commission, also known as the Kothari Commission, was appointed in 1964. The commission convened on 2 October 1964 and submitted its report on 29 June 1966. "The commission was appointed by the Government of India … to advise the government on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of at all stages and in all aspects" (Bagulia, 2004). The commission consisted of 17 members whose names are given below:

1. Professor D.S. Kothari, Chair of the Universities Grants Commission, was appointed as the chairman;

2. J.P. Naik, Head of Department of educational Planning, Administration, and Finance at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Pune;

3. J.F. McDougal, the Assistant Director of School and Higher education at UNESCO in Paris, was appointed the Associate-Secretary;

4. A.R. Dawood, Officiating Director, Directorate of Extension Programs for Secondary Education, New Delhi;

5. H.L Alvin, Director, Institute of Education, University of London, London;

6. R.A.Gopalaswami, Director, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, New Delhi;

7. Sadatoshi Ihara, Professor, School of Science and Engineering, Waseda University,

Tokyo;

8. Dr. V.S. Jha, Director, Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, London;

9. P.N. Kirpal, Educational Advisor and Secretary, Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi;

10. M.V. Mathur, Professor of Economics and Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur;

11. Dr. B.P. Pal, Director, Indian Agrucultre Research Institute, New Delhi;

12. Kumari S. Panadikar, Head of Department. Education, Karnatak University, Dharwar;

13. Dr. Roger Revelle, Director, Centre for Population Studies, Harvard School of Public Health, Harvard University, Cambridge;

14. Dr. K.G. Saiyidain, Director, Asian institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi;

15. Dr. T. Sen, Vice Chancellor, Jadavpur University, Calcutta;

16. Dr. S.A. Shumovsky, Director, Methodological Division, Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary education, RSFSR, and Professor of Physics, Moscow University, Moscow;

17. M. Jean Thomas, Inspector-General of Education, Paris

The commission consisted of 12 task forces and 7 working groups focused on addressing different issues of the education system. The commission completed the task of data collection within 100 days, and the team travelled across much of the country and visited different universities in India to assess the issues and challenges of higher education. After the completion of the report, the final version of the report was submitted to the Union Education Minister in 1966.

The final report mainly focused on improving the quality and increasing the standard of higher education, of university organisation and administration, and expanding higher education to meet the demands of higher education for disadvantaged groups. The Kothari commission was the first step towards developing higher education in post independence India (Ghosh 2000a). In the report, equity and quality were emphasised as priorities. Many initiatives were suggested such as instituting scholarships and other facilities to women and scheduled castes. Because of the new constitution, education "for all" citizens of India without discrimination of gender or caste became a significant driver for state policy. As summarised in the report: "the most important and urgent reform needed in education is to transform it, to endeavour, to relate it to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realisation of the national goals" (*Education Commission, 1964--Report*, p.1).

3.3.2 The National Education Policy (NEP) 1968-2015

The National Education Policy can be placed within five periods in terms of policy development and evolution. The first five periods relate to Congress leadership and the fifth during the BJP government.

NEP1 = 1968 Indira Gandhi Congress government

NEP2 =1986 Rajiv Gandhi Congress government

NEP 3 =1992 P. V. Narasimha Rao Congress government

NEP 4 = 2002 Manmohan Singh Congress government

NEP 5 (New Education Policy) =2016 Narendra Modi BJP government

The first National Education Policy (NEP1, 1968) highlighted that all individuals should be given equal access to education irrespective of caste, creed and sex. The major focus of this policy was to establish the regional language as the medium of instruction and to promote Hindi as the national language. Strengthening of research in the university system and making education a state government (not central government) responsibility were the major recommendations. NEP1

in 1968 was, however, primarily a recommendation and was not implemented in practice as a policy (Mukhopadhyay 1999). As a result of this, NEP2=1986 revised the earlier policy. Amendments were made to the Constitution which meant that the centre had a smaller role in education than before the emergency (1975-1977). After the emergency, the new constitution gave a wider role to the central government for education development. This occurred when Rajiv Gandhi was Prime minister of India. He created several initiatives for equal access to education such as scholarships and grants for lower castes and women under NEP2 (Ghosh 2000). However, it was during Chandar Shekhar's period as Prime Minister of India 1989–90 that the idea of the private sector being involved in education began to be encouraged.

The third education policy (NEP3) was considered when Narasimha Rao was Prime Minister in the Congress government in 1992. The Finance Minister at the time, Dr. Manmohan Singh, is credited with initiating the first processes of 'liberalisation' during this period in which the Indian government reserved gold as a pledge to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in exchange for a loan. The liberalisation of the Indian economy began with the selling of many industries to the private sector in order to increase exports which were lagging behind imports. The Indian government also opened the doors to foreign investment. While such economic reforms and structural adjustment were already started in many developed and developing nations according to the recommendations of the IMF and World Bank from 1980, India only entered this era in 1991. Indian higher education was also affected by economic reforms and NEP3 =1992 had new recommendations from the World Bank (1994). The Indian government started to invest in technical and professional education. While Nehru, who had been in favour of the development of technical and professional education through state involvement, the policies had not been able to establish significant widespread changes to the educational system. NEP3 =1992 sought support from the World Bank and IMF in accordance with the following recommendations:

- The state should have a minimal role in higher education
- Foreign investors should invest in higher education and foreign investment restrictions need to be removed
- Private players should participate in Higher education
- Expansion of technical and Professional education where the state should heavily invest (World Bank 1994)

NEP3 =1992 took initiatives to develop IITs in India. IITs admission standards are based on an entrance exam in line with international standards, which was helpful for students to get jobs in the global market. This change occurred when the Indian government established changes in technical and professional education and invested heavily in professional education. However, NEP3=1992 turned the Indian higher education system towards a market-oriented system in which higher education was treated as a market commodity and trade commodity.

This was the first step by the Indian government to hand over higher education to private and foreign investors, and this was the first significant move towards neoliberalism in many social sectors, where higher education was one of them (Choudhary 2008).

NEP4 =2002 emerged under the Congress government when Dr. Manmohan Singh was Prime Minister of India. The major change in this policy was the 42nd amendment to the Constitution. The 42nd amendment to the Constitution which occurred in 1972 where education was moved from the state to the concurrent list. However, Dr. Manmohan Singh added the 82nd Amendment to the Constitution which made education a universal right. By making education a 'right', this policy opened the doors for global education and gave opportunities to many private players to enter into a market which had previously been both underserved and previous NEP policies largely unimplemented. While this was more significant for primary and secondary levels of education, higher education also became part of the neoliberal market where education was increasingly becoming commodified. The decline in state funding which accompanied the neoliberal processes of liberalisation and privatisation saw a decline in state education funding (Parkash 2007).

3.4 The New Education Policy 2016: Higher Education under the Modi government

During the 2014 Indian election campaign, one of the prominent BJP slogans was "Ache din aane waale hain" (transl. good days are coming). The promises of the BJP's programme of expansion of privatisation and curbing state controls and regulation did not spare higher education from its purview. After Modi's election victory, the BJP slogan '*ache din aane waale hain*' has been used in promoting the neoliberal agenda of development and capitalist expansion under the BJP across

sectors of the economy, government, and social sectors. In this section, I will highlight some developments that have taken place in terms of government policies towards higher education in India. In particularly, I will highlight how resistance to privatisation and higher education budget cuts has been met by accusations of anti-nationalism and dissent by the Modi government and the policing of discourse on university campuses.

Figure 3.3 The New Education Policy in the media

MODI-FIED LEARNING IN OFFING

NEW EDUCATION POLICY

The Centre is in the process of framing a new education policy to keep up with the times. The MHRD has made this into a participative enterprise via the MyGov.in initiative where people living in rural areas can suggest and point out their problems. The initiative has been floated so that education reaches all the grassroots level in the districts and far-off villages.

STUDY ALLOCATION

The 2015-16 Budget marginally reduced overall allocations towards education. It increased the higher education budget by nearly 22%, indicating a shift in focus from school to higher education.

Finance Minister Arun Jaitley proposed to set aside ₹69,074.76 crore for education in 2015-16, as against ₹70,505 crore in the Revised Estimate in 2014-15. The revised budget for 2014-15 had reduced the education allocation to ₹70,505 crore from ₹82,777 crore as was pegged in the Budget Estimate.

Of the total outlay for 2015-16, ₹42,219.5 crore was pegged for schools and ₹26,855.26 crore for higher education.

NEW INSTITUTES

The government is in the process of implementing a choice-based credit system in varsities. Delhi University is all set to start it from this academic year.

The government announced more institutes of excellence—including two Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) and two Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), along with five new AIIMS.

The Centre has announced setting up of more institutes of excellence.

While one IIT will come up in Karnataka, the second one will be created by upgrading the Indian School of Mines (ISM), Dhanbad in Jharkhand to an IIT.

The two proposed IIMs will come up in Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh.

Government has promised to set up AIIMS in J&K, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Assam. Once all of them are operational, India will have 20 IIMs and 23 IITs.

IITs have been allocated a planned outlay of ₹1,835 crore, down from ₹2,320 crore in the previous Budget. The government has also allocated ₹1,000 crore more to set up new IITs and new IIMs.

FOCUS ON SCHOOLS

The Budget also outlined government plans to establish a senior secondary school within 5km reach of every child.

To ensure secondary education, government proposes to upgrade 80,000 secondary schools and add or upgrade 75,000 junior or middle schools to the senior secondary level.

The government has allocate ₹27,575 crore to school edu tion sector, same as last year, to t Pramabhik Shiksha Kosh which funds several schemes, including Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and mid-d meals.

Allocation to the mid-day me scheme suffered a drastic cu from ₹1,296.5 crore last year to ₹132 crore this year.

Source:http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-3069290/Modi-starts-new-chapter-education-Make-India-boosts-higher-learning.html

The article in Figure 3.3 indicates that the government is still considering whether to complete NEP5 =2016 and therefore my analysis here is based upon developments that have taken place before any formal implementation. The NEP5 =2016 at present is pending and the plans for it not yet fully disclosed due to the contentious nature of the policies being introduced within it and what has taken place thus far since the 2014 election. As Narendra Modi became Prime Minister in May 2014, the 'New Education Policy', was pitched as part of the BJP neoliberal economic agenda. This was seen as an opportunity for the BJP government to establish a neoliberal model of education on the promises of the BJP election campaign of 2014- 'Ache din aane waale hain'. A committee headed by former Cabinet Secretary TSR Subramanian was asked by MHRD Minister Smriti Irani in 2016 to collect public views and give advice for the policy. While there is much speculation that the BJP government's focus in the new education policy may be "value-based education", the committee is still waiting for the report for public feedback (scroll, 1st June 2016). However, there are already several clear shifts that highlight the neoliberal turn in the

BJP's higher education policies, which I will highlight below.

3.4.1 Cuts to state funding

Higher education has been in the spotlight for many reasons, not least because university campuses have been historically known as sites of debate and dissent, particularly on campuses with active student union politics in the urban metropolises. In the public domain, the UGC occupation which lasted 6 weeks from October to November 2015 became a milestone for university students' opposition and resistance to the altering of the higher education funding structure. In addition, the halting of Non-NET fellowships, which had been introduced in 2006 to increase research activity in central universities, caused much discontent and opposition from students protesting the changes being brought in which appeared as an indication of broader changes of cuts to public spending on higher education yet to come under the pending NEP5.

According to Professor Zoya Hasan in interview which is given to The Hindu on 20th May 2015 , there are no 'ache din' for higher education after the 2-year completion of the Modi government. One of the most immediate changes to take place was a declaration that state funding for education would be reduced. The Union Budget for 2015–16 reduced funds for higher education from Rs. 16,900 crore to Rs. 13,000 crore, from the previous 2014-15 financial year. The overall education budget of the Modi government has decreased from Rs.82,771 crore to Rs.69,074 crore. The government has also revised the allocation for the Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA), which is a Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS), launched in 2013 that aims at providing strategic funding to eligible state higher educational institutions — to Rs. 397 crore from Rs.2,200 crore in the original budget.

3.4.2 Promotion of technical subjects

The rapid expansion of the private sector in education has been a significant part of NEP5. The encouragement of technical and professional education is another significant dimension of the NEP5. The Indian government has emphasised this through the opening of IIMs and various

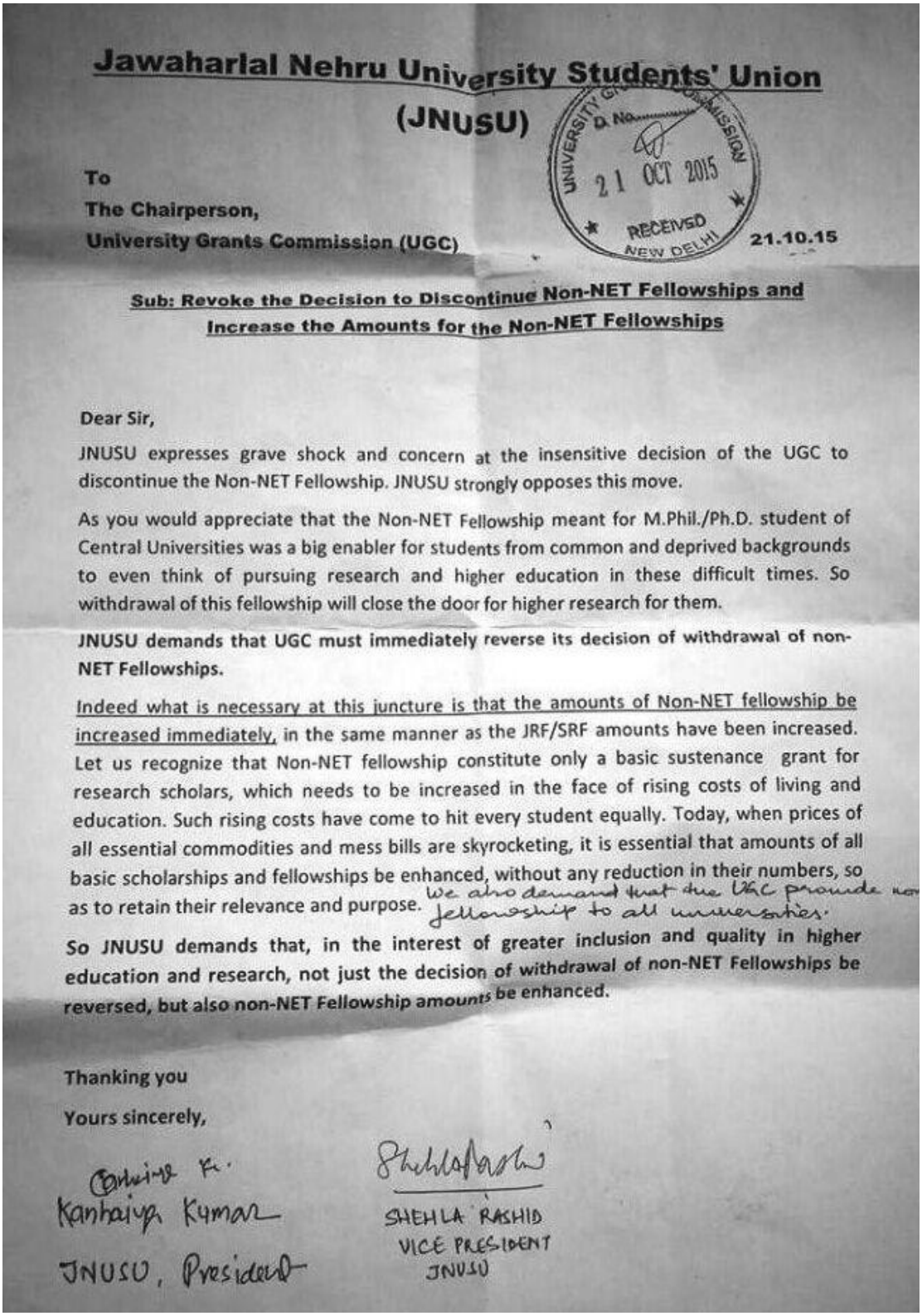
private universities. The focus has been to expand those technical and professional courses which are linked to global markets such as the US's demand for highly skilled graduates from IITs in India. The expansion of technical education is the major agenda of higher education policy in India today. State funding has been raised for technical education which will be discussed in Chapter 4. The Indian government is taking initiative for the expansion of technical education which is already mentioned in this chapter by highlighting the end year review of MHRD.

Indian education is expanding on the basis of the global market. Higher education and technical education are being reshaped into commodities, and there is a focus to meet growing external pressure such as market forces which are further shaped by global force (Srivastava and Sinha, 2008). This is found even more in private institutions of India, where the new higher education market is a route to earn profit for private universities and promoting global education through their syllabus and course, exchange programs and various other ways to connect with international market by providing low quality education to students (Yashpal, 2009). The agenda of the BJP government is to see the rapid expansion and growth of technical and professional colleges along with expansion of funds, the number of institutions low quality education and less job opportunity in the country (Babu G.S., 2010).

3.4.3 Disciplining dissent: constructing 'anti-nationalism' on university campuses

One feature of the principles underlying the new education policy has been its targeted use of Hindutva ideology to silence dissent and resistance to the neoliberal paradigm being pushed through. Hindu-nationalism as an ideology has been welded with neoliberal economic policies (coined in the media as 'Modi-nomics'). As a result, Hindutva has been the legitimising means for pushing through the neoliberal policy changes taking place since 2014. The spreading of the RSS/BJP agenda to different campuses had been going on before the Modi government came to power. However, with the BJP now in government, the ABVP is in an empowered position within university campuses to make allegations, despite the fact that other political parties are more popular amongst students.

Figure 3.4: Jawaharlal Nehru University Student Union Letter, 21 October 2015



Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union

(JNUSU)

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION D. No. 21 OCT 2015 RECEIVED NEW DELHI

To
The Chairperson,
University Grants Commission (UGC)

21.10.15

Sub: Revoke the Decision to Discontinue Non-NET Fellowships and Increase the Amounts for the Non-NET Fellowships

Dear Sir,

JNUSU expresses grave shock and concern at the insensitive decision of the UGC to discontinue the Non-NET Fellowship. JNUSU strongly opposes this move.

As you would appreciate that the Non-NET Fellowship meant for M.Phil./Ph.D. student of Central Universities was a big enabler for students from common and deprived backgrounds to even think of pursuing research and higher education in these difficult times. So withdrawal of this fellowship will close the door for higher research for them.

JNUSU demands that UGC must immediately reverse its decision of withdrawal of non-NET Fellowships.

Indeed what is necessary at this juncture is that the amounts of Non-NET fellowship be increased immediately, in the same manner as the JRF/SRF amounts have been increased. Let us recognize that Non-NET fellowship constitute only a basic sustenance grant for research scholars, which needs to be increased in the face of rising costs of living and education. Such rising costs have come to hit every student equally. Today, when prices of all essential commodities and mess bills are skyrocketing, it is essential that amounts of all basic scholarships and fellowships be enhanced, without any reduction in their numbers, so as to retain their relevance and purpose. We also demand that the UGC provide non-NET fellowship to all universities.

So JNUSU demands that, in the interest of greater inclusion and quality in higher education and research, not just the decision of withdrawal of non-NET Fellowships be reversed, but also non-NET Fellowship amounts be enhanced.

Thanking you

Yours sincerely,

Kanhaiya Kumar
JNUSU, President

SHEHLA RASHID
VICE PRESIDENT
JNUSU

Source: Kafila.org

This letter was submitted by the JNU students union (JNUSU) to the UGC in response to the decision to stop the fellowship in October 2015. The opposition to the government's decision instigated the UGC occupation and attracted students not only from Delhi institutions with strong student unions and organised left activism such as JNU and Delhi University, but also universities in other parts of India. Many students were jailed as a result of the UGC occupation, which led to the build-up of government pressure on university campuses. The UGC occupation came to represent more than just an opposition to the cutting of the Non-NET fellowships. It represented opposition to the neoliberal model of higher education, which was being rolled out through the MHRD's activities.

Figure 3.5 Shehla Rashid (JNUSU secretary) speaking during the UGC occupation, 2015

Source: Kafila.org

Figure 3.6 UGC Occupation

Source: Kafila.org

During this time, the main student body representing the Hindu right on university campuses and affiliated to the RSS, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), became active on university campuses in reporting student activism which labelled and stigmatised by the government and other Hindutva interests as ‘anti-national’ sentiments. From November 2015 onwards, increased censorship and so-called ‘national’ interests were foisted on universities, which were most vocal in opposing the MHRD’s tightening grip on Indian higher education. It is for this reason that JNU and Hyderabad came into the limelight as ‘hotbeds’ of resistance.

Figure 3.7 UGC Occupation 2

Source: Kafila.org

While the Modi government emphasised its aims were to improve the quality, diversity and equity in universities in India, it became clear that these issues provided an opportunity and cover for government intervention to hone in on Indian higher education ideologically. Thus, a conflict between student/teacher unions of central universities and the government began (Hasan, 2015). It became clear that the government did not have any clear plans in terms of academic development in higher education at the policy level. Hence, the delays in NEP5 being formalised. However, what was apparent when the ABVP activists on campuses since 2014 was that there was collusion with the BJP and RSS forces in promoting Hindutva ideology on university campuses, which had previously been known for liberal and left wing political leanings. The ABVP, in acting as informants on university campuses, infiltrated these spaces.

After the UGC occupation, JNU campus came under scrutiny for 'anti-nationalism'. The arrests of Anirban Bhattacharya, Kanhaiya Kumar (JNUSU president) and Umar Khalid for sedition after an event held on 9 February 2016 against the hanging of pro-Kashmiri separatist Mohammed Afzal Guru. On information passed on to Zee News who had allegedly been tipped off by the ABVP that the event would be taking place, alleged anti-national slogans were said to have been chanted and the evidence of this was found to have been doctored on the Zee TV footage. This showed the lengths that the ABVP were willing to go to in silencing dissent.

The suicide of Rohit Vemula, a Dalit postgraduate student at Hyderabad Central University, in January 2016 brought to the fore how far the government and a university administration would be willing to go in crack down on any form of dissent. Again, Vemula had earlier been targeted by the local ABVP for anti-caste activism, and, according to many students, activists, and journalists, Vemula's suicide was considered an 'institutional murder' for how the administration not only failed to address the collective discrimination faced by Dalit students but punished him for speaking out. Conversely, Vemula, who had been a recipient of a Non-NET fellowship, was accused of being 'anti-nationalist' and 'casteist' for speaking in favour of Dalit students' rights. His fellowship was stopped by the Hyderabad administration as a result, and his suicide marked a milestone in how university administrations were responding to the ideological aims of Hindutva in terms of student bodies, activism, and administration. University campuses ceased to be oases from the turbulence of Indian politics. They were very much at the centre of mainstream political developments where the BJP and its ABVP informants have been working together to undermine the vibrant culture and tradition of student activism, left politics, and dissent.

Figure 3.8 Democratic Students' Federation mural

Source: Kafila.org

As mentioned earlier, the new education policy is still pending 'public feedback'. According to *The Diplomat* (2016, July), this new education policy was crafted by the Modi government under the supervision of the former HRD Minister Simriti Irani with the ideological underpinnings of right wing Hindutva ideology. Zoya Hussain discussed in article of The Hindu (2015), "within weeks of forming the government, the RSS held a meeting with the HRD Minister where it pushed for introduction of moral education, correcting distorted history being taught in educational institutions and giving proper representation to forgotten idols of the country from the pre- and post-Independence era." That higher education should be equitable and accessible has been eclipsed by the BJP government's moulding of higher education in India as an ideological terrain.

The concept of moral education which will undoubtedly be included in NEP 2016 will pave the way for curriculum revisions and an apparatus to further implement the ideological censorship which has already begun. Notably, the new education policy shows the intention of the current government to move away from an information-based system of education to a value-based

education system. The moral or value-based system focuses on teacher-student relations as one of 'gurukul' and discipline. This is conducive to enforcing the fast-moving neoliberal policies of the Modi government through a combination of policing dissent and promoting Hindutva ideology in suppressing resistance to the neoliberal policies implicit in the new education policy.

3.5 Conclusion

While the plans for NEP5 are yet to be disclosed, from what has transpired in Indian higher education since 2014 it seems clear that there will be rapid changes ahead. The cutting of government funding, scholarship and fellowships, on the one hand, and heavy-handed intervention in student politics, denial of caste discrimination, and the surveillance of university campuses, on the other hand, reflects that the Modi government sees university campuses as a significant arena to win the ideological battles to defend neoliberal and Hindutva values. However, as Pawan Agarwal in his report "Indian higher education is half baked socialist and half baked capitalism" argues, Indian universities have never been idealistic spaces of equality, access and inclusion. These times under Modi's government are perhaps unique for how universities have been brought directly into the centre of debates and political battles and even targeted as spaces to be reshaped in the vision of Hindutva ideology and a neoliberal capitalist educational system, two processes which will continue to be contested.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the 'how, what and why' dimensions of the research planning and process. In this chapter, I will discuss how I have approached my research topic, why I selected particular methods (including what other methods I could have used and why I chose *not* to use those methods), and how the research has been designed. I will then explain how I collected the data and the manner in which this data collection and analysis informed my research questions. This chapter explains the research design and how the methodology underpins the empirical research in this thesis. The research problem is introduced in brief and the discussion then turns to the research design and methodology, which is the main focus of this chapter. The issue of research design starts with the research questions before moving on to address the research design used in this study. This chapter also discusses the methods, which are used to collect data and how the data will be analysed and interpreted. The chapter also articulates how ethics and confidentiality were addressed and indicates some challenges and limitations that the fieldwork and research design was presented with.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis aims to contribute to the growing literature on globalisation and privatisation in higher education. At an applied and policy level, by identifying changes that are occurring in Punjab's higher education sector within the current global context, the research plan was designed to highlight how new types of institutional arrangements, tuition fees, changes to public funding and the increasing presence of private actors and processes show a rapidly changing sector in India.

4.1 Research Paradigm

Research inquiry originates from the different assumptions that different researchers may claim about the nature of truth or knowledge (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). Some scholars indicate it as the design of the study, which begins with the selection of the topic and paradigm of the study. Paradigms help us to understand phenomena (Creswell, 1994), but almost every scholar constructs how research should be conducted and what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions and criteria for proof, encompassing both theories and methods according to their own perspective (Creswell, 1994). This differs across disciplinary fields and is often contested (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005). Kuhn (1962) states that the research paradigm is "the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed." In simple terms, a research paradigm is a belief system or a way of seeing a particular research topic. According to Guba (1990), a research paradigm refers to a particular paradigm where a researcher decides the method of dealing with particular research problems on the basis of their ontology, epistemology and methodology. A research paradigm is a combination of ontology, epistemology and methodology (Guba, 1990).

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the consequences of the neoliberal market paradigm shift in the higher education sector. The literature review chapter set the foundations of the theoretical debates surrounding the shift of higher education from a public good to a private good in developing countries, while considering Punjab as a focus of this study. This chapter will explain the research paradigm/design in relation to the thesis' aim to critically understand and further explore the challenges of the marketisation of higher education in Punjab.

This chapter will further focus on understanding the nature of the ontological, epistemological and methodological dimensions of this study. The research paradigm is mainly divided into four categories: positivism, constructivism, critical and pragmatic. The ontology and epistemology of different research is based on these four categories of the research paradigm. In brief, different research paradigms have different ontological, epistemological and methodological characteristics (Guba, 1990).

4.1.1 Ontology

Ontology is the way that reality is constructed: *"how things really are"* and *"how things really work"* (Lincoln, 2005). Different research paradigms have different ontological features. Ontology is mainly related to the nature of reality. Ontology has two contrasting positions: objectivism, which refers to the independent reality, and constructionism, which implies that reality is the product of social processes (Neuman, 2003). As a philosophy, ontology is concerned with assumptions about the variety of phenomena in the world. It is a theory of the nature of reality (Delanty and Strydom, 2003); it is a theory of being and is concerned with what exists and also refers to the claims that a particular paradigm makes about reality or truth (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). In simpler terms, ontology is about what *exists*, what it looks like, what components make it up and how the components interact with each other (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). Likewise, as with epistemology, these issues can sometimes have a major impact on methodology, and any contrasting ontology of human beings can, in turn, sometimes demand different research methods (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Cohen, et al., 2000). In summary, ontology tries to investigate:

- Characteristics of the common-sense physical and perceptual world (Delanty and Strydom, 2003).
- Whether reality, as a phenomenon is a mentally constructed entity (Delanty and Strydom, 2003).
- Characteristics of the beings that populate the world (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Delanty and Strydom, 2003).
- Whether the relationships between these beings or individuals are hidden and require significant inquiry (Maykut and Morehouse 1994; Delanty and Strydom 2003).

On an ontological level, the qualitative paradigm emphasizes that there are multiple realities or truths (Pring, 2000), as there are many researchers, but reality or truth is ultimately constructed in a social context (Sale, et al., 2002). In brief, truth or reality is a dynamic process, which is changing at a constant level (Pring, 2000).

According to Pring (2000), "truth ceases to exist outside the research activity." Basically truth or reality is compared only by the researcher. The researcher is a tool to collect data (Miles and

Huberman, 1994), which means there is nothing outside the researchers' mind to compare the perceived truth. This way, the researcher and what is to be researched are engaged with each other. The researcher may only know the objects of the study.

Hammersley (1992) highlights that reality is best derived from the personal experience of researchers, which is a very rare case and is also derived from the experience of the participants who are living and dealing with a particular situation. Social reality defines the social experience of participants who are living in a particular environment, i.e. social constructivism. Berger and Luckmen (1991) similarly highlight how social constructivism is a paradigm to highlight the actual social reality.

This study's reality is defined through the researcher's own observation, which is the best way to describe the ontological position of the study (Berger and Luckmen, 1991; Bassey, 1995). As I was born and brought up in India and completed my degrees at the public universities of Punjab and Delhi, I therefore have derived my ontology from my experience and observation since childhood. I passed an entrance exam and interviews to get admission to the public universities. I got admission for my Bachelor and Master's degrees on the basis of an entrance exam and interview at the Public University of Punjab. After completing my Masters, I went to Jawaharlal Nehru University, where I did my research in the education field. This was when I did my MPhil thesis on education. I did field research in Punjab and explored many areas which I related to my own observations. I realised I wanted to work on this topic when I developed an understanding of education with a special focus on the Punjab state of India. I also got the opportunity to work on a Punjab government education project with my MPhil supervisor. This was also based on field research. These were the reasons to research a critical perspective of higher education in the Punjab state of India. Therefore, my ontology is based on my own experience and observation.

4.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is concerned with how phenomena can be made known to the researcher (Walker and Evers 1988). According to The term refers to the question as to what differentiates defensible belief from opinion (Brewerton and Millward 2001). Epistemology can sometimes also have a major influence on data collection choices, as well as on the methodology in a research process (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995, p. 19). According to Ambert, Adler, Adler and Detzner (1995), "qualitative epistemology refers to one's view of the world, one's assumption about how to know the social and apprehend its meaning" and also refers to one's philosophical orientation and methodological perspective, because they influence the types of questions asked and the choice of technique or techniques (Gilgun, 1992).

Epistemology is important, because it reflects the fundamental assumptions behind how we think and how a research problem is formulated. There are different epistemological assumptions and approaches, from the classical to postmodern and from interpretive to structuralist. When researchers establish their epistemological awareness towards particular research aims and try to find desired knowledge, this self-reflection process can assist authors in selecting methods that support their knowledge-building, as well as in choosing a theoretical prospective that is suitable for the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2003).

The primary 'debate' within epistemological discussions on social research is between positivism and social constructivism (Feigl, 1969; Holton 1993; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Easterby-Smith, et al., 2008). The philosophical assumption of positivism is *"...use existing theory to develop a hypothesis"* (Saunders et al., 2007, p.103), while social constructivism is associated with theoretical developments, such as 'social cognitive' theory (Seidel, 1998), which emphasise the importance of culture in the context of a better understanding of the situation and create knowledge based on this understanding and is also associated with the interpretive method (Crotty, 1998).

On the other hand, positivism's goal to ... *"observe social reality"* (Remenyi, et al., 1998, p, 35) can be seen to argue that the observer must be independent, identify causal explanation and use a

deductive approach to identify what kinds of observations will demonstrate the truth (Collis and Hussey, 2003). Because social constructivism is referred to as an interpretive theory (Habermas, 1970), it is associated with the inductive approach, which is what I will be applying.

My epistemological framework has been informed by my own observations of the changing and increasingly market-oriented nature of education, generally, and of higher education in particular in India. South Asia is a region, which exhibits many dimensions of globalisation and has been a site of challenge to the forces of capitalism and the penetration of market forces in all aspects of society and the economy. I have witnessed the increasing privatisation of education in India since my childhood and, more recently, of the ways India's higher education sector has become increasingly outward looking and more part of globalising patterns and processes in new ways. This project, therefore, is hinged upon a social constructivist and pragmatic epistemology, which further uses a mixed methods approach in order to explore this. Pragmatic epistemology is used to interact with "what is the problem" and social constructivism further describes the views/experiences of the participants to highlight a critical picture of the neoliberal higher education market. Problems and issues are also derived from quantitative data and the qualitative process affects the educational and class aspirations of students, as well as shapes the activities of faculty and management of higher education institutions, which, in turn, impacts upon the methods these institutions use to promote themselves within the privatising global higher education market. By both examining the aspirational and outwardly looking context of Punjab (framed by migration, consumer capitalism, the job market, structural aspects of the Indian state, the global economy and the demand for education), this study takes a critical position towards the globalisation of higher education as it manifests in Punjab, where the social and economic dimensions of educational transformation are worthy of examination in order to understand the forces that are at play.

4.2 Methodology

To write about methodology, there is a real need for a good understanding of the term methodology. Research methodology is a theory of how research should be undertaken, including the theoretical and philosophical assumptions upon which the research is based and implications of these for the method or methods adopted (Saunders, et al., 2007). Ghauri and Gronhaug (2005) defined research methodology as a "system of rules and procedures." Thus, research methodology is the way to conduct the research, which includes the rules and procedures which are essential in research due to the following several rules for reasoning: how the researcher obtained his or her findings and enabled others to replicate and criticise the approach chosen and findings; distinctions about the reality; the relationship between the researchers and that researched; the role of values; and the rhetoric of the study (Creswell, 1994).

Methodology refers to the overall approach to the research process. Social scientists with different philosophical assumptions would adopt different approaches in their research. Quantitative studies can simplify human experience, statistically, making the analysis of research findings easier. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, take into account the lived experiences, hence, enabling contextualisation of the analysis, and allow for an in-depth understanding of phenomenon.

Methodology is often confused with method. Methods can be equated to the tools and techniques used to accomplish a task, whereas methodology, according to Guba and Lincoln (1994), refers to the overall guiding principle. In the context of paradigms, Guba and Lincoln (1994) define methodology as a distinct way of approaching educational research with an exact comprehension of the purpose, focus, data, analysis and the relationship between the data and what they make reference to.

Methodology is a very important element of the research paradigm. It is way to show how a research goes about finding knowledge and carrying out a particular research problem (Wainright, 1997). Methodology has different methods of research, but the three main research techniques are: a) quantitative research approach, b) qualitative research approach, and c) mixed methods approach.

a) Quantitative research approach: The quantitative research (i.e. positivist paradigm) has historically been the cornerstone of much social science research, particularly in Development Studies. Traditionalists call for researchers to "eliminate their biases, remain emotionally detached and uninvolved with the objects of study and test or empirically justify their stated hypotheses" (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.14)

b) Qualitative research approach: Qualitative traditionalists support a constructivist or interpretivist paradigm and "contend that multiple-constructed realities abound" and that "logic flows from specific to general and that knower and known cannot be separated because the subjective knower is the only source of reality" (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 14).

Table 4.1 Characteristic features of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms

Quantitative Paradigm	**Qualitative Paradigm**
Ontological aspects • Begins with hypotheses and theories • Manipulation and control • Uses formal instruments • Experimentation • Deductive • Component analysis • Seeks consensus, the norm • Reduces data to numerical indices • Abstract language in reporting	Ontological aspects • Ends with hypotheses and grounded theory • Emergence and portrayal • Researcher as instrument • Naturalistic • Inductive • Searches for patterns • Seeks pluralism, complexity • Descriptive language in reporting
Epistemological Aspects • Facts have an objective reality • Primacy of method • Variables can be identified and relationships measured • Takes an outsider's point of view	Epistemological Aspects • Reality is socially constructed • Primacy of subject matter • Variables are complex, interwoven and difficult to measure • Takes an insider's point of view
Research Purpose • Generalisation is scientific • Prediction • Causal explanations are scientific	Research Purpose • Generalisation is fuzzy • Interpretation is consensual • Understanding actors' perspectives
Researcher's role is • Detached and impartial • Objectively portrayed	Researcher's role is • Personal involvement and partial. • Empathetic understanding

Source: Adapted from Gall et al. (2003)

c) Mixed methods approach: The mixed methods approach refers to a particular approach when both the methods (quantitative and qualitative) are used for any research study. Mixed research, in

its recent history in the social and behavioural or human sciences, started with researchers and methodologists who believed qualitative *and* quantitative viewpoints and methods were useful as they addressed their research questions. The main purpose of mixed methods is to provide better understanding about a particular research problem. It is also called the 'third wave', philosophically. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) state that "mixed research makes use of the pragmatic method and system of philosophy. Its logic of inquiry includes the use of induction (or discovery of patterns), deduction (testing of theories and hypotheses) and abduction (uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results)." The mixed methods approach is increasing in importance in the social science fields, such as education, economics and sociology (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

The mixed methods approach has different categories, such as explanatory, exploratory, embedded and triangulation. The mixed methods approach has multiple ways to find accurate answers to the research questions (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Therefore, it is important for researchers to choose a particular mixed methods approach which will guide them to a solution or present a solution for particular research problems (Morse, 1991).

4.2.1 Methodological approach to the sample

The fundamental principle of mixed methods research is that the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches provides a better understanding of the problem than either approach can achieve alone (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Elliott, 2000; Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). This study applied a mixed methods approach for various reasons. The first and most important reason is to understand the picture of higher education in the neoliberal market by using multiple data sources. The study applies more than one epistemology, as this study uses pragmatic and social constructivism epistemology to understand the philosophical debate of this research problem. The mixed methods approach is a combination of advantages and disadvantages of quantitative and qualitative studies. This approach also uses both numbers (quantitative) and words (qualitative) (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

The conceptual framework of the research's interest in outlining the contours of the neoliberal model of higher education in Punjab meant that a stratified sample was adopted. The evolving

nature of higher education and the entry of private universities and processes in the sector were identified as being key features of the field. Therefore, a four-tier typology of institutional arrangements was utilised in the development of the stratified sample. The typology used in this study provides the basis upon which to understand the neoliberal turn within education but also to understand the state of public higher education for its limitations and gaps. By looking across the typology, I am not proposing a complete rejection of private education in Punjab (and India, for that matter) but wish to highlight the ways that the shifts are taking place and how marketisation is impacting upon the shape of higher education delivery in Punjab.

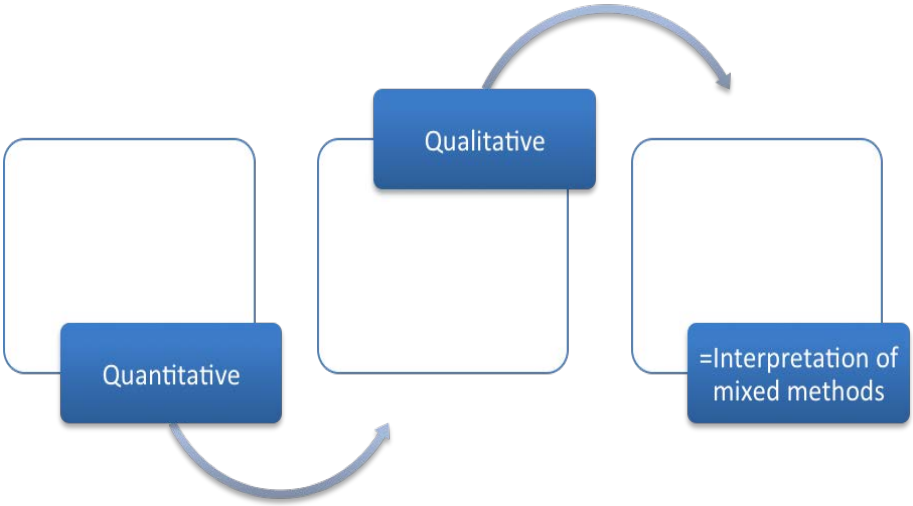
Table 4.2 Typology of the stratified sample

Central University	State University	Private University	Franchise Institute

A mixed methods approach is applied in this study, as the quantitative part of the study will be utilised to illustrate trends and patterns within the higher education sector as well as in order to highlight broader processes of globalisation and privatisation, and the qualitative part of the study will focus on understanding the picture of the neoliberal market in the higher education sector of Punjab. However, there are distinct reasons why this study is employing mixed methods in terms of its goals, purpose and limitations. mixed methods research methodology focuses on depth rather than breadth, and also seeks small groups of persons in the sample rather than a large, representative sample of an entire population (Ambert et al, 1995). Since this study aims to examine the globalising context of higher education in Punjab in India, the use of mixed methods will enable me to address questions around: what are the trends and patterns of a number of institutions; GER and higher education expenditure in Punjab; how the higher education sector in Punjab is being shaped, and what the driving forces are behind the internationalising, privatising, and globalising education market.

This study uses an explanatory design of the mixed methods approach, because the quantitative approach highlights the problem by showing trends and patterns in terms of public spending, Gross Enrolment Ratio and number of institutes, and the qualitative will focus on understanding underlying processes and effects of these patterns and trends.

Figure 4.1: Research Techniques



Here, quantitative methods present the context of the research area. However, qualitative research is more prominent in this study. Creswell and Plano Clark, (2007) also introduced a diagrammatic explanatory model, which applies to my study as it is also using an explanatory design of mixed methods approach. Explanatory design of mixed methods is a two-phase design where qualitative data explain and build on initial quantitative results (Morgan 1997).

The explanatory design is more suited for this study because the qualitative results explain significant, non- significant or surprising quantitative results. This study will also follow up particular groups for interview, such as quantitative trends revealing many questions needed to be asked of government officials related to public spending trends on the Punjabi HE system. This approach is more useful when the researcher has time to divide research into two phases, and quantitative results help to understand the trends and patterns of the Punjabi HE system, pre and post liberalisation (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). This design starts with the collection and analysis of quantitative data and follows with a qualitative phase that develops from and connects to the results of the quantitative phase.

Figure 4.2 Diagrammatic model of mixed methods analysis

Source: Creswell and Plano Clark (2007: 73)

The quantitative findings generally guide the researcher to the need of further exploration or research, which is possible by using qualitative techniques (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Therefore, this study also seeks to design a sequential explanatory model of mixed methods where analysis of quantitative design raises the desire of the qualitative study. The second phase is designed to be an outcome or result of the first phase. This study is aimed to design the second phase on the basis of the outcomes or results of the first phase. The first phase will draw the quantitative picture of the higher education system of Punjab in pre and post liberalisation and the second phase will be designed on the basis of the first phase's outcomes showing what there is a need to focus on. The quantitative part of the study is the grounding phase. Many studies are done which mainly focus on the quantitative design only. However, there is also a need to explore the qualitative issues.

A purely quantitative or purely qualitative design is not sufficient and does not provide accurate results to understand the emerging picture of higher education in the neoliberal market. Therefore, an explanatory design of mixed methods is best suitable to cover the research gaps, and we designed the second phase of qualitative study to understand why the first phase problems are emerging in the HE system of Punjab under neoliberalism.

4.3 Research Methods of this study

A research method is a way of systemising observation, describing the way of collecting evidence and indicating the type of tools and techniques to be used during data collection (Crotty, 1998). Mixed methods explanatory research is a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

4.3.1 Quantitative analysis

The descriptive analysis technique is used for the quantitative part of the research to address questions, which emerged after reviewing the literature on trends in the global higher education economy. These questions relating to the quantitative method are:

1) What are the state-wise trends of the Gross Enrolment Ratio in Punjab and India?

2) What is the picture of the number of institutions and number of students in Punjab pre and post-liberalisation?

3) What are the trends and patterns of public spending on total education, higher education and technical education in different states of India and Punjab?

4) How are private institutes increasing their student enrolment in Punjab and India?

5) What is the picture of the outbound and inbound mobility of students for international education?

This study identified the trends and patterns of the Gross Enrolment Ratio, number of institutions and number of students in the higher education sector of Punjab and India from 1980 to 2012 by using data sources such as the Punjab Statistical Abstract, and Ministry of Human Development sources (MHRD). I also explored the s trends and patterns of public expenditure on total education, higher education and technical education with special focus on Punjab from the 1960s to 2010. This data was collected from the Central Secretariat Library. Further, the study calculated the exponential growth rate by using Microsoft Excel. The growth rate refers to the percentage change of a specific variable within a specific period of time. There are different types of growth rates such as Linear Growth Rate, Exponential Growth Rate and Compound Growth Rate. Exponential growth rate was selected for this study because of its usefulness for the analysis of expenditure in the context of education and human development. Linear and compound growth rate would not have provided the depth of analysis as they are largely used for the purpose of investment and business calculations and thus not relevant for my study.

The steps to calculate this growth rate are given below:

$Y_t = ab^t.e^{ut}$ …….. (1)

The transforming equation (1) in linear form is as follows:

$\text{Log } Y_t = \text{Log } a + t \text{ Log } b + U_t$ ……. (2)

Where, Y_t is the value of the variable at time period t whose growth rate is to be calculated

t is the trend variable, u is the disturbance term and a and b are constants.

From the estimated value of regression co-efficient 'b' the compound annual growth 'r' is calculated as follows:

r = antilog (b – 1)* 100.

4.3.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative part of the study used semi-structured interviews, focus groups and content analysis. Participant observation also informed the qualitative analysis in picking up on perceptions, experiences, and reflections of universities across my stratified sample.

Table 4.3 Matrix of the qualitative part of the research

Qualitative Methods	Data Source	Purpose	Number of participants
a. Semi-structured interview	Field work	This method provides greater detailed information through conversation with participants and the researcher is physical available to understand the participants' point of view rather than asking them to write in diaries, observe them or just tell participants to fill in a questionnaire.	1) 6 Vice- Chancellors from different universities/institutions (All vice –chancellors are male) 2) 1 Punjab Educational Minister 3) 30 teachers (15 male and 15 female) (5 teachers from each institution).
b. Focus group	Field work	The reason to use focus group method is that some participants are more comfortable in a group. My pilot study indicated that students were not comfortable in one- to-one interview. They wanted to share their views in a group.	6 focus group (1 focus group from each institution and 3 boys and 3 girls from different courses in each institution)
c. Content analysis	Prospectus of different institutes	To examine their modes of delivery of HE programmes in Punjab, India.	

a. Semi-Structured interviews

Semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of research. Interview is a verbal exchange method of conversation between participants and researcher and the effectiveness of this method depends upon the communication skills of the participants and researcher (Clough, 2002) The

qualitative semi-structured interview method allows the respondent to speak about particular issues, which are framed by the researcher. The aim of semi-structured interview is to understand the participants' point of view rather than generalisation of their behaviour. Semi-structured interview allows participants to discuss their feelings, emotions and stories, which are very personal and the researcher has to take into account the sensitivity issue of the research, which is part of the ethical consideration.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with students, registrars, political leaders, vice-chancellors and franchise institutions' presidents, and other members. It I conducted 35 interviews. For a general study, interviewing between 30 and 35 participants, where the sample is drawn from a heterogeneous population and the focus of the research is far ranging, is considered statistically satisfactory though non-representative (Fielding and Thomas, 2008; Collis and Hussey, 2009). Initial informal contact was established with organisations and individuals from the field. The interviews were recorded using an audio tape recorder and the participants were interviewed for no more than one hour at their places of work. After conducting interviews, I coded and analysed the primary data with the help of NVivo software.

b. Focus groups

Focus group is a qualitative research method, which requires carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. The focus group is used to obtain collective views and the meanings underlining those views. However, focus groups should be avoided, if participants are uneasy with each other (Morgan, 1997).

The participants were students from different sectors of higher education (Central University, Bathinda; Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar; Lovely University, Jalandhar; Punjab's Continental Institute for International Studies; and Georgian College, Ontario, Canada). Different focus groups were conducted with groups of between six and ten participants. I acted as a facilitator in introducing the topic and encouraging participants to discuss their views (Cronin, 2008). The focus groups were done using an audio tape recorder and the venue for the focus

groups was chosen appropriately, based on a quiet and neutral location. The focus groups were conducted before the interviews, in order to inform interview themes.

c. Content Analysis

The content analysis method will also be used. The content analysis can be minutes of meetings, letters, newspapers, policy documents and prospectuses, etc. (Robson, 2002). In the context of understanding the impact of digitised collections and websites, one particularly relevant type of content analysis is the analysis of news articles. These news articles may be about the collection, or they may be about the type of resource in general. Similarly, I will use the prospectuses of different institutes to examine their modes of delivery of HE programmes in Punjab, India.

d. Participant Observation

Ethnographic research was a part of the qualitative dimensions of the fieldwork, in which observation of the university settings provided a sense of unquantifiable and often informal ways of "knowing" the field of higher education. After each day of fieldwork in Punjab, I wrote notes in a diary of my reflections and thoughts which have been used to inform my analysis throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis. As a former student in Punjab, I also occupied the position as an "insider-outsider" with its own dynamics of how information was presented to me by respondents and often performed for my benefit by others. I was consciously aware that my position and subjectivity influenced the data and information that was presented to me in the field, and I have worked through this in my analysis.

The research was conducted in India and Canada. I used secondary data, such as Gross Enrolment Ratio, number of students and number of institutions, etc. This data was collected from Central Secretariat, Punjab Statistical Abstract and the Census of India. I tried to highlight the trends and patterns of spending/expenditure on higher education. Government reports and statistical documents were analysed to assess the rise and decline in public funding over time. Different data sources provided the necessary information, such as the Punjab Statistical Abstract and the

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). With the help of MHRD, I collected data on the share of central funding to different sectors of higher education before 1991 and the current period (post-1991).

The qualitative aspects of the research explored the emerging shape of higher education in India across the different identified sectors. Identified participants were asked questions based on their personal experiences and professional expertise (interview and focus groups).

4.3.3 Pilot study

In March 2014, I interviewed several participants, which was an opportunity to get a sense of the field and how educationalists and students reflect on their personal and professional experiences in the current higher education market. I got an idea of where my methods and framework needed to be adjusted in order to focus my study. I started my pilot study after gaining ethical approval and conducted seven interviews and one focus group with participants. The following table shows the profile of the pilot study sample.

Table 4.4 Pilot study sample

Method of Research	**Participant**	**No. of Participants**	**Duration**
Interview	Vice-Chancellor of Private University, Mohali, Punjab	1	45 minutes
Focus Group	Teachers from Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Punjab	1 focus group 5 Participants	40 minutes
Interview	Principal of Continental Group of Studies, Sirhind, Punjab	1	45 minutes
Interview	Students from Central University, Bathinda, Punjab	2	30 minutes with each participant
Interview	Students from Private University, Mohali, Punjab	2	30 to 40 minutes with each participant
Interview	Student from Continental Group of Studies, Sirhind, Punjab	1	30 minutes

4.3.4 Data collection and sampling

The quantitative data was gathered from government reports and documents as raw data. After collecting quantitative data, attention was focused on finding the growth rate and ratios. The primary data was collected by using in-depth interviews and focus group methods of research. Even were it possible, it is not necessary to collect data from everyone. In qualitative research, only a sample of population is selected for any given study. The number of participants mainly depends upon the research questions and purpose of the research study (Robson, 2002). Strydom et. all (2007) states that sampling is measuring a small portion of something and then making a

general statement about the whole thing. The reason why a sample is studied is to try to understand the population from which it is drawn. It also helps to explain some aspects of the population. The main reason for sampling is, therefore, feasibility, taking into consideration factors such as cost, effort and time. Likewise, it would be difficult to process, analyse and interpret the huge amount of data produced if the population were too large, in which case it would be more feasible to study only a portion of the population.

Sample size is also significant. If a sample size is very large or has a large number of subsections, then it may become complicated. Researchers should be well trained in selecting appropriate sampling (Yin, 2003). The sample should be valid, which depends upon two considerations: a) Accuracy: bias is absent from the sample; b) Precision: sample represents the population. There are two types of sampling: Probability and Non-Probability sampling. Probability sampling is generally used in quantitative research. It utilises some form of random sampling. There are various categories of probability sampling, such as simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and multi-cluster sampling, but probability sampling is very time consuming and costly (Cresswell, 2014). Non-probability sampling is most commonly used in qualitative research. A researcher may not be able to obtain a random or stratified sample, or it may be too expensive. In any case, a researcher may not be concerned with generalising their findings to a larger population. The validity of non-probability samples can be increased by trying to approximate random selection, and by eliminating as many sources of bias as possible (Yin, 2003). This includes purposive sampling, convenience sampling, quota sampling and snowball sampling. The difference between probability and non-probability sampling has to do with a basic assumption about the nature of the population under study.

For the qualitative part of this study, non-probability sampling procedures, using a combination of purposive, snowball and convenience sampling techniques were used. Convenience sampling, also known as availability sampling, is a technique that the researcher uses to select those participants that can be easily accessed (Creswell, 2003: 157). Purposive sampling means a selection based on a researcher's experience and knowledge of the individuals being sampled, while snowball or chain sampling involves identifying "cases of interest from people who know what cases are information rich" (Creswell, 2007, p. 127). In non-probability sampling, a researcher cannot be certain that the population is accurately represented, because it is not possible to determine whether every element of the population is included in the sample. I was

able to access participants throughout the higher education system in Punjab through snowball sampling which provided a focused and targeted approach to the field.

As mentioned earlier, a mixed methods approach was used in this study, which is a combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques. As such, data analysis was done for quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative analysis utilised descriptive techniques. Descriptive analysis is mainly analysis where researchers usually do not develop a hypothesis until after collecting data. Similarly, many questions come to mind after collecting data, which were discussed earlier. Trends of Gross Enrolment Ratio and the ratio of institutes and students were identified from 1980 to 2012. Gross Enrolment Ratio and the ratio of institutes/students indicate the changes from pre and post liberalisation. It also helped to understand the growth of particular courses in Punjab. Further, and most important, it highlights the public expenditure trends by finding the exponential growth rate, pre and post liberalisation.

Quantitative data also provided the evidence of global inbound and outbound mobility of students for international education. This highlighted the outbound mobility countries from where the hubs of students are migrating for higher education and also the desired destination countries as well. However, as mentioned earlier, this research is largely based on an inductive qualitative approach. Inductive reasoning approach moves from specific observations to broader generalisations and theories. The researcher begins with specific observations and measures, begins to detect patterns and regularities, formulates tentative hypotheses for exploration, and, finally, ends up developing general conclusions or theories. Inductive reasoning is more open-ended and exploratory, especially during the early stages.

Figure 4.3 Inductive qualitative approach

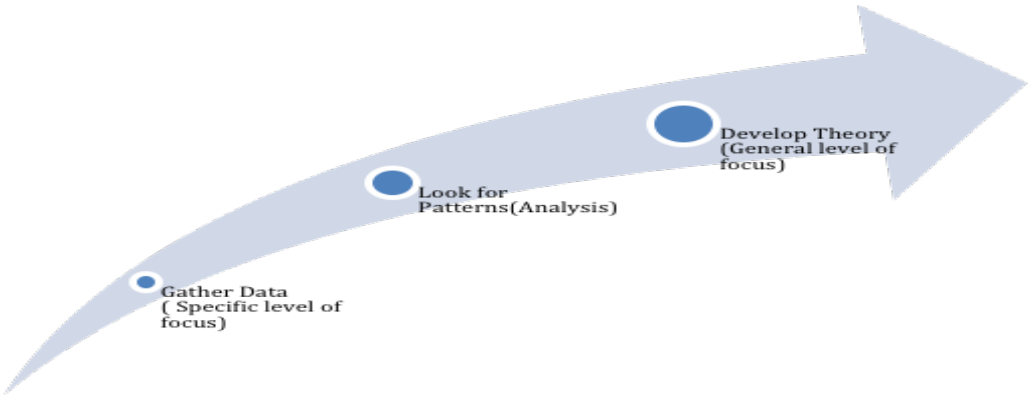
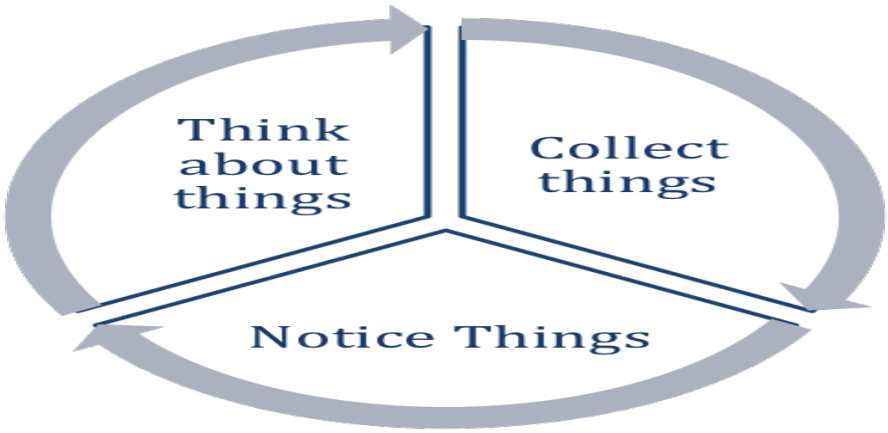


Figure 4.3 indicates the move from data to theory and specific to general, which is known as an inductive qualitative approach or a "bottom up" approach. Therefore, there is a variety of techniques which can be used to analyse verbal data, such as face-to-face interview data, focus group transcripts, content analysis, etc. There are various types of qualitative data analysis, such as narrative analysis, discourse analysis, framework analysis, and grounded theory. The relationships between these approaches are complex. I am using discourse analysis for this research study because of its focused analysis of neoliberalism as a discourse in shaping the higher education economy. Discourse analysis is a qualitative method developed or adopted by social constructionists who examine how meanings are constructed.

Discourse analysis is a method of analysing recurring themes in spoken 'talk', and all types of written text. The focus of discourse analysis is any form of written or spoken language, such as a conversation or a newspaper article. The main topic of interest is the underlying social structures, which may be assumed or played out within the conversation or text. It concerns the sorts of tools and strategies people use when engaged in communication, such as slowing one's speech for emphasis, use of metaphors, and choice of particular words to display affect. The investigator attempts to identify categories, themes, ideas, views, roles, and so on, within the text itself. The aim is to identify commonly-shared discursive resources. The investigator tries to answer questions such as how a discourse helps us understand the issue being researched and how people construct their own version of an event (Baker, 1994). Thematic coding has been used here for the analysis. Thematic coding refers to a systematic approach in which parts of data are coded. These themes are then used as the basis of the data analysis (Robson 2002).

Figure 4.4 Process of qualitative analysis



As Figure 4.4 suggests, qualitative data analysis is non-linear. The figure indicates that, when we do qualitative analysis, we are not simply noticing, thinking and collecting data in a verbal form. The process of qualitative data has various characteristics, which are indicated in the figure. The figure shows that, when we notice things, at the same time we are also thinking and collecting data. As a result, the process is progressive, repeating like a cycle, as shown in the figure. The one part is also going back; therefore, it is recursive. Recursive means that, when we are collecting data, at the same time we are looking to collect more things related to the particular research. Sometimes, when we notice some issue related to a particular study, we collect data mentally and start thinking about things at the same time, which is called the holographic process of qualitative data analysis (Seidel, 1998).

In this study the process of qualitative data analysis involved transcribing the recordings of the 30 one-to-one interviews and five focus groups, which were audio-taped, and carefully scrutinised the transcripts for the purpose of coding, in order to generate categories and themes. Transcription in itself is a phase of analysis, which involves getting closer to the data. Flick (2006: 288) suggests that, if a technical device (such as the audio-tape recorder) has been used to record data, then transcription is an essential step towards interpretation. Data are used in the form of tables, maps and charts with the help of SPSS and Microsoft Excel, and Nvivo.

4.4 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are generally understood by researchers as "the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from data" (Eisenhart and Howe, 1992: 644). Qualitative analysis should be valid and reliable. First, we should understand a brief definition of validity and reliability, which is given as follows:

a. Validity refers to the idea that the account truly reflects what actually happened, or put simply, that it is accurate.

b. Reliability means that the results of the analysis would also be obtained if different researchers repeated the research and analysis on another occasion. The respondents or participants involved may be different from those in the original research, though they will be similar and be doing similar things.

How much material is provided, the techniques, which are used, and whether entire collections of documents are made available to the public are conventions that vary by qualitative tradition. Researchers should have been deeply involved and closely connected to the scene in order to ensure reliability of interpretation as researchers generally generate their findings from their data (Lincoln, 1985). According to Stratton (1998), there is no guarantee that such reliability is possible, given that researchers are likely to differ in their motivational factors, expectations and familiarity. Therefore, it has to be accepted that the interpretations of the data in this policy brief are subjective, whereby another researcher may interpret the data differently. However, what can be said is that this particular study has utilised not just one, but three widely recognised data sets and makes its own assessment of the evidence, as articulated in the findings.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Ethics are an integral part of research. Ethical concerns traditionally focus on three topics, namely, informed consent (i.e. receiving the participants' consent after carefully and truthfully informing them about the purpose of the research), right to privacy (i.e. protecting the identity of the participants), and protection from harm (i.e. emotional, physical or any other type of harm) (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 89-90). Qualitative research is designed to reveal a target audience's range of behaviour and the perceptions that drive it with reference to specific topics or issues. It uses in-depth studies of small groups of people to guide. In this way, qualitative research is the concept of relationship and power between participants and researchers (Robson, 2002). Ethics play an important role to protect participants and researchers. The desire to participate in a particular research study depends upon participants. Ethically, researchers cannot force them to participate. A researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and wishes of the informants. According to Creswell (2013), the following main safeguards are given as part of ethical considerations to protect the participants' rights:

1. The research aim will be clearly discussed with participants in verbal and written form, so that participants can understand how the information will be used.

2. The participants should be informed about any data collection device (audio recorder or video recorder) and activities.

3. Reports will be available for all participants in written form.

4. The participants' rights, interests and wishes will be considered first when choices are made regarding reporting the data.

In this study, every effort was made to conform to the requirements of the ethical guidelines outlined by SOAS's ethical research policies. Participants were made aware of the purpose of the research before informed consent was obtained. They were informed that their identity would not be revealed and that that all information they provided would be anonymised to maintain an ethical standard of confidentiality. They were assured that their responses would be treated in a confidential manner. Participants were also informed that they could withdraw from the

investigation at any time without fear of recrimination. In order to ensure full participation of the respondents, an approved consent form from the University Ethics Committee, introducing the researcher and explaining the work being undertaken, was taken along. Translation of the letter in Punjabi was also provided where necessary.

The essence of the research was communicated to respondents/participants before gathering the information necessary from them. They were also assured of the confidentiality of the information they would disclose. All discussions were to be de-identified and only pseudonyms were used in data analysis, so only the researcher was aware of their identity. Confidentiality was maintained through a systematic anonymising of subjects' identities. The participants signed an informed consent form to ensure confidentiality, being particularly aware that not only individuals' names, but also universities' names were in need of confidentiality. The research result or any other further enquiry was available on request, if the participant approached the researcher afterwards.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined my methodological approach to the study in terms of the research methods, tools and sample selection. While qualitative methods provide what could be seen as the unique aspects of this study in terms of its contributions to the field, my analysis of quantitative secondary data also informs the study's perspective in charting trends within the higher education economy globally, in India and Punjab. The stratified sample across a four-tiered typology further provides a framework for understanding the policy shifts that have taken place due to the privatising forces in higher education. Thus, the study's mixed methods approach offers a means for understanding emerging patterns quantitatively, but also in its qualitative enquiry provides a means for considering underlying social and cultural change embedded in the neoliberal turn within higher education in Punjab.

Chapter 5

The state of higher education

5.0 Introduction

So far, I have explored how education has been undergoing a transformation: going from a public good to a market commodity. This chapter examines the shifts that have taken place in terms of the state's evolving role in higher education within this transformation. The main focus of this chapter is to highlight trends relating to public expenditure on higher education (pre- and post-liberalisation) and how the structure and shape of state provision for higher education has altered under the forces of neoliberalism. This chapter is based largely on analysis of secondary data as well as qualitative interviews with government officials and senior Public University Administration (vice-chancellors, deans, and registrars). Focus groups with students were also conducted which will also inform the analysis presented.

The first section deals with the issues relating to the financing of higher education with regard to world level trends and policies. The second part of the chapter maps the growth of and trends in higher education in Punjab and India and also highlights the impact of the decline in public funding for higher education as the neoliberal model has evolved and how this positions the state of Punjab within the local, national and global higher education economy. Punjab has been ripe for the extending and deepening of neoliberal ideology within the higher education sector which has earlier been discussed in relation to Bourdieu's three forms of capital.

5.1 The changing role of the state in higher education funding

Over the last few decades, the financing of higher education has emerged as an issue not merely of budget allocations but of ideological concern. While some country policies have pursued the

belief that higher education's private benefit to individuals is greater than its benefits to society (Tilak, 2005), others have treated higher education as a private good. The market of higher education has been largely driven by the U.S.' inherently neoliberal system in its competition for students from other countries but British, European, and now other countries are joining in the global market competition. Where welfare principles were being undermined and neoliberal policies being encouraged, public spending on higher education started to decline in those nations, beginning in the 1990s. There are, of course, exceptions such as Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Sweden and, more recently, Germany who have gone the opposite direction in not charging international students fees and in increasing state funding for higher education (Ritzer, 1996).

During the 1990s, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) stimulated trade in the services sector - as a result of liberalisation. Initially, in 1948, GATT was concerned with trade in goods. GATT, which officially came into effect on January 1, 1948, aimed successively at the liberalisation of trade in different goods. There were eight rounds of negotiations among the 23 founding member countries between 1948 and 1984. Many developed nations fostered international trade in the services sector in the Uruguay round, and that was the last round under the GATT regime. These negotiations led to the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on January 1, 1995, which was organised into three groups: goods, services, and intellectual property rights. With the increased trade in, and importance of, the service sector at the global level, the WTO member countries agreed and signed up for the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), focusing on trade in the services sector. This resulted in GATT transforming into GATS in 1995, and education became one of the most important sectors. GATS introduced different modes for trade in the services sector, and these have already been discussed in the literature review chapter. The major recommendations of GATS were to reduce public funding in higher education and have education converted into a trade commodity (Tilak, 2005).

As a result, many countries, developed and developing, have been changing or 'reforming' their models for the funding of higher education to move towards treating education as a trade commodity rather than as a public good.

Many developed and developing nations have already increased their fees and shifted the responsibility for financing education from the government to parents or students. In developed countries such as Australia and the U.K., this change has been policy driven. In developing countries, such as India, the shift has been made mainly because of a shortage of public funds and the emergence of the private sector in higher education.

In order to assess the state's evolving role, a look at trends in expenditure on higher education as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) provide a useful indication. Table 5.1 below highlights expenditure on education within selected countries.

Table 5.1 Expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP

Country	1999	2001	2008	2011	2012
Afghanistan	..	..	..	4.08‡	3.12‡
Australia	..	..	4.63	5.11	4.91
Bangladesh	2.13	2.17	2.05	..	2.04‡
Belgium	..	5.85	6.27	6.37	..
Brazil	3.78	3.84	5.27	5.74	5.91
Canada	5.55	4.99	4.66	5.27	..
China	1.90	..	..	..	..
France	5.65	5.42	5.44	5.52	5.53
Germany	..	..	4.42	4.81	4.95
India	**4.34**	**..**	**..**	**3.72**	**3.83**
Indonesia	..	2.46‡	2.90	3.19	3.41
Iraq	..	..	..	..	..
Ireland	4.15	4.12	5.47	5.85	5.84
Italy	4.52	4.67	4.40	4.14	..
Japan	3.54	3.57	3.44	3.78	3.85
Malaysia	5.69	7.48	3.96	5.93	..
Mexico	3.66	4.43	4.86	5.15	..
Nepal	2.89‡	3.70‡	3.81	..	..
Netherlands	4.58	4.76	5.12	5.53	5.51
New Zealand	6.64	6.56	5.53	7.00	7.25
Pakistan	2.61	..	2.75	2.22	2.14
Russian Fede	..	3.11	4.10	..	4.15
United Arab	..	..	..	..	..
United Kingd	4.31	4.41	5.12	5.75	..
United State	4.85	5.46	5.30	5.22	..

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

As Table 5.1 shows, the U.S., the UK, Canada, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and France spent a higher percentage on education, expressed as a percentage of GDP, than India. Overall, this table shows a decline in expenditure as a percentage of GDP in India. Tilak (1994) noted the reduction in public expenditure since the economic reforms introduced in India.

Table 5.2 Expenditure on higher education as a percentage of total education

Country Name	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Afghanistan															
Australia			26					21.7	20.7	20.1	19.8	20.4	21.4	20	
Austria	51.7	50.7	42.9	40.1	45.1	44.7	47.6	48.4	46.6	45.7	42.1	40.9	37.9	35	
Belgium				37.4	36.5	35.4	33.9	33.7	34.3	34.2	35.7	36.4	34.8	33.4	33.3
Bangladesh		47.6	43.1	37.5	40.7	33.9	44		43.1	31.9	30.8	24.5		17.4	
Brazil	80.3	57.2	55.6	47.5	44.6		32.6	35		29.6	27.7	28.4	28.4	28.9	28.5
Canada	43.1														
Switzerland	46.3											42.2	39.4	39.9	39.4
China	59.3	90													
Germany															
France		29.8	29.4	28.9	29.2	34.1	34.1	33.5	33.7	35.1	35.9	38.9	37.2	36.4	35.3
United Kingdom	30.1	24.4	22.1	21.7	27.1	26.3	25.6	30.4	27.3	23.1	21.2	19.5	24.5	32	
Indonesia										23.6	16.9	21	23.1	23.8	24.3
India			**94**			**68**	**60.8**	**57.8**	**55**			**74.3**	**68.7**	**58.3**	**54.9**
Japan	13.1	14.9	17.4	17.2	17.1	19.6	20.4	19	19	20.2	21.1		25.4	24.3	25.5
Malaysia			81.7	110	98.5	90	68.7		57.9	48.1		59.6	47	60.9	
North America															
Nepal			135	99.4	75.2	61.8					46.6	50.7	35.4		
New Zealand		39.2		35.6	35.6	32.6	26.5	25	25.7	27.9	27.9	30.9	30.9	32.2	31.5
United States	26.3	25.8		29.8	24.4	25.3	22.2	22.2	24	20.9	20.4	18.9	20.9	20.1	

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Table 5.2 above table shows a general decline in expenditure on higher education of total education as well as the decline in expenditure on higher education in India as a part of total education from 1998 to 2012. The table also highlights the fluctuation in trends in higher education expenditure. India's state expenditure on higher education is higher in comparison to other countries such as New Zealand, USA, U.K., France, Bangladesh, Belgium, and Japan. In this table, trends are perhaps more revealing of how different systems produce different state expenditure regimes. Salami & Hauptman (2006) state that, on average, developed countries spend close to US $10,000 per student per year while developing countries spend only US $1000 per student per year. Their study further indicates that India spends only US $400 per student per year, a fraction of what China spends (US $2,728 per student). As the focus of my study is on

India, the remainder of this chapter will focus on India in particular. This chapter will focus on public spending as a percentage of GDP and as an indicator of how the state is being positioned within the new neoliberal model of higher education through the marketisation of education more generally. In the process, I will highlight state-wise trends in public expenditure, pre- and post-liberalisation, based on analysis of available secondary data.

5.2 Public Expenditure and the Public University

The structure of education has been transformed under neoliberalism in Punjab. An implicit purpose of state or public universities was to make education available to all without regard to financial means with an aim to create human skilled capital, as according to the Nehruvian model presented in Chapter 3. State universities were established with provisions to ensure access through quotas and government-endorsed reservations. Since the liberalisation process of the higher education sector began in 1995, a new market has been created with rising fees and social reproduction of inequalities based on affordability rather than merit and state-endorsed measures for inclusion.

Despite a rising GER in Punjab, the growth of GER is therefore mainly because of the rising aspirations in Punjab to access education by those who can afford or those who find other ways to finance education through loans, the sale of land, or other means, and this is leading to further inequalities in education.

A transformation of the institutional habitus, at least in terms of its rhetorical commitment to inclusion, leads to the social redistribution of inequality. Fisher (2006) noted the importance of state universities for lower income groups in the U.S. Rising fees and a reduction in public funds are bringing about further transformations to the institutional habitus. This means that the reduction of state funds is bringing elites to state universities and also putting the families of students into debt in order to pay rising fees and subsistence costs.

This transformation, or new market, raises the glass ceiling for the top layer of children who would be eligible to gain admission on the basis of their credentials. The new market, as a result, is transforming state universities from within and also impacting on society in terms of making merit alone weak criteria for gaining access to higher education.

The literature has already discussed the issue of reduction of state funds for education due to the economic reforms in India after 1995. Many scholars such as Khadria (2006d), Blair (1999), Varghese (2008), Nayyar (2007), and Tilak (2005) explain that the economic reforms in India bring up many new challenging issues, such rising and unaffordable tuition fees, a reduction in public funds, a growing presence of private forces, low quality of education, and a rise in self-financing courses. Economic reforms and the World Bank's (1994) recommendation brought about the changes in higher education expenditure. These colluded to withdraw the states' attention from the higher education sector.

As already mentioned by GOI (1997) in a discussion paper, higher education primarily benefits the individual recipient, and therefore higher education should be considered a non-merit service. In this way, the private benefit of higher education is considered to be much greater than its social benefits. The new economic reforms that were introduced entailed a low public budget for higher education, an increase in tuition fees, and an increase in privatisation for higher education. An additional factor that led to decreased funding for higher education (though not directly connected with globalisation) was the Indian government's policy decision to expand primary education in order to increase literacy and access to basic education (Tilak, 1997). The consequence of this policy choice was a shift in public expenditure from higher education to primary education in the late 1980s (Rani, 2002; UGC, 1993). The relative decline in the importance of higher education in government policy measures has come under criticism, because "higher education is not a luxury: it is essential to national, social and economic development" (UNESCO, 2000). Kapur & Mehta (2006) emphasised, from the same document produced by the World Bank (1994), issues relating to school education and he also discussed the benefits of higher education:

> *Higher education is of paramount importance for social and economic development. Institutions of higher education have the main responsibility for equipping individuals with advanced knowledge and skills required for the position of responsibility…estimated social rate of returns of ten percent or more in many developing countries also indicates that*

investment in higher education contributed to increase in labour productivity and to higher long term economic growth essential for poverty alleviation." (World Bank 1994, p.1)

Due to the reduction in public funding, the effects on higher education in Punjab have had a negative impact on state universities' higher education system. As revealed by the quantitative data, qualitative results, and existing literature, the state government has reduced its funding to higher education which, in turn, has shaped a new era of higher education access and delivery. State universities are facing many obstacles, as discussed earlier, and as shown by the qualitative data, an increase in fees and self-financing courses which are examples of higher education becoming narrowly accessible to higher income groups. The larger part of the rise in enrolment comes from the upper income groups, but also lower income groups through debt, who are paying fees for getting technical degrees. These students study either in state universities and colleges or private universities and colleges.

In this way, it can be seen that the state of Punjab is adopting a similar strategy in terms of education to that of other developed and developing countries. As described in the literature and from the quantitative and qualitative data, the new market shifts the responsibility for funding from the government to individuals and families, expands technical and professional education, and it also means that parents' expectations of their children are greater since parents become investors. Even if higher income groups are investing, they want their children to fulfil their aspirations, but low quality education does not fulfil students' aspirations. Even states universities are generating funds by raising numbers of students because students are the only new income source for them, bringing in money in the form of tuition fees and hostel fees. Admission criteria have changed in state universities and there are few departments in state universities who have retained the criteria that the student must pass an entrance exam and an interview.

India's higher education system is the world's third largest, and it is expanding. The expansion of the higher education system in Punjab is linked to both its agricultural-based economy and outward migration, which I have highlighted earlier in terms of the aspirations that education appeals to and the accumulation of cultural, social and economic capital. Increasing enrolment, private investment and new values associated with higher education degrees, certificates and diplomas are evidence that education is evolving in terms of its ties to different forms of capital.

With the goal of achieving 30% GER by 2030 (FICCI 2014), to address this goal the central and state levels are a) raising the GER by opening more institutions and b) shifting the burden of tuition (fees) from the government to parents and students. These two issues, relating to higher education in India, are very complex and have been examined by a number of studies (Tilak, 2004; Varghees, 2008).

To understand more about how this is altering the shape of higher education in Punjab, we need to explore the trends in GER during the time period that has followed the liberalisation of the Indian economy and the neoliberal turn which has effected policy changes within higher education more specifically. Government reports of MHRD (2013), UGC (2008), and even FICCI (2014) indicate that GER is increasing gradually. However, the growth of GER in itself is not indicative of the more wide-reaching changes that have taken place. Available quantitative data highlight the state's contribution in this respect, and, given the ideological shift away from state funding implicit within the neoliberal model, these secondary data sets are useful for the investigations of this thesis.

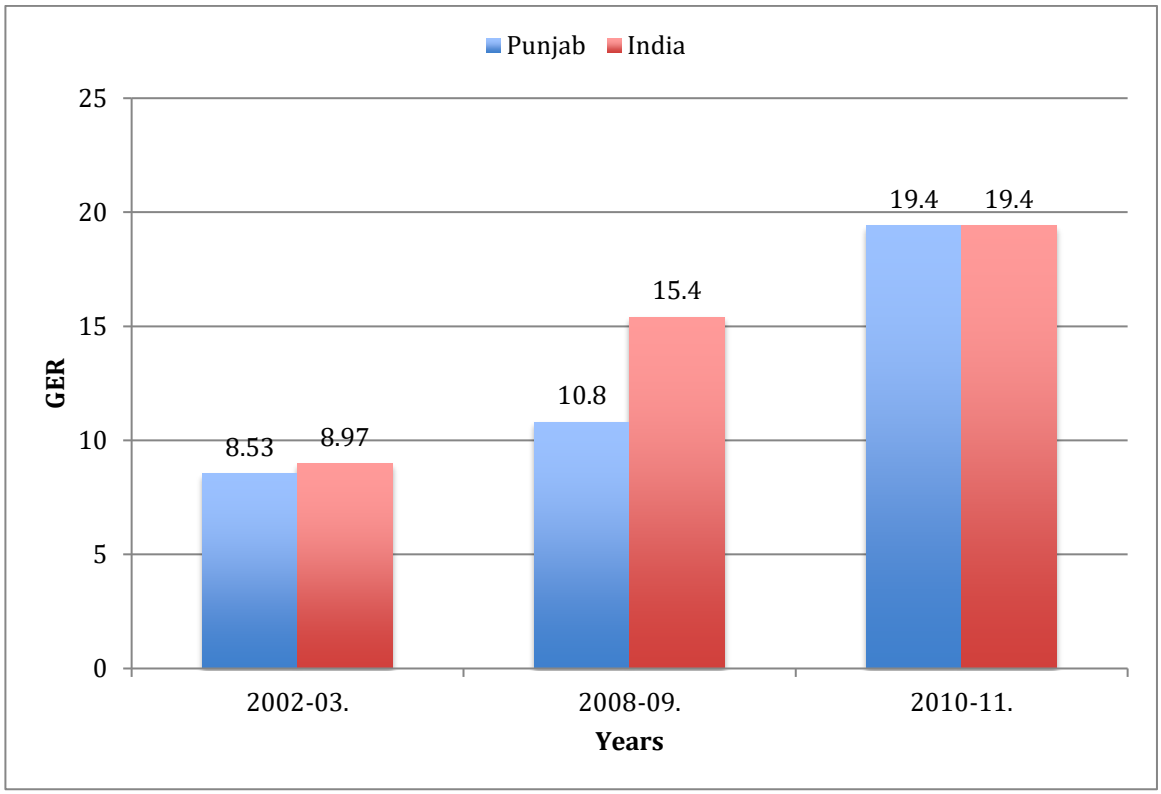
The Indian state has, in setting the 30% target of GER, also created a scenario of inter-state competition. As a result there has been a 'quantity over quality' approach. Table 5.3 indicates that Punjab is neither in the best nor the worst situation in terms of GER. Punjab's GER is higher than that of J&K, Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, and others. Punjab's GER, however, is less than that of neighboring states Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and the union territory of Delhi.

Table: 5.3 Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) at higher education level in 2010-2011

STATES/UTs	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Andhra Pradesh	32.1	24.4	28.4
Arunachal Pradesh	33.6	19.5	26.9
Assam	13.3	13.4	13.4
Bihar	11.8	9.1	10.5
Chandigarh	42.2	40.4	41.4
Delhi	35	29.8	32.5
Goa	31	35.8	33.2
Gujarat	23.5	18.8	21.3
Haryana	27.2	20.7	24.1
Himachal Pradesh	25.9	26	26
Jammu and Kashmir	17	16.7	16.8
Jharkhand	8.8	7.5	8.1
Karnataka	26.6	24.3	25.5
Kerala	18.8	25.1	21.9
Madhya Pradesh	15.1	11.9	13.6
Maharashtra	30.7	24.2	27.6
Manipur	38.5	33.3	35.9
Meghalaya	15.3	19.8	17.5
Mizoram	22	21.1	21.6
Nagaland	25.8	16.9	21.5
Odisha	18.1	14.1	16.1
Puducherry	32.6	29.9	31.2
Punjab	23.6	14.5	19.4
Rajasthan	20.9	15.2	18.2
Sikkim	26	22.2	24.2
Tamil Nadu	36.5	29.1	32.9
Tripura	16	11	13.6
Uttar Pradesh	15.2	17.4	16.3
Uttrakhand	26.1	29.6	27.8
West Bengal	13.8	10.9	12.4
All India	20.8	17.9	19.4

Source: www.data.gov.in

Figure 5.1 examines 1 Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) at higher level of Education in Punjab and India in 2002–03, 2008–09, and 2010–11.



Source: MHRD, 2011

The figure shows an increase in GER from 2002–03 to 2008–09 and 2008–09 to 2010–11. The results are very surprising in the case of Punjab. This is the overall picture relating to the increase in GER in Punjab. For a more detailed analysis of these trends, it can be seen that the expansion in enrolment and in numbers of institutions reflects differently in different levels and types of courses in Punjab.

In this study, the state's contribution is analysed in terms of expenditure on education. To finance higher education expansion, the Indian government increased the share of public spending allocated to higher education from 1950–51 until the 1990s (Chitnis, 1999). The financing of the higher education system started to change after the 1990s because of the introduction of economic reform policies and a World Bank recommendation to withdraw state share from the higher education sector and to treat higher education as a private commodity (World bank 1994).

Tilak (2005) highlights the situation with regard to Indian financing of higher education. He also indicates that economic reforms have brought about policies which have transferred the higher education 'burden' from the government to parents and students, and this gives rise to issues relating to inequality and the low quality of higher education on offer in India. NSSO data indicates the overall share of education expenditure was reduced from 80% in 1983 to 67% in 1999. For states like Kerala, the decline was very steep from 84% to 68%. The number of private institutes is greater in the southern states and Maharashtra but least in the states such as Bihar and West Bengal. The expansion of private institutions is overall less in northern states in comparison to southern states, though the share of private institutes is high in Haryana, Punjab and Delhi.The expansion of higher education alongside the reduction of state funds for Punjab's higher education system are a core feature of the state's neoliberal higher education economy.

Table: 5.4 States' exponential growth rate trends of total education expenditure from 1966–67 to 2010–11

State	1966-67 to 1976-77	1976-77 to 1989-90	1989-9- to 1996-97	1996-97 to 2005-06	2005-06to 2008-09	2008-09 to 2010-11
A.P	13.74	3.91	0.67	6.84	1.74	26.74
Assam	10.32	3.97	3.72	4.91	12.45	17.90
Bihar	13.06	7.54	0.32	2.57	6.26	6.55
Gujarat	19.51	1.26	3.93	3.14	5.15	26.70
Haryana	27.17	3.91	3.51	5.55	16.89	18.81
J & K	10.42	5.55	5.48	6.30	-0.56	17.86
Kerala	14.20	-0.76	3.97	4.31	7.84	5.96
M.P.	11.23	3.77	3.82	0.84	7.61	6.24
Tamil Nadu	11.02	3.14	2.60	3.82	13.51	14.40
Maharashtra	16.60	3.50	4.44	6.32	6.10	19.08
Karnataka	12.89	2.37	4.63	6.04	13.46	4.51
Nagaland	13.91	3.67	3.91	5.58	4.00	14.17
Orissa	14.88	2.07	3.72	3.93	12.85	16.23
Punjab	**11.84**	**3.07**	**0.51**	**4.37**	**4.12**	**6.57**
Rajasthan	13.79	3.63	5.78	4.75	10.30	7.40
U.P.	15.30	4.39	1.74	4.63	5.49	13.41
West Bengal	12.04	3.73	3.00	4.55	3.26	28.77
H.P.	0.00	2.95	2.82	2.62	22.66	14.86
Delhi	0.00	-0.05	2.00	6.89	15.76	0.00
Chandigarh	0.00	2.33	6.16	4.00	2.63	0.00
India	**14.75**	**3.34**	**3.03**	**5.30**	**8.62**	**14.23**

Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966–67, 1976–77, 1989–90, 1996–97, 2005–06, 2008–09, 2010–11.

Overall, the table indicates that there was a decline from 1976–77 to 1989–90, 1989–90 to 1996–97, and 2005–06 to 2008–09 in most of the states of India, but there was increase in the growth rate found in Assam, Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. As the table indicates, the situation with regard to the states from 1996–97 to 2005–06, shows that there was a decline in Gujarat, Rajasthan M.P., but a high growth rate found in Kerala, M.P., Maharashtra, Karnataka, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan, Delhi and Chandigarh. There was an increase in the growth rates found in 2008–09 to 2010–11, but low growth rates are seen in Kerala, M.P., Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh as compared to other states. Table 5.5 indicates the high growth rate in terms of higher education expenditure in southern states (Tamil Nadu, Karnataka) but low growth rate in terms of higher education expenditure in northern states (Punjab) in 2008-09-10 to 2010-11. This result is very similar as Kapur and Mehta's (2004) report 'Half-baked Capitalism and Half-baked Socialism' highlights the decrease in southern states before 2008-09 and a rise in expenditure on higher education is investigated in several southern states in this study.

Table 5.5 States' exponential growth rate trends of higher education expenditure from 1966–67 to 2010–11

State	1966-67 to 1976-77	1976-77 to 1989-90	1989-9- to 1996-97	1996-97 to 2005-06	2005-06to 2008-09	2008-09 to 2010-11
A.P	9.73	8.38	-1.95	5.12	-2.40	23.25
Assam	4.01	7.89	-2.69	8.52	10.06	26.22
Bihar	13.40	6.09	-1.33	8.82	-1.99	7.78
Gujarat	1.33	9.89	-0.63	3.89	2.36	25.60
Haryana	17.68	11.31	0.97	4.01	16.87	21.41
J & K	2.63	3.98	3.56	-1.89	26.47	22.72
Kerala	5.62	4.00	6.77	3.53	3.39	11.50
M.P.	0.52	7.38	2.35	1.96	-2.92	8.27
Tamil Nadu	9.51	7.82	-4.59	4.83	6.04	24.97
Maharashtra	10.93	6.24	4.39	6.64	2.61	26.18
Karnataka	9.90	4.24	2.68	3.76	1.80	37.77
Nagaland	-1.73	8.61	3.22	8.59	-4.05	28.19
Orissa	6.81	6.75	3.10	4.05	9.42	43.08
Punjab	**2.55**	**7.41**	**-0.76**	**2.14**	**13.12**	**-13.77**
Rajasthan	3.61	5.12	1.30	3.98	-2.62	26.25
U.P.	7.38	4.43	1.76	2.96	0.46	22.83
West Bengal	7.20	4.39	1.65	4.36	1.43	33.52
H.P.	0.00	3.35	4.18	4.84	4.42	25.24
Delhi	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chandigarh	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
India	**7.57**	**6.41**	**0.91**	**5.47**	**2.42**	**23.30**

Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966–67, 1976–77, 1989–90, 2005–06, 2008–09, 2010–11

Table 5.6 indicates the state's growth rates in higher education expenditure from 1966–67 to 2010–11. A low growth rate has been estimated for 1976–77 and 1989–90 to 2005–06, 2008–09. After that, there was a significant changes: a high growth rate from 2008–09 to 2010–11 in almost all the states of India. In 1966–67 to 1976–66, a high growth rate was found in Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa, U.P., Maharashtra, Bihar, and A.P., and there was a low growth rate in Nagaland (negative growth rate), M.P., Punjab, Gujarat, and J&K. Growth was improving in Punjab, Gujarat, J&K, and M.P. in 1976–77 to 1989–90 but there was a lower increase in the high growth rate found in Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa, U.P., Maharashtra, Bihar, and A.P. than in the previous period (1966–67 to 1976–77). In 1989–90 to 1996–97, conditions became worse in almost all the states. As shown in the last table, a low growth rate was found in total education spending and the same situation was found in the case of higher education, according to the table. Growth improved in all states from 1996–97, 2005–06 but worsening situations were found in J&K, Kerala, and M.P. In 2005–06 to 2008–09, a negative growth rate was found in A.P., Bihar, M.P., Nagaland and Rajasthan; also a low growth rate was found in Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and U.P. A high growth rate was found in Punjab, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Haryana, and J&K. from 2008–09 to 2010–11; a high growth rate was also found in A.P., Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, J&K, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, U.P., West Bengal, and H.P. Punjab, however, experienced a negative growth rate during this period.

Table 5.6 States' Exponential Growth rate trends of Technical Education Expenditure from 1966–67 to 2010–11

State	1966-67 to 1976-77	1976-77 to 1989-90	1989-9- to 1996-97	1996-97 to 2005-06	2005-06to 2008-09	2008-09 to 2010-11
A.P	1.44	8.39	-1.33	7.26	-4.69	81.25
Assam	-0.07	8.15	-0.89	-0.30	23.01	20.48
Bihar	-1.50	4.44	3.55	-2.59	-6.19	0.44
Gujarat	2.46	4.85	4.78	3.96	10.71	6.90
Haryana	-0.69	6.58	5.29	10.82	37.86	-15.15
J & K	-16.61	19.47	0.43	6.78	0.37	11.53
Kerala	-19.69	4.20	5.37	5.61	5.43	6.38
M.P.	0.03	5.88	10.64	-7.09	5.83	7.54
Tamil Nadu	4.07	7.61	-0.53	4.60	-0.48	50.90
Maharashtra	0.10	9.82	2.43	7.48	1.47	16.01
Karnataka	7.14	3.87	4.37	10.25	-11.07	27.55
Nagaland	8.76	7.70	1.76	23.73	-34.05	5.79
Orissa	-6.49	6.58	10.50	-5.31	10.55	32.71
Punjab	**0.05**	**3.97**	**17.95**	**-3.24**	**2.75**	**12.57**
Rajasthan	-2.21	11.30	2.94	1.03	3.01	4.92
U.P.	-0.58	7.12	2.77	-7.15	14.13	5.33
West Bengal	5.87	5.09	2.68	6.84	5.50	9.49
H.P.	0.00	9.63	7.62	1.41	5.51	15.94
Delhi	0.00	6.71	1.85	4.74	18.67	0.00
Chandigarh	0.00	2.95	3.14	4.06	2.69	0.00
India	**1.69**	**6.90**	**10.46**	**5.90**	**17.56**	**-25.17**

Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966-67,1976-77,1989-90,2005-06,2008-09, 2010-11

This table indicates the trends in terms of technical education in the different states of India. It sums up the growth in spending related to technical education. Major improvements, as can be seen, occurred after the liberalisation of the economy in the early 1990s. Here are some of the notable trends in the data that can be found:

In 1966–67 to 1976–77:

a) High growth rates are found in Nagaland, Karnataka, West Bengal

b) Low growth rates are found in A.P., Gujarat, M.P., Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu

c) Negative growth rate are found in Assam, Bihar, Haryana, J&K, Kerala, Orissa, Rajasthan, U.P.

In 1976–77 to 1989–90:

a) High growth rates are found in A.P., Assam, Haryana, J&K, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan, U.P., H.P.

b) Low growth rates are found in Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, M.P., Karnataka, Punjab, West Bengal

In 1989–90 to 1996–97:

a) High growth rates are found in M.P., Orissa, Punjab, H.P.

b) Low growth rates are found in Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, J&K, Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Nagaland, Rajasthan , U.P., West Bengal,

c) Negative growth rates are found in A.P., Assam, Tamil Nadu

In 1996–97 to 2005–06

a) High growth rates are found in A.P., Haryana, J&K, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Nagaland, West Bengal

b) Low growth rates are found in Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, H.P.

c) Negative growth rates are found in Assam, Bihar, M.P, Orissa, Punjab, U.P.

In 2005–06 to 2008-09

a) High Growth rates are found in Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Orissa, U.P.,

b) Low growth rates are found in J&K, Kerala, M.P., Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal, H.P.,

c) Negative growth rates are found in A.P., Bihar, Karnataka

In 2008–09 to 2010–11

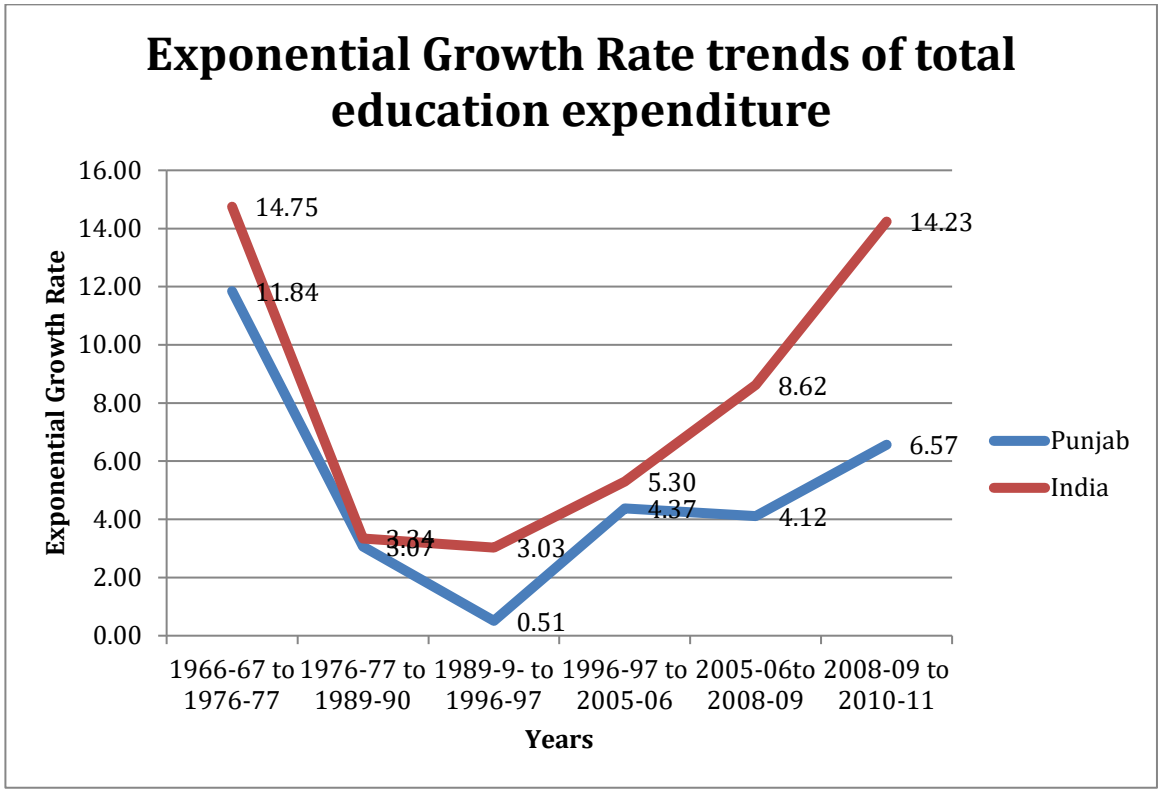
a) High growth rates are found in A.P., Assam, J&K, Kerala, M.P., Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Punjab, Karnataka, Orissa, West Bengal and H.P.

b) Low growth rates are found in Bihar, Nagaland, Rajasthan, U.P.

c) A negative growth rate is found in Haryana

This table indicates the regional states' expenditure in terms of total education, higher education, and technical education. As for Punjab, Figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 highlight the shift of expenditure.

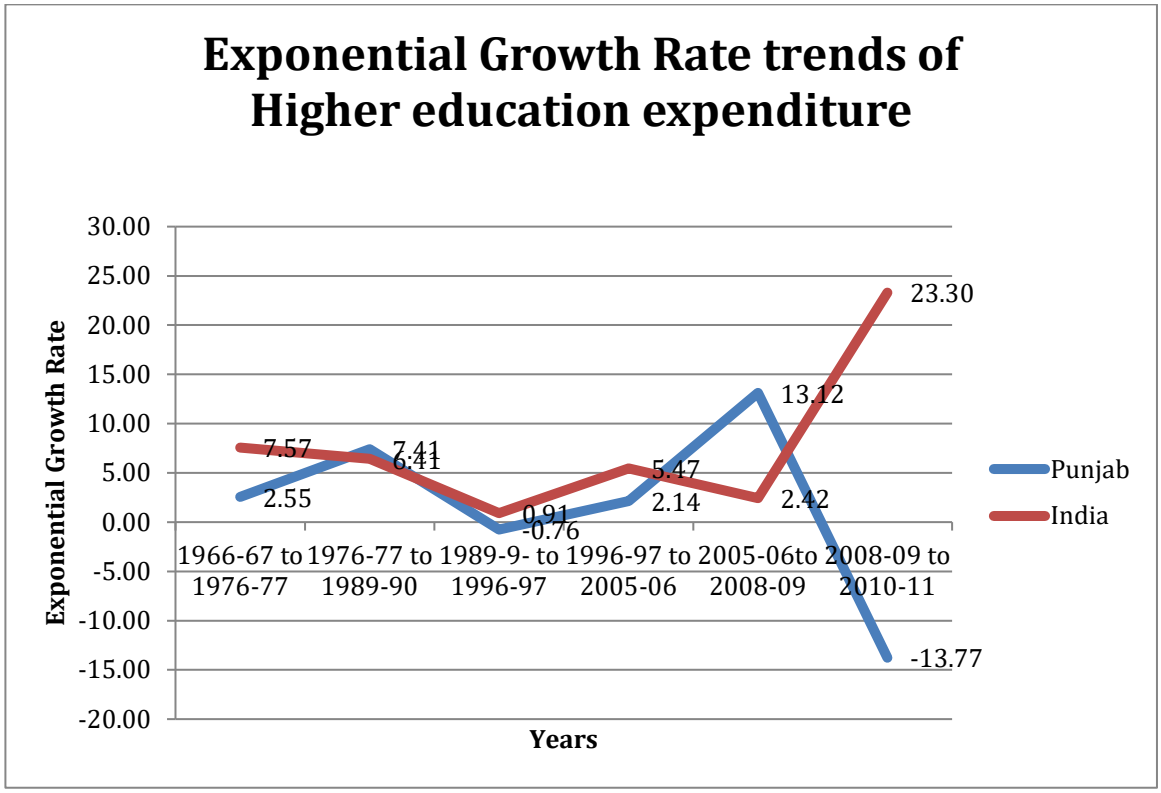
Figure 5.2 Exponential Growth Rate trends of Total Education Expenditure



Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966-67,1976-77, 1989-90, 1996-97, 2005-06, 2008-09,2010-11

Figure 5.2 indicates the trends in growth rates in total education expenditure in different years (1966–67 to 1976–66, 1976–77 to 1989–90, 1989–90 to 1996–97, 1996–97 to 2005–06, 2005–06 to 2008–09 and 2008–09 to 2010–11) in Punjab and India. High growth rates were found in total education expenditure before liberalisation during 1966–67 to 1976–77, but there is a continuous sharp decline starting from 1976–77 to 1989–90 and 1989–90 to 1996–97 in Punjab and India. The rise starts from 1996–97 to 2005–06 in India and Punjab, but there was low growth rate in education expenditure found in Punjab. An increase was found in 2005–06 to 2008–09 in India. And again, a high growth rate was found in total education expenditure from 2008–09 to 2010–11 in Punjab and India.

Figure 5.3 Exponential Growth Rate trends of Higher Education Expenditure



Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966-67,1976-77,1989-90,1996-97,2005-06,2008-09,2010-11

Figure 5.3 draws our attention to the growth rates in higher education expenditure pre- and post-liberalisation. High growth rate periods occurred from 1966–67 to 1976–76 and from 1976–66 to 1989–90. There was a sudden and sharp decline found in 1989–90 to 1996-97. A high growth rate occurred in Punjab and India in 1996–97 to 2005–06. There was a slight increase in the case of Punjab and a large increase for India in 2005–06 to 2008–09. Most notably, there was an almost doubled increase for India but a negative growth rate for Punjab from 2008–09 to 2010–11.

5.2.1 Increase in Technical Education

The growth of technical institutions, enrolment, and also the reduction of state support through funding is a concern. The state government started to withdraw funding to the social sector in Punjab in the early 1970s. Parallel to this, the demand for technical and professional courses increased in Punjab in the early 1980s because parents wanted to invest in courses that would bring high returns in terms of employment and, subsequently, for migration prospects. Returns to investment in education have a distinctive human capital sense and is a term which has been applied since the late 1950s. There are two types of the returns: private rate of returns and social rate of returns. Private rate of returns relate to the individual benefit from gaining access to education while social rate of returns relates to broader societal benefits. Therefore, returns to investment in higher education appears to be increasing as higher education has become a private commodity and the benefit of higher education is to individual.

According to the World Bank, returns to investment is a very important indicator in economics of education research and it is already used by OECD (2001a) in their annual Education at a Glance series and other policy documents. Gillis et al. (1992:231) highlight how human capital theory embedded in green revolution Punjab made higher education directly linked with the returns and outputs from particular courses and degrees. As a result, there was a growth in professional and technical education.

Table 5.7 Percentage of different types of recognised institutions in Punjab from 1980 to 2010

Year	Uni. (a)	Arts, Science, Commerce, Home Sciences Colleges (b)	Engineering, Technology and Architecture colleges (c)	Medical Colleges (Allopathic only) (d)	Teacher Training (e)	Polytechnic Institutions (f)	Technical Industrial Art & Craft School (g)
1980	0.97	52.43	0.97	1.62	5.83	2.91	35.28
1990	0.95	54.29	0.95	1.59	5.71	3.17	33.33
2000	1.28	52.04	4.08	1.53	5.61	5.10	30.36
2007	0.89	41.35	7.84	1.25	20.50	8.91	19.25
2008	0.89	41.61	7.86	1.25	20.54	9.11	18.75
2009	0.98	32.73	11.75	0.98	25.87	12.03	15.66
2010	0.84	32.73	11.75	1.12	25.87	12.03	15.66

Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract*, 2011

As can be seen, there has been a shift in terms of the expansion of technical student enrolments and the growth of technical institutions. The growth in the number of institutions and students is considerable, at least in terms of technical education. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 highlight the number of institutions enrolments of students in professional and technical degrees by gender.

Table 5.8 Number of students enrolled in professional and technical degrees from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab

Years	B.Sc/B.E./B.Arch			MBBS			B.Ed		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980	1676	31	1707	1629	587	2216	1009	1689	2698
1990	1943	168	2111	1312	990	2302	1007	2243	3250
2000	10787	2444	13231	1327	1186	2513	1079	2543	3622
2007	22994	6629	29623	1184	1222	2406	1548	4439	5987
2008	30300	8438	38738	1133	1135	2268	1361	3779	5140
2009	35000	11905	46905	1505	1457	2962	1373	6483	7856
2010	35305	11783	47088	1081	1276	2357	1373	6483	7856

Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract*, 2011

Table 5.9 Number of students enrolled in professional and technical diplomas from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab

Years	Polytechnic Institutions			Technical Industrial Art & Craft school		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980	3295	179	3474	13051	5735	18786
1990	4176	495	4671	11993	5180	17173
2000	6090	2559	8649	14487	6533	21020
2007	12216	5276	17492	8312	3979	12291
2008	11669	4151	15820	9608	4531	14139
2009	15780	5489	21269	8819	3599	12418
2010	32120	6777	38897	10435	3969	14404

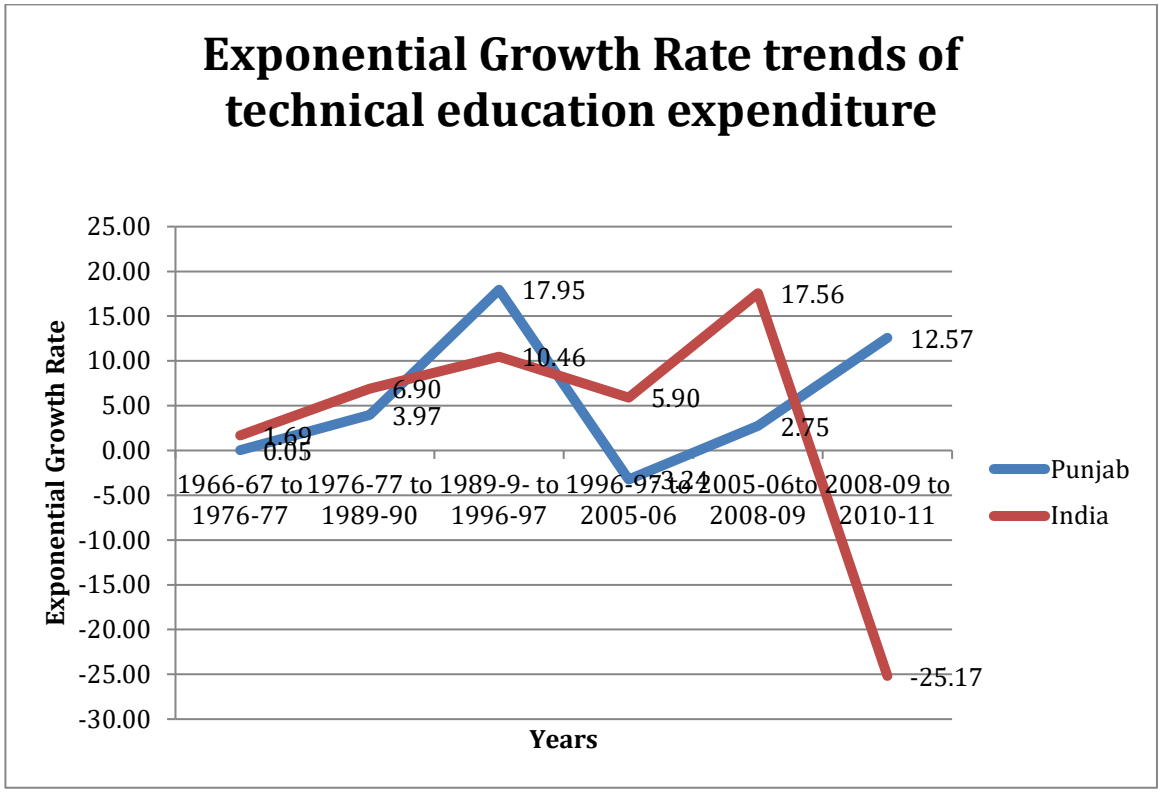
Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract, 2011*

Table 5.7 demonstrates the increase in numbers of students enrolled in engineering, technology, architecture, teacher training, and polytechnic institutions, implying multi-fold increases in professional and technical education in Punjab, post-liberalisation. Appendices A, B and C similarly show enrolment levels for undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Punjab. Both Tables 5.8 and 5.9 reveal that more boys are enrolled in professional and technology degrees than girls. Also, more boys are enrolled in professional and technology diplomas, except for the B.Ed, implying a gendered dimension to GER. However, there was also an increase in the number of MBBSs for girls (in terms of enrolments) after 2008. Overall, increases in enrolment overall were found in almost all degrees and diplomas.

Another factor which underlies the rise in technical courses is the popularity of IT as a course of study and a career aspiration. The promise of employment in places such as Silicon Valley, known for its attraction of Indian IT professionals, contributes to the rising demand for such courses (Agarwal, 2006). Kapur & Mehta (2007) also indicated that the growth of technical and professional education has been much higher in recent years. Quantitative data highlights the increase in enrolments and institutions in technical and professional courses in Punjab in the 1970s. Also the shift of public spending towards technical education highlights the expansion of technical education in Punjab. It is difficult for students to get IT and MBA-related jobs in Punjab, however, because of the lack of a sizeable IT industry in the state. Therefore, IT and professional graduates generally seek employment outside of Punjab in India or move abroad where there is a demand for Indian IT professionals. This is an aspiration, which has been injected into the higher education economy in Punjab and India which is shaping the institutional habitus in Punjab and is contributing to the various facets of diffused globalisation, despite the lack of employability within the state itself. The extent to which technical education is generating a 'false economy' is highly pertinent in a context of very few prospects for employment.

The expansion of technical education has led to the opening of more institutions, either state or private universities and colleges. As liberalisation of HE was occurring from the mid 1990s, the state began to withdraw investment in state institutions and emphasised the opening of government-aided, self-financed and private institutions (Kapur and Mehta, 2006). Similar results are found by Srivastava (2007). His study of Tamil Nadu found that 56% of the institutions were general and 96% were engineering colleges.

Figure 5.4 Exponential Growth Rate trends of technical education expenditure



Source: *Analysis of Budget Expenditure*, MHRD, 1966-67, 1976-77, 1989-90, 1996-97, 2005-06, 2008-09,2010-11

The growth rate for technical education was very low in 1966–67 to 1976–77. There was an increase in the growth rate from 1989–90 to 1996–97 in Punjab and India. Again, there was a low growth rate from 1996–97 to 2005–06 in Punjab and India, but this improved in India in 2005–06 to 2008–09. Again, a high growth rate was found in Punjab and a negative growth rate was found in India from 2008–09 to 2010–11.

The picture of Punjab's public spending shows a high growth in spending for technical education and higher education initially with a low growth rate post-liberalisation. Punjab's high growth rate period occurred immediately after the green revolution, i.e. in 1966-67. However, this subsequently tapered. The low growth rate period was 1989-90; this was due to the introduction of economic reforms in India. Then again, improvements are found after this period but these increases are significantly less. The economic reforms in India were made to fall in line with the World Bank recommendation that higher education should be the responsibility of parents and

students, and that the state should withdraw funding to the higher education sector, a move towards the neoliberal model of higher education.

In summary, the main findings from the quantitative data highlighted in this section show that Punjab's GER increased almost nine times from 2008–09 to 2010–11. The number of students enrolled increased for all types of degrees and diplomas from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab. But a higher number of students were found to be studying for professional and technical degrees/diplomas soon after liberalisation in the mid-1990s. There were more males than females in professional and technical institutions from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab.

In terms of state expenditure, there was a slow growth rate increase in the total public spending on education in Punjab after liberalisation. Low and negative growth rates were found in relation to public spending on higher education in Punjab, post-liberalisation. High growth rates were found in public spending on technical education in Punjab after the early 1990s. The state's share, in terms of the capital account, is higher in Punjab as compared to other states but less if compared with the revenue account in 2010-11. The percentage share of institutions increased, but faster growth took place in technical and professionally recognised institutions from 1980 to 2010, in Punjab.

5.3 Public universities: Views from the field

The idea of the 'public university' has come under attack as the role of the state and public funding has been diminished (Holmwood 2011). By 'public university' I refer to either Punjab state or centre-administered universities. Three public universities in Punjab were included in my sample of universities for this study. Public university refers to two types of universities 1) Central universities, which are directly under control of central government and fully funded by central government and 2) State Universities, which are under state, control and funded by different states. For our purposes here, the central university studied is identified as Public University A, and the two state universities in this sample are referred to as Public Universities B and C.

Central University: Public University A

This public university is under central government control. The university is newly established, and the new campus building, which is in a village, is not yet fully completed. In my interview with the vice chancellor of Public University A, I could see that the university was in tune with broader developments taking place in the sector in India through its research and teaching strategies as well as in terms of admissions guidelines and criteria. I met the vice chancellor who immediately after meeting him granted me permission to conduct my research there. There was a noticeably heightened level of distrust towards the privatisation of higher education by administrators, teachers, and students, and people were willing and communicative in speaking about issues affecting their Public University and higher education more generally. In the focus group discussions, students and teachers shared their worries about the university, however, but these were health-related due to the poor water quality in the area. The vicinity, which is also considered to be in a 'backward' area of Punjab, is well-known for a statistically higher incidence of cancer, and I heard much speculation about how and why the university was built on this site where water quality and health-related issues were of concern. Interestingly, most of the students and teachers do not come from the state of Punjab.

State University 1: Public University B

Public University B is a public university, which is under state government control. I visited Public University B, and the vice chancellor gave me permission to conduct my research, though it took longer than expected to get an appointment to see him. The students and teachers were cooperative. However, the picture that I developed from my interactions on campus showed a complex set of dynamics at this university. On one hand, the state government is reducing its funding to the institution, but on the other hand, politicians continue to interfere in the university's decisions such as financial planning and decision-making and the selection of teachers. There were 2-3 permanent teachers spread across different departments, and the other teachers were Ph.D students who are teaching on an ad-hoc basis. There was little mention or interest in academic research, and the staff informed me that there was no financial support for research from the state.

Some senior officials of the university shared their experience that the university is focused primarily on increasing funds by increasing the number of students, and special attention is given to technical and professional education because of the demand for these courses. This university gave the impression of being the personal university of the Badal government (current Akali Dal Punjab state government) because it seemed that these were the only people who could make decisions about the running of the institution.

State University 2: Public University C

Public University C is also a Public University and was comparable to Public University B in many ways in terms of the funding cuts from the state. In the interviews and FGDs I observed similar issues at this university in terms of pressures on teachers, but here there was less political intervention. The university has a clear strategy of generating funds by charging high student fees and, in many ways, is steps ahead of other universities in terms of embracing the neoliberal model of HE. In my analysis of this university in the following two chapters, this has further contributed to the sacrificing of quality and equity in education. I was not granted a meeting with the Vice-chancellor but I was granted permission to conduct my research.

5.3.1 Supplying Demand: Quantity over quality

One of the changes that have arisen out of the cuts to public funding to state universities is the push to recruit increasing numbers of students. Universities have had to fill the budget gaps with revenues from student fees, which, in turn, has impacted on the ways students are viewed: from students to customers. Many studies, such as Khadria 2006d, Blair 1999, Varghese 2008, and Nayyar 2007 highlight the growth in enrolments and in the number and size of educational institutions in India.

As Participant 1 (government official) responded in an interview:

> *UGC goal is to give access and inclusiveness. The priority was to give education to all and especially to minorities. Therefore, UGC is achieving the goal of 30% of GER by 2030 and starting to think about quality.*

In this comment, it can be seen that quantity over quality in achieving higher numbers of students was viewed as a priority over quality in the immediate term. Assurances of quality in granting access to higher education have been an on-going debate. Thorat, the former chairman of the UGC, talked to The Hindu (2015) and stated that the rising GER should be made to be realistic, by considering the quality of the education on offer.

Participant 2 (government official) was more positive about the drive for increased numbers of institutions and students:

> *I passed my B.A and am doing this job with God's blessing. I think there is a need to achieve a goal of numbers of students by 2030, and it is necessary to open more institutions—either state or private in Punjab. We have good example of USA's higher education system. So, there is no need to think about state universities.*

These two interviews with government officials showed that both felt that the increase in numbers was very important for higher education and they were clearly eager to show their alignment with the GER target, both in terms of enrolment and institutions, in order to achieve the goals of the state central government. However, both highlighted that achieving numbers is not merely about increasing student numbers in terms of increasing enrolments. They also emphasised the increase in number of institutions because this also reflects on different types of capital investment in infrastructure. The growth in the number of students and institutions has already been highlighted in the last section of this chapter with the help of the quantitative data analysis.

Participant 3, a student at State University 1 described the vision of how the state of Punjab is taking the initiative in trying to increase student enrolment, but without any consideration of quality and equity in the higher education system.

Participant 3 said

> *The state will achieve this goal [30% GER by 2030], because new state policies emerge for higher education—such as opening new institutions and the introduction of self-financing course in state universities. These government policies are helping increase numbers but destroy the quality of education.*

5.3.2 Generating revenue through self-financing

My interviews with government officials highlighted another dimension of the neoliberal model that state universities are having to survive with diminishing levels of state funding, and that even state universities are having to generate their own resources and, in this respect, be run like private universities.

Participant 1 (Government official) said:

Yes, state funds reduced. But we do not have enough funds for higher education. State universities can survive with less state funds. We have a good example of private universities. Our states are opening institutions for access with equity.

Participant 3 from Public University B (State University 1) explained:

There is a decline of state funds in higher education over a period of time. As my own experience says, the state universities were getting 70% of their funding from the state before the 1990s, but this went down to between 18 -20% after liberalisation. It is very tough for state universities to survive. They can pay teachers from collecting fees, and that's why the fee is rising in all state universities in Punjab. The main focus of state universities is to increase the number of students which will help to give more funds. State universities do not have funds for research and development.

Participants who belong to state universities discussed the impact of low funds on state universities and an overwhelming comment throughout my qualitative explorations was that research is not being valued and invested in and that quality is not be attended to. As discussed by Participant 3, the reduction in funds from the state has lead to further increases in fees.

5.3.3 Lack of Equity

Participant 4 from Public University C (State University 2) shared her experience of what she had come to understand in terms of the recent impact of the reduction in funds. She elaborated on the solution decided on by state universities: to generate funds by raising the number of students in the universities and, in many cases, granting admission without entrance exams.

Yes, state universities are generating their own resources, because state funds for higher education are squeezed. I will give you one example. A few years back, our university's undergraduate and graduate degree entry was mainly based on entrance exams. Basically, our university was getting sufficient funds from the state government, and we had the best students

because of the entrance exam. But suddenly, the state reduced funds for higher education. The university faced a problem of a shortage of funds and the university needed to increase funds. Therefore, the university stopped giving entrance exams and interviews for entry into undergraduate and graduate classes. This way, as a teacher, we had trouble because of having so many students, and low-percentage students in their previous school. This way, it was tough for us to maintain quality. Then the university decided to give entrance exams for graduate courses at least.

Participant 5 from Public University C (State University 2) described the impacts of self-financing in technical and professional degrees, in bringing new inequalities to state universities:

They took many new measures, such as the introduction of paid courses in state universities, and these courses were only for those elite class students who can afford it.

Participant 6 from Public University B (State University 1) went further in highlighting new inequalities as a direct outcome of self-financing:

…The higher education system is now lacking in equity and social justice. But education is for the development of humans, leading to an improved standard of living and economic growth. The path, which has been taken, is not the right path for the higher education system, especially for a developing country like India where the education sector cannot ignore poorer students.

5.3.4 Declining research culture

As a result of the decline in state spending for state universities, there is now less, indeed almost no, attention being given to research and development in state universities. Instead, it could be said that universities are becoming 'teaching factories' where the revenue from student fees is prioritised over investment in research and development.

Participant 4 from Public University C (State University 2) referred to the problem faced by research and development efforts in state universities.

> *State universities are collecting teachers' pay by raising students' fees and with the introduction of self financing courses. It is impossible to continue research without state support.*

Participant 7 from Public University C demonstrated his positive attitude towards research alongside teaching, but commented on how difficult it was for him to attend an international conference with little help he received from government sources. He also said that they (the university) were not able to give proper training to research students. Basically, it was difficult for the state university to maintain their funds at a reasonable level and also maintain a high quality of research and teaching.

> *Yes, I have a passion to do research, but it is not affordable only on my salary. We do not get any state research grants in state universities and we are also unable to upgrade our research students with new software.*

In FGD1 at Public University C (State University 2), research students at state universities discussed a number of points. One concern for postgraduate students was the lack of rigour in their research training and exposure.

Amar, a registered PhD student, described her views and experiences:

> *Yes, we are in bad situation. Our university is not helping us to learn skills. We learnt the same material in courses in both MPhil and PhD programs. We have nothing new. We used the same research in MPhil, and we are applying the same research methods and techniques for our PhD*

Sunita agreed with her and said:

> *We should learn new things. We are not doing MCom degrees! It should be apparent that we are PhD students.*

However, Raman disagreed with them in pointing to the initiative being in students' hands and not something that needed to be handed out by their university:

> *Doing a PhD here is good enough. We can go to Delhi to get new data and also learn new software.*

Geeta similarly stated a sense of acceptance (perhaps complacency) of what was offered to students:

> *That's enough for us. We are getting money through scholarships to do the PhD. We don't worry about learning new things. Our teacher knows everything, so we don't need to go anywhere. They will guide us if need to learn anything new.*

5.3.5 Degrees without quality and skills: Views from students

As participant 4 from Public University C (State University 2) expressed her concerns about the quality of education and the lack of rigour that students are receiving, she went further in explaining the way the Punjab higher education system is perpetuated. All universities award degrees every year, and, if someone really wants to study, then, she clearly states, he or she should go outside of Punjab because the HE system is still lacking in quality and is only getting worse with the reforms that are being implemented.

> *I want to say this about Punjab's higher education system. If I want to improve something, we need to improve the whole higher education system of Punjab. We are worrying about quantity and not thinking about quality in education, which is more important than quantity. Our Public University can get fees with the help of raising numbers and giving degrees every year. But we are not focusing on student capital formation. Why do our students need to go outside Punjab for a better future and a good quality education? We need to think about students' futures and change the Punjab higher education system.*

Participant, 8 (a retired government official), expressed his concerns with the existing system:

> *We are not producing skilled human capital. The state's focus is to satisfy numbers only. Punjab will be successful in reaching the goal of GER 30% by 2030, but the focus is not to improve quality and create bright students. Punjab's vision is to produce large number of students only.*

In FGD2 at Public University B (State University 1), a BTech student raised a similar question:

> *We came here for learning new techniques, but we are just reading books. Sometimes we are reading books and our professors are focusing on student attendance only. We are worried about our future. This way, it was not easy for us to get a job without any practical knowledge* (Neeta).

Other students at Public University B reflects the 'teaching factory' depiction of universities in terms of a lack of quality of education and a disappointment from students in terms of what is being offered and delivered to them:

> *I am in an MBA program from a well-recognised university. But we are just reading books, taking exams, and trying to be present in class because of attendance. So, we are not learning anything newer than graduation* (Santa).

> *For others, I am doing a master's degree, but I am still where I was for my undergraduate degree. I am not fulfilling my aspiration. After this master's degree, I will go abroad for further study, which may be helpful to reach my goal. I am on this campus to fulfill the university requirement toward attendance* (Neetu).

Students raised concerns about the limitations of reforms to the HE sector in Punjab and the expansion and growth of professional and technical degrees and colleges.

> *As an IT student, I can't get a job in Punjab because of a lack of industry. If the government wants to promote IT in Punjab, there must be something done for youth training. To focus on opening more campuses and institutes is not the way to promote and expand IT in India (Preet).*

> *I am in IT and will definitely get a job outside Punjab, because government jobs are few in Punjab and there is no adequate industry. So, I prefer to settle abroad rather than to go outside Punjab. I found some job opportunity abroad and will get it easily because my degree is from a well-recognised institute. This degree is useful for getting a job. Otherwise, our training is zero here (Harry).*

> *Our teachers are mainly ad-hoc teachers, and they are like our age group. That's why they are unable to explain things to us properly (Participant 9, FGD2)*

Students expressed worry about their futures because of the low quality of education they felt they were receiving made them concerned about their prospects in the job market.

5.3.6 Increasing political intervention in public universities

Political pressure and intervention was found to be extensive within the state university system. This should be viewed as contradictory in terms of the reforms. On the one hand, the state appears to be withdrawing from the higher education sector in terms of investment, but on the other hand, the state is showing more interest in the running, activities, and management of state universities. This further highlights the role of the state under neoliberalism in withdrawing public funding and encouraging private interests' involvement. However, there is heightened intervention of the state in the affairs of public universities (McMohan, 1992).

The changing nature of public universities amidst the neoliberal shifts that are taking place in higher education in Punjab highlight tensions which are being played out in how universities are being positioned in relation to the state and central government:

> *If the state is withdrawing its contribution in terms of expenditure, then it should also withdraw its intervention in our decisions. State universities are autonomous bodies and have the power to make decisions. Then what is the point of state intervention in university? (*Participant 4 (teacher) from Public University C/State University 2).

> *You can check in our department. We have six empty seats and we need a permanent lecturer for our department. Because of political pressure, we are unable to fill these permanent seats. That's why we have mainly ad-hoc teachers, and also Ph.D scholars are taking classes. We have only four permanent teachers in this department. The Punjab government wants to give permanent jobs to their relatives or friends. Now you can see the growth of the department! How can four teachers give a quality education? (Participant 10, Teacher and Dean in Public University B).*

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the changing picture of state involvement in higher education in Punjab since the liberalisation of higher education in 1995. The notion of the 'public university', it has been argued, has been challenged by the ways in which education is now being treated as a commodity, which can be purchased and sold. This era of "new education" is now becoming

increasingly narrowly designed for those who are willing and able to pay or to become in debt. As the quantitative data shows, an increase in GER has been largely achieved through the contributions of the private sector in Punjab and not through state expenditure. The emergence of the private sector within higher education, however, is not merely about investment and expenditure. Equity, access, quality and skills, which are areas of concern in the state in ensuring basic levels of accessibility and inclusion, have now been left to individual institutions, which are concerned with the financial running of their institutions rather than guarding and promoting merit and equity. As a result, the state system is being fundamentally transformed from within. The next chapter will focus more specifically on the contours of the privatisation of higher education as it is unfolding.

Chapter 6

Contours of privatisation of higher education in Punjab

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will examine the expansion of the private sector in higher education in Punjab and India. The key area of discussion in this chapter will focus on how the emergence and expansion of the private sector in Indian higher education is subsequently shaping the aspirations of students and more broadly society in Punjab and India. As in earlier chapters, the study has found that there is a decline in public spending on higher education and, in terms of state support, an expansion of technical education with regard to the rise in the number of institutions and the rise in the number of students enrolled in public universities.

The first section will explore the emergence of privatisation in Punjab and India since 1995 when the Private Universities (Establishment and Regulation) bill was first introduced. The second part of the chapter will examine the perceptions of 'stakeholders' concerning privatisation in the HE sector through the qualitative findings. Three private universities were a part of the empirical dimensions of this study. The sample participants were students, teachers, senior administrators, including vice-chancellors, from three private universities. In addition, the sample also includes government officials who have worked in the education system in India. The third section will provide a discussion of the perceptions and opinions of these 'stakeholders' which highlights and links the ways in which neoliberalism has now penetrated higher education and that this is having far-reaching effects.

6.1 Emergence of the private sector in higher education in India and Punjab

In post-colonial India, the education sector has been the regional, not central, state's responsibility. The UGC gave responsibility to Indian states to open and administer private

universities, under the State Legislation Act. Private universities were established through an act of the state legislatures. Until now, however, no private university has been established by the central Government through an Act of Parliament. The Private Universities (Establishment and Regulation) bill was introduced by Parliament in 1995 to regulate the entry and operation of private universities, but it received strong opposition and was withdrawn in 2007. Some states contended that the bill was unconstitutional and challenged its constitutionality on the grounds that Entry 32 of the State List bestows the power to incorporate and regulate universities to the states. Subsequently, the bill was withdrawn by the central Government in 2007 for the reasons given above. Private universities also have to obtain recognition from the UGC. In addition, they do not have the power to affiliate colleges that are run by a different trust.

Table 6.1 Different types of universities in India

Universities	Number
Deemed to be Universities	117
Private Universities	170
State Universities	311
Central Universities	43
Institutes of National Importance	52
Total	693

Source: UGC website; last accessed on 26 February 2016

As the Private Universities bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha in August 1995 (Government of India, 1995) for the purpose of establishing self-financing universities, the bill is still pending in parliament, not because the Government of India is not in favour of privatisation in higher education but because the private sector is not satisfied with certain clauses in the bill (Tilak, 2004). Tilak (2004) highlights that the Government of India's criticisms of universities comes across strongly and dismissively: "quality of higher education is poor…as higher education serves only a baby-sitting role; it increases unemployment, teachers do not teach and, hence, there is no need to spend on higher education". Ravi (2015) has argued that privatisation converted education into a private commodity which is bought and sold. He further noted that anyone can establish

institutes with state permission and with the help of agents and advertisements. In his study, 12.5 per-cent of his respondents expressed the view that education is becoming a commercial product due to the involvement of the private sector in relation to a globalising world. However, 14.5 percent were in favour of the existence of a private higher education system.

Agarwal (2006) highlights the political economy of Indian higher education in which higher education is treated as a private commodity. The study highlights a "middle class capture of higher education." NSSO data indicates the overall share of education expenditure has been reduced from 80% in 1983 to 67% in 1999. For states like Kerala, the decline is very steep from 84% to 68%. The number of private institutes is greater in the southern states and Maharashtra but least in the states such as Bihar and West Bengal. The expansion of private institutions is less in northern states in comparison to southern states, though the share of private institutes is high in Haryana, Punjab and Delhi.

As the authority to open private universities has been granted to the state's, new actors have entered into this new market. Punjab is no exception to this. The first Punjab Private University bill was introduced in 2005 under the Congress government. Table 6.2 indicates the order and year of establishment of all private universities in Punjab.

Table 6.2 Name and Year of establishment of private universities in Punjab, India

S.NO	Name of University	Year of establishment
1	Lovely Professional University	2005
2	Sri Guru Granth Sahib World University	2008
3	Chitkara University	2010
4	Guru Kashi University	2011
5	Adesh University	2012
6	Chandigarh University	2012
7	D.A.V University	2013
8	Desh Bhagat University	2013
9	GNA University	2014
10	Rayat Bahra University	2014
11	Akal University	2015
12	RIMT University	2015
13	Sant Baba Bhag Singh University	2015

Source: www.ugc.co.in

The Punjab state passed the Private University bill in 2010. Table 6.2 indicates the increase in the number of private universities since 2010. In fact, almost one private university has been established every year since these policy changes were introduced in Punjab in favour of private universities. MHRD (2013) has indicated that India will achieve 30 % of GER by 2020; this is a central government policy aim which is intended to be implemented in all the states of India (Duraisamy, 2008). Punjab is in the same situation as other states in that it suffers from a vicious circle of supply and demand together with 1) rising demand for higher education and 2) the goal to achieve 30% GER, in India, by 2020. These two issues have encouraged states to encourage the opening of new institutions in order to satisfy demand. The 30 Central universities opened by the Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's government represents a symbolic attempt to give more access to education to students, regardless of caste and gender (Tilak, 2004). But this freedom of access does not relate to Private University admissions since only those students who can pay the high fees can go to these universities.

The British Council report entitled *Indian states: 2015* also highlights the growing demand for private sector places in the Indian higher education. The report presents the situation in states such as Gujarat, Punjab, Odisa, and Tamil Nadu. The vision, in these states is to reach 30 percent of Indian higher education GER by 2020. This vision cannot be fulfilled without the private sector making places available to greater numbers of students in India and so helping to reach the goal of 30 percent GER by 2020 (FICCI, 2014). The British Council report also talks about the vision of the Punjab state - as shown in Table 6.3 below. The required access of students to higher education is possible, but there are lot of other questions which need to be addressed, such as:

a) Do private institutions give access only to those who can afford the fees?

b) Is higher education treated merely as a commercial commodity in the neoliberal higher education market of Punjab?

c) Do private institutions provide quality education?

Table 6.3 Higher Education targets and initiatives planned for Punjab

Axis	Targets	Initiative Planned
Access	To provide access to higher education to 100% of its population in urban and rural areas by 2022	• The Punjab Government has proposed setting up of a new medical college in SAS Nagar to the Union Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
Equity	To expand the reach of higher education to rural and tribal areas and to poor students (no specific targets)	• It is planning to start a programme to provide free higher education to poor students in collaboration with private universities in the state
Excellence	To make improvement in quality the key imperative for all institutes in the state (no specific targets)	• The government seeks to implement compulsory rating of institutes by independent agencies • It is planning at least one IIM in the state by 2022 • It is developing a concept to establish Chandigarh Region Innovation and Knowledge Cluster (CRIKC) to facilitate innovation, knowledge creation and excellence in the region
Employability	Making graduates globally employable (no specific targets)	• The Government plans to increase the number of vocational education institutions in the state • It will focus on imparting soft and IT skills through finishing schools

Source: MHRD cited in British Council (2014) *Indian States: Opportunities for International Higher Education Collaborations*.

As a consequence of this, the marketing of private universities utilises a new vocabulary to advertise to potential students, such as “transform, discover and empower”. Their logos include phrases such as “India’s best University” and “Asia’s best University”, in a sector where advertising and marketing was relatively non-existent until recently. Particularly when global or Asian ranking lists have not been methodologically defined, it raises questions about how the competition is being set for such rankings and what their value is for understanding the standard of a university within a marketised setting.

Table 6.4 Ranking of Top Indian Universities in the *Times Higher Education* Asia List

Rank	Name of University
37	Indian Institute of Science
38	Punjab University
55	Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee
57	Indian Institute of Technology Bombay
65	Indian Institute of Technology Delhi
69	Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur
78	Indian Institute of Technology Madras
90	Aligarh Muslim University
96	Jawaharlal Nehru University

Source: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings

From Table 6.4 it can be seen that Punjab University (Chandigarh), a public university, is the only Punjabi university in the Asian university rankings. Claims by private universities in Punjab to be “India’s best university” or “Asia’s best university”, on the basis of such a ranking, would appear as false advertising. A discourse analysis of the logos and publicity material being used by newly created private universities would provide an insight into the neoliberal market values which are being promoted through such mottos as “transform, empower and motivate” and “India’s best” or “Asia’s best” with little concern for the validity of such claims which could easily be alleged to be false advertising. However, this is beyond the remit of my study here.

The state policy to encourage privatisation has been criticised by various MLAs and these criticisms highlight the challenges to privatisation in HE. As noted in The Tribune newspaper by Dhaliwal on 22nd July 2014 under the headings of "Assembly passes 15 Bills amid Opposition protest". GNA University and Rayat Bahra University, both private universities, were established by the Higher Education Minister Mr. Rakhra. This bill was opposed by Congress: MLA Kuljeet Singh Nagra in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in 2014. BJP MLA Manoranjan Kalia also argued that there was a need to stop the commercialisation of higher education (Dhaliwal 2014). Despite this, many people supported Private Universities and were grateful to those in the business of higher education, although they lacked consumer awareness and proper guidance about products, for example the Punjab Industries Minister Madan Mohan Mittal, Daljeet Singh Cheema and Surjeet Singh Rakhra (Dhaliwal, 2014). The state of Punjab brought in the Punjab Private Universities policy in June, 2010 in order to limit the creation of private universities in Punjab (*Hindustan Times*, September 20, 2015), since then there has been an average of one private university established every year as indicated in Table 1. There were also concerns about the regulation of the new universities and how this would be managed. Interestingly, though not completely unrelated, in an interview with Franchise India.com (Feb. 2015), Aman Mittal, founder/owner of Lovely Professional University, stated that his way of running a university was similar to the way in which he ran his automobile and sweet shop business. These types of voices are met with criticism and concern within the state and higher education authority in calling for more and not less regulation of how higher education is being run by new actors in the sector.

6.2 The Private Universities Bill in Punjab: Views from a former senior state minister

Despite being passed in 2005, the Private Universities Bill has continued to be widely contested in Punjab. In this section I give an overview of an interview with a senior Punjab minister (Punjab Minister 1) who witnessed the debates and negotiations that took place as it was being introduced, challenged and implemented. In sentiment and ideologically, he had been strongly opposed to the privatisation of higher education and was therefore in favour of the lobby to oppose the Bill. He raised a number of questions about the Bill's implications, which he commented were not addressed in the discussions in the State Assembly. Therefore, as the Bill was eventually being passed by the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in 2005, he requested that the Governor of Punjab should not give consent to pass the Bill.

Punjab Minister 1 (PbM1) was a member of the Lok Sabha when the Private University Bill was first introduced in the Vidhan Sabha. When the Bill was being introduced, he believed that nobody had actually read the Bill before considering it. At this time the owner of a well-known sweet shop in Punjab, Lovely Sweets, was applying for approval to open a university. Punjab Minister 1 commented that he was surprised to hear the news that an owner of a sweet shop "Halwaii di shop" could possibly be granted permission to open the first private university in Punjab. As a result of this particular application, Punjab Minister 1 raised many issues in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha which I will now outline here.

Punjab Minister 1's first point was that it should not be possible for a confectioner or other such party to become the Chancellor of the first private university in Punjab. He pointed to the fact that the Bill stated that the Chancellor could even fill other posts within the university without any outside interference. He expressed concern that, in this case, the university would become a "family business" and thus an extension of that family business' interests. This point was raised by Punjab Minister 1, but, in fact, this point has become the model for the setting up of private universities in India, as has already been mentioned in the literature. As Vij (2010) highlights, the names of various members of the "Lovely" family appear among the names of those working in the Lovely University. Ashok Mittal (Chancellor of Lovely Private University) poignantly stated: "If Sunil Bharti of the neighbouring town Ludhiana can become number one player in the Telecom sector, why can't I become the number one player in the Education sector?"

Punjab Minister 1 outlined his argument in a letter to The Tribune in 2005 where he also discussed the consequences of the bill (Tribune, Nov. 5th, 2005):

> *Mr Singh, who at the time of passing of the bill in the House, had sought permission from the Chief Minister, Captain Amarinder Singh, to abstain from voting but was denied the same, told The Tribune that he explained to the Governor that if the bill became an Act it would commercialise education and cause huge damage to educational standards in the state. He said that once this Bill became an Act, the managements of several other private institutions would line up to get their institutions also declared as universities by getting similar bills passed. (Tribune, 2005)*

Punjab Minister 1 also focused on the consequences of a commercialised education system which, he believed, would bring many problems for the development of the economy. He expressed concerned about the demand for a system of "trust through self-certification", which is clear in a request he made to the deputy speaker:

> *Sir, there is no qualification of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. The President shall be the Chancellor of the University and in the absence of the Visitor. The President shall be the Chancellor. The President of Lovely International Trust, who is running a Sweet shop in Jalandhar for 10, 15, 20, 25 years, the President shall be the chancellor of the university and in the absence of the Visitor, the Chancellor shall preside over the convocation and he shall decide or approve all appointments, nominations, removals, suspensions, reinstatements of the university, either* suo moto *or as recommended by the concerned authority of the University from time to time. The Chancellor may amend or revoke any decision taken by any authority of officer of the University and may exercise in his power suo or otherwise to do all necessary things to facilitate the smooth functioning of the University. It entails that the chancellor can also become the registrar, the Chancellor can also become the Dean, he could also be the Dean Academic Affairs, he could be the Controller of Examinations. Last, he has been authorised. Therefore, all bills will be passed if the Chancellor is available and giving permission.*

Further, in the Vidhan Sabha he warned that:

> *It is a half-baked bill. I reiterate it is an "ill-conceived" bill. It is not fit for the consumption and it would spoil the whole education, decorum and academic excellence. Please do not pass this bill. If you want to pass it, please send it for further verification and study. Do not pass it immediately. It is my humble request to you Mr. Deputy Speaker, please don't give permission to Lovely Sweet Shopkeepers to destroy students' future, destroy our education system and don't allow them to make a educational profit organisation which will sell degrees and don't treat students as clients. Please give them back this bill, For God's sake, for heaven's sake, please don't pass it for the development of the Punjab economy and for the bright future of our children.*

As this section has highlighted, the Punjab Private University Bill, while eventually being passed in 2005 to become an act, was and continues to still be a source of concern, debate and

contestation around how higher education is evolving in light of broader privatising forces. The next section takes the analysis to the level of 'stakeholders'. While the term 'stakeholders' is embedded within the neoliberal vocabulary of education, I use the term critically in both acknowledging that there are now different actors involved in education delivery and in recognising that the full and/or partial privatisation of higher education should not result in the erasure of the notion of education as a public good.

6.3 The new era of private universities in Punjab: Views from 'stakeholders'

I chose three private universities in my sample: Private University A, Private University B, and Private University C. As discussed in the methodology chapter, in each university I interviewed 3 teachers/lecturers and 9 students, with other interactions included in the participant observation method. Below are sample profiles of each of the universities.

6.3.1 Private universities in the sample

Private University A (PUA)

I interviewed students, teachers, and the Vice-Chancellor. I spent a week at this private university, though it took three days to gain permission to start my field research in this university upon arrival. During those three days, I observed activities and interactions at the university which is also incorporated into my ethnographic account of the institution. The university has modern buildings and even has its own shopping mall with branded clothing shops, a game centre, a hotel and other outlets. In order to gain entry onto the campus of Private University A, there are many formalities, perhaps more than at any other university I observed, to undergo at the main gate. This university was established by a family business and is run by a trust set up by that family business. Thus, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Dean are all members of the family trust.

As a legal entity, though it is a university, no one I interviewed or spoke with had an idea of why I

was conducting my research or, for that matter, what the value of qualitative enquiry might be. I felt as though the initial questions about what I was interested in finding out by interviewing people at PUA were not dissimilar to some of my interviews a few years earlier in a village in Punjab where participants were not formally educated. My initial meeting was with a university teacher who was to assess whether or not I could get approval to conduct my research on campus. On the basis of this, I was granted approval but with a few conditions. They insisted that they would select all participants. It was clear during my interviews that most teachers selected had received some coaching from senior teachers or management on how to share their experiences with me. As a result, all of the teachers I interviewed shed only positive light in each of the questions I asked about their university. As a researcher, I could tell that this was a particular discourse about the institution and that teachers are not the only 'stakeholders.' I therefore tried to observe more widely and also had discussions with other 'stakeholders' about the university.

Throughout the fieldwork at PUA, the literature and debates on education as a commodity resounded. Students reflected how they were attracted to the institution because of its fancy infrastructure such as the shopping mall, the food courts, the games centre etc. They also highlighted how PUA was a higher education institution for the rich and, in this respect, had a conflicted reputation in terms of students wanting to be associated with wealth and infrastructure, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, being associated with poor quality of education. Several students highlighted how they had no option to go elsewhere because, although the quality of education was known to be very poor, their parents were not ready to 'waste money' having them attempt degrees again and again since many of them belonged to families whose parents were farmers etc., and thus had limited access to cash for fees, despite the reputation of PUA as being an institution serving the rich. These students had concerns about eventual job insecurity, but they also hoped that the university would improve. Several supporters and followers of the university said that this university would soon be like an "Indian Harvard University". This university is a good example of the neoliberal higher education market. It is a private business where students are clients and education is a commodity, and, contrary to the notion of a 'free' or 'open' market within neoliberal ideology, the lack of transparency in PUA (as well as the CCTV cameras throughout the campus) highlighted that the regulation of the institution was being strictly managed.

Private University B (PUB)

Private University B similarly is run by a business. However, I had a different experience in gaining access to PUB for my fieldwork as compared to PUA. I was received warmly and respectfully with no interview required for me to be allowed to start by research. Like PUA, there was a rich infrastructure, which attracted students, but these students similarly expressed concern about quality issues, high fees, and reputation of the institution. Through my observations and interviews, it became clear that most teachers are those who have been unsuccessful in getting jobs in government institutions and are waiting for a better option. However, the syllabus and the course focus are at an international level: they see their focus as preparing their students to enter the global market.

Private University C (PUC)

Unlike PUA and PUB, PUC is run by a college education trust. While this is also a private university, but it has some distinctively different features. I spoke to many respondents at this University. Its infrastructure is like that of a state university. The focus of this university, I observed, is on quality education, and they are even trying to provide some scholarships to students who belong to lower income families. The faculty at this campus were highly qualified and, by and large, seemed more content with their own workplace. My own observation was that education was not overtly being treated as a commodity as in PUA and PUB, and students were not merely perceived as clients. The courses and syllabuses were focused on the national and global levels. Some human ethics and humanities-related subjects were also taught to students at this campus.

6.3.2 Private versus state universities

A strong discourse on the state-private university divide emerged throughout the interviews at each of the three private university campuses. In particular, a negative discourse on state universities as having unwieldy bureaucracies, red tape, and centralised control was expressed consistently by senior administrators. Participant 1 (a senior official from PUA) stated that:

We are making policies very fast. If we make a policy in the morning, it will be implemented in the evening. But it is taking time in all state universities. How can they provide better for their students, if they are taking such a long time to make policies?

In defense of his own institution, he criticised state universities for being inefficient and for taking time in making curriculum and other changes. Another point raised in criticism of state universities by private university administrators was of an allegedly peroquial Indian higher education curricula in state universities as opposed to a supposedly more 'global' approach by private universities. Participant 2, who was a senior figure at Private University B, described the objective of his university:

Our objective is to make our students globally accepted which is not possible for them through state universities. Private universities are performing better than public ones.

Participant 1 from Private University A similarly forwarded the argument that private institutions and privatisation has resulted in positive changes for higher education:

I was a student in a state university when state universities were performing well. Look, we are here to perform now. We are satisfying our clients (students) better than state universities. Parents understand the betterment of their children. Even private schools perform better than public schools. Privatisation is always good for all sectors. For example airports are far better in hands of the private players than the government sector. We are taking fees from students and giving them degrees, but nobody is responsible for satisfying clients in state universities because it is not one-person responsibility.

6.3.3 The neoliberal higher education financial model

The reliance on tuition fees, fundraising, and scholarships emerged as significant points raised by senior administrators in highlighting the neoliberal financial model for private universities to maintain and sustain themselves. Inadvertently and advertently, the idea that private sources of

funding created a more transparent system ran throughout the interviews, while reliance on state funding was dismissed as inefficient and archaic in the types of 'opportunities' presented to private universities to deliver higher education to students. Participant 1 (a senior official from Private University A) stated:

> *Our tuition fee is very high because we are not getting any support from the government. Whatever we are getting from students, we use to invest in them. We are not keeping anything for ourselves.*

Participant 3 is a student of Private University A and highlights how a reduction or waiver of fees are also utilised as a means of attracting good students:

> *We are paying huge amounts in fees: 50000 Rs tuition fee, 75000 Rs hostel fee and other expenses. However, we can get scholarships if we get more than 70 percent. My fee is 75000 Rs but I am paying 50000 Rs because I got more than 70 percent in senior secondary school.*

Participant 4, a student of University B, highlights how affordability has become a criteria for those students who would not be in the same position as Participant 3:

> *Yes, my father has a business and he can pay my fee happily. I am not getting any scholarship because I didn't have a good percentage in the 10+2.*

Other participants also reported this situation. Therefore, there were two paths for applicants, in general terms, with reference to fees. Those students who achieve more than 70 percent in their 10+2 assessments receive scholarships. Otherwise, all other students pay full fees in Private University A, Private University B, and Private University C.I found some international students at Private University A and B.

The student numbers game

From my own observations of lectures and teaching at the various institutions in my study, I saw that class sizes are significantly larger in private universities than state ones, on average, 50-60 students in state universities as opposed to 200-300 in private universities. In all of the six interviews and two focus groups conducted in the private universities sample, larger class sizes and increasing student numbers were mentioned as a point of dissatisfaction.

One interviewee, Participant 1, a senior official from Private University A commented:

> *Our university is the largest university in terms of number of students in India. We have students from different backgrounds such as caste or gender.*

In a focus group (1) of eight students, one student commented:

> *You can find 200 students per class in this university. Many students belong to business class families and also from those families who have enough money to afford it.*

The other eight students in the focus group agreed. Furthermore, one participant stated that:

> *We are 200 students per class but we can't ask our teacher questions and our teachers teach without a mic. It is very tough for us to understand.*

It has also been observed that this large number of students also included learners from other states of India and international students - these latter mainly coming from African and Middle Eastern countries. This issue has been discussed in the *Financial Times* newspaper (October 7,

2014): “LPU is one of a clutch of Indian private universities that are aggressively recruiting international students – especially in technical and professional education.” The “aggressive” recruitment strategy of LPU, which is highlighted in the article, resonates with the views of the senior administrators interviewed in this study who justified this as a core feature of the higher education financial model.

In order for universities to compete in the higher education market, they must attract students in order to gain tuition fee income. Consequently, as was noted in my fieldwork, state universities continue to be considered more competitive to gain entry to, while private universities are known to have more lenient and subjective entrance requirements. It was noted that many students who I interviewed who did not pass entrance exams to satisfy merit requirements for admission were able to gain admission to a private university.

In explaining entrance procedures, Participant 1, a senior official at Private University A, stated:

> *We have an entrance exam for B.Tech students only. Otherwise, we are giving admission on the basis of percentage. It must be 60 percent but if a student has 70 percent then they will receive a scholarship.*

However, Participant 2, a student from Private University A, commented that even the 60 percent benchmark was not adhered to and that students were very much aware of this:

> *We do not need to give entrance for any degree. If we have 50 percent, we can get admission easily. I did not get admission to any public institution but I filled in the form and got admission here.*

The experience of Participant 3, a student from Private University B, shows that there is more steep competition for admission to public universities than private universities in Punjab:

I got admission here only on the basis of passing the exam. They took entrance if you want to get a scholarship. I took an entrance exam for public institutions but I did not get admission anywhere, so I applied here and got admission. I did not want to come here but I didn't have any other opportunity. My parents insisted that I did not waste the year.

In my sample, 40 percent of student participants in the interviews and focus groups had the same experience of not passing state entrance exams but gaining admission to private universities. Students' financial situation was a major factor in the decision-making process of whether or which university to attend. In more general terms, I would say that the "value" of higher education through the process of admissions and in the weighing up by students and their parents of the comparative value of private and state universities continues to therefore play itself out in this era of the transformation of higher education in Punjab. Students did not seem satisfied that the value of their university or degree was being lowered by the competitive market to increase student numbers by granting admission through lowered criteria.

However, in a contradicting defense of the criticisms of lowered private university entrance requirements, Participant 1, a senior official from Private University A stated that

Admission is purely on entrance basis in technical courses and merit basis for other courses and therefore each course or subject has its own requirements.

At Private University C, where I found that students are more generally satisfied than they are at University A and B, the responses from all "stakeholders" - students, teachers and senior officials – resonated with one another.

Participant 6 as a student from Private University C said:

We didn't pass an entrance exam but we have enough marks to get entry on merit basis in this university, which is why I chose this university. But I wanted to go to Punjab University Chandigarh.

In FGD2 with students studying in Private University C, some students openly stated that they decided to attend this university because they did not want to take an entrance exam. Since they had achieved 60 percent in their 10+2 exams, they were able to gain admission. Other students said that they had tried to get places at public universities by sitting the entrance exams, but had not gained admission, which is why they also had chosen the institution they had enrolled in.

My observations made me conclude that admissions did take marks into consideration. However, if a student didn't have good marks but the parents had enough income to pay, then the student would still be accepted. From my observations, many students belonged to business class families and higher income group families. My estimate would be that these students account for almost 50 percent of the participants in the focus groups and interviews. Participant 7, a student, from Private University A, embodied this route to university for the wealthy:

> *I did not need to pass an interview and get admission into a public institute because my father has a business and he can easily spend money on my education. There is no point in getting admission through entrance and merit basis.*

Participant 8, a student from Private University B, went into more detail about how family resources were mobilised in order to send him to a private university:

> *My brother is foreign and I have enough land. Basically, I belong to a middle class family, and I can afford this university. That's why I prefer to get admission here.*

His "preference" to get admission at a private university is one shaped by his economic position. This is a firm route being paved within the higher education system through privatisation. When the Private University Bill was passed in the Vidhan Sabha, this issue was raised by a minister who purported that

> *There will be no criteria of admission in private universities. Anybody can take admission by paying the fee.*

Participant 9, a senior minister, went further by arguing that degrees could now be bought and sold and that private universities have opened the floodgates for crude marketisation:

> *It is very easy to get admission in private universities. You can pay cash and buy a degree. Sometimes, you can pay cash and get a three year degree on the spot. This is the case of Punjab private universities.*

The same point was made by another participant who was a vocational training expert at another private university:

> *You don't even need to take admission in this campus. You can bring money for a complete MBA degree and you can get the degree immediately. It is very similar with McDonalds burger shop because we can buy burgers only if we have money. If we have money, we can get a burger immediately. The same is true for buying a degree at this university.*

Crafting the modern private campus

The moulding of the private university campus during the neoliberal turn in higher education highlights that "vision", ethos and physical infrastructure are all significant. Participant 2, a senior official from Private University B, summarised the vision of his university in terms of global competition:

> *Our goal is to develop students who can fit in the industry and compete globally. Our syllabus and course is designed to keep the global market in mind. After all, our students will enter the global market.*

When I asked him to explain why more professional and technical courses were offered in comparison to other courses, he answered

> *We have more technical courses because of the global demand and customer (parents and teachers) demand. They need more professional and technical courses.*

Participant 1, a senior official from Private University A, iterated the same "vision" and goal for his university.

> *Our university aim is to compete with global universities and satisfy our clients (students).*

Throughout my fieldwork, the rapid development of private university infrastructure and campuses was a topic of much commentary by students, staff and other observers. One of the most obvious distinctions that can be made between private and state universities is the physical space. The development of estates and the creation of private university campuses can be seen in the new buildings funded with private money. Some of the campuses even have hotels, shopping areas, food courts, and gaming centres inside the university campus.

Figure 6.1 A game centre inside a private university in Punjab

Source: Clicked during field reserach

Participant 2, a student from Private University B, proudly commented on his university's facilities:

> *Our university has good infrastructure and all modern facilities for students. We have a first class library, Café Coffee Day and other food chains inside.*

Participant 3 (Private University A) indicated that:

> *Our university has a good library and we are living in a very nice hostel. We have a sweet shop, mall, and a game centre on campus.*

Participant 4, a teacher at Private University A, similarly was proud in naming the brands and services on campus:

> *As you can see, our university has strong physical infrastructure. We have a hotel, many franchises such as Nike, McDonalds, Subway,, Café Coffee Day, Black, etc. We also have some private banks inside the mall.*

In another focus group (2), parents and students in a focus group stated that they were attracted because of the excellent infrastructure provided by private universities. Participant 5, a student, from Private University A stated:

> *I did not get admission into a public university. I was attracted to this place because of the infrastructure of this university and got admission here.*

The Family: The unit of economic, cultural and social capital

The family in Punjab continues to be a significant site of economic, social and cultural organisation. While capitalism requires individuals as consumers, workers, and producers, the family unit is also utilised by the neoliberal model for providing a ready-made unit through which to penetrate markets (Braedley and Luxton, 2010). As a result, it is important to consider the family as a unit in decision-making around university attendance, encouragement to go to university, financial contribution and advice given to students.

It was not uncommon to hear nearly all participants speak about their family background as a formative dimension of their educational career.

As Participant 10, a student from University C, said

> *My sister is a teacher in this university and she insisted on me getting admission here. That's why I am here.*

Many parents, especially those less educated, reflected on how they were influenced by other families and "word of mouth" in making the decision about which university to send their children to. Thus, the reputation of a university was formed on the basis of not only academic and professional practice, but of personal and family connections to the university.

In focus group (3) one parent commented that

> *We decided to send our children to a particular university because other children from our village are studying in this university.*

Parents associated with all three Private Universities (A, B and C) expressed this kind of sentiment. In the focus groups and interviews at different private universities, many students told

me that they gained admission because their family members and relatives are studying or had studied at that university.

Participant 11, a student from Private University A, similarly showed family connections made a new private university more familiar:

> *It was easy to get admission in this university and my brother was already doing the B.Tech at this university. He is very impressed by the course, so he insisted that I join this campus.*

Participant 11, a student from Private University C commented on how he did not gain admission to his father's college but had assessed his university of choice in comparison to others when making his decision:

> *My father completed his studies from DAV College and he is strongly influenced by DAV college. However, I didn't pass the entrance exam. That's why I am here because this university is better than other private universities. At least the owner of this university is educated and not a Halwaai.*

Student/customer satisfaction

The ability to pay combined with the aspirations to obtain a "good degree" and subsequently a job and career has shaped students and parents' decision-making with respect to university choice. The private university sector's approach to its market has therefore written these aspirations into its goals, strategies and mission statements. However, the market of education consumers and customers can also be viewed through the lens of "satisfaction", which can be captured in 'student satisfaction surveys' or through interviews and focus groups, which I conducted. As one parent, Avtar, said:

Our children were in private schools. We believe that private university will provide quality education to our child compared to a government university.

Another parent, Simran, highlighted how she did not want her son to work in agriculture and therefore she made the choice to send him to a private university, which they could access through paying fees:

I have enough land and money to invest in my child's education. So, I do not want my child to work in agriculture. That's why I have invested on his education.

Uneducated parents perhaps highlighted the most vulnerable position of parent-consumers of higher education in desiring cultural or social capital through education with various degrees of economic capital. Another respondent, Kirat, admitted that

We are spending on our child because we don't know anything about education but we want to educate our child. So they can take admission in any institute.

A number of students from Private University A and Private University B pointed to the low quality of their universities, which, they believed, was not helping them to fulfil their aspirations. They raised the issue of low quality of education in both the interviews and focus groups. In an interview, Participant 16, a student from Private University A stated

I am not able to fulfil my goal in this university; I got admission to see the infrastructure and the standard of living of students such as the branded clothes, cars and especially attractive buildings of this university. But I was also very excited because of the modern facilities and comfort (AC available in hostel rooms). Everything is excellent except the study. I need to do another Master's degree if I want to be successful in life.

However, Participant 17, a student from Private University A, was satisfied with the infrastructure and facilities and did not comment on the quality of education:

> *I am so happy in this university and achieving their aims in a comfortable environment. I have AC in the room and our university has a shopping mall inside the campus.*

The idea that university could lead to new horizons and open up new opportunities was not reflected by everyone. Participant 18 a student from Private University B, highlighted how many students from higher income families did not have the same requirements or aspirations as others:

> *I got admission in this university for fun. I am enjoying here. Our university is very beautiful and has a food court like a mall. My father has a business, so, I will not need a job in the future. If I want a job, then it is easy to become a teacher in this university.*

The attraction of a modern campus with facilities, while appreciated by nearly all participants, was also viewed cynically by others. Participant 16, a student from Private University A, pointed to this contradiction between infrastructure and quality of education:

> *You can sit with us and see the method of teaching. Our university has beautiful infrastructure like foreign universities but doesn't have quality in education. Teachers teach 200 students in class without a mic and they don't have time for us. They are so busy trying to complete the syllabus. This means they will never provide answers to our queries.*

This view is supported by many students who obtained admission for the purpose of study, and most of those students are those who did not pass the tests required for public universities. There were similar discussions with regards to Private University A and B, but the perspective of Private University C participants was different. They viewed things differently because Private University C seemed to have more of a balance between the nature of the physical infrastructure and the quality of education.

Participant 18, a student from Private University B, showed his lack of satisfaction with the quality of education being delivered:

> *That was our biggest mistake because we were attracted by the physical infrastructure and didn't get quality education like at a public university. We are paying a huge amount, like 3 lakh Rs, and expecting good quality education. They can advertise and attract students very well but they can't teach and give us something in return even though we are paying high fees.*

Participant 19, a student from Private University C showed the difference in student perception and satisfaction at this university in comparison to others:

> *They are not happy with the infrastructure of the university because this is a new university. But the way of teaching and the quality of education is very good. I didn't have a good opinion about other private universities; we don't need status or comfort, we need education and we are getting that from this university. Yes, there is need for improvement but the starting place is good.*

Many students, in addition to their concerns with the quality of education, claimed there was limited recognition of their degrees by private and public sector employers, as well as in relation to applying for scholarships abroad. This further questions the "value" of education being promoted under the neoliberal model. Participant 16, a student from Private University A said disappointingly that

> *When I apply for a job, employers will consider degrees from public universities first.*

Indeed, the neoliberal discourse of consumerism, urbanisation, and globalisation is omnipresent in contemporary Punjab. Contemporary Punjabi song lyrics are full of references to student life, college and university campuses, and the freedoms that going to university bring with it. However, the failure to deliver the dreams and aspirations to students and their families is also cynically referred to, as is done in this Punjabi song called "Degreeyan" (transl. degrees) by

Bhupinder Gill (2015):

> *….what is the benefit to do B.A. if we are still doing farming, spraying our fields…….Jatt boys are getting degrees and still working in their fields…..the government is sleeping and not giving rizak* (transl. earnings or livelihood)*……people are talking about rising unemployment….youth are destroying their lives with drugs….*

While this song refers to the difficulties met by dominant caste Jat boys in availing employment after university, the broader picture is much more exclusive when it comes to non-landed groups. In what Jeffrey et al (2008) refer to as "Degrees without Freedom" in relation to dalit young men's disappointed employment aspirations in U.P after gaining access to education through reservations, in Punjab it can be seen that the higher education system is being shaped to build aspirations but is unequipped to deliver or to address inequitable access. While more students are getting access to degrees or diplomas through private universities, they are not necessarily getting jobs and those who cannot afford to pay are being increasingly excluded from this system. Many students stated that they have to work in the fields even after studying – alongside their parents. Even when they have degrees they still struggle to find jobs which relate to the subjects of their degrees. Statistical reports highlight that unemployment is increasing in India. The issue of employability, while rhetorically a part of most university mission statements and indeed of internationalisation strategies, as we will be explored in Chapter 7, is a core point of disappointment and dissatisfaction for students enrolling in private universities. However, this study did not find any data directly related with unemployment in India. However, the significant relation between the rise in demand of higher education and the rise in unemployment can be found extensively in the literature and grey literature (Agarwal, 2006; World Bank, 2006; and Visaria, 1998). In an interview with *The Tribune*, Professor Sucha Singh Gill also discussed the case of Punjab state's youth unemployment problem. He mentioned that educated youth of Punjab are going abroad by applying through the legal method of migration and uneducated youth adopt the illegal way to settle abroad. He argued that there is a need for serious, informed, and planned initiative for the employment of the youth in Punjab.

In the same interview in *The Tribune* in 2016, Professor Gill stated:

> *The state government organised a survey and brought out a report on unemployment in Punjab in 1998. It was estimated that 14.72 lakh youth in the age group of 18-35 years were unemployed. Out of the total unemployed youth, 62 per cent were educated up to matriculation and above and 38 per cent were uneducated or educated below the matriculation level. After this, there was no effort to update this figure by organising another survey on this issue. The employment exchanges which used to register the unemployed have been either closed or have become defunct with government outsourcing many jobs to private contractors.*

6.4 The neoliberal higher education market in Punjab

The neoliberal higher education market which was introduced in India in 1995 after the economic reforms in India began in 1991 has subsequently taken root in Punjab. Parallel to the passing of the Punjab Private Universities Act of 2007, like other states, Punjab began to reduce its state funding for education. During that same period, deregulation policies and increased reliance on market forces and the private sector encouraged universities to participate in educational activities. This diffusion of globalisation brought market reforms to India, which saw the commodification of education and the creation of a neoliberal model of higher education in the state. In this study, I have considered private universities as a 'field' in which class inequalities and social relations are being consolidated and reproduced and integrated into the new higher education economy. Pareto Optimality is an economic term, which is based on the assumption of the proper and equitable distribution of resources with sustainability and the future in mind. The neoliberal market of higher education, because of state exclusion, on the one hand, and expansion of privatisation, on the other, leads to an inevitable market failure.

While the market conditions of Pareto Optimality indicate that there should be a sufficient allocation of resources without the expectations of future generations being sacrificed, the neoliberal model is based on principles of commodity markets, deregulation, a minimal state and reduced state spending. This section will further explore what the implications of the growth and expansion of private universities has been in Punjab.

6.4.1 Opportunities for the private sector: Paving the way for Punjab's education 'mandi'

The opportunities for the private sector are being generated from two sides of the equation. One side is that of parents and children who are aspiring to access higher education and the other side is the government sector who is committing less financial resources but, according to the targets to achieve 30% GER, is relying on non-state actors to satisfy the demand for higher education. In summary, there is a growing demand for higher education, partly as a consequence of the Punjab state's drive to reach the goal of 30 per-cent GER by 2020, and this has further opened the gates to the private sector (Gupta and Gupta, 2012).

As has already been discussed in the last chapter, the drive to acquire cultural capital has shaped the aspirations to augment economic and social capital which was generated by the green revolution which brought with it capitalist, growth-oriented agricultural development to Punjab (Byres 1983). As Punjab's economy grew and became commodified and restructured, larger farmers' capacity to expand the state's and its own economic power precipitously increased, though small farmers and other non-land-owning groups did not. As a result, Punjab's burgeoning middle class is now demanding cultural capital, having gained economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) underlined the desire to gain cultural capital when middle class people have acquired sufficient economic power.

Kapur (2009) has talked about middle class families who want to invest in the higher education of their children, arguing that they prefer to invest either in private universities or in foreign universities but not in public universities. In Punjab, even among middle class families, there is inadequate information on which to base their decisions regarding their children's education, as already highlighted by the parents in the focus group. The private sector has been positioned to satisfy this growing demand for education. It is hard for the state to satisfy the increased demand for higher education because there are fewer places in state universities/colleges and less funds available for higher education. The states started to reduce their share of funds for higher education after 1990 - as evidenced in the secondary data presented in the last chapter. While it can be seen that GER started to increase in Punjab and India during the 1990s, the increase in GER is directly linked to and can be attributed to the increase in institutions. More students are able to get admission if students/parents/families are able to afford the fees, i.e. those who

otherwise would not have gained admission to state universities. This wave of new colleges and universities opening is a direct result of the changes that have taken place in the higher education market and economy since the Private Universities Act of 2007 since when state ministers have approved the opening of more private institutions. As reflected upon by senior officials in my interviews, these institutions were mainly enfranchised when the state government passed a ruling in 2010. However, Private University A took advantage of an opportunity in 2005. In these terms, if we talk about opportunities for the private sector entry in the higher education fields, then this discussion must also take into account the perspectives of parent's/children and government. State governments are under pressure by the central government to show that the number of students who have access to higher education is increasing, and, as can be seen in the increasing GER and in the rise in the number of private institutions in Punjab, Punjabi parents are accessing higher education through the private sector exponentially. Private Universities A, B and C are giving access to students on the basis that parents are happy (to an extent) because their children are getting degrees and governments are satisfied in that they have found a means by which the GER goal can be attained.

6.4.2 High tuition fees and low returns

As discussed by the participants of this study, gaining admission to universities has become more accessible with the rise of private institutions. However, high fees make this affordable only to those with cash or assets. As mentioned earlier, higher education is treated as a market-based activity under the neoliberal model. Students are treated as customers, and teachers as service providers, which are implicit in the publicity material, ethos, and discourse within mission statements of private universities.

Student ('consumer') behaviour is a key element in the higher education market in terms decision-making in choosing a course and university. As believed by many neoclassical economists such as Irving Fisher (2006) proponents of the idea of human capital, the consumption of higher education by one individual increased the utility of others in society (Musgrave 1959). However, our analysis of neoliberal ideology's grasp over higher education highlights how the contrary is more evident in how privatisation is undermining education as a public common good.

Within the neoliberal model, consumer behaviour and demand largely depend upon purchasing power and, in the case of higher education, aspirations to acquire cultural capital and social status through gaining access to higher education. Purchasing power, in this context, refers to the capacity to afford the enrolment on a degree at private universities. While private university fees are high (on average Rs. 1 lakh per semester), this also raises the expectations because of the assumption that investing will result in returns. The higher the investment, the expectation is that there will be higher returns. Many students commented on how dissatisfied they were about the low returns they were receiving in terms of teaching and poor employment prospects. High fees being paid by wealthier families does not have the same relevance to high fees being paid by poorer families who go into debt in order to send their children to university. Therefore, the system of higher education has become increasingly tired and variegated by the presence of more private actors and the continuing presence of public universities. Private universities are attractive for modern infrastructure and facilities, such as AC on campus and in hostel rooms. However, admission to a private university does not necessarily bring the returns of cultural capital, especially for students from lower income groups who would gain more by gaining entry to public universities where the status, stature and reputation of public universities continues to have resonance in contemporary India. However, according to this study, private university entry is based on affordability of fees by applicants as well as merit for those who have achieved more than 70 per-cent in their 10+2 assessments who are eligible for scholarships. According to Bourdieu, the new higher education market is not giving a chance to those who have less economic power. The question is, therefore, how do individuals who belong to less well-off economic groups gain cultural capital within this system? From my fieldwork, it could be argued that private universities are giving opportunities to those who have economic power and capital. Many Punjabi, mainly landed or business, families have succeeded in gaining economic power since the 1960s, which was a period of prosperity for those who had land and assets to accumulate wealth. Therefore, there is a private field/market of higher education and the middle and landed classes are in a position to pay for their children's education. According to Bourdieu, the more well-off perceive their own entitlement within the social structure. Middle class families in Punjab have the capacity to pay for education and feel that they deserve a place in the capitalist system. Many parents told me, in the focus groups, that they can pay for their children's education but they themselves were not educated. Thus, they indicated that they wanted to gain cultural capital through investing in their children but they did not have adequate information in relation to the choices that they had to make. This was the case for 70 percent of my participants, including both parents and teachers. Many parents and students explained that they had not received adequate information concerning their degree and university. This issue was raised in the Vidhan Sabha,

and this has resulted from the case not being clearly presented in the Vidhan Sabha in 2005. Private universities are not giving out adequate information to their clients (the word 'client' is used for students in Private Universities A and B). However, if higher education is a commodity or private good, in this neoliberal context, one of the conditions of the market should be that universities provide adequate information to their customers.

As asserted by Bourdieu, there is a greater chance, that middle class children will gain more credentials than will working classes, given the system of entitlement built into the educational structures. On the one hand, the social reproduction of middle classes through education shapes their entitled position while on the other hand first generation, working class school and college-goers often lack the three forms of capital to survive through the system. However, another factor is that middle class children are not necessarily achieving academically to affirm their entitlement within the educational system. In this regard, the private system "sweeps up" such students who have not received high marks but still admits them at university level. Almost 70 percent of children come to these private universities because they did not pass an entrance exam and clear merit for a public university, highlighting that the private market in Punjab, to date, is targeted largely at this market.

As mentioned by Bourdieu, educational credentials help elites and middle classes maintain their class position. Similarly, student participants stated that the main aim of getting admission to a private university is social status, but not necessarily as a route to further cultural capital but to reaffirm the ties between economic and cultural capital. This has already been discussed in the literature (for example Marginson,2007). Some students are not able to pass the entrance/merit assessments for the public universities and some of them do not want to take the entrance exam. Therefore, the field of private higher education offers an attractive option, and their parents can display their status, as they can declare that their children are studying at a university and/or studying for a degree. This demonstrates the nature of the phenomena of the higher education market in the consumer capitalist cultural context of contemporary Punjab.

6.4.3 Lack of quality assurance

Devesh Kapur's study demonstrates the vicious circle related to the diminishing "signalling effect" of universities, useful for us here in order to highlight the identified lack of quality assurance in private universities in Punjab. The issue of low quality was indicated and highlighted from time to time in the Vidhan Sabha for the approval of the bill to open private universities. However, these indications were ignored by the state government. Kapur (2007) indicates that, with a few exceptions, Indian universities do not perform well with respect to quality assurance issues. In this light, the demand to increase the number of institutions has not been met by a demand to improve the quality of higher education. There is no complaint system and check for credibility for private universities. Kapur highlights (2007)

> *"the breakdown of the signalling system is such that Oxford Brookes University or Deakin University are thought to be more credible signal providers than most Indian Institutions. But of equal importance is the fact that almost all of these institutions incur huge private expenditure (systematic data is not available), which are largely borne by the middle class. Indeed, if the middle class were influential, one would expect that there would be great pressure and momentum to restore the credibility and signalling effects of higher education".*

However, this is not the case in India, especially in relation to the Punjab state's private universities where there is no burden from state government and parents and the low diminishing signalling effect in terms of quality is found in private universities in Punjab. Under the neoliberal model, higher education is an activity, which takes place in relation to a market/field where students and teachers are engaged on behalf of society. As Patnaik (2007) argued, the teaching-learning process also can be treated as a market in the HE sector, under neo liberalism.

Kapur (2007) also mentioned in his working paper that this is a consequence of the fact that the middle class want to spend on education without considering the quality of education. The influence of private schools encourages them to send children to private universities because it is assumed that the quality of private schools is better than public schools by the fact that it can be purchased.

6.4.4 Unequal distribution of resources

Within a perfect competitive market, the condition of the Pareto Optimality is applied to efficient allocation of resources. As mentioned by Chattropadhyan (2009), a typical market does not normally address the concern for equity in terms of effecting an equitable distribution of resources. As a result, the condition of Pareto Optimality is not satisfied. This is the biggest issue of market failure in the higher education market where students are client and higher education is a commodity.

Marginson (2007) argued that the market for higher education is a competition for social status wherein institutions play a role in the production and distribution of this social status. Even my qualitative interviews and focus groups highlight that Punjabi parents do not demand quality education. Some of them indicated that they wanted to send their children to university for social status. As highlighted by Bourdieu and also in the qualitative empirical data in this study, the economic power of the middle class is increasing the demand for cultural capital, which the private sector is capitalising upon.

Consumers in a free market have the right to choose products in the market, and many factors influence their choice. Under the neoliberal model of higher education, the same is true for education. Students have the right to select a degree and a university of their choice. Where higher education is a commodity, modern infrastructure is a considerable element and presents what appear as “false promises” to students and parents for what they are buying into, as highlighted in my interviews in this chapter. Many national and international students discussed their experiences and sense of disappointment from the education they were receiving at private institutions which appeared high in quality but in terms of delivery and teaching did not meet expectations. In the advertisement of private universities, students and parents are assured that students gain skills and have good job prospects after completing a professional course and the university placements that they offer. Those students who can get placements through the university will be the ones who get good marks, and the placements, in general, are for a limited period. Thus, the promises are both applicable to those eligible and are for a time-limited period. This point also highlights the lack of knowledge and awareness of the middle classes to “read the small print”, especially for green revolution agricultural families who have economic power but

little experience in this area. They are prepared to pay high fees in order to gain cultural capital through their children.

6.5 Conclusion

In my sample of three private universities, Private University C was the only one run by educationists (an education trust) and which no doubt shaped its prioritisation of and attentiveness to quality issues. This issue of quality emerged throughout the interviews while efficiency and modern infrastructure emphasised by proponents of the Private Universities Act and the lack of quality assurance were highlighted by its critics. Many private universities are run by business families, a concern raised by senior Punjab Minister 1, who argued that their aim is to run the university for profit and also to accumulate their own economic, cultural and social capital by becoming "education capitalists". The neoliberal education market is pandering to the demands for social status in Punjab where cultural capital has made education the new platform for capitalist expansion. In David Harvey's terms, the Private Universities Act has opened the floodgates to the penetration of capitalist forces in previously public sectors contributing to what he calls the "tragedy of the commons" (2005). Even as the neoliberal market turns education into a private good, there is much challenge and resistance to the notion that degrees can be bought and sold and that poor regulation will not curb low quality. Even the market has certain conditions and rules such as the Pareto Optimality conditions.

In Punjab, while private universities are known to have comparatively well-endowed management and impressive physical infrastructure, there is also a negative image of private universities in contributing to a deskilled labour force who are paying for degrees, which do not equip students for real employment. Despite the MHRD's targets of access, excellence, equity and employability, I argue, none are being reached or sufficiently addressed. Thus, the education aspirations are largely hinged on selling or marketing cultural capital while failing to provide employability. There is also a broader contradiction that is implicit within private universities' management and ethos. Through my observations, interviews and focus groups, it became clear that the ethos of many private universities is far from 'free' and 'open' (to utilise the discourse and vocabulary of neoliberal ideology) but instead requires strong managerialism to enforce the ideology, system and practices of capitalism and the market in higher education, a sector which is

still in transition. The most significant shift has been that higher education has moved from being a public to a private good over the past decade, and the changes that this has made upon the higher education system overall have been transformational.

Chapter 7

Internationalisation of higher education between Punjab and Canada: Neoliberalism in practice

7.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the internationalisation of higher education, which appears merely as a policy directive leading the actions of higher education activities, but, as I argue, is an implicit part of the neoliberal paradigm in which higher education is treated as a trade commodity. With the ascent to dominance of the concept of education as a commodity rather than a public good as has been discussed so far, the worldwide expansion of higher education and technology must be understood as a part of the neoliberal shifts that have taken place. This chapter will focus specifically on one mode of internationalisation, the direct collaborative mode, in which students' programmes of study are spread across different institutions through collaborative arrangements.

In my focus upon an arrangement within the 'Punjab-Canada corridor', students complete one year of study in Punjab and the remaining part of their study period in Canada through a franchise arrangement. As will be highlighted, Canada has become a player in this market through deepening economic and social ties with Punjab, which is a significant region in terms of migration and settlement to Canada. This has also shaped the internationalisation practices, which can be seen between Punjab and Canada.

The nature of this form of collaborative arrangement will be explored in terms of how it is positioned within the wider global market. The first part of the chapter will situate internationalisation within the global neoliberal market through an analysis of trends in the secondary data. The second part will provide a more qualitative analysis and discussion of what lies behind these trends in terms of perceptions and experiences of 'stake-holders' (a term which I have earlier identified as being part of the neoliberal vocabulary), in order to address what lies at

the centre of the drive towards internationalisation. The chapter will then highlight, through qualitative data, how internationalisation is shaping the education environment, which is implicit in the neoliberal terms, which are used in policies and HEI internationalisation practices. The promises and expected benefits of internationalisation, as the OECD (2012) argued, is "to provide the most relevant education to students, who will be the citizens, entrepreneurs and scientists of tomorrow." As the interviews with students on both sides of the student experience of the Punjab-Canada corridor show, these promises and expected benefits fall well short of being delivered. Thus, the neoliberal terms, which assert the market principles of 'quality', 'affordability', 'student mobility,' 'employability' show a less glossy picture when viewed from the 'student experience' along the Punjab-Canada corridor.

7.1 Internationalisation and expansion of higher education under neoliberalism

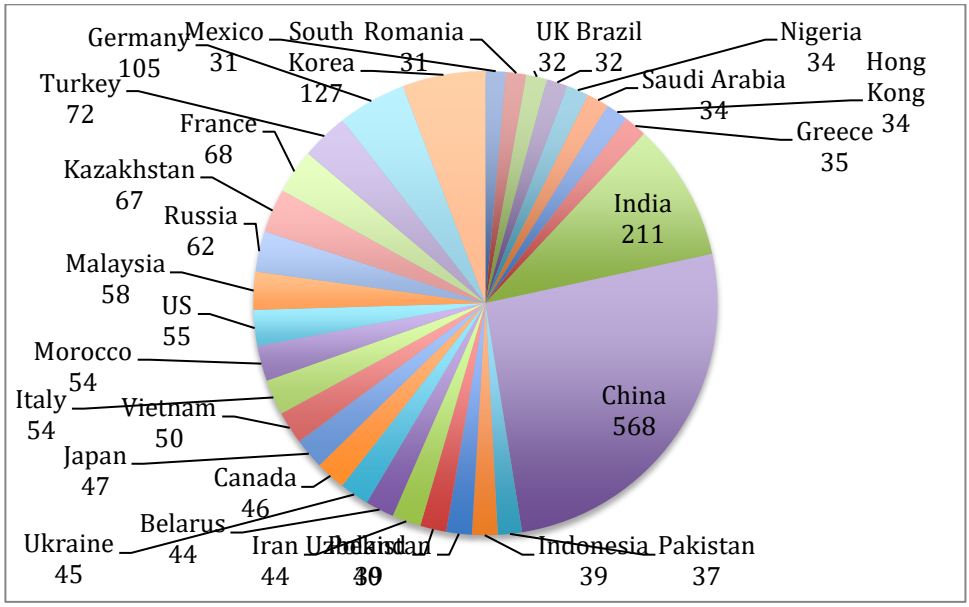
The World Bank launched a report in the 1990s entitled *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* which argued that there was a 'crisis' in higher education and put forward an argument for the need for widespread reforms (World Bank, 1996). The most significant reform was to convert education into a trade commodity or global private commodity, as explicitly suggested in the report's recommendations. The publication of the report occurred at the same time as GATS introduced trade in the service sector (Robertson et al., 2007), and, in this respect, the World Bank based its arguments in the report on global free trade in the service sector (Wade, 1996). As trade in the service sector is a significant growth sector, Western countries started to promote global free trade and focused on removing restrictions on foreign investment. Further, these countries began to introduce policy reforms to become actively engaged with higher education sectors in developing countries with reference to the World Bank report (Robertson et al., 2002; Mundy and Iga, 2002 and Kelsey, 2003). However, while education was being clearly being positioned as a service sector trade commodity, Harris (1990) considered the World Bank's reform as "shifting sands and partial wisdoms" due to the lack of clarity of what these reforms actually entailed.

Higher education institutions and Western governments took the lead in the promotion of this new concept of trade in the education sector, realising its value was estimated to be around US $ 1387 billion, if it were to be privatised (Robertson et al., 2007). As Bashir (2007) mentioned, the top

five countries - Australia, Canada, US, New Zealand and UK – were already exporting around US $17 billion in 2000, and this figure has been rising every year. While the early 1990s has been represented as a period of 'crisis' for the higher education sector in many developing nations (Hattman, 2011), this 'crisis' must be understood, as Harvey (2010) points out, as one constructed by corporate capitalist interests intent on heightening and concentrating profits. He goes further in arguing that capitalism thrives on such 'crises' rather than attempting to actually solve them. Higher education represents this form of a 'crisis' in terms of how higher education became identified as a new market through GATT in which demand and effective demand of new consumers were identified as a new means for capital circulation, though notwithstanding the blockages presented by stringent immigration and student visa regulations.

If students are now firmly placed as consumers within the global trade in higher education, then the mobility patterns of international students point to the flows in the market. Figures 1 to 4 indicate the inbound/outbound mobility of students at present and also as a future projection. The tables mainly indicate India's situation and Indian international students' destination countries.

Figure 7.1. Global outbound mobile tertiary students, by origin market, in thousands in 2009

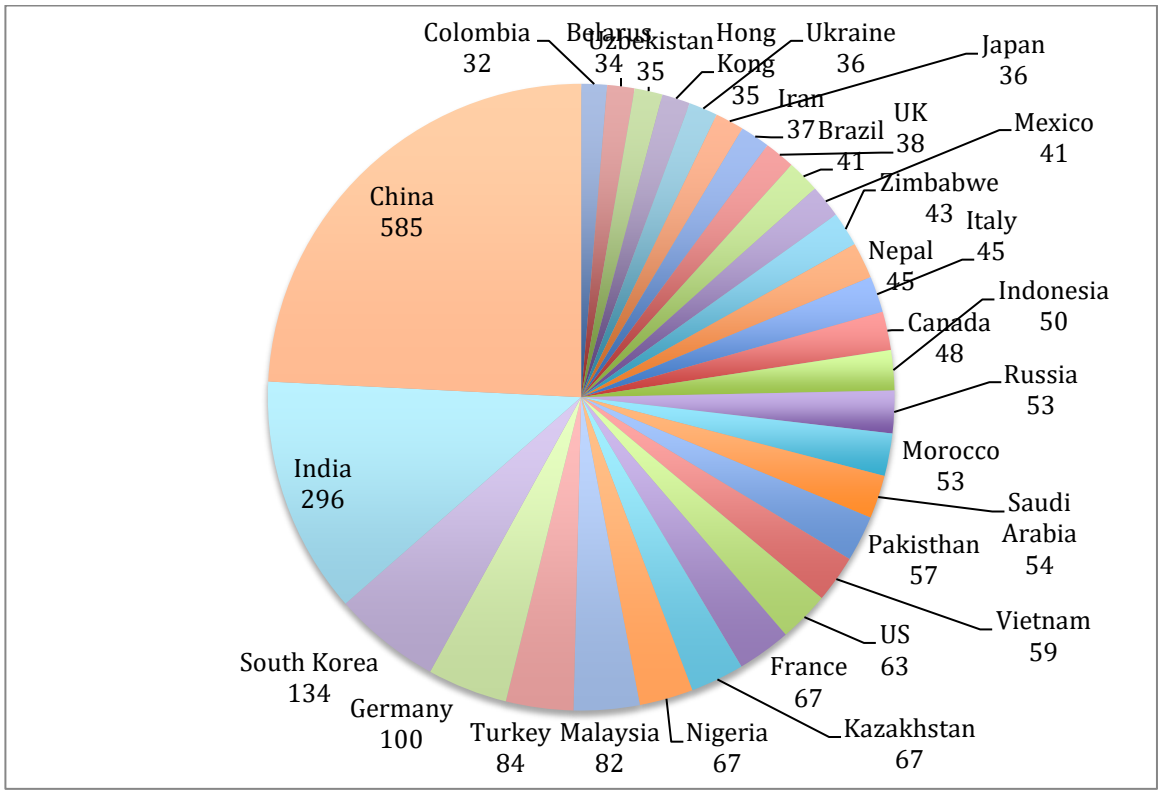


Source: UNESCO, OECD, Oxford Economics

Figure 7.1 shows the most active student outbound mobility coming from Asia: India, China and South Korea, respectively. It is also expected that there will be more international student mobility in future but that the competition is also increasing for self-funded students. In this respect, students, as Choudaha and Chang (2012) argue, will invest their funds towards education in their destination countries. However, they also argue that HEIs and destination countries need to understand the international students' decision-making process (Choudaha and Chang, 2012).

In addition to China and India, there are other countries with student mobility, including South Korea, Germany, Turkey, France, Kazakhstan, Russia, Malaysia, Morocco, Italy, Vietnam etc., as shown in Figure 7.1 which indicates that the least amount of outbound students come from the UK and Canada. Choudaha and Chang (2012) also indicate the UIS report's data, which showed the trends of 2002 and 2009: respectively, 2.1 million students and 3.4 million students. They also believe that China and India are countries where the growth of global student mobility is rising rapidly which are reflected in the projections in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2 Global outbound mobile tertiary student projections, by origin market, in thousands, in 2020

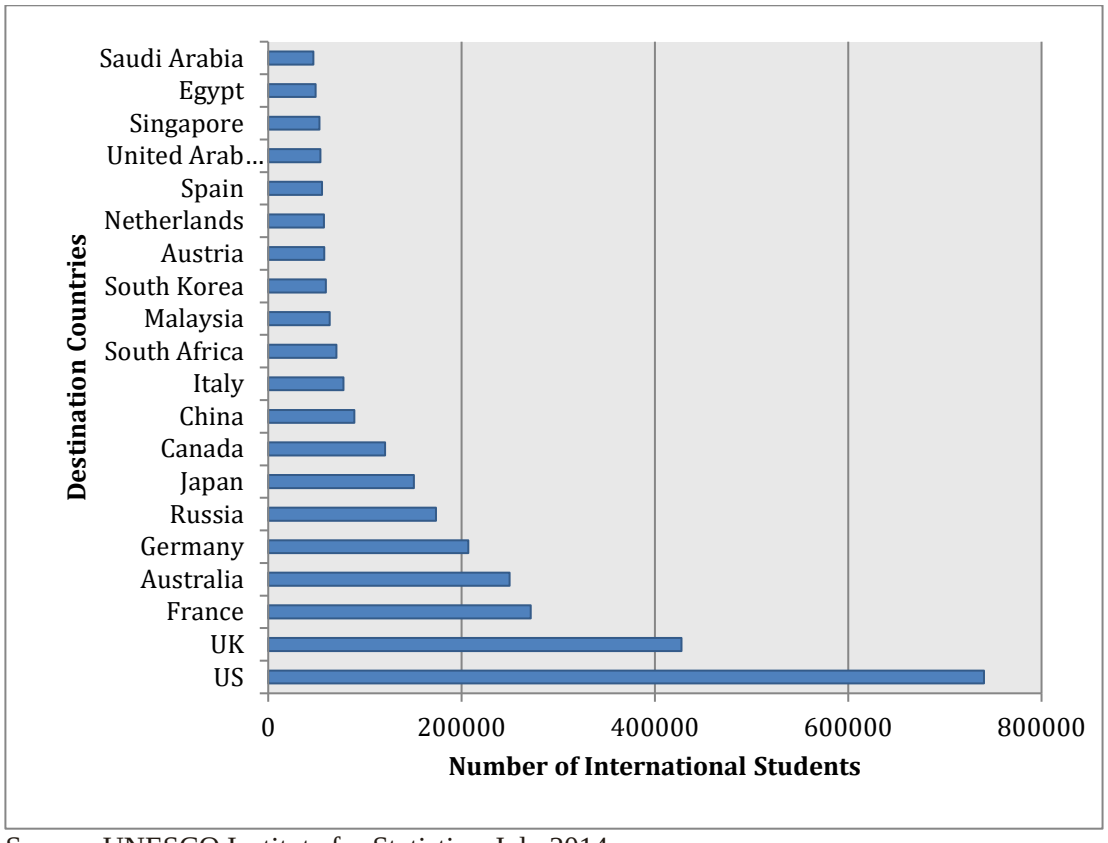


Source: UNESCO, OECD, Oxford Economics

Figure 7.2 highlights the projected trends of student mobility in 2020 and illustrates that India shows more change in numbers than China, but both China and India have the highest figures of outbound student mobility.

Altbach (2004) argues that the number of international students will increase by eight million by 2025, in part because newly industrially developed countries such as India and China have an interest in training their labour forces. However, others believe that students who are travelling abroad for education are not returning for their training to be of any benefit from their sending countries. Many students opt for international education because they are not getting places for higher education in their own countries. There are various factors that influence students to seek admission outside of their home countries, and this will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, with the support of qualitative data. Data which highlights the top destination countries for higher education reveals the spread of destinations amongst the top receiving countries.

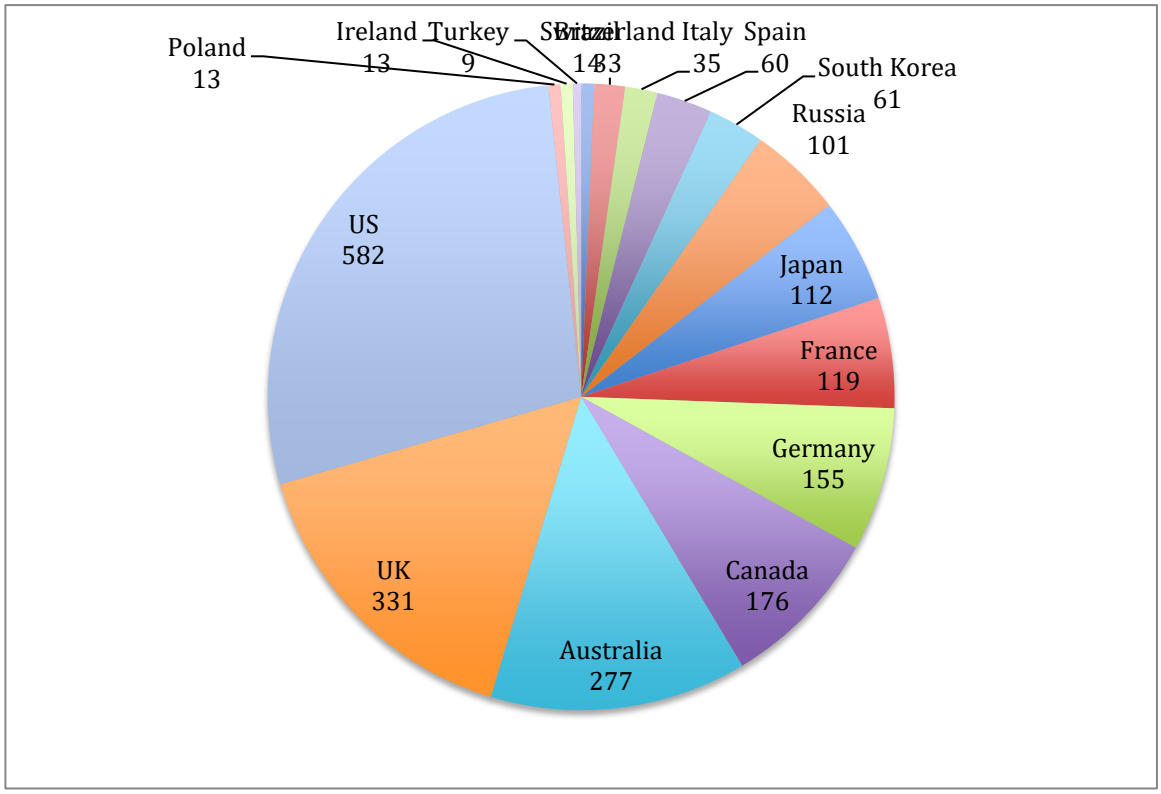
Figure 7.3. Number of international students in different countries in 2014



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, July 2014

Figure 7.3 shows the inbound destination countries for international students. US, UK, France, Australia, Germany and Canada were the favourite destination countries for international students in 2014. The US is always the top-rated country for absorbing outbound student mobility. This point has already been discussed in the literature and shown in Figure 7.3, above. The neoliberal educational system in the US attracts international students from all over the world. As Altbach (2004) highlights, the US brings in students from the UK, Germany, France and newly industrialising developing countries such as China and India. Currently, Canada is another destination country for international students because of new immigration policies and liberal rules for students to settle there (She and Watherspoon, 2013). Canada is included in the top five countries because of its projected rise in absorbing international students by 2020, as shown in Figure 7.4 below.

Figure 7.4. Global inbound mobile tertiary students by destination market (2020) in thousands



Source: Oxford Economics

Figure 7.3 highlights the present inbound students in the top twenty countries in 2014. Similarly, this figure indicates the inbound mobility of international students in the future by 2020. This

figure showed that the US, UK, Australia and Canada are the top countries for receiving international students.

There are many factors influencing international students, highlighted in the next section. This study attempts to understand the picture of the rise in the flow of international students at a time when education is being treated as a trade commodity and various developed nations are achieving the benefit of this international trade in terms of their ability to attract self-funded students. At present, the market is dominated by developed countries vying for students to come to study in universities in developed countries. Table 7.1 highlights the number of Indian international students in the top seven countries from 2006 to 2012.

Table: 7.1. Percentage of students from India enrolled in higher education in top 7 receiving countries from 2006 to 2012

Years	UK	USA	Canada	Aus	NZ	China	Germany
2006	n/a	52.99	4.38	16.12	1.64	2.05	2.26
2007	12.58	45.94	3.55	13.15	1.87	3.49	1.67
2008	15.73	47.69	3.84	13.12	2.93	3.76	1.49
2009	15.55	42.36	3.86	11.32	3.74	3.42	1.31
2010	15.41	40.94	6.92	8.64	4.58	3.55	1.51
2011	13.07	43.83	10.32	6.73	5.38	4.1	2.11
2012	n/a	50.91	15.22	6.64	5.97	5.39	3.02

Source: CBIE, 2013

Table 7.2. Top 10 source countries for international students (IS) in Canada, 2013

Source Country	Number of Students (2013)	Percentage of total IS population
China	95160	32.45%
India	31665	10.79%
South Korea	18295	6.23%
Saudi Arabia	14235	4.85%
France	13090	4.46%
United States	12065	4.11%
Japan	6780	2.31%
Nigeria	6080	2.07%
Mexico	5370	1.83%
Iran	4335	1.48%

Source: CBIE, 2013

Table 7.2 illustrates a number of results. Firstly, fluctuating trends are found in all countries but the Canada has had a constant increase in the share of international students from 2010 to 2012. However, share trends are changing. More students are opting to go to Canada, and the share of Australian international Indian students has declined from 2010. There is an increase in the percentage of international Indian students in Canada, New Zealand, China and Germany.

The trends highlight a steady increase in international student flows in Canada. This has already been mentioned in the literature whereby India is an outbound student mobility country from where many students go to Canada, as shown in Table 7.2. China, however, stands in first position and India at second position in terms of absorbing international students in 2013, as shown in the table with the highest number of international students came from China (number of students: 95160) and India (number of students: 31665) to Canada in 2013.

Immigration is certainly a factor, which is shaping Canada's attractiveness as a destination to pursue higher education. The rules and regulations of Canadian immigration make it easier for students to settle after completing their studies (Walton-Roberts, 2003). With China and India's higher education market being the main growth market within Asia (Verbik & Lasanowki, 2007), these are significant figures and tables to develop an understanding of student mobility trends globally.

In addition to analysing such trends as represented in these tables and figures, qualitative interviews, focus groups and observations from fieldwork have also been utilised. These questions are broadly:

1. What motivations do Indian students express for wanting to go abroad, especially Canada, for higher education?

2. How have Canadian polices shaped the decision-making and movement of international students?

3. What are students' future aspirations? Is it secure skilled jobs or potentials for migration, if they remain after study?

4. Why do students choose a particular mode of internationalisation?

Phang (2013) discusses the three waves of neoliberalism in the international higher education industry, including students who are studying abroad, studying within a country as a twinning arrangement, and students studying online. Many Western countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S. have become more professionally market-focused to attract students (Mazzoral et al., 2003). Most universities have adopted a business strategy to gain a footing in the international market (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006). According to Cheung et al (2011), the international higher education trade is a major source of income for economic growth under neoliberalism. Many Western countries play a significant role in attracting students towards their higher education markets.

As global institutions promoting free trade in services within which higher education is included as a commodity, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank have been focused on the internationalisation of higher education for some time in their missions to generate economic growth. Higher education's internationalisation has diverse modes, and this chapter will outline the commodification of higher education in terms of how market forces and capitalist interests are honing in on places with rising demand for higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007). In many non-Western countries, such as India and China, demand for higher education is increasing rapidly, although enrolment is even less than 20% of the age group. In this regard, many international institutes are gaining profits by capitalising on higher education demands in developing countries. The access to higher education, for the students of developing nations, is provided in many forms of internationalisation, such as branch campuses, twinning arrangements and franchise arrangements, etc. (Altbach & Knight, 2007). The different modes of internationalisation have already been discussed in the literature review. This chapter is specifically concerned with the direct collaboration arrangements for the internationalisation of higher education between India and Canada in a neoliberal market.

As Smith (2014) argues, the marked trend of migration from north India to the US, Canada, U.K., New Zealand, and Australia presents a picture of flows and settlement of people through the student route. He discusses the many overt and covert routes to settle abroad in which the student visa is one means, for those who can pass the necessary English tests of TOEFL or IELTS. My study also found that some agents in India are sending students directly to Western countries but others are being sent through institutes in the form of direct collaboration, via twinning/franchise

arrangements. In this light, the proliferation of private institutes in Punjab and India highlights the attractiveness of direct collaboration for the appeals of mobility. The next section will focus on the 'Punjab-Canada corridor'.

7.2 Higher education in the Punjab-Canada corridor

This study outlines a social field or 'habitus', which cuts across Punjab and Canada within which the proliferation of education through neoliberalism is operating. As previously mentioned, the selected Canadian campus for this study has a direct collaboration with an institution in the state of Punjab. In essence, direct collaboration is a combination of consumption abroad, commercial presence, and presence of natural persons (Altbach, 2004). Canadian community colleges refer to those colleges with higher education arrangements, providing diplomas and academic certificates to students. These community colleges are at the forefront of direct collaborations because of their technical and shorter-term diploma courses, which have routes through internationalisation.

The distinction between migration and student data has become a significant government policy concern across the top receiving countries of international students. Immigration data and international student data often blend into one another, which occurs for a number of reasons. While in the UK this has been a contentious point raised before and after the Brexit vote, in Canada the contrary has occurred. Major changes for international students were brought about by Canada's Conservative party in 2014. New NOC codes (in applying for work permits following study) were introduced, making it easier for students to gain permanent residency after completing their studies. Before 2014, a policy for international students required them to have a job confirmation letter before applying for a work permit, and the work had to be related to their field of academic study. As a result, the number of international students is increasing in Canada. The NOC codes changed and any student who completed 2 years of study and one year of work experience in a managerial, professional, technical or trade occupation, after completing studies in Canada, could apply for Canadian residency. These no longer have to be specifically in the same field as the student's completed degree or diploma. The NOC codes for international students after modification in Canada in 2014 are as follow:

1. Skill Type 0 (zero) – management jobs.
    - examples: restaurant managers, mine managers, shore captains (fishing)

2. Skill Level A — professional jobs. People usually need a degree from a university for these jobs.
    - examples: doctors, dentists, architects
3. Skill Level B — technical jobs and skilled trades. People usually need a college diploma or to train as an apprentice to do these jobs.
    - examples: chefs, electricians, plumbers
4. Skill Level C — intermediate jobs. These jobs usually need high school and/or job-specific training.
    - examples: long-haul truck drivers, butchers, food and beverage servers
5. Skill Level D — labour jobs. On-the-job training is usually given.

    examples: cleaning staff, oil field workers, fruit pickers

In October 2015 Justin Trudeau led the Liberal Party in winning the national election. As a result immigration policies, in addition to other social and economic policies, altered. Soon after taking office, the new immigration policy was announced:

> *The Canadian government has introduced legislation to reduce the period of physical residency required to apply for Canadian citizenship. The new legislation will also restore a provision that allows international students to count time spent studying or working in Canada against that residency requirement. The government has also committed to a review of the Canadian Experience Class programme, a key path to permanent residency for international students in Canada. (monitor.icef.com/2016/02/canadian-government-eases-citizenship-process).*

However, there has been much debate on the new immigration policies, which are trying to highlight the features of multiculturalism, though ignoring the problem of skilled employment specially for those immigrants who are moving on the basis of the point system and on student visas for the sake of skilled employment (Thränhardt, 2014). It seems likely that internationalisation programmes will continue to thrive even more so under this era of Canadian multicultural immigration policies for the foreseeable future.

7.3 Views from both sides of the corridor

The concept of the Punjab-Canada corridor has been introduced in this chapter in order to highlight the 'special relationship' that exists between Canada and Punjab due to historical connections of migration and settlement. This section will outline reflections made by "stake-holders" (teachers, students and parents) concerning the franchise arrangement between the Punjab and Canadian campuses, which forms a part of the activities of the corridor. Students shared their opinions and perceptions about both their aspirations and the operationalisation of the arrangements highlighting internationalisation and marketised higher education through these views. Teachers were interviewed at the Punjab campus and not on the Canadian campus, however due to an inability to get clearance. This section is divided into two parts:

1. *Views from the Punjab campus in terms of factors influencing students who are moving to Canada after completing one year at the Punjab campus*
2. *Views from the Canadian institute from students who have arrived in Canada*

7.3.1. Views from the Punjab campus: Service delivery in a franchise

The Punjab campus works in direct collaboration with a Canadian community college. I spent one week on this campus and had also conducted some research as a pilot study a year earlier there before embarking on the actual fieldwork. This institution is located on the highway between Chandigarh to Delhi, so is well placed to attract students. As an observer, when I went to the Punjab campus I found that the majority of students came from middle/upper-middle class families and were imbued with a sense of entitlement. Many of them were status-conscious and proud to be part of an institution that only the privileged could afford. The Punjab campus has an impressive physical infrastructure, and their main office is in Mohali. They told me about an agent partner which, as it transpired, was less of a partner than constituting the campus itself. In effect, the agent firm opened this campus in collaboration with a Canadian community college.

When I was looking to gain admission for my undergraduate studies a decade ago, thinking that

this was a route for me to have the opportunity to study abroad, I applied to this college. However, my parents did not allow me to even apply (largely because of the perceived risk to them of sending their unmarried daughter on her own abroad), and I went to a state university instead. Students who I spoke to at this campus also described how their intentions to either study or settle abroad were the main attraction to apply there to study, and the option to study in Canada after one year, was a key point of attraction for them. The college also helps students to compile their visa application files and prepare for the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) exam.

The other interesting fact about this Punjab campus is that the administration prefers to use the term 'direct collaboration' rather than 'franchise'. Despite this being a direct collaboration with a Canadian community college, all the decisions are taken by the Canadian college, which questions the dynamics and nature of this collaborative setup. The Canadian college has the authority to change or modify a syllabus or course. It raises the question of what direct collaboration means if the sole authority is given to the main campus.

The interviews highlighted a number of themes in giving insights into how internationalisation is being practiced. In essence, 'student experience' has become a cornerstone of the neoliberal vocabulary but can also be conversely used to highlight the gaps, weaknesses and shortcomings of market-oriented education, therefore giving credence to the idea that "the customer is always right."

Advertising HE in the education 'mandi'

Misleading and even false information provided by new private universities was discussed in the last chapter. Here, many students indicated that the franchise campus in Punjab has an active advertising strategy. Literature has already discussed that the growth of international students has a direct relationship to a rise in competition between international institutes (Choudaha & Chang, 2012) and therefore advertising is another outcome of this competitive market. At the centre of what is actually being marketed, however, is not only education as a commodity, but also migration opportunities.

As student participant 1 stated:

> *My father has enough income to spend. My one-year fee is 8 lakh Rs. and I will transfer to a main overseas campus after 1 year. My main objective is to settle abroad and this college and firm (WWICS) assured us we would get a transfer after 1 year. They will also help me to clear the IELTS exam.*

The ability to access such institutions is therefore something, which is defined by affordability. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of students in this institution belong to dominant caste and upper-middle class families. They shared information about social status and class composition of the student body freely in my interactions with them. In this sense, the diffusion of globalisation (Held, 1999) as argued earlier in Chapter 2 can be seen to already be playing itself out in class and caste terms through the marketization of education on the ground in Punjab. Student Participant 2 stated this point clearly in saying that this institute is for the wealthy:

> *My goal is to settle abroad. It is hard for anyone lower-middle class to get admission to this campus but I belong to a well-off family and my parents were ready to spend huge amounts for this college because the institute provided us with assuring information. Even the teaching quality is far better than many private institutes.*

This quote highlights how the neoliberal higher education market differentiates its between those who can pay when education is treated as a trade commodity. My observation in the field confirmed that most students intend to settle in Canada and that their enquiries about admission to the college were framed by this desire. Therefore, the migration advice and services provided seemed to be much more of a concern than the course, syllabus and other more academic-related issues. The college, advertisement, however, focuses largely on this point of migration as a 'selling point' to attract students on the basis of preparing their files for visas and helping them to get good scores in IELTS.

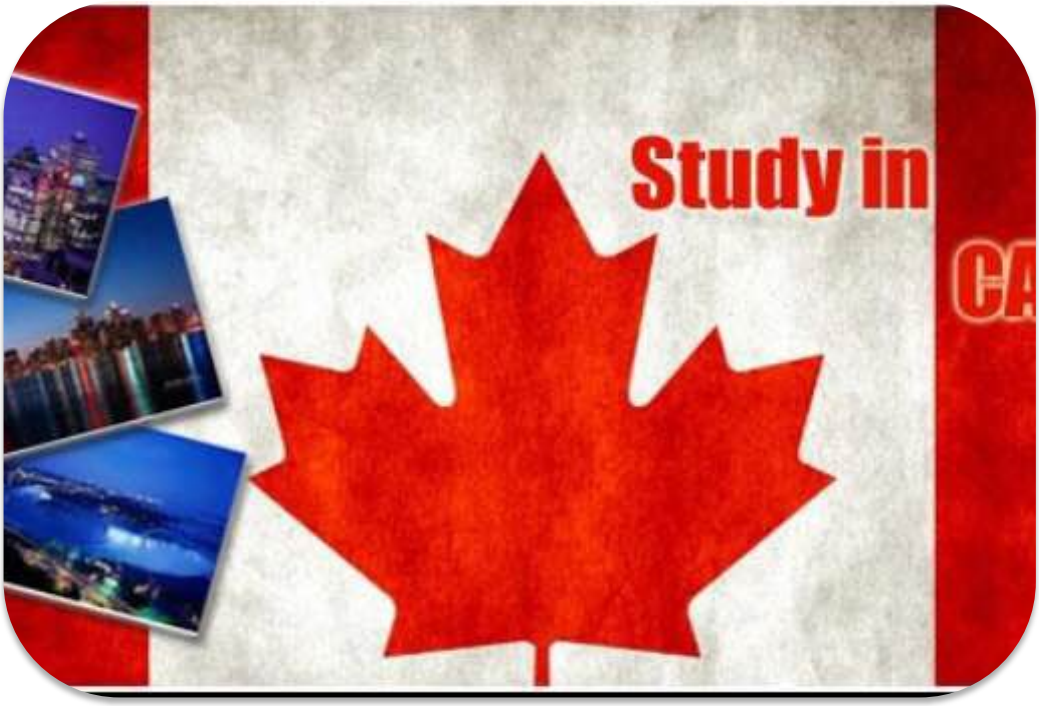
Figure 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 shows examples of advertisements attempting to attract students on the basis of migration. Notably, very little information is given about the courses or content but

instead the boldly prominent red Canadian symbolism is marked in promoting migration through the student route.

Figure 7.5 Advertisement 1: ‘Study in Canada’

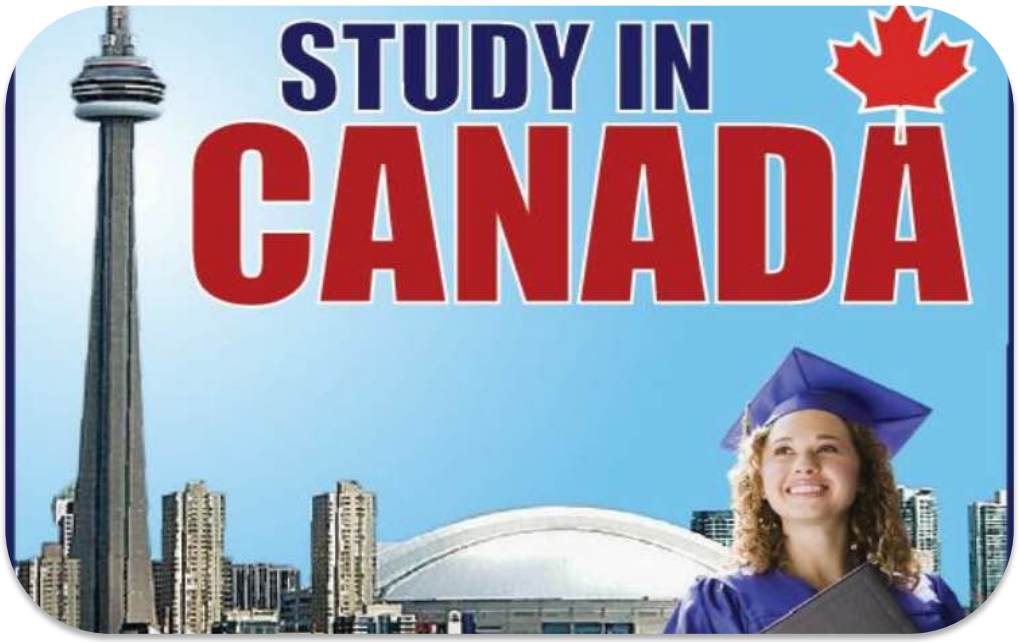
Source: http://www.continental.ac.in

Figure 7.6 Advertisement 2: ‘Study in Canada’



Source: http://www.continental.ac.in

Figure 7.6 Advertisement 3: ‘Study in Canada’



Source: http://www.continental.ac.in

Participant 3, a senior faculty, shared her perceptions of students' intensions:

> *Well, the students who come to our institute…they used to ask us about the best course to get permanent residency (in Canada). Students mainly come to our institute for settlement abroad…*

However, the student route to migration is limited to those who have sufficient income or capital to afford the 'services' of the college in its capacity as an agent and service provider. Another student in focus group 1 reflected on how students as consumers are navigating the education 'mandi' through the information given and services being advertised:

> *We came here because of accurate information provided by the institution and the agent firm who have connections with this institute. We are not so bothered about other things, such as teaching quality* (Meeta, age 21).

Other students made it even more explicit how students 'shop around' for the service provider making the most attractive offer:

> *I went to meet some other agents who did not give me the right information to go abroad. And my objective is to go abroad. (Param, 22)*

> *This institute assured us of help in IELTS preparation and that they would transfer us after 1 year to an overseas campus. (Heera, 23)*

The marketing and advertisement of this institute indicates an understanding that the franchise has of the market in which it is operating. Migration is a core element of the advertisement. Assistance with student visa application and English language test preparation are key advertising points. It was notable that in the course of my interviews and focus groups students spoke at length about visas and IELTS preparation and exams but said very little about their courses of

study.

A consensus that this campus was only accessible to the wealthy could be identified across my fieldwork. In fact, many students stated that they actually came to the institution precisely because the Canadian campus branch in Punjab had a better image rather than academic reputation compared to other colleges in the vicinity. There was also a sense amongst students that because fees are higher in comparison to others, that this would increase the value for them as eventual graduates, giving them heightened cultural capital.

As Participant 2 (a student) stated:

> *Yes, I am here because my family can pay my fees. This institute fee is very high. That's one thing but the second thing is that the Canadian college has a good reputation. This will help us to get a visa easily.*

The image of the Canadian campus in Punjab was, to Participant 2, based on the links to Canadian migration rather than academic content or accreditation of the institution. This links to the commodification of education, which was discussed in Chapter X, in which the product or service being bought or consumed alters its form and meaning when it is commodified according to market forces. In the case of the Canadian campus branch in Punjab, market forces have inserted the demands for migration within their marketing and advertising strategies by also providing those services.

Participant 7 also reflected this similar sense of feeling assured that they would reap returns on the fees they were paying:

> *I am satisfied because the institute is good. Our syllabus/course is decided by the main campus (Canadian campus) and it is very brief. They visit this branch many times in a year and the institute also provides us with the consultancy of reliable agents.*

These sentences are echoed by many student participants. Student or 'customer' satisfaction are met mainly because the market forces of demand for migration abroad are being delivered by the institute, and they feel that they are receiving the services for migration advice and assistance which they require.

Another student for whom the institute is not affordable but who received a scholarship commented:

> *It was hard for my parents to pay my fees but I got a scholarship because of my percentage. If I perform well, I will go to Canada after one year. Then I need to work because my parents can't spend huge amounts on my fees and expenditure. I belong to a lower- middle class family. But it is very tough for me. If I reach Canada then I can at least earn well, even in job market.*

Customer-Students and Student mobility

As was just discussed in the previous section that 'customer satisfaction' is becoming a significant part of the reputation of private higher education institutions, this institute focuses its provision on short vocational courses or diplomas. The first year is spent in India and the 2nd year is in Canada. The Canadian diploma or degree requirement for study is two years only and for this reason it offers what appears as a good return on investment. If the student does not pass all the requirements, then he/she cannot go to the overseas campus and they have to withdraw from the course. In the market of higher education, investors (parents and students) are taking a risk in investing in something, which may or may not reap returns. However, what is clear is that short vocational courses have an appeal to those wanting tangible skills for employment and migration advice.

Participant 3 as a student mentioned:

> *The course and programmes are mostly diplomas and these are mostly 2-year programmes. These courses are useful in completing a 2-year study and we can easily apply for a work permit and then permanent residency.*

Participant 2 stated:

> *The institution also helps us to pass IELTS exam and sister agents provide proper information from start to end.*

Cost is also an important factor, considered mainly in terms of fees. However, costs and high fees were not such an issue amongst most of the students at this institute I spoke to, because most of them came from wealthy families who could pay their children's fees and saw this as a strategy for building family resources through migration and cultural capital. Indeed, for high-achieving students from less well-off backgrounds, then scholarships are also available.

As Participant 2 (a student) said:

> *Well, the fee is high but this college is better than many private colleges in terms of quality of study. So, it does not matter to pay a high fee. We are getting returns and we are here to go to Canada.*

The comment that "we are here to go to Canada" is a revealing one in terms of matching up the service providers' marketing of its institute and the reception by students who gain admission. The goalposts of higher education, in this comment which highlights the broader changes that have taken place in the privatisation of HE globally, have shifted. Investment for returns, migration for settlement and advice for visas and IELTS appear at the top of students' and parents' concerns meanwhile academic content less so. Another

student (Participant 4), who was less well-off, commented on the risks that are taken in order to avail these services through the high investment in fees:

> *It is tough for my family because I belong to the lower-middle class. I got admission to this college and also got a scholarship on the basis of my grades. But a problem will occur when I go to Canada. My mates told me that it is hard to earn money and manage study abroad. I will try my best to complete my study. But at least I can settle in Canada.*

While the dream of migration through study is being marketed explicitly by the institute, potential customer/students are navigating the increasingly competitive market by assessing which institutes will give them the returns on their investment. All in all, the institutes understand the market they are operating in and accordingly advertise and provide services that will be attractive to this market. Students' decision-making towards gaining admission, as has been highlighted in this section, is mainly concerned with Canadian migration and settlement. In this sense, the neoliberal market (institutes) attracts students on the basis of marketing programmes, short vocational courses/diplomas and studying as a route to migration.

Commodifying the Punjab-Canada corridor through education

The Punjab-Canada corridor has emerged out of a long history of settlement and a rapidly evolving set of interconnections involving economic, human and political ties between Canada and Punjab. Therefore, the 'education highway' or 'corridor' which has emerged as part of the Punjab-Canada corridor reflects the convergence of these various forces, which are now driving the commodification of education that is taking place. Within the neoliberal vocabulary which is in proliferation, the term 'education space' is commonly used to define where education is being delivered and consumed, which extends beyond the physical university or college campus. I understand the Punjab-Canada corridor in terms of the ways in which the 'education space' is transcending international boundaries through communication technologies and web-based learning but also through the defined markets of consumption and service delivery, such as that between Punjab and Canada. Canada is favourable in comparison to other education destinations largely because of the family choices are based on various factors such as more accessible rules

of immigration, settled communities in Canada making it easier to consider studying or migrating, etc. Therefore, Canada has become a popular destination for students because of both relatively easier immigration rules as well as prospects for settlement beyond their studies in Canada.

Participant 1, a student, directly identified this as a reason for making her selection of where to pursue her studies:

> *I chose this institute because I want to go to Canada. That's why I joined this institute and I will go to Canada after completing this semester. It is easy to settle in Canada after study.*

Participant 3, another student similarly expressed this reason and also compared Canada with other popular destination countries for students, with eventual settlement being the deciding factor in her making her choice:

> *My sister settled in Canada and it will be easy for me. Immigration rules make it easy to get permanent residency because it is not easy in other countries such as England, Australia etc. That's why I chose this college because this college has provision to move to Canada after one year of the course.*

In addition to settlement, prospects for finding part-time work alongside studying was also an influencing factor for Participant 5:

> *Well, Canada is a destination country for study because of immigration rules and it is easy to get part-time work along with study. That's why I chose this institute for study and will go to Canada next semester.*

Some student participants shared similar views in a focus group (in Canada):

> *Yes, Canada is better for study as compared to other countries such as England and Australia because immigration rules are not hard and we can get work permits easily after study."*

Overwhelmingly, from my fieldwork it became clear that the goal of most students is to reach a destination where they can more easily settle and, because of relatives, friends and community already being settled in Canada combined with more relaxed immigration rules, Canada has become a preferred choice. The Punjab-Canada corridor, thus, reflects these dynamics which are not merely shaped by the merits of an educational system attracting students for the design of programmes and appeal on academic grounds, but instead because of the marketability of immigration and settlement prospects. At the point of applying for admission, students are making decisions based on the options that are presented in front of them which consider returns on investment in light of prospects for migration in comparison to other countries. Secondary data shows the rising trends of international students in Canada, in Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

Many student and teacher participants described their appreciation of the college in light of it being 'international.' In this sense, 'international' meant that the style of delivery, course content and selection criteria seemed modelled on the Canadian main campus. However, one senior official expressed uneasiness about the fact that the Canadian campus holds complete control. In this sense, the Punjab branch is just maintaining their rules and regulations on the campus.

> *Full control and power is under the Canadian college. They can change anything and bring new change any time. Sometimes it is hard for us to manage.*

As the fieldwork and data from the Punjab campus have shown, the franchise arrangement between the Canadian college and Punjab institute highlights how the 'internationalisation' agenda is being capitalised upon by different types of actors and agents. Dreams and aspirations to migrate abroad were very central to most students' reasons for studying there. The next section

will focus upon the Canadian institute where, while I was not able to interview administrators there, students reflected upon their experience of the franchising arrangement from start to end.

7.3.2 Views from the other side of the corridor: the Canadian institute

This section highlights the opinions and perceptions of the students who migrated after completing one year of studies in Punjab. When I visited the Canadian campus, the conversations I had with students were strikingly different to those I had had with students in Punjab. As I commented in the previous section about the predominantly upper-middle class profile of the student body on the Punjab campus, this was reflected in the sense of having gained status through admission there which, as we can ascertain, is elevated due to the fee structure which maintains the institute's elite status. However, this elite is largely based on the cultural capital associated with migration and the ability to mobilise resources to invest in this opportunity through the Punjab campus. The Canadian campus students reflected the experience of making the journey from Punjab to Canada. While not all students had come through the same franchise arrangement from Punjab, the views from the students in Canada highlighted how students perceived internationalisation through their journeys down this education corridor. What was most striking what that they reflected a humility and shared their personal stories through a shared experience of struggle rather than status. Parents and relatives were not supporting them financially. They were managing the expenses of their studies by working, and they were fearful that they may not get a job in the profession in Canada related to their studies and may end up continuing in their low-entry employment indefinitely. Therefore, their goals to undertake white colour jobs were measured by the realities of translating their aspirations and aim to gain rights to settlement in Canada. Hence, the status associated with the high fees and opportunities for migration at the Punjab franchise campus were a misleading precursor for their arrival in Canada.

Current students shared the experiences of their peers. Young men and women who had completed their studies and had tried to get jobs in the same profession related to their studies were by and large not successful. They did not have much time because there is a limited timeframe between applying for a work permit and application for permanent residency. One established route for young women is to find a '*rishta*' (marriage proposal) with someone who has permanent residency/citizenship, while a route for young men is to a find job through social networks such as truck driving. The themes that emerged through the fieldwork highlight how the

Punjab-Canada corridor reflects a diffused form of globalisation in internationalisation with these interlinked and overlapping routes to settlement becoming part of the corridor.

As the fieldwork data highlights, education as a trade commodity or service, when it is consumed or purchased, reshapes the student experience of education through the commodification process bringing out other aspects of the education economy not limited to student goals of obtaining cultural capital. The interviews and focus groups bring out the gap between institutional concerns and student concerns with respect to internationalisation, which exemplify how internationalisation, as managed by HEIs, relies on the notion of students as consumers. In the reflections on the Canada fieldwork, I will highlight some of the dynamics, which lie beneath the 'student experience' of internationalisation.

Quality, Affordability and Employability

Fieldwork participants discussed their views about the Canadian institute in terms of teaching and quality of education as an outcome of their investment in the fees. Since internationalisation through franchises and other arrangements has resulted in a move towards more vocational degrees, the tangible benefits of enrolling on a course become more explicit in the marketing of such programmes.

The ways in which quality of education is assessed has earlier been discussed through changing policies of regulation at national and university/college levels. Quality can also be explored qualitatively through the reflections of students. Prospective students, as was discussed in the previous section, weigh up the risks and benefits of investing in the fees in terms of employability and other factors, such as migration. Participant 1, as a student at the Canadian campus, commented:

> *My family are relatively well-off. I am satisfied with my previous institute in Punjab, and I am also doing well in Canada. I have no problems in terms of education, and the focus of this college is more on practical work than theoretical.*

From my fieldwork it was apparent that the students who had arrived from Punjab had aspirations for permanent residency in Canada, and their goal was to complete all of the requirements for settlement in Canada met through the student route. Thus, this franchise arrangement is fulfilling a demand, on the one hand, to increase the international student population in Canada, and, on the other hand, to service a demand on the other side of the corridor for migration and international exposure which is not merely about educational delivery but also about migration advice and facilitation. Through the process of commodification, education in the Punjab-Canada corridor has thus become a service for migration-through-study rather than merely reflectined a 'two-way street', as the OECD (2012: 8) characterises internationalisation. As I noted from my fieldwork, most students do not want to go back to their home country (i.e. India), and most are prepared to find labour or low entry jobs after the completion of their studies which dispels the claims that internationalisation is a 'driver for change and improvement- it should help generate the skills required in the 21st century, spur on innovation and create alternatives while, ultimately, fostering job creation' (OECD, 2012: 8).

As Participant 2 highlighted, most students express their primary aim to settle abroad. Participant 2 as a student in the Canada campus said:

> *Well, we are happy to reach here and quality education is provided by the college. I am just worried about a work permit and getting a skilled job. The job is still okay because I will get work anywhere, even in the unskilled market.*

Participant 3 as a student in Canada campus told me:

> *I have no issue with the teaching style. It is very good but my English is not good. So, that's my mistake. Otherwise, I have no issue with the quality of teaching in this college.*

Most participants in the Canadian institute sample revealed that their families were not supporting them financially. Therefore, it might be assumed that the investment that takes place occurs during the first year when students in the Punjab campus show their sense of heightened status

due to gaining admission in the college. An on-going theme emerged in terms of having to manage and balance work and studies. This theme is interlinked with a previous theme regarding the financing of higher education. At the Canadian institute students explained that on average they attended classes three days a week and that most students worked for the rest of the week. Most also conveyed that this impacted on their study and preparation time for college:

> *It is very tough for me to manage financial stress because I have to work and study together and parents are not ready to send money from India. They expect us to do study and manage finance as much as we can.*(Participant 2)

> *Yes, I am working 4 days from 9am to 4pm and studying 3 days in a week. It is very difficult for me to manage study and work.*

Many students were told that graduates from the institute were not able to get jobs after the completion of their course and that they were working in labour jobs, such as truck driving. While many students said that they knew this was a potential reality for them, residency requirements mean that gaining employment immediately after completing studies on the student visa was essential in order to apply for residency.

From the interviews, two routes emerged in terms of settlement after graduation. The first is to wait and explore skilled jobs after completion of studies, and the second is to start with whatever work students can secure. I observed (and they described) that the second option is best for them to satisfy the residency criteria. Therefore, they feel pressure because they can hardly manage study and work. A clear 'benefit' of internationalisation for most students I spoke to was gaining the returns of residency in Canada. The Canadian government is changing its policy making it easy to get a student visa but not to get a job in the skilled labour market.

> *The Canadian government needs experience in every field but we will be fresh degree holders next year. So it is hard for us to find jobs as we are working hard along with study. If we do not get a job then we will do an unskilled job to get permanent residency in Canada.* (Participant 3)

The international education market has established education as a trade commodity and therefore, it is not surprising that diplomas and 'brain-drain' from sending countries such as India with populations aspiring to migrate, are being marketed within higher education packages. Therefore, as was argued in the literature review, the diffusion of globalisation has high intensity but low impact, which can be seen here in the example of the Punjab-Canada corridor in the ways in which students in franchise arrangements such as the one explored here, can obtain a visa through more easily with the assistance or 'service' of the college but that the service being provided does not guarantee employability.

7.3.3 Student experiences of internationalisation

The 'student experience' has been signalled within the market of HE as the means by which to gauge the satisfaction of service delivery within the education market. Student feedback has become a cornerstone of how HEIs can assess, in addition to other indicators, to what extent customer-students are content or dissatisfied with the services they have purchased. There are two broad arguments about the effects of internationalisation. The first is that that internationalisation is merely a new means for exporting countries of higher education, such as the UK, US and Australia, to expand their markets by promoting the agenda and embarking on new schemes and partnerships. The other argument, more positive view, is that internationalisation contributes to capacity-building in developing countries in helping them to promote and expand the supply for the increasing demand for higher education. My position thus far has been to highlight the market-oriented HE agenda of international agencies and higher education institutions. With an understanding that the terminology used by HEIs and in internationalisation policies reflects the market-driven principles, this section will turn those terms on their head (as was also done in the previous section) in challenging the assumption that the market or privatisation is the only means by which to assess and examine the higher education sector and its 'customer-student experiences'.

Three student experiences of internationalisation will be explored here in order to analyse what the outcomes of internationalisation arrangements. In order to critically engage with the market principles which are forthrightly written into collaborations, recruitment strategies, and marketing campaigns, this section sheds light on how market principles have fundamentally shaped students'

aspirations, expectations and outcomes of education through internationalisation but that the obstacles and experiences of struggle highlight that the market approach to education is not in tune with the demands and requirements of students.

Student experience 1: Migration dreams and the worry of wasting family resources

I interviewed Brar at the Punjab campus. Brar belonged to a lower-middle class family for whom the fees were a big investment. He completed his schooling from a state school through the Punjab School Education Board. At the time of the interview, he was doing an Electronic Engineering diploma. His family managed to meet his fees because they wanted him to settle abroad. Therefore, Brar and his family sought advice about the college before investing Rs. 10 lakh for the fees.

He said his parents were satisfied with the arrangement and thought that it was a proper route for him to progress. They put full faith that their son would complete his studies and settle in Canada. However, he admitted that his struggles started when his parents found it difficult to pay the fees.

> *My family can't afford to spend such a huge amount but they did it… it was not easy but I was sure to get a student visa directly. But it was not an easy decision for my family.*

While he was positive about his experience at the college, he was expressed worry and fear about his future. His parents had spent Rs. 10 lakh, and if he is not able to migrate to Canada after one year, then that money will have been wasted.

> *The college has a condition for all students to transfer into the main campus after one year. If a student can't get a transfer after one year, the student will not be able to complete the diploma. It is a risk. My parents have taken the same risk. It is a pressure on my mind…whether I can make it or not.*

Student experience 2: Work/study imbalance: The stresses of employability and settlement

This experience is of Kumar, a student who went from Punjab to the main Canadian campus after one year on the programme. He discussed his future aims and obstacles being faced as he proceeded to attempt to achieve those goals. Kumar embarked on a computer diploma in a direct collaborative institute. He belongs to an upper-middle class family who were able to afford the fees. His parents gave him all study and living expenses, and he lived in a hostel when he was in Punjab. He cleared the IELTS exam at the second attempt with the help of institute guidance. He was an average student in school, lacking good English skills, even at the time of the IELTS, despite having completed his CBSE board in English.

Kumar main aim was to settle abroad. He explored the possibility of a Canadian student visa and learned that there was less chance of gaining a visa directly. The direct collaborative college was giving more assurance that he would obtain a visa.

> *I don't have a goal to become a doctor or engineer. I wanted to settle in Canada: that was my goal. I was encouraged by my knowledge of relatives who live in Canada. I would like to become like them. Therefore, I need only permanent residency and this college was the way to reach Canada easily."*

Kumar gained admission in the franchise institute. He was happy with the environment and found many good friends in college. Even the student hostel was very good in comparison with other institutions in Punjab. He focused on passing all his exams and wanted to go to Canada immediately, after one year. He worked hard in his studies to fulfil his goal and wanted to find a job in the same field. As a result he passed all the exams and IELTS. After one year, he got approval from the main campus and also cleared the immigration process. Worldwide Immigration Consultancy Services (WWICS) have collaboration with this college. WWICS helped him to prepare a file for his visa.

> *WWICS gave me support to clear the immigration process. This is how they attract students to this college. Because they helped us in everything such as IELTS exam, prepared files for*

the visa and help if we had any problems in the visa process.

Kumar said he was very happy to arrive in Canada in 2015. He said the quality of education was good in the college but his family has told him to work for his fee and living expenses. Basically, his family stopped supporting him financially. That is why he was, at the time of the interview, doing part-time work alongside his studies. He commented on how difficult it was for him to manage work and study together but that he is persevering.

Students can work 20 hours per week. My class is only 3 times in a week. So I started work for the rest of the week. I don't have a single rest day. It is very tough for me to manage the financial burden along with the study. I never did work along with study in Punjab. I am working from 9am to 5pm, 4 days a week.

Kumar explained that he is working hard now so that he can settle in Canada and have a good future. While he was still studying in Punjab, he certainly wanted to settle in Canada as a permanent resident but he also wanted to pursue his career in the same field as his studies. Many of his friends who have completed their studies are working in other unskilled jobs. Kumar wants to continue in his chosen profession.

When I joined this college in 2014, I didn't have any goal. I was struggling with my studies. That's why I want to do a job in the same field now. But I get scared sometimes to see my friends who are doing labour jobs after completion of their studies, in order to get permanent residency, even though they wanted to pursue careers as skilled workers in the subjects they had studied. But they didn't get jobs and their only option is to do anything for permanent residency. As a result, I have fear in my mind about my future.

Student experience 3: Education for (un) employability and misplaced skills

This student was interviewed in Canada just as he was completing his course. Kamal belonged to an upper-middle class family and gained admission in Punjab in 2012. He wanted to become an engineer and to settle abroad. His parents were able to pay for his education and living costs. He

was admitted for an electronic engineering course in 2012. His IELTS score was 7.5 because he had completed his schooling in English.

He passed every exam in his first year. He then transferred to the Canadian main campus after one year. He and his family were excited when he reached Canada and felt that the investment was being reaped. His parents supported him emotionally, as he was alone in Canada, and they didn't support him financially. That is why he started part-time work, alongside his studies.

> *It was a tough time when I started work along with my study. I didn't get time for rest. This way, I considered it a tough time.*

Despite this, he completed his studies and achieved a good percentage. Kamal's final mission was to get a job in Canada. He got a work permit for 3 years and applied for electrical engineering jobs, with no luck. He continued to search for engineering jobs and also explored the rules for gaining permanent residency but his financial situation did not allow him more time to find a skilled job.

> *I tried my best to get a skilled job but every employee needed experience and I was a fresh graduate. As I was unable to get a skilled job, I tried to find any job to get permanent residency.*

Eventually he got a job as a truck driver. He was very unhappy with the work and said that he slowly sank into depression. He applied for and gained residency after three years, which, he said, was a positive stage in his life. However, as he stated, he is an engineer who is driving a truck in Canada.

> *I was feeling that there is no point in spending on education. I could do that without a degree. But I relaxed when I received a letter of immigration and I got permanent residency in Canada.*

7.4 Conclusion: Internationalisation as neoliberalism in practice

The global higher education market reflects the 21st century's articulations of David Held et al's (1999) notion of diffused globalisation. As reflected in the qualitative fieldwork data in this chapter, diffused globalisation is exhibited through the franchise arrangements coming out of the drive towards the neoliberal principles of internationalisation. In this way, internationalisation reflects, through its emphasis on free markets, free trade, and private property, neoliberalism in practice. Starting with high intensity as institutes based in the UK, US, Canada and Australia focus their efforts towards developing countries by offering educational enrolment opportunities and promising students the opportunity to travel abroad and, in doing so, help in preparing files and coaching for the IELTS test. In this respect, these institutes are providing a service to students by bringing them to Canada after one year and also succeeding in collecting fees in order to generate further revenue for their own country.

The process of neoliberalism has involved what David Harvey has called the 'creative destruction' of institutional frameworks, social relations, labour structures, reproductive activities, attachments to land, and much more (2005: 3). Whereas the previous model of higher education in India had been under the control of government, higher education has become a business model and a means by which to collect revenue from international students. This chapter described the neoliberal influence on higher education in the form of internationalisation. One outcome is that new markets within higher education are created for those who can afford certain routes within the sector, which cater for elites, and those with capital and assets to afford high fee structures. As was illustrated in here in the franchise arrangement between the Punjab and Canadian institutes, we explored how internationalisation is experienced by the 'customers' of this 'service' across the Punjab branch campus and the main Canadian college. The 'creative destruction' of values and social relations could be most sharply seen in the raised aspirations through the status they feel they had achieved by students in Punjab at the time of their enrolment there and in the breakdown of those expectations and support as they arrived and struggled in Canada.

While the process of providing an intercultural and international dimension to the Canadian college by developing a Punjab branch campus appears to be admirably broadening and internationalising, the objective of this type of internationalisation is to convert higher education

into a profit-making trade commodity through commercialisation (Knight 2007). The aim of the Punjab campus branch is to control the college's rules and regulation and to ensure a smooth operation in receiving new in-takes and processing students' visas and transcripts. However, while the practices of internationalisation, which appear to be facilitating student's mobility and global exposure, disguise the struggles felt by students for whom the challenges and obstacles faced are often not accounted for. My focus in this chapter on internationalisation as neoliberalism in practice has highlighted how the 'student experience' of internationalisation reveals much about the aspirations, expectations, experiences and, often, disappointments felt by students embarking on this route of internationalisation within higher education (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). This chapter has been an attempt to see beyond the neoliberal vocabulary, which has come to prominence in promoting internationalisation which fails to speak about such experiences of these processes (De Wit 2011).

As the participants in this chapter have highlighted, students' dreams of studying in Canada and settling there are different to the realities which face them once they reach. Most students have two major ambitions: One is to reach Canada and the other is to land a white-colour job in their field of training. As was found at the Canadian campus, students who have arrived in Canada are not getting the jobs they want. Therefore, 'producers' or higher education institutes are bringing students to Canada in the name of 'internationalisation' in order to generate revenue but are not being able to deliver or fulfil students' aspirations for finding jobs. Students are not finding work in their own fields of training but instead find work in other jobs and trades where there is demand in Canada, for example, as chefs, electricians, plumbers, long-haul truck drivers, butchers, food and beverage servers, cleaning staff, oil field workers and fruit pickers. Thus, the benefits of this process of internationalisation are being felt elsewhere in the labour market and not where the promises and aspirations for skilled jobs have been made. Ultimately, it seems, both the Canadian labour market and higher education system are being injected with both revenue and human capital.

There is not much statistical evidence linking the relationship between international student mobility and the international labour market. Some studies indicate the direct relationship between student mobility and the international labour market (Parey & Waldinger, 2010) while others have focused on the probability of students working abroad after study (Oosterbeek and Webbink 2011). As the qualitative interviews and focus groups showed in this chapter, students

expressed fears of job insecurity and not gaining the returns on the investment of the fees. Most students are getting work in unskilled professions but not getting jobs on the basis of their academic qualifications. Preference is given to Canadian citizens and to those who have Canadian work experience. Agudelo-Suarez & Gil-González (2009) argued that discrimination against immigrants is the main basis for the downward mobility that can be seen amongst migrant populations in not getting jobs on the basis of their education and skills. As the student experiences highlighted, students are working alongside their studies, but this work is purely to obtain permanent residency and to pay their fees. Therefore, students are contributing labour and fees in supporting the commodification of higher education while not meeting their own personal and professional goals.

Many thinkers, such as Giroux (2003) and Scott (2006), believe that the higher education system is changing by nature and purpose with the global forces of the neoliberal market. The global market of higher education is shifting scope and operating market ideologies in the higher education system where it is viewed as a commodity and students are customers. Therefore, the customers (students) want the best product in the form of courses/diplomas, invest capital for the maximum profit and highest rates of returns, and are not investing merely locally. Many customers wish to gain international qualifications, so global capital is invested in higher education where cross-border activities are very common.

Internationalisation programmes understand the market of international students and capitalise on the demand by providing services in order to collect revenue from them in the form of international fees and migration advice, such as in the case of the Punjab campus where students seek advice and guidance. Consumers are attracted to this franchise because studying at the Canadian college is a route to settlement in Canada. The franchise arrangement is a marketing ploy and gives a positive image to prospective students insofar as there is more chance of obtaining a visa and less chance of refusal. This route is very impressive for upper-middle class families because only they can afford it. That is the impact of the neoliberal market oriented higher education: it is not open to anyone, any more. This type of education, like a commodity, is solely for those customers who can pay. As Bourdieu highlights, social reproduction creates inequalities in educational attainment because of the desire of the elite to provide education for their children. In this study, upper-middle class families are generating inequality by educating their children through routes only available to the wealthy. As Gamson (1997) also highlights, the

rich are getting richer in the neoliberal higher education market. The process of this market is changing the attitudes of students for whom the focus is less about studies but more about the aspirations and ambitions to study and settle abroad. This research discovered that the Punjab students' concern is not about quality education. They were impressed by the facilities in the form of physical infrastructure, technology devices to help them in IELTS exams, and preparation for their visa application files.

As this chapter has highlighted, the process of international education activity is very intensive and extensive but its impacts are very low. In brief, students are attracted to international education mainly because of the aspirations for future employment, which means they want to work as skilled migrants following their study but the actuality is that they are paying high fees but are not likely to get related jobs to their courses of study. Thus, internationalisation may be generating revenue for higher education institutes and franchise arrangements, but there are few work prospects in sight for students who are investing their hopes, ambitions, family savings, parental aspirations and futures into the dreams of higher education through internationalisation.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.0 An introduction to my conclusions

I began this thesis by reflecting on the political opposition to the privatisation of higher education at my own university and in Delhi at the occupation of the UGC buildings in late 2015, as I began the writing up phase of my research. Student politics, one of the last areas of resistance to the privatising forces of education, continues to speak against the neoliberal turn that has taken place which my study has attempted to address. While my research questions may seem to be remote to those student occupations of late 2015, I believe that higher education has entered a highly politicised phase, despite the penetration of market logic and competition through neoliberalism.

While the privatisation of higher education across different national contexts has been uneven, the global scale of internationalisation is unprecedented in terms of the types of arrangements and institutions that have come up since education became a trade commodity and identified as a service by GATS in 2007. As has been noted in Chapter 5, the notion of the public higher education system has been transformed into market-oriented systems of higher education. International agencies such as WTO, the World Bank and IMF each agreed on three suggestions for global HE, already discussed in detail:

- The state should withdraw or makes cuts to financial support for education
- There should be an expansion of the private sector in HE which should be treated as a private commodity
- Education should be treated as a trade in the service sector and a global private commodity with different processes of internationalisation introduced

While the students occupying the UGC and SOAS buildings may have had another conception of what higher education represents as a ‘right’ and a ‘public good’, the vocabulary and indeed

function of education in itself has been dramatically transformed, unsettling the opposition to privatisation and neoliberalism's ascent within higher. In Chapter Two I highlighted globalisation as a contested concept which has been creatively adapted to fit the neoliberal ideology to promote 'free' and 'open' markets which encourage and support private sector interests and the defense of capital's dominance. However, even more specifically, as I have stated in Chapters 6 and 7, internationalisation policies in higher education have become the practices of neoliberal globalization. Throughout the thesis, I have argued that neoliberal ideology has become embedded and made implicit within internationalisation strategies and that the language and concepts about education have been shaped to match this turn. The marketization of higher education, or the creation of an *education 'mandi'* as I characterised it in Chapter 6, has had profound effects. On the one hand, the expansion and penetration of the market into previously non-commercial areas has reshaped how education is being viewed, accessed and delivered. On the other hand, the values of education have themselves become part of the 'creative destruction' by neoliberalism's rise which should not go unnoticed. While the impacts are significant, I have argued that these influences show 'diffused globalisation' due to the low impact on overall society, despite the grand claims and marketing of degrees and diplomas made by internationalisation strategies and programmes. Thus, the profound changes are also ones which are not having the types of impacts that might be expected and often result in extreme disappointment by those who have 'bought' or 'purchased' education in this competitive market. Internationalisation is limited in its scope and impact, largely due to its embracement of marketization and revenues over quality and relevance to employment and employability demands and needs. My thesis puts into serious doubt the projections made in the OECD report by Henard et al (2012: 8) in which the 'expected benefits of internationalisation' are outlined in terms of skills and innovation:

> *One of the main goals of internationalised higher education is to provide the most relevant education to students, who will be the citizens, entrepreneurs and scientists of tomorrow. Internationalisation is not an end in itself, but a driver for change and improvement- it should help generate the skills required in the 21st century, spur on innovation and create alternatives while, ultimately, fostering job creation. Yet the current economic climate calls for a closer examination of the tangible benefits of internationalisation for the economies and societies of, and beyond, the OECD.*

As Chapters 6 and 7 both highlighted, if the goals of higher education are to provide trained skilled labour, improve the standard of living, increase economic growth, reduce poverty, and increase employment, then the benefits and outcomes of the global higher education economy are yet to be realized globally, not least in Punjab and in the Punjab-Canada corridor.

The main contributions of this study have been framed around my research aims, with which I began the thesis:

1. To make a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in relation to higher education in India

2. To identify and explain how stakeholders are shaping and engaging with internationalisation processes in higher education in India

3. To make policy recommendations for key stakeholders and governments in Punjab and India in relation to the findings of the research

In this respect, my study has made several findings in terms of developing a better understanding of the forces of neoliberalism on the education 'mandi' in Punjab, the evolving structure of higher education in India, the changing value of higher education under neoliberalism, as well as how internationalisation strategies are being experienced on the ground by 'customers-students'.

8.1 The state of education: from 'public good' to 'trade commodity'

Under the 'free' market of education, there are many contradictory processes at play. For instance, the state under neoliberalism has become an enforcer of capitalism through an adherence to the principles of growth, capital and withdrawal from the public social sector. Thus, rather playing the role of defender of education as a 'public good' it instead acts as a regulator of education as a 'trade commodity' in ensuring smooth service delivery.

The state has been withdrawing its support of public funds to state universities in Punjab. While the quantitative results presented in this study indicate the trends of public funds in Punjab pre- and post-liberalisation, Punjab shows different trends in technical and higher education. For

example, technical education increased and higher education decreased over different periods of time. Higher education expenditure increased in 1966–67, which was also the period of green revolution development in Punjab. The pre-liberalization period indicates the period of social welfare where state education was the priority sector and the state had responsibility for education development. As Chapter 5 highlighted, this has not merely been about a shift in funding. It has resulted in a transformation of the institutional habitus of higher education.

At the same time, the qualitative data in this study has indicated the problems which are faced by state universities due to decreasing public funds. As the interviews with government officials, vice-chancellors, teachers and students at state universities highlighted, the decreasing of funding to public universities is directly reducing the quality of education provision. The available quantitative data shows that India is expanding its technical institutes in terms of the number of institutions and even investing public funds in this direction. However, while the Punjab government is withdrawing its funding to state universities, it is simultaneously becoming more involved and perhaps, as several vice-chancellors and teachers reflected, interfering in the decision-making processes within state universities. Thus, the reduction of public funding has resulted in heightened state intervention without the guiding principles of access and equity which traditionally drive the agendas of public universities. Thus, it was noted in Chapter 5 that quality is declining in state universities while equity is being overshadowed by the pressure to offer self-financing courses in order to generate revenue without much attention to faculty research culture or attempts to ensure equity and access. In line with Bourdieu's arguments around the social reproduction of inequality through education, new forms of unequal distribution are being created through the market of higher education. State universities are suffering due to the cuts in public spending. Meanwhile, the Punjab government is actively supporting the expansion of technical education institutes without government initiatives to provide jobs or skills training for graduates. Without job prospects, the increase in the number of institutions and number of students is creating further pressure on the economy by producing graduates without a labour market for graduates to be absorbed into. The burden of paying fees is distributed to parents of the students, and education is not treated as a social welfare or public good. This is what encapsulates the transformation of the institutional habitus. Neither are states universities able to ensure equity and access nor are they able to compete with private institutes in providing education which appears attractive and competitive. The era of "new education" is for those who are willing or able to pay or to become in debt in taking a risk that the investment will reap the rewards.

8.2 The value of education in a mixed market: private and public universities

There has been an unprecedented increase and expansion of private universities and institutions in India and Punjab more specifically. Establishing a private university is under state control in India, and the first private university in Punjab emerged in 2005 under the state act. There are 13 private universities in Punjab, and when the Punjab Private University bill was passed in 2010 by the state legislation act without seriously considering the impact of private universities in Punjab. As mentioned, the transformation of the institutional habitus has not merely affected state universities but it has also created private universities as a 'field' in which class inequalities and social relations are reproduced and integrated into the market system of higher education in Punjab. As reflected upon by government officials in Chapter 6 private institutes are set with the task to raise the GER by increasing the total number of students in aiming to achieve the goal of 30 percent GER by 2020. However, as my sample of three private institutions highlighted, many private universities have become extensions of family businesses in Punjab. In this sense, education is treated as a business commodity, students are clients, there is a generally lower quality of education, admission is open to individuals with sufficient funds to pay the high fees, and students are attracted by high quality physical infrastructure and other facilities such as game centres and shopping areas. However, some private universities are run by educationists instead of businesses. Consequently, they have different visions, though they also need to generate resources for their universities, but they consider quality of education as a priority.

The findings of this study also focused on how families in Punjab are understanding the changes that private institutions are bringing to higher education. This study identified the value of higher education and parents' economic capital, many of whom prefer to spend this capital on their child's education without considering returns. The study found two main types of students a) those who have family businesses to work in after completing their studies and b) those who find it difficult to pay fees and intend to get a job after completion of degree. The students who have financial support or businesses are not as worried about the future. However for those without opportunities or economic or social capital, the poor quality of education further contributes to the rise in unemployment in Punjab. Interestingly in Punjab, job preference is given to those who have completed degrees from government institutions despite the declining quality that has been reflected in my study.

The family is considered as the decision-making unit regarding the selection of university, shaping goals for their children's future, providing financial contribution, assessing the risk, and making the investment. The higher education market of Punjab is not satisfying the criteria of a perfect market such as Pareto Optimality conditions might suggest. In fact, the market-orientation of higher education contributes to the selling of cultural capital rather than provide employability. On the other hand, the desire of the middle classes to gain cultural capital through investment of economic capital also presents the opportunity to private stake-holders to open private universities in Punjab. The vision of many private universities is that of a business model. This further increases inequalities by opening the floodgates to those students who can pay fees but who may not have gained admission through the state selection system. Despite the reputation of many private universities providing low quality education, some parents and students opt for private universities as they are interested in not only getting a degree but also in gaining cultural capital.

Another contradictory position of private institutions is that many teachers I interviewed expressed that they are only working in private institutions because they are waiting to obtain jobs in government institutes. Meanwhile, for government jobs, the state is giving preference to those candidates who gained degrees from state universities. This indicates that while private institutions are helping to meet the GER targets, the value of education across state and private universities is changing, with private institutions carrying certain cultural capital for families able to afford while state universities having other forms of capital in terms of status within the government sector.

8.3 Internationalisation in the Punjab-Canada corridor: Franchising the aspirations for education through the dreams of migration

Internationalisation strategies and programmes understand the market of international students and capitalise on the demands. The franchise arrangement between the Canadian institute and Punjab campus highlights the ways in which an internationalisation route can be created out of such demand, in this case, to gain international experience, which, in turn, is tied to the desires to migrate. On the Punjab campus students seek advice and guidance with regards to getting the student visa and clearing the English proficiency exams. This route appears far more legitimate than other routes of settlement abroad and is thus sought after by middle and upper-middle class

families because they understand it as an investment with returns. Through the Punjab-Canada corridor, middle and upper-middle class families are participating in the higher education market by educating their children through routes only available to the wealthy. These types of franchise arrangements are shaping the value of private education for whom the goal is less about academic attainment but about the ambitions to settle abroad. The teachers and students are focused on migrating students instead of providing quality education. As a result, the students interviewed at the Punjab campus were found to be experiencing the heightened cultural capital that their admission had given while students who had reached Canada in their second year were found to be struggling because of financial issues. Consequently, they needed to work and manage their fees and living expenses with a virtual absence of family financial support. The family investment, therefore, ended after students had reached Canada and thus the individualisation of the 'student experience' was a point of stress and worry for most of these students. The second, and perhaps more significant source of concern for students in Canada on the franchise programme was that of employability in jobs related to their courses. Consistently in the interviews, participants commented that it is easier to obtain permanent residency than to obtain a job in a skilled market. Thus, the franchise arrangement is both generating revenues through fees in Canada as well as providing a steady flow of what could questionably be called unskilled labour.

There is a stark difference between the aspirations of students when they are in India and the realities, which they face when they arrive at the main campus in Canada. Many obtain permanent residency but have to sacrifice their career goals because there are no career opportunities for them in skilled market. Conversely, while India is facing a 'brain drain', as such students leave India, there is no 'brain gain' in the context of skilled migrants to Canada.

When higher education became considered a global trade service commodity under GATT in 2007, vast changes were on the horizon for higher education globally. This study has looked at these immense changes through a focus on the state of Punjab. While the state adopted the policies, which were being promoted by the World Bank and IMF, it is still early days to see the longer-term implications that the Punjab Private Universities Act will have.

The policies to reduce public funding, in line with the withdrawal of the state, has seen a reduction in the quality of state universities through a loosening of admissions criteria and a raising of the number of state universities to generate resources for state universities. The state withdraws only their share in the form of funds but the Punjab state government still intervenes in the appointment decisions of teachers in all state universities and other decisions. The Punjab state, however, wants to be removed from providing funds for state universities and gives examples of private universities' as generating their own resources. The Punjab state cannot intervene in the decisions of private universities, but the Punjab state has intervened in the decisions of the state universities even though state universities are autonomous bodies. The other contribution of the Punjab state is the expansion of technical education by raising the number of institutes and funds. Employability targets, however, remain low for those students who are completing technical courses. They either need to leave Punjab or India to find jobs because of lack of industry in Punjab.

The expansion of private universities is other policy recommendation of the World Bank, which is adopted by the Punjab state without considering its consequences. Punjab has 13 private universities, and the Punjab state legislature passed a bill for the expansion of private universities based on two categories. The majority of private universities run as family business, while the rest are run by educationists who opened universities because of demand and supply issues of the institutions. These demand and supply issues created opportunities for those who want to expand and extend their family business into the education sector. These family business institutes are providing low quality education to those who can afford the fees, which has already been discussed above.

Internationalisation is a guise for neoliberalism, which is another key finding of this thesis as higher education is now treated as a global trade commodity and the language, values, and conception of education as a service rather than a public good makes its very promotion a part of the system in which it is circulating. As Chapter 7 highlighted, the franchise arrangement between a Canadian college and a Punjab campus showed how neoliberalism has permeated and penetrated the aspiration and goals of students, parents, and societies. Therefore, in a context where opportunities for out-migration are in high demand, such a franchise brings into focus what services are actually being advertised and provided. Student experiences of the franchise arrangement are revealing of how such franchise arrangements and the dreams of

internationalisation pan out in actuality. Most students who migrate to Western countries are students struggle to obtain skilled jobs. Therefore, franchise arrangements are the best routes for migrations and to establish trade-offs between developed and developing nations to build up contacts on a global level. However, there is no assurance in terms of quality or in terms of employability.

8.4 Policy Recommendations

While this study has overall been an exploratory and analytical one, my engagement with higher education policy and various international and national bodies provides some scope to make policy recommendations, albeit with a view that they are based on a small-scale study such as mine.

The first recommendation is for the state to focus on the issue of quality in the education sector. Public universities require continued and sustained funding in order for them to meet their particular directives around access, equity and quality. It must also be acknowledged that public universities are at risk of compromising their once admired quality of education because their focus is now towards generating funds through private means. Secondly, even though there may be a need to increase the number of institutes, this should be done without sacrificing the quality of education. The government should consider improving the quality of education in private universities and being more vigilant in monitoring and regulating private universities to this end. In particular, private universities should not act as a 'family business'. There must be some provision for quality assurance from a governmental perspective. Additionally, UGC or another central government body should have some authority to check on physical infrastructure and academic quality in private universities. Thirdly, there is also need to have more clear guidelines and restrictions for the opening of franchise institutes. The state of Punjab has increased the number of institutes and public funds for the expansion of technical institutes but has not matched this with the appropriate regulation and quality control.

While being critical of neoliberalism from the outset, this study is, however, not completely dismissing the notion of public- private partnerships in the higher education sector in Punjab. On

the basis of the fieldwork conducted, I would argue that pure state or pure private systems of higher education are not possible. On the one hand, there is a need to increase the number of institutions because of the growing demand of higher education in Punjab which private interests provide important contributions in terms of investment and innovation. Meanwhile, the involvement of the private sector needs to not only have effective state control for quality assurance and equity but also to have policy leadership and vision which only a public body can and should deliver and direct.

There is also a need to improve industry links with higher education institutions to provide relevant jobs to those students who have technical degrees. This would serve the purpose of keeping skilled graduates in Punjab rather than losing them through such routes as the Punjab-Canada corridor where their skills are not being availed of in the skilled job market. In doing so, the Punjab government should consider the employability of students who are getting technical degrees within Punjab and India in order to make certain that the benefits of education, whether it be through private, public, or internationalisation programmes, are felt in places and ways that are impactful. Finally, there is a need for an infrastructure to be created for universities and institutes for research and development, something which is not occurring systematically at present. Teachers and scholars, in order to participate in research at local and global levels, will need to have access to knowledge and to participate in knowledge production if India and Punjab intend to participate in the global higher education economy on their own terms and not merely to consume education as fee-paying exporters of students to other countries.

EPILOGUE

I end this PhD thesis with a note on my own position in relation to this study. As a student, I first embarked on my journey through the rural, Punjabi medium primary and secondary system, then through the Indian state university system through my BSc, MSc/MPhil degrees at GNDU and JNU respectively, and finally at SOAS as an international student. Even though I did not partake in the education 'mandi' of the Punjab-Canada corridor, I witnessed it first-hand through the experiences of my classmates and contemporaries and, of course, through my research. However, as I sit in Toronto completing this thesis in the summer of 2017, I also am very much aware that my own job prospects are not certain and that I am now also part of the large pool of 'brain drain'/'brain gain' graduate-migrants with aspirations of gaining employment which is relevant to my programme of study. Regardless of what the future holds, I intend to continue to write and reflect on the transformations that the expansion and internationalisation of higher education has had globally as well as on Punjab and its diaspora, which I am now a part of.

Bibliography

Abrol, D. (2005). 'Commercialisation of Higher Education: Implications of the GATS 2000 Negotiations'. *Social Scientist, Debating Education,* 33(9/100), pp.75-89.

Agarwal, P. (2006). *Higher Education in India: The Need for Change.* Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, Working Paper, no 180.

Agudelo-Suárez A. Gil-González D. Ronda-Pérez E. Porthé V. Paramio-Pérez G. García A. M. , & Garí A . (2009). 'Discrimination, work and health in immigrant populations in Spain'. *Social Science & Medicine,* 68, pp.1866–1874.

Altbach, P. G. (1968). 'Student politics and higher education in India'. *Daedalus, 97*(1), pp.254–273.

Altbach, P.G. (1997). *Student Politics in America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction.

Altbach, P.G. (2004). 'Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World'. *Tertiary Education and Management,* 10(1), pp.3-25.

Altbach, P. G. (2006). 'Globalisation and the university: Realities in an unequal world'. In J. J. F. Forest & P. G. Altbach, ed., *International Handbook of Higher Education* 1, pp. 121–140. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Altbach, Philip G. and Jane Knight. (2007). 'The Internationalisation of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities'. *Journal of Studies in International Education* ,11(3/ 4), pp. 290- 305.

Ambert, M., Adler, P.A., Adler, P. and Detzner, D.F. (1995). 'Understanding and Evaluating Qualitative Research'. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 57(4), pp.879-893.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Appadurai, A. (1997). 'Fieldwork in the Era of Globalisation'. *Anthropology and Humanism,* 22(1).

Apple, M. (2001). *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*. New York, London: Routledge, Falmer.

Arum, S. & Van De Water, J. (1992). 'The need for a definition of international education in US Universities'. In Klasek, C.B., ed., *Bridges to the Future: Strategies for Internationalising Higher Education*. Carbondale: The AIEA.

Babu, Suresh G.S. (2010). 'Emerging Challenges of Equality: Private Educational Sector in Kerala' in Yagati Chinna Rao and Sudhakara Karakoti, ed., *Exclusion and Discrimination: Concepts, Perspectives and Challenges*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers

Bagulia, A. M. (2004). *Kothari commission*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Baker, D. (1994). *Doing Social Research*. 2nd eds. New York: McGrew –Hill.

Balachandran, G. and S. Subrahmanyam (2005). 'On the History of Globalisation and India: Concepts, Measure and Debates'. In J. Assayag and C.J. Fuller, ed., *Globalizing India: Perspectives from Below,* Anthem Press: London, pp. 17-46.

Ballard, R. (1994). 'The Growth and Changing Character of Sikh Presence in Britain'. In Harold G. Coward, John Russell Hinnells, Raymond Brady Williams, ed., *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States.* State University of New York Press.

Bashir, Sajitha. (2007). *Trends in International Trade in Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Accessed June 20, 2012.

Bassey, M. (1995). 'On the kinds of research in educational settings'. In Hammersley, M. ed., (2007) *Educational Research and Evidence-Based Practice*. London: Sage.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Sage: New Delhi.

Beck, U. (2000). *What is Globalisation?*.Cambridge: Polity Press

Beerkens, H.J.J.G. (2004). *Global Opportunities and Institutional Embeddedness:* Higher Education Consortia in Europe and Southeast Asia. Center for Higher Education Policy Studies, University of Twente.

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1991). *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin Books.

Blair, T. (1999). *DFES*. Press Release.18 June 1999.

Blomgren, Anna-Maria (1997). *Nyliberal politisk filosofi. En kritisk analys av Milton Friedman, Robert Nozick och F. A. Hayek.* Nora: Bokförlaget Nya Doxa.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Second ed. Sage: London.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1986). 'The Forms of Capital'. In Richardson, John G., ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Wacquant, Loic J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1998). *Contre-feux: Propos pour servir à la résistance contre l'invasion néo-libérale.* Paris: Éditions Liber.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1998a). L'essence du néolibéralisme. Le Monde diplomatique: Mars

Bourdieu, P. (2005).*The Social Structures of the Economy*. Polity: Cambridge.

Braedley, Susan and Meg Luxton, eds. (2010). *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. ISBN 978-0-7735-3692-0. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 241.

Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002). 'Cities and the geographies of actually existing neoliberalism'. *Antipode* 34(3), pp. 349-379

Bruch, T. & Barty, A. (1998). 'Internationalising British Higher Education: Students and Institutions'. In Scott, P.ed., *The Globalisation of Higher Education*. Buckingham: OUP and SRHE, pp. 18–31.

Brewerton, P., and Millward, L. (2001). *Organisational Research Methods*, London: Sage.

Burrell, Gibson and Morgan, Gareth (1979). *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis*. Hants: Ashgate.

Byres, T.J. (1980). 'The Green Revolution's Second Phase'. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 7(2).

Byres, T.J., Crow, B. and M-W.Ho (1983). *The Green Revolution in India*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Callinicos, A. (2006). *Universities in a Neoliberal World.* Bookmarks Publications: London.

Campbell, John L. and Ove K. Pedersen, eds. (2001). *The Rise of Neoliberalism and Institutional Analysis.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Carnoy, M. (1999). 'Globalisation and Educational Reform: What Planners Need to Know'. *International Institute of Educational Planning*. Report No.63, Paris.

Castells, M. (2001). 'Information technology and global capitalism'. In Hutton, W. and Giroux, H. A.,eds., *On The Edge: Living with Global Capitalism.* Vintage: London.

Chen, C.H., and Zimitat, C. (2006). 'Understanding Taiwanese Students' Decision-making Factors Regarding Australia International Higher Education'. *International Journal of Educational Managemen*t, 20(2), pp.91-100.

Chen, L.H. (2007). 'Choosing Canadian Graduate Schools from Afar: East Asian students' perspectives'. *Higher Education,*54(5), pp.759-780

Cheung, C. K., Yuen, W. W., Yuen, Y. M., & Cheng, Y. C. (2011). 'Strategies and policies for Hong Kong's higher education in Asian markets, Lessons from the United Kingdom, Australia, and Singapore'. *International Journal of Educational Management*, *25*(2), pp.144-163.

Chitnis, Suma (1999). 'The Transformation of an Imperial Colony into an Advanced Nation'. In Altbach, Philip G. and Patti McGill Peterson, ed., *India in Comparative Perspective' in Higher Education in the 21st Century: Global Challenge and National Response*. IIE Research Report Number Twenty-nine.

Chatterjee, P. (1993). *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chattopadhyay, S. (2009). The Market in Higher Education: Concern for Equity and Quality. *Economic and Political Weekly* 4251, pp.259.

Chomsky, N. (1999). *Profit over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order.* New York: Seven Stories Press.

Chopra, R. & Jeffery, P.(2005*). Education regimes in contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications

Choudhary,S.K. (2008). Higher Education in India: A Socio-Historical Journey from Ancient Period to 2006-2007. *Journal of Educational Enquiry*, 8(1), pp.50–72.

Choudaha R., Orosz K., Chang L. (2012). *Not All International Students Are The Same: Understanding Segments, Mapping Behavior*. New York: World Education Services

Clough, P. (2002) *Narratives and Fictions in Educational Research*, Buckingham: Open University.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, L. (2000). *Research Methods in Education*. 5th ed. London: Routledge Falmer.

Coleman, J.S. (1988). 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, Supplement: Organisations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure, pp. S95-S120.

Collis, J and Hussey, R. (2009). *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students.* 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Thousand Oaks, (Calif): Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications Inc, Thousand Oaks.

Creswell, J.W. and V.L. Plano Clark. (2007). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousands Oaks, C.A.: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J.W. (2014) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cros, J. (1950). *Le "néo-libéralisme" et la révision du libéralisme*. Thèse Droit. Toulouse: Imprimerie Moderne.

Cronin, A. (2008)' Focus Group'. In N. Gilbert, ed., *Researching Social Life*, London: Sage Publication ltd.

Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Science Research: Meaning and Perspective in The Research Process*. New South Wales,: Allen and Uwin.

Daly, H.E. (1999). Globalisation Versus Internationalisation: Some Implications. *Ecological Economics.* pp.31-37.

Das, S. (2007). Higher Education in India and The Challenge of Globalisation'. *Social Scientist*. 35(¾) (Mar. - Apr., 2007), p. 47-67.

De Wit, H. (2011a). Globalisation and Internationalisation of higher education. *Revista de Universidad y Sociedad del Conocimiento*, 3(2), pp.241-248.

Delanty, G., & Strydom, P. (2003). *Philosophies of social science: The classic and contemporary readings.* Maidenhead, Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education.

Denzin, N. K. and Y. S. Lincoln (2003) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage.

DFID. (2000). *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor,* White Paper on International Development, Department for International Development, UK.

Duménil, G., and D. Lévy (2001). Costs and Benefits of Neoliberalism A Class Analysis. *Review of International Political Economy* 8(4), pp.578–607.

Dum´enil G., L´evy D. (2011a) *The Crisis of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Duraisamy, P. (2008). 'Enrolment forecast of Higher Education for Inclusive Growth in the 11th Five Year Plan', In UGC Report on *Higher Education in India: Issues related to Expansion, Inclusiveness, Quality and Finance*, New Delhi: University Grants Commission, pp 27 – 50.

Easterby-Smith, M. et al., (2008). *Management Research: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications.

Eecke, Wilfried ver (1982). Ethics in Economics: From Classical Economics to Neoliberalism. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*,9, pp. 145-168.

Eisenhart, M., & Howe, K. (1992). 'Validity in Educational Research'. In M. LeCompte, W. Millroy, & J. Preissle, ed., *The Handbook* of *Qualitative Research in Education* (pp. 642-680). San Diego: Academic Press.

Elliott, R., (2000). *Rigor in Psychotherapy Research: The Search for Appropriate Methodologies.* Unpublished paper, Department of Psychology, University of Toledo.

Feigl, H., (1969). 'The Origin and Spirit of Logical Positivism'. In Achinstein and Barker, ed., *The legacy of logical positivi*sm, pp.3-24.

FICCI (2014) *Higher Education in India: Moving towards global relevance and competitiveness.* FICCI Higher Education Summit.

Fielding, N. and H. Thomas (2008). 'Qualitative Interviewing'. In N. Gilbert (eds) *Researching Social Life*. London:Sage Publication Ltd.

Fine, B. (2000). *Social theory and social capital*. London: Routledge.

Fine,B., (2004). *Debating The New Imperialism*. Historical Materialism, 14 (4), pp: 241–278.

Fisher, D., Rubenson, K., Bernatchez, J., Clift, R., Jones, G., Lee, J., MacIvor, M., Meredith, J., S., Theresa, & Trottier, C. (2006). *Canadian Federal Policy and Post-Secondary Education*. Vancouver, BC: Centre for Policy Studies in Higher Education and Training, University of British Columbia.

Fisher, I. (2006) (original published in 1892). *Mathematical Investigations in the Theory of Value and Prices*. Cosimo Classics. ISBN 1596059389

Flick, U. (2006). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research.* 3rd edition. London: Sage.

Frank, R. (2001). 'Higher Education: The Ultimate Winner-Take –All Market?'. In Devlin M and Meyerson J, ed., *Forum Futures: Exploring The Future of Higher Education*, San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Friedman, M. (1962). *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Friedman, M. and Anna J. S. (1963). *A Monetary History of the United States 1867-1960.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Friedman, T. L. (2006). *The World is Flat.* 1st Updated and Expanded Edition Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.

Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., & Gall, J. P. (2003). *Educational Research: An Introduction.* 7th ed. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Gamson, Z. F. (1997). The Stratification of the Academy. *Social Text, 51*, 67-73.

Giddens, Anthony (1998). *The Third Way. The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.

Ghauri, P.N. & Grønhaug, K. (2005). *Research Methods in Business Studies.* 3rd Edition. Prentice Hall: London.

Ghosh, S.C. (2000a). *The History of Education in Modern India*. Orient Longman Limited: New Delhi.

Gilgun, J. F. (1992). Definitions, Methodologies, and Methods in Qualitative Family Research. In J. F. Gilgun, K. Daly, & G. Handel, ed., *Qualitative Methods in Family Research,* pp. 22-39. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gills, M., Perkins,D.H., Roemer,M. And Snodgrass,D.R. (1992). *Economics of Development*. New York,W.W.Norton.

Gill, B. (2010). Degreeyan. *Punjabi Song*. Anand Music: Desi Crew

Giroux, H. A. (2003). Selling Out Higher Education. *Policy Futures in Education, 1*(1), 179-200.

Giroux, A.H (2014) *Neoliberalism's War Against Higher Education*. Haymarket Press: Toronto.

Gosh, S.C. (2001). *The History of Education in Ancient India.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Government of India. (1994). *Development of Education in India*. Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi.

Government of India. (1995). *The Private Universities (Establishment and Regulation) Bill*. Report published by Ministry of Human Resource Development, India.

Government of India. (1997). *Government Subsidies in India*. Report Published by Ministry of Finance, India.

Guba, E. G. (1992). Relativism. *Curriculum Inquiry,* 22, pp.17-24.

Guba, E.G. and Lincoln Y.S. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, ed., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gupta, D. and N. Gupta. (2012). Higher education in India: Structure, Statistics and Challenges. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 2, p.3.

Habermas, J. (1970). *Knowledge and Human Interests* (J. Shapiro.Trans.). London: Heinemann.

Hagen, R. (2006). *Nyliberalismen Og Samfunnsvitenskapene – Refleksjonsteorier for Det Moderne Samfunnet.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Harden, A.D. & Majhanovich, S. (2004). Privatisation in Canadian Education: A Survey of Trends. *International Review of Education*, 50, pp.263-287.

Hall, M. (2010). Community Engagement in South African Higher Education. *Kagiso*, 6, pp.1–52.

Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's Wrong With Ethnograph.* London, Routledge.

Hartman, E. (2011*). Internationalisation of Higher Education: Toward a New Research Agenda in Critical Higher Education Studies.* New York, NY:Routledge.

Harris, G.T. & Jarrett, F.G. (1990). *Educating Overseas Students in Australia: Who Benefits?* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Harvey, D. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Harvey, D. (2010). *The Crises of Capitalism (abridged and animated) Animated (and abridged) Version of 2010 RSA Lecture Above*. Concise and Humorous Introduction to Harvey's Thought on The 2007–08 Economic Crisis. 28 June 2010.

Hayek, Friedrich A. (1979). Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New Statement of The Liberal Principles and Political Economy. *The Political Order of a Free People.* London: Routledge.

Hemsley-Brown J, Oplatka I. (2006). Universities In A Competitive global Marketplace: A Systematic Review of The Literature on Higher Education Marketing. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 19 (4), pp. 316-338.

Henard, F., Diamond, L. and Roseveare, D. (2012). *Approaches to Internationalisation and Their Implications for Strategic Management and Institutional Practice*. OECD Higher Education Programme: IMHE

Held, D. (1995). *Democracy and the Global Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Held, D. McGrew, A. Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. (2003) *The Global Transformations Readers: An Introduction To the Globalisation Debate* (2nd edition). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Held, D., A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, and J. Perraton .(1999). *Global Transformations*, Polity Press: Cambridge, First Edition.

Hitchcock, G. and Hughes, D. (1989). *Research and The Teacher: Qualitative Introduction to School Based Research*.London: Routledge.

Hitchcock, G. and Hughes, D. (1995). *Research and The Teacher*.London: Routledge.

Holmwood, J. (2011). *A Manifesto for The Public University,* London: Bloomsbury

Holsti, O.R (1969). *Content Analysis for Social Sciences and Humanities.* Wesley.

Holton, G. (1993). *Science and Anti-Science*. Cambridge. M.A: Harvard University Press.

Iga, M. (2002). International Trade in Education Services Under the World Trade Organisation: Why Do Nations Seek to Create An International Trade System for Education?. *International and Comparative Education*, School of Education, Stanford University, June.

Javalgi, R.G., Griffith D.A., White D.S. (2003). An Empirical Examination of Factors Influencing The Internationalisation of Service Firms. *Journal of Services Marketing*,17(2), pp.185 – 201.

Jeffery C., Jeffery,P. and Jeffery,R. (2008) *Degrees Without Freedom: Education, Masculinities and Unemployment in North India*. Stanford University Press:Stanford, CA.

Jha, D. M. (1991). 'Higher education in Ancient India'. In Raza, M. ed., *Higher Education in India: Retrospect and prospect*. Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi.

Johnson, R.B. and Onwuegbuzie. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher*, pp. 14-26.

Kapoor,D. and Mehta, P.B.(2007). *Indian Higher Education Reform: From Half-Baked Socialism To Half-Baked Capitalism.* Retrieved from www.ncear.org/downloads/IPF2007/kapur-mehta.pdf.

Kapoor, D. (2009). *Education, Decolonisation and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas.* Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Kaul, Inge et al. (1999). *Global Public goods; International Cooperation in the 21st Century*.New York: Oxford University Press.

Kaul, S. (2006). Higher education in India. Seizing the Opportunities. Working paper no. 179, *Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER).*

Kehm, B.M., and Teichler, U. (2007). Research on Internationalisation in Higher Education. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11, pp.260-273.

Kelsey, Jane. (2003). Legal fetishism and the Contradictions of the GATS. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1 (3): 267-280.

Khadria, B. (2006d). Migration Between India and the UK. *Public Policy Research*, 13(3).p.172-84. IPPR: London.

Kishun, R. (1998). 'Internationalisation in South Africa'. In Peter Scott, ed., *The Globalisation of Higher Education.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Klein, Naomi, and Neil Smith. (2008). The Shock Doctrine: A Discussion. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 26 (4), pp.582–95

Knight, J. (1994). *Internationalisation: Elements and Checkpoints*, CBIE Research no 7. CBIE:Ottawa.

Knight, J. (1999). 'Internationalisation of Higher Education'. In J. Knight ,ed., *Quality of Internationalisation in Higher Education.* Paris: OECD.

Knight, J. (2005). Borderless, Offshore, Transnational and Cross-border Education: Definition and Data Dilemmas. *The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education*, London.

Kuhn, T. S. (1996). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kumar, R.T. and Sharma, V. (2003). Downsizing Higher Education. *Economic and Political Weekly*. pp.603-607

Lee, C.K.C., and Morrish, S.C. (2012). Cultural Values and Higher Education Choices: Chinese Families. *Australasian Marketing Journal*, 20, pp.59-64.

Levin, H.M. (1987). Education As A Public and Private Good. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 6(4), pp.628-641

Levin, J. S. (1999). Missions and Structures: Bringing Clarity to Perceptions About Globalisation and Higher Education in Canada. *Journal of Higher Education*, 37, pp. 377-399.

Levy, Daniel C. (1986a). *Higher Education and The State in Latin America: Private Challenges to Public Dominance*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Enquiry.* Thousand Oaks, C.A. Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (2005). Paradigms and Perspectives in Contention. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, ed., *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marginson, S. & Van der Wende, M. (2007). Internationalisation of Higher Education in the OECD Countries: Challenges and Opportunities for the Coming Decade. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11, pp. 274-289.

Marginson,S and M. van der Wende, (2007). Globalisation and Higher Education. *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 8.OECD :Publishing.

Matthews, J. (2002). International Education and Internationalisation Are Not the Same As Globalisation: Emerging Issues for Secondary Schools. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 6*(4), pp. 369-390.

Mazzarol, T., Soutar, G. (2002). Push-Pull Factors Influencing International Students Destination Choice. *The International Journal of Educational Management*, 16(2), 82-90.

Mazzarol, T., G.N. Soutar and Y.S.M. Sim. (2003). The Third Wave: Future Trends in International Education. *International Journal of Educational Management.* 17(3), pp.90-99.

Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994). *Begil1l1illg Qualitative Resellrch:* A *Philosophic al1d Practical Guide*. The Falmer Press: London.

McMahon, M. (1992). Higher Education in a World Market: A Historical Look at the Global

Context of International Study. *Higher Education*, 24(2), pp.465-82.

Mehmet, O. (2002). *Westernizing the Third World: The Eurocentricity of Economic Development theories*. London: Routledge.

MHRD (2013). *Annual Status of Higher Education of States and UTs in India.* New Delhi.

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook of New Methods*. 2nd ed. Sage: Thousand Oaks.

Mises, Ludwig von .(1962).*The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth: An Exposition of the Ideas of Classical Liberalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand.

Mishra, R. and Sirguroh, M. (2014). Higher Education in India: Transition from Socialism and Capitalism. *European Scientific Journal August 2014* /SPECIAL/ edition ISSN: 1857 – 7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857- 7431

Moore, R. M. (2004). The Second Age of the Third World: From Primitive Accumulation to Global Public Goods? *Third World Quarterly*,25,(1), pp. 87-109.

Morgan, D.L. (1997). *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*, London: Sage.

Morse, J.M. (1991) *Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Mukhopadhyay, M. (1999). 'Higher Education: Backbone of National Development'. In M. Mukhopadhyay and Madhu Parhar, ed., *Indian Education Development since Independence*. Vikas Publishing House: New Delhi.

Mundy, Karen. (2002). Retrospect and Prospect: Education in a Reforming World Bank. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22, pp.483-508.

Munck, R. (2005). 'Neoliberalism and Politics, and the Politics of Neoliberalism'. In Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, *Neoliberalism – A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press.

Musgrave, R.A. (1959). *The Theory of Public Finance: A Study in Public Economy*. McGraw-Hill:New York.

Nawroth, E.E. (1961). *Die Sozial- Und Wirtschaftsphilosophie Des Neoliberalismus.* Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle.

Nayer, D. (2007). What Does It Mean for Higher Education? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(50), pp. 30-35.

Neuman, W.L. (2003). Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. 5th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nozick, R. (1974). *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ntshoe, I.M. (2003). Higher Education and Training Policy and Practice in South Africa: Impacts of Global Privatisation, Quasi-Marketisation and New Managerialism. *International Journal of Educational Development,*24 ,pp.137-154.

Olssen, M., & Peters, M. A. (2005). Neoliberalism, Higher Education and The Knowledge Economy: From the Free Market to Knowledge Capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy*, *20*(3), pp.313-345.

Oosterbeek, H. and Webbink, D. (2011). Does Studying Abroad Induce Brain Drain*?*, *Economica*, 78 (31), pp.347-366.

Palley, Thomas I. (2005). 'From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms'. In Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, eds. *Neoliberalism – A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press.

Parey, M. and Waldinger, F. (2010). Studying Abroad and The Effect on International Labour Market Mobility: Evidence from The Introduction of ERASMUS. *The Economic Journal*, 121, pp.194-222.

Patnaik, Prabhat. (2007). Alternative Perspectives on Higher Education. *Social Scientist*,35(11-12) pp3-14.

Patruzzellis, L. and Romanazzi, S. (2010). Educational Value: How Students Choose University: Evidence from An Italian University. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 25(6),pp.139-158

Paul, S. (2009). Internationalisation of Higher Education: Strategic Implications. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(9) ,pp. 36-41.

Phang, S.L. (2013). *Factors Influencing International Students' Study Destination Decision Abroad* (Master's thesis), Gothenburg, Sweden: University of Gothenburg.

Pimpa, N. (2004). The Relationship Between Thai Students' Choices of International Education and Their Families. *International Education Journal*, 5(3).

Plehwe, D., Bernard W. and Gisela N.(2006). *Neoliberal Hegemony – A Global Critique*. London: Routledge.

Power, K. B. (1995). Higher Education in India. In K.B. Power & S.K. Panda ed., *Higher Education in India--in Search of Quality*. AIU:New Delhi.

Prakash, Ved. (2007). Trends in Growth and Financing of Higher Education in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLII(31), pp.3249-3258.

Price, I., Matzdorf, F., Smith,L. and Agahi, H. (2003). The Impact of Facilities on Student Choice of University. *Facilities*,21(10), p.212.

Pring, R. (2000a). *Philosophy of Educational Research*. London: Continuum.

Putnam, R.D. (2000). Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Qureshi, K.,Varghese, V.J. and Osella, F. (2012). Indian Punjabi Skilled Migrants in Britain: of Brain Drain and Under-Employment', *Journal of Management Development*, 32(2), pp. 180-190.

Qureshi, K. and Osella F. (2013). Transnational Schooling in Punjab, India: Designer Migrants and Cultural Politics. In L. Bartlett and A. Ghaffar-Kucher ed., *Refugees, Immigrants and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion*. pp. 99-115.

Rajkhowa, G. (2013). 'Cross Border Higher Education in India: challenges and opportunities'. *International Journal of Organisational Analysis* .21(3). pp.471-484

Rani, G. P. (2002). Financing Higher Education in India During the Post Reform Period: Focus on Access and Equity, *NIEPA Occasional Paper*, no.31, NIEPA:New Delhi.

Rapley, J. (2004). *Globalisation and Inequality: Neoliberalism's Downward Spiral. Boulder*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

Ravi, S.S. (2015). Impact of Privatisation of Education in Indian Society. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*, 6.

Reed, A.M. and D. Reed. (2004). Corporate governance in India: Three Historical Models and Their Development Impacts. In D. Reed and S. Mukherjee, ed., *Corporate Governance, Economic Reforms, and Development The Indian Experience*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Remenyi, D. and Williams B. (1995). Some Aspects of Methodology for Research in Information Systems. *Journal of Information Technology* ,10(3), pp.191-201.

Report of the Education Commission (1964). *Ministry of Education Government of India*, New Delhi , p.1.

Ritzer, G. (1996). *The McDonaldisation of Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Rizvi, F. & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing Educational Policy*. UK: London. Routledge.

Robertson R. and Khondher (1998). Discourse of Globalisation: Preliminary Considerations. *International Sociology,*13(1), pp. 25-40

Robertson, S. Bonal, X. and Dale, R. (2002). GATS and the Education Service Industry: the Politics of Scale and Global Reterritorialisation. *Comparative Education Review*, 46 (4), pp. 472-96.

Robertson, S., Mario N., Roger D., Leon T., , Hillary D. and Ndiblema A. (2007). *Globalisation, Education and Development*. London: DfID

Robson, C. (2002). *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings*. Wiley publication: U.K.

Saad-F.A. and Deborah J. (2005). 'Introduction'. In Alfredo Saad- Filho and Deborah Johnston, ed., *Neoliberalism – A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press.

Saad F.A. (2011). Marxism and the Twenty-First Century. In Argyrous, G. and Stilwell, F., eds., *Readings in Political Economy: Economics as A social Science*. Prahan: Tilde University Press.

Salmi, J. and Hauptman, A.M. (2006). Innovations in Tertiary Education Financing: A Comparative Evaluation of Allocation Mechanism. Education *Working paper Series No.,4* Washington, DC: World Bank

Sale, J. E. M., Lohfeld, L. H., & Brazil, K. (2002). Revisiting The Quantitative–Qualitative Debate: Implications for Mixed Methods Research. *Quality & Quantity, 36, pp.*43–53.

Samuelson, P.A. (1954). The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 36(4), pp.387-389.

Sassen,S. (2006). 'Locating Cities on Global Circuits'. In *The Global Cities Reader*, edited by N. Brenner and R.Keil. London and New York: Routledge.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2007). *Research methods for business students.* 4th ed. London: Prentice Hall.

Seidel, J (1998). *Qualitative Data Analysis.* The Ethnograph, v5 Manual, Appendix E.

Scholte, J. (2000). *Globalisation : A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave: London.

Scott, P. (1998). *The Globalisation of Higher Education*, Open University Press. Buckingham: England.

Scott, J. C. (2006). The Mission of the University: Medieval to Postmodern Transformations. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *77*(1), pp.1-39.

She, Qianru and T. Wotherspoon. (2013). International Student Mobility and Highly Skilled Migration: A Comparative Study of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. *Springer Plus,* 2(1), pp.1– 14.

Siaya, L., and Hayward, F.M. (2003). *Mapping Internationalisation on U.S. Campuses*. Washington, D.C: American Council on Education.

Srivastava, D K and Tapas K. Sen (1997). *Government Subsidies in India*. National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi.

Srivastava, D K and H K Amarnath (2001). *Central Budgetary Subsidies in India.* National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi.

Srivastava, R. (2007). National Knowledge Commission: Meeting Social Goals or Neo-liberal Reform. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp: 812-815.

Srivastava, R. and Sinha, S. (2008). Inclusiveness and Access of Social Groups to Higher Education. In UGC, *Higher education in India: Issues Related to Expansion, Inclusiveness, Quality and Finance*. New Delhi: UGC.

Stewart, F.(1996). Globalisation and Education. *International Journal of Educational Development* ,16 (4), pp. 327-33.

Stiglitz,J. (1999). Taxation, Public Policy and Dynamics of Unemployment. *International Tax and Public Finance,* 6, pp.239-262. Kluwer: Boston, MA.

Stone, D. (1988). *The Australian Quarterly*. 60(1), pp. 40-62.

Strauss, A.C. & Corbin, J.M. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research; Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks: C.A. Sage.

Strydom, H., Steyn, M.M. & Strydom, C. (2007). An Adapted Intervention Research Model: Suggestions for Research and Practice. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 43(4), pp.329 -342. Okt.

Sukhadeo T. (2015). A Blueprint for Higher Education. *The Hindu*, August 15th 2015.

Summers, A.A. (1987). Privatisation: Theory and Practice. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. 6 (4), pp. 641-643.

Suror, H. (2005). Cash for Class at Oxbridge. *Viewpoint*, No.443.

Tatla, D.S. (1999). *The Sikh diaspora: The Search for Statehood*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2003b). 'The Past and Future of Mixed Methods Research: From Data Triangulation to Mixed Model Designs'. In Tashakkori, A., & C. Teddlie. *Handbook of mixed methods in Social and Behavioral Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Taylor, S. and Singh, M. (2013). Punjab's Doaban Migration-Development Nexus: Transnationalism and Caste Domination. *Economic and Political weekly*, 43(24).

Taylor, S. (2015). Home is Never Fully Achieved Even When We Are in It. Migration, Belonging and Social Exclusion Within Transnational Punjabi Mobility', *Mobilities*, 10(2).

Teichler, U. (2004). The Changing Debate on Internationalisation of Higher Education. *Higher Education,* 48, pp. 5-26.

Thandi, S.S. (1994). Strengthening Capitalist Agriculture: The Role of Remittances in the Central Districts of Punjab in the 1970s'. *International Journal of Punjab Studies*,1(2).

Thorsen, D.E. & Lie, A. (2006). *What is Neoliberalism?*, Oslo, University of Oslo, Department of Political Science, Manuscript.

Thränhardt, D. (2014). Steps Towards Universalism in Immigration Policies: Canada and Germany. *RCIS Working Paper no.2014/2.*

Tilak, J.B.G. (1995). Funding Higher Education in India. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 30(9) (Mar. 4, 1995), pp. 426-429.

Tilak, J.B.G. (1996). Higher Education Under Structural Adjustment. *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*,8(2), pp. 266-293

Tilak, J.B.G. (1997). **'**Lessons from Cost Recovery'. In C Colclough, ed., *Marketising*

Educational Health in Developing Countries: Miracle or Mirage?. Clarendon Press:Oxford.

Tilak, J.B.G. (2002). Privatisation of Higher Education in India. *International Higher Education*, 29, pp.11-13.

Tilak, J.B.G. (2004). Absence of Policy and Perspectives in Higher Education. *Economic and Political Weekly*,39(21), pp. 2159-2164.

Tilak, J. B. G. (2005). 'Private Higher Education: Philanthropy to Profits'. *In Higher Education in the World' 2006: The Financing of Universities*, pp. 113–121 Barcelona: Global University Network for Innovation and Palgrave Macmillan.

Tilak, J.B.G (2007). *Internationalisation of Higher Education: Illusory Promises and Daunting Problems*. Bhavnagar: Bhavnagar University (Tenth R.S. Bhatt Memorial Lecture).

Tilak, J.B.G (2009). Higher Education: A Public Good or A Commodity for Trade?. *Prospects*, 38, pp.449-466.

Tooley, J. (1994). 'In Defence of Markets in Educational Provision'. In D. Bridges &T. McLaughlin, Ed., *Education and the Market Place* . London: Falmer Touraine, Alain (2001). *Beyond Neoliberalism.* Cambridge: Polity.

UGC. (1993). UGC Funding of Institutions of Higher Education. *Report of Justice Dr. K. Punnayya Committee*, 1992-92, University Grants Commission, New Delhi.

UGC. (2008). *Higher Education in India, Issues Related to Expansion, Inclusiveness, Quality and Finance*. New Delhi.

UNESCO. (2000). *Statistical Year Book*. Paris: UNESCO.

Varghese, N.V. (2006*a*) *Growth and Expansion of Private Higher Education in Africa*. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.

Varghese, N.V. (2006*b).* GATS and National Regulatory Policies in Higher Education: Guidelines for Developing Countries. *Paper Presented at The International Forum on WTO Entry and Viet Nam Higher Education Reform, at The National Convention Centre,* Hanoi, 11-12 December.

Varghese, N.V (2008). Globalisation of Higher Education and Cross Border Student Mobility. *Research Paper at International Institute For Education and Planning.*

Verbik, L., and Lasanowski, V. (2007). International Student Mobility: Patterns and Trends. *The Observation on Borderless Higher Education,pp.*1-48.

Vij, S. (2010). Transforming Education, Transforming India: The Lovely Journey. *Proceedings of 13th Annual Convention of Strategic Management Forum (SMF),* Indian Institute of Management, Lucknow (IIML), Noida Campus, May 27-29, 2010

Visaria, P. (1998) Unemployment Among Youth in India: Level, Nature and Policy Implications. *Employment and Training Paper 36,* Employment and Training Department, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Wacquant, Loïc (2010a) Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare and Social Insecurity. *Sociological Forum* 25, 2: 197–220.

Wacquant, L. ((1998). Inside the Zone: The Social Art of the Hustler in the Black American Ghetto. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 15(2),pp. 1-36 (reprinted in Pierre Bourdieu et al., The Weight of the World World, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999, pp. 140-167).

Wade, R. (1996). Globalisation and its limits. In S. Berger & R. P. Dore, ed., *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Wainwright D., (1997).Can Sociological Research Be Qualitative, Critical *and* Valid?. *The Qualitative Report,* 3 (2).

Walker, J.C. and Evers, C.W. (1988). 'The Epistemological Unity of Educational Research'. In Keeves J.P. ed., *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement.* Oxford, Pergamon

Press.

Williamson, J. (1993). Democracy and the Washington Consensus. *World Development*, 21, pp.1329-1336.

Walton-R., and Forthcoming, M. (2003). Cultural Capital and The Trade And Immigration Nexus: Exploring the India-Canada Context. In Benson Honig, Israel Drori, and Barbara Carmichael, ed., *Transnational and Immigrant Entrepreneurship in a Globalised World*. University of Toronto Press.

Watts J. (2008). Emotion, Empathy and Exit: Reflections on Doing Ethnographic Qualitative Research on Sensitive Topics. *Medical Sociology Online*, 3(2), pp. 3–14.

Welch, A. (1998). The Cult of Efficiency in Education: Comparative Reflections in The Reality and The Rhetoric. *Comparative Education,* 34(2), pp.157-175.

Wiersma, W. (2000). *Research Methods in Education: An Introduction*. 7th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Willig, C. (2001). *Qualitative Research In Psychology: A Practical Guide to Theory and Method.* Buckingham: OUP.

World Bank (1994) .*Higher Education: Lessons from Experience*. Washington, D.C.

World Bank. (1996). World Development Report (WDR). *Knowledge for Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (2006a). *India's Employment Challenges: Creating jobs, Helping Workers.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (2006b). *Skill Development in India: The Vocational Education and Training system.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Newspapers:

The Diplomats (2016). 'India's New Education Policy: Creeping 'Saffronisation'? By Govindarajan Padmapriya

The Hindu (2015). 'No Acche Din For Higher Education' by Hasan Zoya

Franchise India.com (2015). 'How A Punjab-Based Family Made Rs 800 cr Group From Just Rs 500' by Soni Sandeep.

Hindustan Times (2015). 'Private Universities of Punjab: Bend it like Badal' by Sethi Chitleen

The Tribune Chandigarh (2005). 'Private University Bill' by Singh Birdevinder

The Tribune Chandigarh (2014). 'Assembly Pass 15 Bills amid Oppn protest' by Dhaliwal Sarabjit

APPENDIX

Table A: Number of students enrolled in research degree from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab

Years	Ph.d			M.Phil		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980	56	46	102	138	140	278
1990	74	74	148	263	355	618
2000	102	170	272	18	51	69
2007	282	384	666	131	278	409
2008	282	384	666	131	278	409
2009	343	424	767	79	278	357
2010	402	593	995	86	221	307

Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract*, 2011

Table B: Number of students enrolled in postgraduate degrees from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab

Years	M.A.			M.Sc			M.Com		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980	2852	2985	5837	338	319	657	22	5	27
1990	2176	3115	5291	500	636	1136	61	59	120
2000	3421	7553	10974	580	1349	1929	153	441	594
2007	3174	9564	12738	2164	5604	7768	295	942	1237
2008	3185	10923	14108	1786	6070	7856	472	692	1164
2009	3015	9656	12671	1626	6242	7868	279	1084	1363
2010	3065	10845	13910	1678	6605	8283	413	1342	1755

Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract*, 2011

Table C: Number of students enrolled in graduate degrees from 1980 to 2010 in Punjab

Years	B.A.			B.Sc			B.Com		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980	33436	27635	61071	7780	3395	11175	5162	324	5486
1990	26590	33867	60457	5175	4457	9632	5955	2714	8669
2000	56218	67037	123255	7207	8380	15587	11536	10027	21563
2007	52913	75072	127985	9048	16932	25980	11126	11017	22143
2008	51349	68276	119625	6397	13857	20254	10773	10739	21512
2009	49348	69017	118365	6146	13849	19995	11830	11251	23081
2010	52323	71363	123686	6549	14852	21401	12884	12884	25768

Source: *Punjab Statistical Abstract*, 2011