Higher education in post-independent India (1947-1970) : a critical evaluation in terms of selected criteria of effectiveness
by Malini Gopalakrishnan

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
Montana State University
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Abstract:
Higher education in post-independent India (1947-1970) has been transformed from a small elite system to a large popular one. The purpose of this study is to critically evaluate India's higher education in terms of selected criteria of effectiveness. The various developments that have occurred during the post-independence era in Indian higher education are identified and the effectiveness of these in meeting the changing and challenging needs of the country is critically examined. Nearly a quarter of a century is a long enough period to take stock of the changes, both spontaneous and deliberately instituted, and to evaluate their soundness in terms of selected criteria.

In the area of social justice and equalization of educational opportunity Indian higher education has accomplished a great deal since independence. The expansion of educational facilities coupled with the liberal granting of scholarships for the poor and minority groups have resulted in the democratization of higher education. The number of women in the universities has also registered a steady increase. Today, higher education is within the reach of many who a generation ago had no access to it. Given the physical, institutional and financial constraints within which the country operates, the record of Indian higher education in this area is very impressive.

Judged in terms of the quality and balance of service the effectiveness of Indian higher education is very unsatisfactory. The enrollment explosion in an economy of scarcity has resulted in decreased per capita facilities. The inherent rigidity of the system has made it very resistant to change and modernization. The attempts of the University Grants Commission to introduce urgently needed reforms in the pattern of examinations and the quality of instruction have not been successful. On balance, the changes in the qualitative content-oriented dimension of Indian higher education have been too superficial and minimal to make any perceptible increase in its efficiency.

There is considerable scope for increasing the effectiveness of governance in India's higher education. The typology of universities and the structure of governance have undergone no significant change since independence to meet the dynamics of social change. The pattern of university financing in India is such, that it serves as an eminently suitable mechanism for exerting external pressure on the formulation of educational policy. The pursuit of university autonomy has been subjected to political, institutional and economic externalities of awesome proportions. Lack of adequate student participation in university governance is probably the most dominant factor responsible for student unrest in India.

by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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June, 1973
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author acknowledges the help, cooperation and continuous support of her graduate committee in the preparation of this dissertation. She owes a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Earl Ringo, her major advisor, for his encouragement, direction and guidance. Sincere thanks also goes to Dr. Pierce Mullen and Dr. Douglas Herbster for their suggestions and advice.

The author would like to thank Dr. Earl Ringo for awarding her a teaching assistantship during 1967-1969 which enabled her to work on her Ed.D Degree.

The author would also like to thank Mrs. Carolyn Winchester for her many acts of kindness.

Special thanks are due to Peggy L. Humphrey for the patience and care with which she typed this thesis.

To the author's husband, Gopal, goes special appreciation for his encouragement and assistance.
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ABSTRACT

Higher education in post-independent India (1947-1970) has been transformed from a small elite system to a large popular one. The purpose of this study is to critically evaluate India's higher education in terms of selected criteria of effectiveness. The various developments that have occurred during the post-independence era in Indian higher education are identified and the effectiveness of these in meeting the changing and challenging needs of the country is critically examined. Nearly a quarter of a century is a long enough period to take stock of the changes, both spontaneous and deliberately instituted, and to evaluate their soundness in terms of selected criteria.

In the area of social justice and equalization of educational opportunity Indian higher education has accomplished a great deal since independence. The expansion of educational facilities coupled with the liberal granting of scholarships for the poor and minority groups have resulted in the democratization of higher education. The number of women in the universities has also registered a steady increase. Today, higher education is within the reach of many who a generation ago had no access to it. Given the physical, institutional and financial constraints within which the country operates, the record of Indian higher education in this area is very impressive.

Judged in terms of the quality and balance of service the effectiveness of Indian higher education is very unsatisfactory. The enrollment explosion in an economy of scarcity has resulted in decreased per capita facilities. The inherent rigidity of the system has made it very resistant to change and modernization. The attempts of the University Grants Commission to introduce urgently needed reforms in the pattern of examinations and the quality of instruction have not been successful. On balance, the changes in the qualitative content-oriented dimension of Indian higher education have been too superficial and minimal to make any perceptible increase in its efficiency.

There is considerable scope for increasing the effectiveness of governance in India's higher education. The typology of universities and the structure of governance have undergone no significant change since independence to meet the dynamics of social change. The pattern of university financing in India is such that it serves as an eminently suitable mechanism for exerting external pressure on the formulation of educational policy. The pursuit of university autonomy has been subjected to political, institutional and economic externalities of awesome proportions. Lack of adequate student participation in university governance is probably the most dominant factor responsible for student unrest in India.
CHAPTER I
NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Indian Independence in 1947 brought in its wake growing awareness and increasing recognition of the critical role of higher education in India's development process on the part of planners, educationalists and the public. Investment in higher education has increased significantly during the post-independence era (from Rs. 140 million in the First Plan to a projected Rs. 1,835 million in the Fourth Plan). Several high-level committees and commissions have been set up during this period to examine and report on Indian higher education. The spate of editorials in Indian newspapers and comments on the radio are excellent indicators of the public's concern regarding this facet of national life. And, the collective impact of all these has produced a plethora of changes—quantitative, qualitative and structural in India's large and diverse higher educational system. Despite these changes, there have been no serious attempts to determine the scope and direction of these changes and their effectiveness in terms of rational and sound criteria. This dissertation is a first effort in this direction.
Objective

The purpose of this study is to critically evaluate India's higher education in terms of selected criteria of effectiveness. The various developments that have occurred during the post-independence era (1947-1970) in Indian higher education are identified, and the effectiveness of these in meeting the changing and challenging needs of the country is critically examined in terms of a set of well-defined criteria.

Methodology

A. The Choice of Criteria

The choice of criteria is probably the most crucial consideration in making rational and meaningful evaluations. And, this is by no means an easy task, especially because of the multidimensional nature of higher education. Consequently, special care has been exercised in the selection of criteria for testing its effectiveness. Several criteria are being employed, since no single criterion can be used fairly. "Goal-setting is the first and probably the most crucial stage of the evaluation process."^2

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^1 Suchman points out that, "All social institutions or subsystems, whether medical, educational, economic or political, are required to provide 'proof' of their legitimacy and effectiveness in order to justify society's continued support." Suchman, E.A., Evaluative Research, (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1967), p. 2.

^2 Ibid., p. 160.
After considerable research of the literature pertaining to evalu­
ative criteria the researcher has settled on the following three cri­
teria suggested by Clark Kerr.³

1. The ability to secure talent from the total population with­
out regard to class or racial considerations.

2. The quality and balance of service to the several segments of
society. (In a developing country, much of this service comes
under the heading of modernization; the rest under improvement.)

3. The effectiveness of the governance of higher education.
(Ideally, higher education should be able to work out its
problems without external interference or dominance or the use
of internal force.)

These three criteria listed above are by far the most rational set
of criteria for evaluating higher educational systems. These tests
constitute an integral part of the General Report of the celebrated
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1969), of which the distin­
guished educationist, Clark Kerr, was the Chairman.

The amount of information actually available about developments in
India's higher education during the post-independence era is more than
adequate to undertake a meaningful critical evaluation in terms of the
three criteria chosen for this study.

³Kerr, Clark, "Introduction: The Evaluation of National Systems
of Higher Education," in Higher Education in Nine Countries, Burn, B.
The following five criteria proposed by Kerr have been rejected for the purposes of this study:

1. The quality of scholarship in international competition;
2. The provision of technically trained persons to fill the needs of industry, agriculture and the welfare services;
3. The quality and balance of constructive criticism of society;
4. The provision of an opportunity for a liberal education, appropriate to the times, to undergraduate students; and
5. The degree of popular support for higher education generally and from its alumni in particular.

B. Major Sources of Information

This study makes use of the descriptive survey technique. The methodology is designed to secure detailed information about the current system of higher education in India and to evaluate this system for its effectiveness and adequacy in terms of the selected criteria.

The major sources of information are:

1. Books on India’s higher education, educational policy and history of education.
2. Reports of the various commissions set up from time-to-time to review and evaluate Indian education in general, especially

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The reasons for rejecting these five criteria are: (1) to narrow the scope of this study to thesis proportions; (2) the problems involved in arriving at acceptable definitions of what constitutes "constructive criticism of society" or a "liberal education" appropriate to the times; (3) the difficulty involved in measuring such aspects as the "degree of popular support" and the "quality of scholarship"; and (4) the lack of adequate data and reliable information to verify some of these criteria.
those that have a bearing on university education.


4. The four Five-Year Plan Reports put out by the Planning Commission of India, and the Yearbooks of Education of the Government of India.

5. Articles, editorials, and reports dealing specifically with India’s higher education that have appeared in the leading Indian Journals and foreign publications like Minerva, The Journal of University Education, Education Quarterly, and Quest.

6. Articles and reports in leading Indian newspapers like The Hindu and The Times of India.

C. Data Collection

1. The researcher spent six months in India gathering data from key agencies and institutions concerned with India's higher education. These included: University Grants Commission, Ministry of Education, National Council of Educational Research and Training. Data was collected from the Library of the College of Education at Delhi University, the University Library (Madras), and the Connemara Public Library (Madras).

2. During the above visit the researcher interviewed several leading educationists, university professors and numerous college students.
3. Books and periodicals pertaining to the topic available at the University of Hawaii Library, and the special Asia collection of the East-West Center were utilized.

4. Books were also obtained through interlibrary loan.

Significance of the Study

Numerous changes have characterized Indian higher education during the last 23 years (1947-1970). Despite this, very few attempts have been made to assess or evaluate the effectiveness of these changes in meeting the needs and demands of a developing country like India.

"Most critiques of evaluative research today conclude that too few evaluations are being made and that, furthermore, those that do exist are all generally of low quality. The overwhelming proportion of established public service activities, it is claimed, are not based upon and do not provide an evaluation of their effectiveness, while most new programs fail to include a plan for evaluation in their development."^6

Although commissions and committees have been set up from time-to-time to evaluate India's university education, their reports have been of a fairly general nature, mostly cataloging the shortcomings of the system and suggesting remedial measures. However, little or no effort has been made to undertake follow-up studies to determine whether the suggested remedial measures have been implemented, and if so, with what degree of success. Further, there has been no attempt to make use of rational and sound criteria for evaluating the adequacy and desirability of the changes that have occurred.

Nearly a quarter of a century is a long enough period to take stock of the changes, both spontaneous and deliberately instituted, and to evaluate their soundness. The present study attempts to determine how effective Indian higher education has been in its conduct and performance during the post-independence era (1947-1970). Suchman points out that, "evaluative research on a policy level has the important function of challenging traditional practices. Evaluation research is one of the few ways open to us for methodically changing the direction of our activities."7 This study, therefore, could serve as a basis for further explorations in the domain of higher education designed to evolve a viable strategy for the decade of the seventies; a policy that is rational, relevant and responsive to the needs of the country.

Plan of Dissertation

The first chapter discusses the nature and scope of the study and spells out the criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of higher education in post-independent India. The second chapter provides a historical review of higher education in pre-independent India and points up the principal developments in post-independent India. The chapters that follow attempt to evaluate in depth Indian higher education in terms of three specific criteria outlined in the first chapter. The adequacy of educational opportunities in bringing higher education

7Ibid., p. 133.
to the masses is considered in Chapter III (Criterion I). Factors examined include: increase in number of colleges and universities and the de-urbanization of colleges, growth in enrollments, the change in the language of instruction and the equalization of educational opportunities to benefit the poor and minority groups.

The modernization of Indian higher education is discussed in Chapter IV in terms of certain crucial factors like the examination system, courses of study, quality of instruction and changes effected in undergraduate and post-graduate education (Criterion II). Chapter V reviews and evaluates the effectiveness of university governance (Criterion III). Issues discussed include types of universities, structure of governance, pattern of financing, university autonomy and student unrest. The final chapter, Chapter VI, summarizes the principal issues discussed in Chapters III-V and highlights the major conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER II

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

This chapter traces the genesis and development of higher education in India. The first section is devoted to university education during the pre-independence era. The colonial heritage has left its indelible imprint on Indian higher education since 90 years of its existence was under British rule. The next section follows the evolution of higher education during the post-independence period (1947-1970). The following significant developments are discussed:

1. The findings and recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission.
2. The role and accomplishments of the University Grants Commission.
4. The impact of national planning on higher education in India.
5. The current status of Indian higher education.

Altbach notes that India has a large and complex higher educational system set in a society vastly different from western countries. "India today ranks third, following the United States and Soviet Union, in number of students enrolled in universities."¹

Pre-Independence Era

The Indian University, as it exists today, is essentially a legacy of British rule and dates back to the nineteenth century. During the

early 1800's many groups in India were eager to expand higher education. Among these were the Christian missions; social reformers, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy; and those who wished to learn English in order to enter the service of the British East India Company. A rival group called the Orientalists supported the use of Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit as the language of instruction in institutions of higher learning.

The controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists centered around two issues: (1) the language of instruction in colleges; and (2) the use of government funds. In 1834, Thomas Babington Macaulay was appointed the President of the General Committee of Public Education. He was asked to find a speedy solution to the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy regarding the medium of instruction. Macaulay handled the problem with the usual high-handedness which characterized British rule in India. He was completely ignorant of both Sanskrit and Arabic learning. In his famous Minute on Education (1835), he brushed aside the claims of the Orientalists and argued instead for a western education, which would be taught through the medium of English. Thus, the question was decided in favor of English. The Governor General Lord William Bentinck approved Macaulay's Minute and on March 7, 1835, passed a resolution that the content of higher education, including science, should be western learning and that the language of instruction should be English. He also stipulated that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education should be spent on English education alone.
Hence, the Minute occupies an eminent place in the evolution of higher education in India.

The next significant landmark in the history of higher education in India was Wood’s Despatch (1854). This resulted in the creation of universities in the three Presidency Towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The University of London was considered to be a suitable prototype. Hence, the first Indian universities were modelled rather closely on the University of London, which was then an affiliating university. To this day, "the concept of the affiliating university has remained the key organizational pattern in India’s higher education."2 "Thus, in its deliberate disregard of Indian religion and culture, its character as an impersonal examining machine closely dependent on the state, its metropolitan setting in the centers of British administration, it violated the most cherished Indian traditions."3 Ashby further notes that "as Wood conceived it the Indian University had two main functions: To provide a test of eligibility for government employment, and to transmit an alien culture. These were not the true functions of a university and inevitably they obscured the proper aims of university scholarship."4

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2Ibid., p. 320


4Ibid., p. 63.
Indians from all over the country flocked to the universities and soon other universities were started mainly in the metropolitan areas. The majority of the students came from the wealthier upper classes and castes. The British government did not envisage a system of universal education. This elitist nature was typical of university education in pre-independent India. Soon, English had become the *lingua-franca* of Indian intellectuals. Until India attained independence in 1947, English continued unchallenged as the language of instruction at the university level.

Burgeoning enrollments and mushrooming of colleges all over India characterized the educational scene during the last decade of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, there was widespread concern over the precipitous decline in standards and quality of teaching.

In good British tradition, this system of higher education was reviewed from time-to-time by commissions, committees, and special consultants. These included Sir Harcourt Butler in 1910 and the Calcutta University Commission in 1919. The major areas of concern were the quality of education and the maintenance of standards. The Calcutta University Commission suggested radical reforms in the following areas: (1) practice of affiliation, (2) improvement of teaching, (3) pattern of university governance, and (4) curriculum revision. Ashby concludes that despite these recommendations, "during
the remaining generation of British rule the bold and generous plan did not materialize; the new kind of education was not devised; at independence the university had not adapted itself fully to the Indian environment.5

Higher education in India, according to Eric Ashby, in the pre-independence era suffered from the following weaknesses:6

1. The British failed to set and maintain the quality of teaching and standards of achievement essential to a university if its degree is to be fully accepted in universities overseas.

2. They failed to devise and provide a curriculum suited to India's social and economic needs. The Indian student was required to study subjects that were culturally alien to him in a language that was not his own.

3. They failed to establish patterns of academic government and relations between the universities and the state, which would ensure the universities the necessary degree of autonomy.

On the eve of independence in 1947 there were 20 universities in India with a total enrollment of 225,000 students.7

Post-Independence Developments (1947-70)

A. Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-49)

In 1947, independence heralded the need for a "complete and comprehensive inquiry" into all phases of university education. The goal was

5 Ibid., p. 139.
6 Ibid., p. 138.
7 Altbach, op. cit., p. 319.
to revamp the whole system and to make it more relevant to the needs of an emerging nation. The first major commission to study the state of the universities in India after independence was the Radhakrishnan Commission (also known as the University Education Commission) in 1948-49.

"The Commission did full justice to the new concept of the duties and responsibilities of universities which require them 'to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce', meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literacy, scientific, technical and professional, and to enable the country to attain, as quickly as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge."8

The Radhakrishnan Commission highlighted the need for improving university administration and also the standards of teaching and examination. The role of the teacher as "the corner-stone in the arch of education" was emphasized by the Commission. The Commission recommended improved salary scales for college teachers and other benefits. These suggestions later formed the basis of many University Grants Commission reforms.

A major chapter in the Radhakrishnan Commission report was devoted to the problem of the medium (language) of instruction at the university level. In addition to stressing the need for studying English as a

compulsory subject at the university level the Commission recommended that English should be gradually replaced by the regional language or Hindi as the language of instruction at the university level. This change-over to the regional language, it was suggested, should be a phased-program spread out over a period of years.

The most significant recommendation of the Commission was that a University Grants Commission modelled on the University Grants Committee in Great Britain be set up as a liaison between the central government and the universities. This last recommendation became a reality in 1956 when the University Grants Commission (UGC) was established by an act of Parliament which stated that "The Constitution of India vests Parliament with the exclusive authority in regard to co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions of higher education and research and scientific and technical institutions." It was also entrusted with the task of determining and allocating federal funds to universities all over the country.

Dongerkery points out that while some of the recommendations made by the Radhakrishnan Commission have been implemented with financial assistance from the UGC, many remain to be implemented. "Hardly anything, or very little, has been done to raise standard of admission to universities, to raise the percentage of marks prescribed for degree
examinations, to give credit to students for class work during the year, or to improve the examination system."

B. The University Grants Commission

The UGC was set up by Act of Parliament in 1956.

In 1947, while the Indian Constitution was being framed, the role of the Government of India in education came up for discussion and it was decided that education including universities, subject to certain provisions should be a state responsibility (see Appendix A).

"The constitutional framework assigning responsibility for education provides parameters within which national policy is formulated and implemented. Under the Indian Constitution, the states have primary responsibility for education. Article 246 divides legislative authority between the states and the national government by creating lists of powers to be exercised by the union, the states, or both concurrently. Item II of the state list gives the states legislative responsibility for 'education including universities', subject to certain exceptions .... Entry 66 of the Union list, seventh schedule, which empowers the union government to co-ordinate and determine standards in institutions, is potentially important to the government's role in education."

The government, while dealing with the universities, usually channels all funds via the UGC. The Education Commission (1964-66) noted that "it is not desirable that Government should deal directly

9 Ibid., p. 52.

with the universities. It is always a great advantage to interpose, between the Government and the university, a committee of persons selected for their knowledge and study rather than for their political affiliation or official status."\(^{11}\)

The UGC attempts to discharge this function and works in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education and often acts in an advisory capacity. Section 12 of the University Grants Commission Act (1956) states that:

"It shall be the general duty of the Commission to take, in consultation with the universities or other bodies concerned, all such steps as it may think fit for the promotion and coordination of University education and for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in universities. The Commission is empowered to inquire into the financial needs of universities and allocate and disburse out of its funds grants for the maintenance of central universities and also for the development of state universities or for any other general or specified purpose."\(^{12}\)

The UGC has from time-to-time constituted Review Committees consisting of eminent university teachers to examine the existing facilities for teaching and research, and current syllabi in various subjects of study. Financial assistance from the UGC has been provided for innovations and improvements in the following areas:

\(^{11}\)Ibid., p. 72.

1. Improving the quality of teaching and teacher salaries.

2. Upgrading the academic and physical facilities in affiliated colleges.

3. Examination reform.

4. Student welfare: Providing better dormitories, health centers, printing facilities and so on.

5. Introducing the 3-year degree course at the undergraduate level on an all-India basis.

6. Setting up centers of advanced study and research in selected universities with a view to raising the standards of teaching and research in such centers to an international level.

7. Organizing seminars, summer schools, refresher courses for teachers and researchers to enhance their professional competence.

Though it is clear that the UGC has tried in several ways to promote and coordinate university education and improve and maintain standards, it has only been partially successful in doing so. The UGC is under statutory obligation to submit annual reports of its activities to both Houses of Parliament.

C. The Education Commission (1964-66)

The most recent effort of the nation to improve and update its system of higher education is the Education Commission Report submitted in 1966. The Education Commission was established by a government resolution issued in 1964 and the members of this commission included some of the most distinguished Indian educationists and also experts from a number of foreign countries. It contains, among other
things, a detailed discussion of several aspects of higher education: (1) the language of instruction; (2) the role of English as a library language; (3) flexible graduate and undergraduate programs; (4) library facilities; (5) equalization of educational opportunity; and (6) student welfare and university autonomy. Its goals include

"to improve the quality of teachers at all levels and to provide teachers in sufficient strength; to liquidate illiteracy, to strengthen centers of advanced study 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."13

Other suggestions put forward by the Education Commission (1964-66) are:

1. Introducing Vocational courses in the high school so that it would be a terminal point for many students, who do not wish to have a university education.

2. Restricting university enrollment in accordance with manpower projections to reduce educated unemployment among the university graduates.

3. The assumption of complete responsibility for post-graduate education by the Federal government in order to relieve the pressure on the state governments' limited resources.

4. Provision of tuition-free university education for all needy and deserving students. Also, preferential treatment in the matter of scholarships to be given to girls, students from underprivileged homes and students from the scheduled castes and tribes.

The Education Commission notes that

"perhaps the most onerous responsibility which the Indian universities now have is to shake-off the heavy load of their early tradition which gives a dominant place to examinations, to improve standards all around and by a symbiotic development of teaching and research, to create at least a few centers which would be comparable to those of their type in any other part of the world. This alone would help to bring back the 'centre of gravity' of Indian academic life within the country itself." 14

The Education Commission supports the use of regional language or Hindi as the medium of instruction at the university level. It, however, stresses the importance of retaining English as a library language since it will continue to play a crucial role in higher education. Indian universities will have to depend heavily on the English language for many years to come and Nehru's views on this subject have great relevance even today:

"I attach the greatest importance to keeping the windows of our minds open to what is happening, to foreign ideas, and naturally that can best be done by knowing the languages. Now, the language link is a greater link between us and the English speaking peoples than any political link or commonwealth link. English is our window on the world." 15

The Education Commission advocates the creation of a few Major Universities. The rationale for the establishment of these super universities is:

14 Indian University Reform I, Minerva, Spring 1967, p. 51.

"The new strategy that we propose has two important aspects. The first is the need to concentrate scarce human resources and not to scatter them over too wide an area. On the other hand, experience has shown that the best results follow where a goodly number of persons of high potentialities come together in face-to-face intellectual communities and, by their, constant dialogue and communication, stimulate each other to put forth their best creative efforts."\(^{16}\)

By concentrating the financial resources the Commission hopes that optimum facilities could be provided in these major universities.

The above recommendation has not met with the approval of the academic community and has resulted in concerted opposition from the existing universities. Kamat sums up the major objections to this measure as follows:

"The creation of the major universities in the manner visualized by the Commission will have some extremely deleterious effects on the academic life in the country. . . In the process of their collecting the 'critical mass' of the best among teachers and students the major universities will seriously impoverish the other universities in this respect, especially the weaker amongst them, with disastrous consequences for their incipient academic life. Those among the 'minor' universities that have achieved some eminence will be considerably weakened and those that have just made a beginning will be completely shattered."\(^{17}\)

The majority of the innovations suggested by the Education Commission (1964-66) have yet to be implemented. This time lag

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\(^{16}\) Indian University Reform I, op. cit., p. 55.

between recommendations and their implementation has been a typical characteristic of all educational reform in India.

D. The Impact of National Planning on Higher Education

The Planning Commission of India was established in March, 1950. To date, India has had four Five-Year Plans. National Planning in India encompasses all sectors like defense, education, agriculture, industry and so on.

Planning for the educational needs of a vast country like India is an enormous task. The planners have to decide priorities between competing sectors in education and outline goals and targets. According to Naik\(^1\) the first three Five-Year Plans adopted the comprehensive rather than the selective approach to planning. They tried to do something in every sector and thereby avoided the difficult task of assigning priorities. However, the Fourth Plan advocates a selective approach whereby the expenditures are concentrated in a few crucial areas.

Another common criticism of planning in India has been that the decisions taken by the Planning Commission seldom percolate down to the institutional level and as such implementation becomes difficult.

Myrdal's analysis of South Asian Countries is basic to an understanding of the failure of educational plans in India:

"South Asian Countries are all 'soft-states' both in that policies decided on are often not enforced, if they are enacted at all, and in that the authorities, even when framing policies are reluctant to place obligations on people... By 'democratic planning' is meant not only, and not even primarily, that policies should be decided on by democratic political procedures but that they should, as far as possible be implemented with the co-operation and shared responsibility of local and sectional communities."19

Further,

"in the attempt to integrate educational reforms into the national development plans—which are usually expressed in financial terms, with emphasis on investment—educational expenditure is often labelled 'investment in man'. This strategy makes it possible to evade the most crucial educational problems in South Africa—the structure of the school system as a whole, the low quality and standards of schooling, the wastage and misdirection at all levels of education."20

Naik basically agrees with Myrdal when he notes that "the educational planner has, on the whole, been far less successful in planning programmes of qualitative improvement than those of expansion."21 Even in instances where the educational planners have known exactly how to

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20 Ibid., p. 1812.
chart the course of educational development, the results often seem to have no correlation to the original goals. Take for example the following statement in the first Five-Year Plan:

"The Educational machinery will have to be geared for specific tasks which the nation sets itself through the plan so as to make available in various fields personnel of suitable quality and at the required rate."22

This goal was not what it achieved at the end of the First Plan. Sky-rocketing enrollments and unplanned growth of colleges resulted in large scale unemployment and underemployment among university graduates. The Third Plan noted that "the Planner recognized the waste of scarce resources represented by the training given to the educated unemployed. The costly incidence of unemployment among university graduates may be substantially reduced if admissions to higher education are regulated with reference to the national needs."23

Regarding the strong public demand for university and higher education the Education Commission in 1966 noted:

"Access to all secondary education was provided on an open-door basis; and in higher education both selective and open-door policies were operated upon simultaneously in different sectors."24


23 Ibid., p. 79.

24 Ibid., p. 116.
This is an instance where the realities of the situation were at direct odds with the national goals as expressed in the Third Plan. Innumerable examples of this kind can be cited to substantiate Laska's conclusion that:

"India has not been able to implement a relatively optimum educational plan, in spite of the fact that the responsible educational authorities seem to have been aware of the nation's basic quantitative educational requirements. . . . An examination of the growth of the Indian school system during 1950-1961 reveals that the orders of priority given in verbal statements of the Five-Year Plans have in fact been reversed during the course of implementation."\(^\text{25}\)

Myrdal points out that "effective reform of almost every kind must assume firmer governmental control of educational institutions. There is not point in devising any overall plan for the development of the educational system unless the government exerts its authority to ensure the realization of the plan."\(^\text{26}\)

The areas in which the projections of the Five-Year Plans have achieved a reasonable degree of success are:

1. Equalization of educational opportunity, by bringing higher education within the reach of many groups who a generation ago had hardly any access to it.

2. Increasing the number of women students enrolled in the universities.

3. Providing scholarships and fellowships to students from the backward classes and scheduled castes and tribes.

\(^\text{25}\)Ibid., pp. 113-114.

\(^\text{26}\)Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1820.
4. Quantitative expansion of educational facilities in general.

E. Indian Higher Education: Current Status

Eminent educators like Kothari, Naik and Raj all agree that higher education in India is in a state of crisis. They attribute this primarily to the "enormous, extraordinarily rapid and utterly disproportionate growth in numbers in the last 25 years." In 1966, the Education Commission had suggested that measures should be taken to slow down the 10 percent rate of growth of students every year by introducing a more selective admission policy in universities and colleges. However, by 1966 the rate of growth of student population instead of slowing down has actually increased 13% compounded per year. Such a fantastic rate of growth brings with it an array of other problems, the most obvious of which are steeply falling standards, a breakdown of university administrations, riot among students, figures for educated unemployment reaching the 10-12 lakh range, and, of course, the attendant frustrations and cynicism among students and the deepening sense of hopelessness bordering on despair, among the teachers.

In a huge democracy like India it has been almost impossible to stem the tide of public demand for higher education. The Education Commission notes that "Traditional Societies which desire to modernize


28 Lakh = 100,000.

29 Mathias, op. cit., p. 2.
themselves have to transform their educational system before trying to expand it, because the greater the expansion of the traditional system of education, the more difficult and costly it becomes to change its character."\textsuperscript{30}

Naik, an eminent educational analyst explains the dilemma as follows:

"The basic issue in Indian education has been that we are committed to three fundamental values which are good in themselves, viz., equality (social justice), quantity and quality. But as we have to pursue them simultaneously in a situation of scarcity, certain basic contradictions arise. These become extremely pointed in higher education."\textsuperscript{31}

He also claims that India has been unable "to reconcile the conflicting demands of equality, quantity and quality and to evolve a harmonious program that will be in the national interest and implementable with such additional resources as one likely to be available."\textsuperscript{32}

Eric Ashby sums up the status of university education in post-independent India with great insight when he notes that

"Looking at Indian universities a century after their foundation, one cannot but help feel they have failed to adapt themselves sufficiently to the vast and unique opportunities which surround them; they seem to have lost enthusiasm and initiative under crushing problems which have beset

\textsuperscript{30}\textsuperscript{30}Naik, op. cit., pp. 37-38.


\textsuperscript{32}\textsuperscript{32}Ibid.
them. Despite three major commissions they have not been able to extricate themselves from their own brief history. . . . The universities remain alien implantations, not integrated into the New India as the writers of the Radhakrishnan Report (in its brilliant second chapter) hoped they might be. . . . The universities have responded too weakly to the challenge of Asiatic culture.

This failure of the university to meet the challenges of Indian Society has many complex causes, but among the causes are undoubtedly the decisions made between 1835 and 1854. To exclude from university studies for half a century the whole of oriental learning and religion and to purvey to Hindus and Moslems a history and philosophy whose roots lie exclusively in the Mediterranean and in Christianity; to communicate the examinable skeleton of European civilization without ensuring that the values and standards which give flesh to the bones are communicated too; to set up the external paraphernalia of a university without the warmth and fellowship of academic society: these are handicaps against which Indian universities are still struggling and which prevent the university from becoming the centre and focus of India's intellectual life.33

The above analysis is corroborated by the eminent Indian educationists who attended the 1971 Conference on the Management and Organization of Indian Universities held in Mysore:

"A widely shared view at the Conference was that Indian higher education, rooted in the colonial past, was totally outmoded and chaotic, wasteful, and uncreative."34

33 Indian University Reform I, op. cit., p. 51.

CHAPTER III
HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Introduction

India, since its independence in 1947, has undergone a transition from a society in which education was the privilege of a small minority to one in which it is more freely accessible to the masses. The primary interest of the British was to train personnel for administration, by creating an exclusive group of educated persons, proficient in the English language. They tried to preserve the elitist nature of the university and showed a strong "upper-class bias". As Altbach points out, "the university was a preserve of the upper classes and castes and was basically limited to the urban areas; while about 80 percent of India's population is now rural, the proportion was even higher prior to independence."¹

India has now committed itself to the creation of a new social order based on equality and social justice. The major developments that have occurred in Indian higher education during the post-independence era that have had an impact on this goal are: (1) significant increase in the number of colleges and universities; (2) phenomenal growth in student enrollment; (3) de-urbanization of colleges and universities; (4) programs to encourage women's education; (5) programs to bring

education to the underprivileged and minority groups; and (6) the progressive replacement of English by the regional language as the language of instruction in colleges and universities. This chapter describes and discusses each of the above developments and critically examines them in terms of Criterion I: The Ability to Secure Talent from the Total Population without Regard to Class or Racial Considerations.

Growth in the Number of Universities

One of the chief features of higher education in post-independent India has been the rapid increase in the number of colleges and universities. During the 20-year period 1947-1967, universities more than tripled in number and the number of colleges more than doubled.

TABLE I: GROWTH IN NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2,749</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA = not available.

Rudolph and Rudolph point out that

"the expansion of higher education has accelerated markedly after independence in 1947. . . The number of universities increased from 20 at independence (1947) to 82 (including 10 agricultural universities), 91 or 100 in 1970, depending on how they are counted. Some sense of distribution over time of the rate of growth can be gained from Figure 1;

![Figure 1. Indian university foundings, by decades. N = 82*](image)

Source: Inter University Board of India and Ceylon, Universities Handbook; India and Ceylon (New Delhi, 1971).

*In the three years 1967-1970, 15 universities were founded. At the rate of 5 per year, the decade 1967-76 could experience 50 foundings.
in the nine decades prior to independence 19 universities were established, while in twenty-three years since independence 63 were established. The number of university and affiliated colleges grew at an even faster rate between 1947 and 1968 than did the number of universities, 663 percent as against 270 percent. In 1947, there were 437 university and affiliated colleges and 20 universities; in 1967-68 the figures were 2899 and 74.\(^2\)

The colleges affiliated to the different universities play a central role in Indian higher education and together they account for over 85 percent of the total enrollment. This sharp increase in the number of colleges and universities to a large measure reflects the ever-increasing demand for higher education and the efforts on the part of the government and private groups to meet this need. Appendix B gives a list of all the universities arranged chronologically according to their dates of founding.

Growth in Enrollment

A parallel development which demonstrates that the "effective demand" for higher education has been rising continually is the significant increase in university enrollment that has occurred since 1947. In 1947, the total enrollment was only 0.26 million. However, at the

end of the second Five-Year Plan in 1960-61, it had risen to 0.74 million. It is estimated that this would further go up to 2.66 million in 1973-74, accounting for nearly 4 percent of the age group (as against 1.5 in 1960-61) as seen in Table II.

TABLE II: GROWTH IN UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Enrollment</th>
<th>Percent of Age Group (17-23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74 (target)</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arts, science and commerce subjects only. Includes the pre-university classes run by the universities.


The annual growth in enrollment during the period 1953-54 to 1969-70 is outlined in Table III. (The figures in Table II are lower than those in Table III since the former takes into account enrollment in arts, science and commerce subjects only, while Table III is more comprehensive and includes the professional schools, etc.) The annual growth rate has been about 10 percent per year.

This remarkable increase in the number of universities and colleges and in student enrollment is primarily the upshot of public and political pressure to bring university education to more and more students from diverse backgrounds. "In a country which is passing
TABLE III: GROWTH OF STUDENT ENROLLMENT 1953-54 TO 1967-68.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Enrollment Mil.</th>
<th>Increase Over Preceding Year Mil.</th>
<th>Rate of Growth Pct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Growth in Enrollment.
through a period of national awakening, the right to higher education is widely looked upon as almost a fundamental right." The enrollment explosion in Indian universities is also a clear expression of the "revolution of rising expectations."

And some of the measures that were taken to meet and contain this growing demand for higher education have been, first, the relaxation in admission requirements. It is estimated that one-half of those who complete high school seek opportunities for higher education. Except in some private colleges, on the whole, admission requirements are minimal. All high school graduates are automatically given admission to the degree course in liberal arts. The science and mathematics courses and the professional schools are more selective in their admission policies and have higher admission requirements. Closely linked to this is the problem of wastage (dropouts) or failure to pass the examinations. The open-door admission policy to a large extent is responsible for the high rate of failure. It is estimated that about 50 percent fail to complete the degree. Second, the provision of hostels (dormitories) and other facilities for students who cannot live at home while attending the university has contributed to this growth.

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Third, the establishment of colleges in smaller towns is bringing college education to the poorer segments of the population living away from large metropolitan areas.

It should be pointed out that inspite of vast numbers of students enrolled in Indian universities and colleges, the proportion of the age group engaged in higher education is low by international standards and the dropout rate is high. Only about 1 percent of the college age (17-23) population succeed in securing their first degree. Approximately 3 percent of the age group enroll in universities and colleges in India, opposed to the 10 percent who enroll in Britain and 35 percent in the USA. What is more, even within India there are significant regional differences in enrollment. For every million (of the age group), about 3,000 students enroll in colleges and universities for the nation as a whole. In Delhi, the ratio is much higher and as many as 9,000 students out of every million (of the age group) attend the university. In educationally backward states like Orissa and Rajasthan, only about 2,000 per million (of the age group) enter the universities and colleges.

Despite this, however, at the Conference of Vice-Chancellors (1969) Sri. V.K.R.V. Rao, then Minister of Education and Youth Services, had this comment:

"Enrollments in higher education are increasing very rapidly; and, as the available resources are distressingly inadequate, this leading to a deterioration in the level of facilities provided per student even in existing institutions and to the establishment of large numbers of new
institutions which are sub-standard, too small to be either economic or efficient and more often than not, ill-planned in their location."\(^4\)

Thus, a dilemma is created by increasing enrollments and decreasing per capita facilities. The rise in enrollments has brought in its wake several serious problems like a fall in standards, a deterioration in the quality of education, and unemployment and underemployment among university graduates.

The fourth Five-Year Plan according to Naik advocates a shift from programs of expansion to those of qualitative improvement. Also, the need for establishing priorities and using a selective approach is brought out. Naik notes that the first three Five-Year Plans had tended to adopt a "comprehensive" approach and tried to do something in every sector, however small. This proved to be a major weakness of educational planning and resulted in an uneconomical allocation of resources.\(^5\) Thus, it would be desirable to restrict enrollments at the university stage on the basis of a realistic assessment of facilities— in terms of teachers, equipment, estimated manpower needs and/or employment opportunities. The total number of students to be admitted to a college or to a university should be definitely fixed on the basis of these considerations and strictly adhered to.

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Myrdal sums up that "planning documents, reports by national and international expert groups, and other literature on the subject have for years contained warnings that the uncontrolled expansion of the educational system cannot be tolerated as long as insufficient attention is paid to improving the quality of schooling."\(^6\)

A different viewpoint is expressed by Rudolph and Rudolph. They note,

"to those who were excluded from higher education in the pre-independence period by the limited number of seats in colleges and by high fees and admission standards, the present, whatever its inadequacies, appears as a net improvement, although the mounting levels of student unrest suggest that many sense they are getting inferior education."\(^7\)

De-Urbanization of Colleges and Universities

Special emphasis is placed on making available to students from backward communities and rural areas opportunities for obtaining a university education. With this in view the state governments are trying to locate new universities and colleges in the rural areas. The aim is to achieve a wide geographic distribution of these new facilities. Examples of this trend are seen in many of the new campuses established


\(^7\) Rudolph and Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
outside the large cities. The establishment of agricultural universities modelled on the land grant institutions in the U.S. also deserves special mention. "The agricultural universities now numbering 12, set up with the cooperation of the United States, give special emphasis to integration of teaching, field work, and research." These are usually established in heavily agricultural areas and give considerable emphasis to university extension. The affiliated colleges too are dispersed all over the country.

Altbach remarks that

"one of the most significant patterns of higher educational development in the post-independence period has been the de-urbanization of colleges and universities. Many of the 49 universities founded since 1947 are located outside major cities, as are a large proportion of the new colleges. . . while there are no national statistics as yet, it seems clear that a growing proportion of the student population now comes from smaller towns and even villages which never before had access to higher education."[9]

Programs for Women

There are about a quarter of a million women in universities and colleges in India. However, only about 19 percent of the total student


9Altbach, op. cit., p. 333.
population consists of women. The number of women in universities has risen dramatically since independence. The universities admit women to all courses open to men. Traditionally, the curricula most favored by women have been arts and science, education, commerce, medicine, nursing and home economics. Women are now enrolling in such diverse fields as law, engineering (all branches), economics, nuclear physics, architecture, and all branches of technology. Table IV gives an indication of current trends in women's education in relation to rising enrollment on a nationwide basis.

**TABLE IV. NUMBER OF WOMEN FOR EVERY 100 MEN ENROLLED.***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Stage</th>
<th>1950-51</th>
<th>1955-56</th>
<th>1960-61</th>
<th>1965-71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Education:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total enrollment (000's)</td>
<td>40'</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number of women for every 100 men enrolled</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Courses:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total enrollment (000's)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number of women for every 100 men enrolled</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table IV shows that the number of girls for every 100 boys enrolled both under general education and under professional courses has been registering a gradual, but consistent, growth. Thus, it went up from 14 in 1951 to 24 in 1971 in the case of general education. And in the
field of professional education, the figure rose from 5 in 1951 to 14 in 1971. This trend is continuing. "The number of women students in Indian higher education has grown at a very fast rate, much more than the growth rate for total enrollment. . . . In the Delhi University, women students constitute more than 40% of the total enrollment,"

Educational Opportunities for the (Underprivileged) Poor and Minority Groups

Significant progress has been achieved during the First, Second, and Third Plan periods in reducing the sharp inequalities in educational opportunity that existed in 1951. For example, there was only minimal provision for scholarships in 1947. Now, however, about 7 percent of the total expenditures on education is for student aid. At the state level an increasing number of fellowships, scholarships and stipends are available at the university stage. The University Grants Commission has several liberal scholarships for students doing post-graduate work.

The purpose of the students' Aid Fund in universities and colleges is to render financial aid to poor students to meet their tuition or examination fees. During the Fourth Plan period it is anticipated that the University Grants Commission will continue to provide extensive

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10 Kothari, op. cit., p. 204.

assistance for post-graduate education. At the undergraduate level scholarships for assisting students from the backward classes will increase from Rs. 145,000 in 1968-69 to about Rs. 200,000 in 1973-74.12

Since most of the scholarships are given on the basis of financial need and also to those from underprivileged areas and castes, practically all needy students belonging to the scheduled castes can get a free university education provided they are able to get passing grades. Thus, Clark Kerr comments that "in India higher education is now within the reach of young people from diverse backgrounds. In fact, college education for students from the formerly untouchable castes and some tribal groups is now entirely free."13

In defense of the official policy in favor of expanding educational opportunity, Naik comments:

"It must be recognized that this expansion has played a dynamic part in the transformation of Indian society, which is essentially unequal, where wealth and rank enjoy many privileges while the handicaps of the underprivileged are numerous, and where occupational mobility is small and

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employment opportunities, neither ample nor diversified. In such a society, it is only educational opportunity that can be relatively equalized by public policy."¹⁴

Mahalanobis finds that "the only real remedy" for the gross inequality inherent in the present system "is to make education entirely free and also to ensure that no deserving student would be deprived of educational opportunities on account of poverty."¹⁵ As a first step, Mahalanobis would abolish fees in the universities. Naik, on the other hand, asks for "adequate provision of free studentships and scholarships for the needy and gifted." Naik concludes that "the greater proportion of students will continue to come from the upper classes and that an abolition of fees would amount in effect to giving a subsidy to the well-to-do."¹⁶

Some educators have suggested a correlation between failure to complete the degree (dropping out) or failure in the examinations and the socio-economic level of parents and their education level. Two studies are quoted by Myrdal in Asian Drama to illustrate this: (1) a study by Kamat and Deshmukh¹⁷ on Wastage in College Education, and (2) a study undertaken by the Kerala University.¹⁸

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¹⁴Naik, op. cit., p. 85.
¹⁵Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1818.
¹⁶Ibid., p. 1819.
Kamat and Deshmukh in their study analyzed the results of the 1961 pre-degree* examination held at the end of the first year in all the colleges of Poona University. It showed a 60 percent rate of failure. A second study to find out how many completed the first degree revealed that 51 percent of the students in the Arts subjects and 48 percent in the Science subjects failed to do so. The study also revealed that girls, who on the average had had better grades in the secondary schools than boys, showed a higher percentage reaching graduation and a shorter average period of study. The better performance of the girls is explained, at least in part, by the fact they often came from the upper strata (classes). Higher caste students and those from wealthier backgrounds showed superior college performance—understandably since such students have had the advantage of a more sophisticated home environment and have more often attended (private) primary and secondary schools of superior quality.

A close relationship between student performance and the economic and social status of their families is revealed by a sample study undertaken by the Education Department at Kerala University. About

*The pre-degree and pre-university courses are interposed between the last year at the high school and the first year of the three-year degree course. These courses are offered by the university and as such form an important facet of higher education. The duration of the pre-degree courses is two years and that of the pre-university course, one year. The majority of the universities have the pre-university degree while universities like Poona and Kerala have a pre-degree course consisting of two years.
half of the students (included in the study) came from families with a monthly income per family member of below Rs. 50 ($7). Two-thirds of these students did not receive degrees. The percentage of those passing rose with family income; of those students whose parents had monthly incomes above Rs. 200 ($27), 89 percent passed. Of the 12 percent of the students whose father's were illiterate, only 28 percent passed their examination. Of the 16 percent of the students whose fathers or guardians were university graduates, 88 percent were successful. Thus, there was a positive correlation between family income and education level on the one hand and student performance on the other.

The Education Commission (1964-66) notes

"A major objective of policy in selecting students for admission should be to secure social justice and to spread the net wide enough to catch all available talent. It will be necessary, therefore, to make some allowance for the handicaps created by the adverse conditions in which many students from rural areas, from urban slums and from the underprivileged classes have to study."19

Language of Instruction

The ability to secure talent from the total population without regard to class or racial considerations is directly dependent on the kind of educational policy that the government formulates and its impact on the development and growth of talent in a total context.

19 Indian University Reform II, Minerva, Spring 1967, p. 250.
Viewed against this perspective, the question of the language (medium) of instruction at the university level assumes a new relevance and significance.

The change in the social class composition of the typical college student has serious implications. Shils comments that

"the offspring of the lower middle classes, the sons of peasants are now much more likely to be found among the millions of college and university students than was the case two or three decades ago. . . . Neither modern learning nor English as the language of modern learning has furnished their minds before coming up from secondary school. . . . Their poorer linguistic equipment also places them in a very difficult situation"20

when they enter the university environment.

Thus, even though traditionally English has been the language of instruction at the university level, it is being systematically replaced by the regional language. As early as 1948, the Report of the University Education Commission suggested that English should be replaced in five years by the regional language. Even though all students in Indian schools study English as a second language, they still find it very difficult to make the transition to the use of English as the language of instruction and examination at the university level.

Due to public demand and demand from the various State Governments the trend is for the regional language to replace English as the medium

of instruction in the Indian universities. In the state schools and other public schools the regional language is the medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary levels. It is claimed by the majority that the use of English as the language of instruction at the university level gives an unfair advantage to those students who have had their entire elementary and high school education in private English medium schools. The latter naturally are more proficient in the English language and often come from the wealthier upper and middle classes and from the urban areas.

In recognition of a growing demand from many sections of the country several Indian universities have changed the language of instruction at the university level to the regional language. According to Altbach:

"The decision to shift the medium of instruction involved a long debate and was as much the product of political pressure as of academic argument. Newly articulate elements of the population who aspired to a university education but did not have command of English demanded a shift. . . . Regionalization will mean that higher education will become more democratic in that students from lower socio-economic groups who have not had their secondary education in English will be able to compete on a more equal basis at the university level."21

Many proponents of the regional language claim that this much-needed reform will raise standards of higher education, release crea-

21 Altbach, op. cit., p. 338.
tive energies of the people, accelerate the process of modernization and reduce the gulf between the intelligentsia and the people. Those who oppose this move contend that regionalizing the language of instruction at the university level will adversely affect the unity of the country and lead to academic fragmentation and isolation.

Triguna Sen counters the above argument by reminding that

"National Integration is of two types. The first is the integration between the intelligentsia and the masses in the same region and the second is the integration of the intelligentsia from different linguistic regions. The adoption of the regional languages as media of education will secure the first type of integration—namely the integration between the intelligentsia and the masses in the same linguistic region. The second type of integration can be fostered and preserved through the continued use of English and Hindi as link languages. English has unfortunately assumed, through sheer historic accident, two widely different roles in the context of Indian higher education. I welcome that English which serves me as a window on the world and helps me to enrich the languages of my country. But I have no use for that English which alienates me from my own people, makes 98% of my countrymen foreigners in their land of birth, and has become the status symbol of a privileged and exploiting class."

The recommendation of the Education Commission (1964-66) concurs with this view:

"The development of the modern Indian languages is inextricably linked with the place given to them in the

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educational system, especially at the university stage. The medium selected should enable students to acquire knowledge with facility to express themselves with clarity and to think with precision and vigour. From this point of view, the claims of the mother-tongue are pre-eminent . . . . It would, therefore, be unwise to strive to reverse the present trend for the adoption of the regional languages as media of education at the university stage and to insist on the use of a common medium in higher education throughout the country.  

The University Grants Commission has cautioned that change to the regional language should be preceded by an adequate preparation of a sufficient quantity of high quality books and other educational material in the regional languages. Several universities in India still use English as the sole medium of instruction or at least as an associate medium of instruction. It is interesting to note that the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi have refused to switch over to the regional language as the medium of instruction. They hold the view that the regional languages are not yet ready to assume the role of the instructional medium at the university level. Table V lists universities using English as the medium of instruction.

It is obvious that the exchange of teachers and students between universities is vital not only for purposes of national solidarity but also for the exchange of knowledge and dissemination of the work.

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TABLE V: UNIVERSITIES USING ENGLISH AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annamalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

done in the various fields in the universities. Hence, the absence of a link language like English will present insuperable difficulties with respect to inter-university communication. This will lead to academic inbreeding on a large scale. Most educationists in the country express the fear that in the absence of a recognized link language literary and scientific activity and professional efficiency may suffer.

In spite of the warnings of academicians

"35 universities in the country allow a regional language as a medium of examination. In nearly 15 universities the proportion of students opting for the regional language as a medium at this level is 90 per cent or more. In 17 universities, the regional language can be used as the medium of education at the post-graduate stage also. It is even more important to realize that the pace of this change is being quickened by several factors, such as, the keenness of the State Governments to bring about this change and pressure from students who desire an easy way out."24

Summary

The above discussion makes it clear that the major developments in the realm of Indian higher education during the post-independent era have contributed significantly to increasing its ability to secure talent from the total population without regard to class or racial considerations. There has been a progressive democratization of the country's higher educational system since independence (1947). Given the physical, institutional and financial constraints within which the country operates, the accomplishments so far have been impressive. However, a great deal remains to be done—the crusade has just begun.
CHAPTER IV
QUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Introduction

The pressing need for a drastic revamping of India's higher education system is a constant and recurrent theme in literature pertaining to university education in India. The Government of India declared in 1964 that "qualitative improvements in education have not kept pace with quantitative expansion, and national policies and programs concerning the quality of education, even when these were well conceived and generally agreed to, could not be implemented satisfactorily."\(^1\) Although Indian planners talked of radical or revolutionary changes, they introduced only moderate reforms in practice. Naik notes that what has happened during 1947-1965 is merely an expansion of the earlier system with a few marginal changes in content and technique.\(^2\) As the Education Commission (1964-66) points out,

"Indian education needs drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution. ... Tinkering with the existing situation won't do. ... We must either build a sound, balanced effective and imaginative educational system to meet our

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\(^1\) Dongerkery, S.R., University Education in India, (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1967), p. 158.

developing needs and respond to our challenging aspirations or be content to be swept aside by the strong currents of history.\footnote{3}

Viewed against this background, Clark Kerr's choice of the quality and balance of service (Criterion II) for the evaluation of systems of higher education takes on a new significance, since in a developing country (like India) most of this comes under the heading of modernization.\footnote{4}

This chapter discusses the major attempts to modernize and improve the quality of education at the university level in post-independence India. Certain crucial areas like: (1) the examination system; (2) courses of study; (3) the quality of instruction; (4) status of university teachers; and (5) reorganizing undergraduate and graduate education are critically appraised in this connection. Special attention has been given to the efforts of the University Grants Commission (UGC) in this area.

Examination System

The Report of the University Education Commission (1948) stated:


We are convinced that if we are to suggest any single reform in university education, it should be that of the examinations.\(^5\)

The various components of the educational process like examinations, curriculum and teaching methods are interdependent and reform in one area will naturally affect the others. Absence of any reform in the examination system in spite of the severe criticism over the years can be explained in part by the fact that a radical change in the pattern of examination would involve a corresponding modification in the courses of study and teaching methods. The significant role that examinations play in the current system has prompted the University Grants Commission to make examination reform one of its major concerns. Thus, examination reform is urgently called for, since the current system has a negative effect on the standards of teaching and learning.

Teaching in Indian universities is dominated by the system of external examinations. Instead of being student-centered, teaching is usually examination-centered. Teachers seldom make the effort to keep abreast of new developments in their fields. What matters is to have an awareness of the exact scope of the syllabus and the capacity to communicate it to the students with an eye on the examinations. Since

courses of study are not periodically revised or updated the teacher has every reason to be complacent. In essence, then, the examination becomes rigidly linked to the syllabus.

Examinations are prepared by external examiners who are provided with copies of the syllabi in various subjects. The typical question paper consists of a fixed number of essay-type questions. The scope of the questions is limited by the syllabus and often questions that had been asked in previous examinations are repeated. Only a small percentage of the questions are new each year. The rest are duplicates or variants of what has gone before. Thus, the teachers and pupils are engaged in the task of second guessing the paper-setter and preparing answers to possible (probable) questions that may appear in the university examination.

The evaluation and grading is also very unreliable since several examiners correct the answer papers. It is well known that no two examiners can possibly have the same standard of allotting marks. Marks often did not reflect the student's true abilities and showed no correlation to his performance in class. The marks secured in these examinations are usually used as the sole criterion for admission at the various levels. Teacher evaluation (internal assessment) does not in any way influence the student's score.

The average student is only interested in passing the examination and often his knowledge is very superficial. In general, the majority
of the students have very poor study habits with heavy reliance on last-minute cramming, study-guides and notes. They also waste a great deal of time during the academic year, paying very little attention to class work or tests. The rationale for introducing internal assessment as a supplement to the external examination is not so much to evolve a fool-proof system of evaluation but to encourage the student to apply himself regularly to his work.

The following excerpt from the Asian Drama about examinations in Pakistan is equally applicable to India:

"Essay type examinations are the only criteria for judging the merits of students. Teachers and students concentrate on acquisition of information useful for passing such tests. Students depend more on rote memory rather than understanding of problems and development of reasoning and analytical powers to meet new situations and solve new problems in life. Consequently, examinations control the content of education . . . students usually reserve the last few weeks before the examination for intensive work and often depend on notes rather than authoritative textbooks."6

The Education Commission (1964-66) agrees with the above view and comments that "the dead weight of examination has tended to curb the teachers' initiative, to promote mechanical and lifeless methods of

teaching, to discourage all spirit of experimentation and place the stress on the wrong or unimportant things in education."^7

Taylor makes the following observation about the examination system in Indian universities:

"The basic system is rarely questioned, for it has become traditional and strongly entrenched. But traditions, however well established, should not be taken for granted, especially at a time when we are attempting to re-think and re-assess the whole examination system. The present system is now known to be very inefficient as an academic selection process. It is also inefficient administratively and financially."^8

It is in light of the above discussion that we have to consider the efforts of the University Grants Commission to reform the existing pattern of examinations. It is one of the statutory functions of the UGC to consider problems relating to examinations and to effect the necessary improvements. The recommendations of the UGC Committee on Examination Reform can be summarized as follows:

1. In the final assessment of students, due weight should be given to classwork (sessional work). This would provide the teacher with the opportunity to assess the progress of the student through periodic tests. Credit for classwork should be given in all courses. About 40 percent of the final grade should be supplied by the internal assessment and 60 percent by the external examination.

2. Improved teaching techniques like tutorials, seminars and discussion groups should replace at least 50 percent of the lectures.

3. The procedure for reporting grades should be improved and transcripts should show a letter grade instead of the actual score secured in the examination. For example, the grade "A" would mean that the student is in the top 20 percent of those who were successful in the examination.

4. Examinations in courses spread over a period of two or more years should be conveniently spaced in order to avoid concentration in the final year.

5. Objective-type questions (multiple choice, short answer, true-false, matching, etc.) and viva voce exams should supplement the essay-type questions in the examinations. Attempts should be made to improve the reliability and validity of the essay-type examination.

The ultimate failure or success of the attempts to bring about examination reform will depend on the universities. Since the UGC is basically a policy-making body the burden of implementation lies with the universities. They have to initiate change from within and it is their responsibility to see that the reforms are effective.

The universities have been very slow in implementing the reforms suggested by the UGC. The trend has been to introduce the semester system with examinations at the end of each semester. The Indian Institute of Technology (IIT's) have successfully adopted the organiza-
tional and evaluative procedures current in the U.S. Since these are unitary institutions, it is possible to do this effectively. In an affiliating university such a system will not be practical. Aligarh Muslim University, Banaras Hindu University and Meerut University have introduced the semester system of instruction and evaluation. Many professional colleges already follow this system and more universities are expressing interest in introducing changes in their colleges.

Courses of Study

A discussion of "standards" in university education naturally calls for a close look at the quality and relevance of the courses of study. The syllabi and courses of study are often out-of-date. The problem of formulating relevant and up-to-date courses of study in Indian universities should be viewed against the broader perspective of the knowledge explosion that has occurred during the last two decades. Dynamic changes are taking place in different disciplines and the need for evaluation and revision of courses of study is crucial. The Report on Standards of University Education has pointed out that in many universities in India the courses of study are archaic and have undergone little revision and updating.

"It is therefore imperative that the universities should exercise great vigilance and responsibility in regard to modernization and improvement of their syllabuses
(syllabi) if they are to do their job effectively and succeed in imparting living knowledge to their students."  

A redefinition of goals and objectives should precede any attempt to revise or update a course of study. This will give direction and guidance to the teachers who will be called upon to teach these courses. In the past there has been a tendency to merely list the topics to be taught with no attempt at defining the objectives of the course. The problem of implementing will be made easier if operational definitions are used wherever possible.

Modernization of courses can be achieved if there is a vigorous intellectual tradition flourishing in the university. It is the duty of the academic community to institute the necessary changes to keep the courses up-to-date. Yet, it is a generally recognized fact that barring a few exceptions the courses taught in Indian universities are outdated.  

The caliber and training of the college teacher should be such that he can play a major role in keeping the courses in his field up-to-date.

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The responsibility for drawing up courses of study in different subjects and modifying them periodically belongs to the Boards of Studies in the universities. Before any changes can be made official the Board has to get the approval of organizations like the Academic Council and the Syndicate. It is usually a very protracted process and often gets modified along the way so that some of the basic objectives have to be sacrificed. The University Grants Commission is trying to standardize these procedures and offer advice based on the recommendations to the review committees.

Quality of Instruction

It happens very often that the quality of the teaching staff, particularly in the affiliated colleges, is so poor that they are incapable of handling the new courses properly. They do not keep abreast of changes in their fields and are often unable to cope with the revised courses. The sad fact must be recognized that the vast majority of colleges and university departments are not equal to the demands which modernization of courses will make on them. Thus, Rege concludes that:

"the odds against them are stupendous—their own inadequate training and equipment, the pitifully meagre resources available to the educational institutions, the large masses of poorly trained, apathetic students they have to handle,
the entrenched system of education which smothers academic initiative and compels everyone to fall into a rigid pattern.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1959, the University Grants Commission appointed review committees to make a broad survey and assess the standards of teaching and research in a number of important subjects, and facilities available for the purpose, and to recommend the steps to be taken (including modernization of syllabi) in order to raise the general level of academic attainment and research in the universities.\textsuperscript{12} Out of the 17 review committees appointed by the Commission, 8 were in the sciences and 9 in humanities and social sciences. The recommendations of these committees were circulated among the universities during 1966-67.

Status of University Teachers

The problem of providing adequate training for its teachers is one of the prime responsibilities of the colleges. In-service training and refresher courses designed especially for college teachers are essential if the caliber of the teachers is to be improved. The improvement of standards of teaching is one of the major goals of the University Grants Commission. As such, it has been providing assistance to universities for programs designed to enhance the competence of the teachers.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 124.

faculty. For this several seminars, symposia, refresher courses and summer institutes are organized annually.

The University Education Commission (1964-66) expresses the view that

"Of all the different factors which influence the quality of education and its contribution to national development, the quality, competence and character of teachers are undoubtedly the most significant. Nothing is more important than securing a sufficient supply of high quality recruits to the teaching profession, providing them with the best possible professional preparation and creating satisfactory conditions of work in which they can be fully effective."13

Myrdal agrees with the Commission regarding the high priority accorded this mission. Yet he expresses doubt about its implementation. He feels that raising the economic and social status of college teachers on a nationwide basis constitutes a reform of formidable proportions.14

Kabir attributes the low social and economic status of the college teacher to the following factors:

"The salaries of teachers which were in any case unsatisfactory, have now become inadequate even for bare subsistence. . . . The low income and the demand for a larger number of teachers threw the profession open to people who were not qualified. . . . A vicious circle has thus been set up by which the loss in leadership of teachers tends


14 Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1822.
on the one hand to keep abler people away from the profession and on the other because able people keep away, teachers progressively lose their leadership.\textsuperscript{15}

Thus, a substantial improvement in salaries, accompanied by a corresponding increase in social status, is essential if talented young scholars are to choose college teaching as a career. From its inception, the UGC has been involved in efforts to raise the scales of pay for university and college teachers. The Commission has constantly stressed that improvement of teachers' salaries is vital to the whole effort to improve standards of teaching and research.

"In any society the number of people with exceptional ability is necessarily limited but they are in great demand for positions in different fields such as administration, business, industry and the professions. But, we have to ensure that the universities are able to attract and retain a reasonable proportion of the talented group. It is in this context that the question of salaries becomes important. In the absence of parity between salaries offered by the universities and the salaries prevailing in other competitive sectors, a migration of talent takes place from teaching to more lucrative jobs."\textsuperscript{16}

The UGC has embarked on a systematic program to improve the salaries of both university teachers and teachers in the affiliated colleges. Revised scales of pay proposed by the UGC are given in Table VI.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., pp. 1785-86.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Salary Range in Rs./Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Departments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>1,100 - 1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader</td>
<td>700  - 1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>400  - 950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliated Colleges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Colleges:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>700  - 1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer (senior scale)</td>
<td>400  - 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer (junior scale)</td>
<td>300  - 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor/Demonstrator</td>
<td>250  - 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate Colleges:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>800  - 1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader/Senior Lecturer</td>
<td>700  - 1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer (senior scale)</td>
<td>400  - 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer (junior scale)</td>
<td>300  - 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor/Demonstrator</td>
<td>250  - 400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As of 1967, 705 colleges had followed the revised salary scales and about 17,000 teachers had benefited from this revision. According to the regulation, UGC will pay 80 percent of the increased cost resulting from the adoption of the revised scale of pay and the State Government or the university will pay the remaining 20 percent.

Table VI indicates that the revised scales of pay for teachers of affiliated colleges is much lower than those in the university departments. The UGC pays 50 percent of the additional expense in women's colleges. This is because the salary in women's colleges is usually lower than that in coeducational institutions.

There is an urgent need to bridge the gap between the scales of pay in university departments and affiliated colleges. In the absence of this parity, the affiliated colleges will continue to lose their ablest teachers to the university departments and will find it hard to recruit and retain promising new scholars.

Two other measures suggested by the Committee on Collegiate Education to improve the standards of teaching in affiliated colleges are first, no college should be granted affiliation by a university unless the basic requirement relating to staff, library and laboratory facilities are provided at the very outset; and second, tutorial instruction should be provided on a large-scale at the undergraduate level.

It is difficult to implement the first recommendation since in many of the colleges that are already affiliated the above facilities
are extremely inadequate. These colleges are seldom, if every, disaffiliated. At best, the above requirement can be met only in the case of new colleges seeking affiliation.

It is equally difficult to implement the second proposal since colleges are usually overcrowded and there is an acute shortage of classroom space. The poor teacher-pupil ratio is another obstacle.

In 1963-64, the total faculty numbered 68,634 which for a student population of 1.2 million gives a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:17.3. During 1968-69, the situation deteriorated and the ratio changed adversely to 1:18.7. The following table lists some revealing data.

**TABLE VII: STAFF-STUDENT RATIO, 1965.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Staff-Student Ratio</th>
<th>No. of Universities in the Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1:10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Between 1:10 and 1:20</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Worse than 1:20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the majority of the affiliated colleges, particularly at the undergraduate level, the ratio is closer to 1:30. If this imbalance is to be corrected the increase in number of teachers should be accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the rate of growth of enrollments. The prospect of this happening in the immediate future
is highly unlikely. Thus, with a low staff-student ratio the number of tutorials becomes automatically restricted.

Re-organization of Undergraduate Education: The Three-Year Degree Course

The introduction of the three-year degree on an all-India basis is a major innovation in the field of undergraduate education. This change was really an attempt to improve the quality of education at this level and also to achieve an overall coordination of standards. Before 1955, undergraduate education followed the pattern that had been established under the British. The old scheme consisted of two years at the intermediate level followed by two years for the B.A. or B.Sc. degree (Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree).

Since the fall in standards was most noticeable at the undergraduate level the Ministry of Education and other agencies like the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Inter-University Board and the Conference of Vice-Chancellors agreed that some innovations and improvements should be introduced in this area without undue delay. Hence, the following resolution was accepted in 1955:

"Resolved that the Universities in India should take immediate steps to ensure that the change-over to the new pattern of educational reorganization, i.e., higher secondary school should be continued up to the age of 17+ to be followed by a three-year integrated course leading to a Bachelor's degree is completed by 1961 at the latest."

17 Ibid., p. 30.
The University Grants Commission was entrusted with the task of estimating the additional expenses that this change-over would involve. Federal funds were provided through the University Grants Commission to help the universities defray this additional expense.

The three-year degree course is now the accepted pattern of undergraduate education in India, except in the University of Bombay and the four state universities in Uttar Pradesh, viz., Agra, Allahabad, Gorakhpur and Lucknow. By 1965, according to UGC estimates, 42 universities had introduced the three-year degree course (see Table VIII). What prompted this change was the hope that the introduction of the three-year degree course would provide

"a compact, integrated course of study for the first degree and a stimulus to improve standards of teaching and examination. The UGC had hoped that the new system would provide the much needed opportunity to revise the syllabuses, introduce general education courses, reduce over-crowding in colleges, improve the student-teacher ratio, strengthen laboratories, replenish libraries, and wherever possible institute a sound tutorial system."18

In this case, as in the case of many other attempts at modernization and innovation, the problem was one of implementation. While some universities used this opportunity to bring about a radical change in their programs, others merely changed the old pattern of 2 + 2 to 1 + 3.

TABLE VIII: LIST OF UNIVERSITIES WITH THREE-YEAR DEGREE COURSE, 1965.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of University</th>
<th>Year of Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Aligarh Muslim University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Andhra University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Annamalai University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Banaras Hindu University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bhagalpur University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bihar University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Burdwan University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Calcutta University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Delhi University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gauhati University</td>
<td>1943-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gujarat University</td>
<td>1963-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Jabalpur University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Jadavpur University</td>
<td>1956-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Jodhpur University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Karnataka University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Kerala University</td>
<td>1957-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Kuruksetra University</td>
<td>1961-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Madras University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Magadh University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. M.S. University of Baroda</td>
<td>1957-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Marathwada University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Mysore University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Nagpur University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. North Bengal University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Osmania University</td>
<td>1957-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Panjab University</td>
<td>1961-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Patna University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Poona University</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Punjabi University</td>
<td>1961-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Rabindra Bharati</td>
<td>1963-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Rajasthan University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Ranchi University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Saugar University</td>
<td>1956-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Shivaji University</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII: (continued).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of University</th>
<th>Year of Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38. S.N.D.T. Women's University</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Sri Venkateswara University</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Utkal University</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Vikram University</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Visva-Bharati</td>
<td>1954-55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was little attempt to improve the quality of education or revise the content of the courses. The universities were quick to see the advantages of getting aid from the UGC to improve their programs. However, only a few succeeded in really achieving a well-integrated course of study in their universities. Since the decision in these matters rests with the universities themselves, there was very little that the University Grants Commission could do to ensure a more uniform system. Further, the switch-over in many universities from English to the regional language has further compounded the problem. Teaching in the regional languages is handicapped by the inadequacy of books and other reading material and the improper preparation of the teachers to teach through the new language of instruction.

It is estimated that nearly 250 million rupees were spent on this innovation by the UGC. It is doubtful whether the measure has really resulted in any appreciable rise in the standards of undergraduate education.

In the case of the three-year degree course, the University Grants Commission provides 50 percent of all the recurring and non-recurring expenditures. These grants are to improve the physical and academic facilities in hopes of bringing about an improvement in the quality of undergraduate education.

There is widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of education at the pre-university level. This one year course which in many univer-
sities precedes the three-year degree course is considered to be very inefficient. Some objections are levelled against the short duration of the course (8 to 9 months), too much emphasis on content, poor comprehension of the English language on the part of the students, and the problems of making a smooth transition from the high school to the university level. The majority of the students at this stage are about 16 years of age and as such quite immature. These students find it hard to adjust to the new university environment.

The major shortcoming of this system is that instead of adding one more year to the high school, the majority of the states introduced the pre-university course in the colleges. Dissatisfaction with this has led to some experimentation in one or two states. Delhi has 12 years as part of the school system and 3 years at the university level. The University of Kerala has a two-year, pre-degree course, followed by the three-year degree course. These two years are similar to the Junior Colleges or Community Colleges in the United States. Some educators claim that this would be a more appropriate innovation in the Indian context. "In this situation facing our country, of ever-increasing numbers flocking to the universities the Junior College could play a useful and significant role."

The advantages of a two-year Junior College are:

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1. It could provide for many who desire a university education an opportunity to do so at least for a period of two years. For some this could be terminal while for others it could be a convenient point of departure for vocational training or admission to the Polytechnics.

2. For the rest of the student body the two years could serve as preparation for the three-year degree course at the university level. The University of Kerala already has the two-year pre-degree course for this purpose.

The foregoing discussion leads to the conclusion that any real attempts at improving the standards of university education should come from the universities and colleges. It cannot be imposed from above. The UGC has a major role to play as an advisory body and also as the agent of the Government of India to disburse Federal Aid. The efforts of the UGC to maintain and coordinate standards can be effective only if there is 100 percent cooperation from the universities and colleges. If this is not the case standards will continue to remain uneven with just pockets of excellence, while the majority of the colleges will continue to provide sub-standard education. Since more than 85 percent of the students receive their education in affiliated colleges, the quality of university education in India will depend largely on the standards maintained in these colleges.

Reform in Graduate Studies: Centers of Advanced Study

The quality of education and the caliber of the students is much more satisfactory at the graduate level (referred to as post-graduate...
in India) than it is at the undergraduate stage. This is the result of more selective admissions based on merit. The quality of the faculty at this level is also superior since the conditions of work are better at this stage of university education. Thus, the UGC claims that "the generalization that there is an overall deterioration of standards cannot be applied indiscriminately"\(^\text{20}\) to all facets of higher education, especially to education at the graduate level (post-graduate).

Rudolph and Rudolph note that

"Although post-graduate education has improved since independence, the ordinary B.A.-B.Sc. education has probably suffered in the aggregate. . . . It is probably safe to conclude that the head of the academic procession has improved over its counterpart at independence, while its much larger tail has suffered from the enormous expansion in education."\(^\text{21}\)

The educational planners feel that since graduate education is a crucial sector, every attempt should be made to raise the quality of teaching and research in this sector to the level of international standards. The first three Five-Year Plans had adopted the comprehensive, rather than the selective, approach to educational spending. Since overall qualitative improvement in higher education has been very


marginal, planners like Naik recommend a "selective" approach to educational planning.

"At the institutional level, the establishment of five Institutes of Technology which maintain peaks of excellence, and the University Centres of Advanced Study which attempt a symbiotic combination of research and teaching to attain excellence at the post-graduate stage are examples of the successful application of the selective approach."22

The UGC introduced an innovation of nationwide significance in 1963-64 when it established the Centers of Advanced Study in selected universities. These centers were to encourage the pursuit of excellence and to accelerate the attainment of international standards.

"The concentration of our relatively meagre resources in terms of competent personnel and specialized equipment at a few centres is obviously necessary if worthwhile results are to be achieved in a reasonable time."23

These centers function on an all-India basis. They provide opportunities and facilities for advanced study and research in selected areas to scholars from all parts of India. It is also one of the aims of these centers to train teachers and researchers to help improve the quality of instruction at the university level.

The centers, located in promising departments in several universities, were selected on the basis of their reputation for scholarly

22Naik, op. cit., p. 105.

work and research, existing facilities, quality of publications and potential for development. Table IX shows that the centers are located in departments which enjoy national reputation like Botany and Crystallography in Madras, Marine Biology in Annamalai and Indian Philosophy at Banaras, to mention just a few.

These centers are integral parts of the universities, but at the same time have a greater degree of autonomy to ensure their effective operation. Scholars from all over India attend these centers. Out of the 100 National Scholarships awarded annually for study in these centers, 50 percent are reserved for students from other universities. The language of instruction at these centers is English. In 1967, 2,000 students received training in the Centers of Advanced Study. The UGC has allotted 20 million rupees for their operation. Additional centers were established in 1968.

In addition to the generous assistance provided by the UGC, UNESCO and Great Britain are involved in developing these "centers of excellence". They provide both financial aid and the loan of foreign scholars in the relevant disciplines. In addition to the visiting foreign scholars, scholars from other universities in India also spend brief periods at these centers to get further training in their fields.

Charles Morris stated in his report to the Government of the United Kingdom:
TABLE IX: CENTERS OF ADVANCED STUDY.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Department Recognized as Center of Advanced Study</th>
<th>Major Field of Specialization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. SCIENCES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Annamalai</td>
<td>1. Marine Biology</td>
<td>Marine Biology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Calcutta</td>
<td>2. Chemical Technology</td>
<td>Applied Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Delhi</td>
<td>1. Mathematics</td>
<td>Applied Mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore</td>
<td>2. Radiophysics &amp; Electronics</td>
<td>Radiophysics &amp; Electronics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Madras</td>
<td>1. Physics</td>
<td>Theoretical Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Osmania</td>
<td>2. Chemistry</td>
<td>Chemistry of Natural Products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Aligarh</td>
<td>1. History</td>
<td>Medieval Indian History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Annamalai</td>
<td>1. Linguistics</td>
<td>Dravidian Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Baroda</td>
<td>1. Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Banaras</td>
<td>1. Philosophy</td>
<td>Indian Philosophy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IX: (continued).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Department Recognized as Center of Advanced Study</th>
<th>Major Field of Specialization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Calcutta</td>
<td>1. Ancient Indian History &amp; Culture</td>
<td>Ancient Indian History &amp; Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sociology</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Delhi</td>
<td>1. Economics</td>
<td>Economic Development &amp; Economic History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sociology</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Poona</td>
<td>1. Economics (Gokhale Inst.)</td>
<td>Agricultural Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Linguistics (Deccan College)</td>
<td>Applied Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Sanskrit</td>
<td>Sanskrit Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Visva-Bharati</td>
<td>1. Philosophy</td>
<td>Metaphysics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The basic motive behind the scheme for centres of advanced studies is that a restricted number of university departments is to preserve and improve standards of research and teaching in the university system. At a time of great and rapid expansion of the national student body, there is inevitably a shortage of money and of highly qualified staff; even more urgently, there is a grave shortage of foreign exchange. If money and distinguished staff are spread too thinly over the large university system, it would not be possible for any single centre of university research and advanced teaching to maintain world standards of the highest level."24

Constant evaluations and improvements are introduced by the Centers themselves in order to ensure the successful implementation of their aims. The UGC also has appointed assessment committees to visit and report on the progress of the work in the Centers.

The reaction to the work of these Centers of Advanced Study and their graduates has been generally very favorable. This has been one of the few attempts at modernization and innovation to win the approval of both the academic community and the general public. This is reflected in the Education Commission's (1964-66) recommendation that:

"It is necessary to strengthen and expand the UGC programme of the establishment of Centres of Advanced Study. . . . We recommend the establishment of about 50 such centres including some in the modern Indian languages over the next five to ten years."25

Educational planners, perhaps could benefit from a close appraisal of the reasons for the success of the Centers of Advanced Study. This

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is especially the case since it is one of the few innovations in the post-independence era which has been relatively successful in achieving its goal. Some possible reasons for this success are:

1. The Centers were established in university departments that were already doing excellent work in their fields. The quality of the teaching and research staff is of a very high order.

2. Liberal financing and expert advice from the UNESCO and United Kingdom have been valuable assets. The UGC provides funding for such crucial measures as expansion of the faculty and the provision of scholarships, fellowships and studentships. It also subsidizes improvement in library, building and laboratory facilities.

3. The high level of motivation among the students and faculty at these Centers.

4. The necessary degree of internal autonomy to facilitate the efficient operation of these Centers and the freedom to experiment and innovate.

5. Attempts to provide programs for training teachers from affiliated colleges by organizing high quality seminars, refresher courses and symposia.

These Centers could serve as an incentive to other university departments to improve their own programs and try to gain national recognition. The Centers of Advanced Study are integral parts of the universities in which they are located. This program could help raise
the morale of the academic community in general and to improve their self-concept. Finally, these centers could provide a steady supply of well-trained teachers and researchers who could help man the universities and colleges.

Summary

Judged in terms of the quality and balance of service, the record of higher education in post-independence India is far from impressive. Although some progress has been achieved with respect to reorganizing the pattern of undergraduate education, and the establishment of the Centers of Advanced Study (graduate education), it falls far short of any radical restructuring. The only facet of higher education that has shown some improvement during the post-independence era has been the quality of education at the graduate level. Such critical areas in the modernization of higher education as examination reform, curriculum, and the quality of instruction at the undergraduate level, remain basically untouched. Efforts at improving the economic and social status of university teachers have at best been marginal. On balance, the changes in the qualitative, content-oriented dimension of Indian higher education have been too superficial and minimal to make any perceptible increase in its efficiency.
CHAPTER V
EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNANCE

Introduction

Clark Kerr recognizes the crucial importance of the effectiveness of governance (Criterion III) in any evaluation of higher education. This chapter attempts to appraise critically the effectiveness of governance in Indian higher education in terms of the following specific variables: (1) types of universities; (2) structure of governance; (3) pattern of financing; (4) university autonomy; and (5) student unrest. Each of the above factors is examined in sufficient depth with a view to determine the extent to which it contributes to or detracts from the efficiency of university governance.

Types of Universities

The majority of Indian universities are affiliating universities, modelled on the University of London.\(^1\) Under this system the entire teaching program is offered by the colleges, but the students take the examinations administered by the university. The university not only awards degrees, it also has the responsibility to coordinate and main-

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tain standards and set the syllabi. Rather than developing a new organizational framework for the university system in India, the British (in 1857) simply adopted the model of the University of London. "To this day, the concept of the affiliating university has remained the key organizational pattern in India's higher education."\(^2\)

In addition to the affiliated colleges, many universities have university teaching departments in several or various subjects. Dongerkery comments that "the requirements of a vast country like India cannot be met solely by unitary universities and the affiliating university is likely to remain for many years."\(^3\) The affiliating universities outnumber the unitary universities by more than two to one.

The university can with the consent of the state government disaffiliate any constituent college if it does not conform to the minimum standards set by the university. However, in practice this right is seldom exercised even when academic considerations demand such a step. More than 85 percent of the students enrolled in Indian universities receive their instruction in affiliated colleges. The affiliating universities are usually state universities since they receive the bulk


\(^3\)Dongerkery, S.R., *University Education in India*, (Bombay: P.C. Manaktala and Sons, 1967).
of their finances from the state governments. The teaching departments directly under the university are primarily concerned with post-graduate education, while the university colleges carry on undergraduate instruction.

The second type of university is the unitary and teaching model. The universities of Aligarh, Annamalai, Baroda, Banaras, Lucknow, Patna and Viswabharati belong to this category. Of these, the universities of Banaras, Aligarh and Viswabharati are financed and administered by the Federal government.

In a unitary and teaching university all the departments are usually located on a campus like in the U.S. These universities are mostly residential. They do not have powers of affiliation and all the colleges are located in one central area. The campus life and close ties between students and faculty give it a distinctive character and usually they are able to maintain high levels of scholarship. Exceptions to this are universities like Banaras which have shown a steady decline in standards and a progressive intrusion of politics into all spheres of academic life. Rudolph and Rudolph have pointed out that universities in the rimland states (see Appendix E) like Bombay, Madras and Kerala have been consistently superior to those in the heartland states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. These latter states
also constitute the major Hindi speaking regions of India and have traditionally been backward in educational matters.¹⁴

A third category is the Federal teaching university and Bombay, Delhi and Bangalore are examples of this category. Delhi University is financed and administered by the Federal government since it is located in the capital.

In addition to the above categories, there are several institutions deemed to be universities. Under Section 3 of the UGC Act, 1956, "the Central Government may on the advice of the University Grants Commission declare by notification in the official gazette that any institution of higher education other than a university shall be deemed to be a university for the purpose of this Act."⁵ These institutions have the status and privileges which ordinarily belong to a university, but are more limited in function and scope. They do not have powers of affiliation. These institutions are of national importance and often maintain very high standards of excellence. These, among others include the four Indian Institutes of Technology; The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; The Indian Agricultural Research Institute; Tata Institute


of Social Science, Bombay; Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad; and Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi.

Structure of Governance

"The Indian university is a creature of the state; it comes into existence on the basis of a legislative enactment by a State Assembly (legislature) or the Union Parliament. Its structure and functions are laid down in some detail and although it is designed to function as an autonomous body, it is constantly under pressure as all such bodies are."³

The internal government of Indian universities follow patterns introduced under the British raj. The Calcutta University Commission set down the major organizational framework. All the universities follow this pattern of governance with only minor variations. In most universities the Governor of the State is also the Chancellor. He is usually only the nominal head, while the Vice-Chancellor is the executive and administrative head with final authority over all academic matters. His office corresponds to that of the University President in U.S. universities.

The Calcutta University Commission noted:

"A university needs, for its proper governance, bodies of three kinds. In the first place, in order that it may be kept in touch with the community which it exists to serve, it needs a large body, widely representative of all

the varied interests which are affected by university work. In the second place, a great university which deals with many complex matters needs a small and efficient administrative body, including men with a wide knowledge of affairs, who will be especially responsible for finance and for the conduct of general policy. But the most essential element in the structure of a teaching university is a strong body, or series of bodies, representing the teachers and endowed with large independent powers in all purely academic matters.7

In accordance with the above recommendations three distinct administrative units were developed. They came to be called the senate or court, the syndicate or executive council, and the academic council. In addition to these some universities have boards of studies and also the various faculties.

The Senate or Court is the "supreme governing body" with wide powers including budgetary ones. It decides all broad questions relating to the educational policy of the university. It has varied representation and among its members are college principals, university faculty members, alumni, and representatives of commercial and industrial interests, municipalities and local boards, the Director of Public Instruction and various ex-officio members, nominees of the Chancellor on behalf of the state government.

External politics is often introduced into university governance via the members of the Senate.

"The Senate has, under the Acts, the power to make new rules and regulations and to take a whole range of decisions like the creation of new posts and the conditions of affiliation of colleges to the university. It discusses matters relating to the medium of instruction, it reviews the general administration of the university by discussing the annual report and it approves the budget. It elects quite a few members of the syndicate or executive council."\(^8\)

Although the senate is formally "the supreme governing body" and authority of the university, the syndicate, as the executive authority of the university, performs all of the senate's significant functions, and its recommendations form the basis of most senate actions. The key administrative functions are vested in the syndicate. It is usually a small body consisting of 15 to 20 members and runs the day-to-day administration of the university and manages its finances. Its membership consists of elected representatives of the senate, the faculties and college principals. The Vice-Chancellor is the key figure of the syndicate and often the Director of Public Instruction is also a member. "The academic and lay elements in it are usually evenly balanced."\(^9\) The syndicate plays a crucial role by virtue of its power to choose the three members of the nominating committee who pick two of the three candidates from whom a Vice-Chancellor is selected.

\(^8\) Aiyar, S.P., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.

\(^9\) Dongerkery, S.R., \textit{op. cit.}
The Academic Council is concerned primarily with academic matters. It is the academic arm of university governance just as the syndicate is the administrative arm. It is the duty of this unit to direct and supervise the academic work of the university like setting up the curriculum, administering examinations and regulating teaching and research. This body works in close cooperation with the Vice-Chancellor. It is also the duty of the Academic Council to maintain the quality of education and the standards of attainment represented by its degrees. A marked lack of leadership and initiatives has characterized academic councils in Indian universities. Aiyar remarks that the Academic Council

"does not seem to be effective in bringing about any far-reaching changes in academic matters, primarily because it is more a conglomeration of faculties than a community of scholars engaged in the pursuit of excellence. Its members lack the capacity to understand the relevance of higher education to the problems of a modernizing society."\(^{10}\)

The key figure in university governance is the Vice-Chancellor. "A great Vice-Chancellor can do more to tone up the quality of a university than impressive programs of mere administrative reform."\(^{11}\) The reputation of a university in academic circles is dependent on the caliber of its Vice-Chancellor.

\(^{10}\)Aiyar, S.P., op. cit., p. 80.

\(^{11}\)Ibid., p. 86.
The Vice-Chancellor is selected by the Governor of the State (Chancellor) from a list of three names submitted by a three-man nominating committee. The university decides the composition of this nominating committee. However, the final choice is made by the Chancellor. In some universities like Baroda the Vice-Chancellor is elected by the members of the Senate. The advantage of this is that it guarantees university autonomy.

The Radhakrishnan Commission recommended that

"The Vice-Chancellor should be a person who can command the confidence of the teaching staff and students by his academic reputation, and by the strength of his personality. He must be the keeper of the university's conscience, setting the highest standards by his personal example, and dealing firmly with indiscipline and malpractices of any kind. He has to act as the chief liaison officer between the university and the public."\(^1\)

In addition to the qualities enumerated above the Vice-Chancellor should be an able and perceptive administrator with a keen grasp of all the academic ramifications of university governance. He should be able to steer clear of any political involvement and be able to exert charismatic and vigorous leadership.

Rudolph and Rudolph point out that

"The structure of Indian universities corresponds more to the bureaucratic paradigm of a hierarchical organization than to the model of self-governing departments and

\(^{12}\) Dongerkery, S.R., op. cit., p. 66.
faculties united in a common institution. . . . In consequence, the role of the Vice Chancellor is a critical issue in university government."^13

Pattern of Financing

The universities and colleges receive the bulk of their finances from the state government. Student fees and University Grants Commission grants are other sources of financial support. The UGC funds, however, are often given on a matching basis and as such are again tied to the state government's contribution.

According to the Indian Constitution higher education is the responsibility of the states. Higher education is also a concurrent subject which means that the Federal government has limited role in this area. Several universities are central universities and are directly administered by the Federal government: Delhi University, Banaras University and Aligarh University belong to this category. Over the other universities the Federal government has indirect control which is exerted through the University Grants Commission and the Ministry of Education.

Role of the State

Since education is a state subject, it depends primarily on the state government for its funds. State grants constitute a major source

of income for Indian universities and colleges. The grants the universities and colleges receive from a state government are dictated by "its general fiscal policy in education and its specific policy of priority and weightage for the different branches of education for support from state funds." Thus, demands of the state governments have priority over UGC programs and advice. Further, too energetic a use of UGC authority also raises problems of university autonomy.

Through the control of the purse-strings the state government can limit the freedom of the universities. It can also forestall reforms and innovations by refusing to allot the necessary funds. Thus, subvention often leads to intervention or at least interference. The procedure for the selection of the Vice-Chancellor is a particularly revealing instance in point (see section on university autonomy). The universities as a result of this are not flexible and tend to follow rigid patterns, and are not responsive to the changing needs of the society. Very often the views of the state government regarding new programs are unfavorable and the university is forced, through lack of funds, to abandon worthwhile projects and innovations.

Indian universities operate in an economy of scarcity and a constant struggle to find enough funds to meet the growing maintenance

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and development expenditure is the normal state of affairs. Most of the universities are experiencing real financial difficulties and the state governments have been slow in correcting this situation.

Role of the Federal Government

The funds from the University Grants Commission constitute an equally important source of revenue for Indian universities for their development programs. It is true that the

"UGC's assistance has contributed tremendously to the development and enrichment of the programs of the universities, but the conditions that the UGC grants carry have also created difficulties for them. The grants from the UGC are normally available to the state universities on the understanding that the State government or the university itself will bear one-third of the non-recurring and half of the recurring expenditures, and in the latter case the State government has to agree to bear the full cost of the aided schemes after the five years."

Rudolph and Rudolph sum up the tactics of the UGC as follows:

"The UGC controls universities through the use of negative sanctions and positive incentives. The possible sanctions—a negative verdict on founding, the denial of funds, and the withdrawal of funds—are either ineffectual or not used. The incentives, mainly financial, on the other hand, have more significance, but they can only be used within certain limits."

\[15\] Ibid., pp. 400-401.

\[16\] Rudolph, S.H. and L.I. Rudolph, op. cit., p. 73.
Kothari supported the UGC's restrained interpretation of its role since he felt that the relationship between the universities and the government was rather delicate. This kind of a relationship should be handled with "kid-gloves" and often tactics of persuasion are vastly superior to coercion. 17

Apart from the fact that Indian universities have to depend to a great extent on the government for financial support for their maintenance, and that they are, therefore, capable of being influenced by the government indirectly in the implementation of their programs, it may be said that some of them do not enjoy real financial autonomy. This kind of indirect control is all pervasive. This goes to show that autonomy of a university in academic matters can be nullified by the lack of financial autonomy.

Thus,

"the formulation and implementation of national policy for higher education in a federal system that places primary responsibility for education in the hands of the States, in the face of very limited resources, and in the context of traditions and laws that protect academic freedom and university autonomy, has been difficult, extremely complex, and tenuous in its results." 18

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The universities are unable to raise the fees since this often gives rise to student indiscipline and strikes. The Education Commission has recommended that all financial burden on the students should be gradually reduced. Thus, the views of the Federal government in this matter are at direct odds with the views of the state governments. As Altbach observes,

"the Central (Federal) Government-State mix in higher education requires careful analysis... technical power lies with the states, but the center, particularly through the UGC, has taken an increasingly important role in recent reforms." 19

University Autonomy

The Concept of Autonomy

The term university autonomy implies a university's right to self-government, or its right to govern its own affairs and especially its right to perform its principal duties of teaching and research without external interference. The essential elements of university autonomy are (1) freedom to select students; (2) freedom to appoint and promote teachers; (3) freedom to determine the courses of study and methods of teaching and to select problems of research. Interference may come either from the state within whose political jurisdiction the university functions or from a body like the University Grants Commission.

19 Altbach, P.G., op. cit., p. 323.
which can influence the university's policies by releasing or withholding funds central to the conduct or expansion of its activities.

"The important implications of autonomy within the university" according to Dongerkery, "are that the academic element or teachers in the university should have the final authority in all academic matters, and that the lay or non-academic element and the administrators should serve the academic interests of the university and not seek to dominate the academic element."\(^{20}\)

Since the universities are established by the state government through legislative enactment they also frame the constitution of the university. If the state also has the power to modify this constitution at will through legislative enactment, then in reality the university cannot be said to enjoy true autonomy. However, in many cases the state governments do not misuse this power in order to interfere in the internal governance of universities. A notable exception to this precedent has been the controversial Osmania University Case (discussed later).

Some of the overt and covert ways in which intrusions into university autonomy in India take place are:

1. In many universities the government's voice is final in the affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges.

2. The heads of certain government departments are ex-officio members of the governing bodies of universities.

3. The accounts of all universities are subject to an annual audit by the government.

4. The State and Federal governments control the universities through their power to grant and withhold funds.

5. The pressure of unenlightened public opinion may compel a university to lower admission requirements and dilute the quality of the academic programs. This is particularly the case in emerging democracies like India which the right to higher education is viewed as a 'fundamental right.' Often the State governments side with the public against the university in these academic matters.

6. "The intrusion of party politics into the university is perhaps the most serious aspect of contemporary Indian education. It expresses itself through patronage in the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, in expanding facilities to socially backward classes at the cost of academic standards, and in whipping up student unrest over causes which often have nothing to do with education."21

"Autonomy in Post-Independent India"

There have been many instances where state governments have disregarded the principles of university autonomy in post-independent India. While talking of the pre-independence era Eric Ashby remarked:

"The fact that universities were subjected to state control in almost every detail of their administration was bound to undermine their sense of responsibility. Despite the benevolence of her intentions, Britain failed to lay the

21Aiyar, S.P., op. cit., p. 77.
foundation for a tradition of academic autonomy in India. Very little has been done in the post-independence period to change this state of affairs."

The Bombay Government's decision to interfere in the policies of affiliation provides a clear example of infringement of university autonomy. In 1952, the People's Education Society applied to the Bombay University for affiliation of its college of commerce. The governing bodies of the university unanimously recommended that the application for affiliation be refused. They had valid academic reasons for arriving at this decision. The government, however, intervened and granted temporary affiliation to the college in question in utter disregard of the university's wishes.

The Government of Gujerat and the Gujerat University had a similar encounter in regard to the continuance of affiliation to the Prabhudas Thakkar Commerce and Science College in Ahmedabad. The Gujerat government decided to grant affiliation for one more year despite a 71 to 8 vote against the measure in the university senate. As Parikh points out,

"... universities cannot properly discharge their obligation to the community they serve unless they are left free to take their own decisions without interference from

\[22\text{Ashby, E., op. cit., pp. 140-141.}\]
government on issues of academic importance. The Gujerat government's action is a flagrant breach of the principle of university autonomy."23

The autonomy of the universities in Bihar is restricted to such an extent that a report made by the Inter-University Board in 1964 concludes that serious encroachments on university autonomy exist in the procedures for (1) appointing the Vice-Chancellor; (2) hiring and firing policies with regard to the faculty; (3) deciding academic matters like framing courses of study and the maintenance of standards. The creation of the Bihar State University Grants Commission has resulted in its usurping most of the functions of the university.

State vs. the University: The Osmania University Case^24

This section will highlight the significant aspects of the historic fight between Osmania University and the Government of Andhra Pradesh. This incident was the upshot of the government's decision to amend the Constitution of the university by changing the university Acts. The controversy and the subsequent animosity between the Chief-Minister of the State, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, and the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, Dr. D. S. Reddi, resulted in the second phase of this conflict. The dismissal of Dr. D. S. Reddi from his post as

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24 This section leans heavily on the detailed discussion given in Dongerkery's University Autonomy, Chs. V and VI.
Vice-Chancellor resulted in a long-drawn-out struggle involving all the elements of the university like the faculty, administration, and students on the one hand; and the Andhra Pradesh Government on the other. The university faction had the support of the Vice-Chancellors in other universities, the academic community and organizations like the UGC and IUB. The Supreme Court of India ruled in favor of Dr. D.S. Reddi and threw out the decision of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. After a protracted struggle Dr. Reddi was reinstated as the Vice-Chancellor. This whole episode represents a distinct victory for the cause of university autonomy in India.

Since the universities in Andhra Pradesh are state universities, the state can amend or modify the university Acts via the legislature. The legislature has the power to amend the university's constitution at any time by ordinary legislative enactment.

The First Amendment Act in 1966 made the following changes:

1. The Governor of the State, acting as the Chancellor, could directly appoint the Vice-Chancellor in consultation with the Andhra Pradesh Government instead of choosing him from a panel of three names submitted by the university. This amendment deprived the university from having any say in the choice of its Vice-Chancellor.

2. A clause authorizing the government to issue policy directives to the university on academic matters such as the pattern of univer-
sity education, post-graduate education and medium of instruction was introduced.

3. The number of university faculty serving on governing bodies of the university was drastically reduced. The number of Chancellor's nominees was increased.

4. The Chancellor was invested with the authority to dismiss the Vice-Chancellor "on the ground of misbehavior or incapacity."

The above measures were aimed at reducing the university's powers of self-government and as such constituted a serious threat to university autonomy (see Appendix E).

In response to an appeal from the faculty, students and Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, the academic community, the UGC and the IUB took up their cause. The IUB declared:

"The Inter-University Board notes with grave concern and anxiety some of the amendments to University Acts in different States and the consequent deprivation of the academic freedom and responsibility of the universities. . . . The fullest measure of the autonomy is indispensible for their proper functioning and growth in the interests of the country's advancement, and it is essential to draw attention to and oppose effectively any tendencies contrary to this objective."\textsuperscript{25}

The Government of Andhra Pradesh and the Chancellor were forced to give in to the mounting pressure and deleted those clauses affecting

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 75.
university autonomy. However, the second Osmania University Amendment Act of 1966 had an additional clause which caused great concern. This special provision was as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the person holding the office of the Vice Chancellor immediately before the commencement of the Osmania University (Second Amendment) Act, 1966, shall continue to hold that office only until a new Vice Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor under sub-section (1) of section 12 and enters upon his office and such appointment shall be made within ninety days after such commencement. On the appointment of the new Vice Chancellor and on his entering upon his office, the person holding the office of the Vice Chancellor immediately before such appointment shall cease to hold that office."

The Chancellor acting on behalf of the Andhra Pradesh Government proceeded to appoint a new Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Narasimha Rao. Since it was clear to all concerned that this measure was aimed to unseat Dr. D.S. Reddi, the university community rose up in arms to support the popular Vice-Chancellor. Reddi contended that it was a case of hostile discrimination against him solely intended for the purpose of removing him without cause.

Reddi appealed both to the Andhra High Court and the Supreme Court of India. The students at Osmania University went on strike to protest the removal of the Vice-Chancellor and the faculty and administration gave their full support to Dr. Reddi. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Dr. Reddi and declared that his removal was unconstitutional. This

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26Ibid., p. 79.
was a complete vindication of the stand taken by him against the Andhra Pradesh Government.

In light of the above discussion the following recommendation by the Education Commission (1964-66) is of special significance:

"As in the case of liberty, the price of autonomy is eternal vigilance by all parties concerned. The universities are established by law and they can have only as much autonomy as the law permits. In the last analysis, therefore, the real custodian of university autonomy is public opinion based on a conviction that autonomous universities, which maintain intellectual integrity in their fearless pursuit of truth, are an indispensable bulwark of democracy and freedom. In creating a strong public opinion in this behalf, the UGC, the IUB and the intelligentsia, who are themselves mostly the alumni of the universities, have an important role to play." 27

Student Unrest

Student unrest, often termed student "indiscipline" in India, has figured prominently in the academic milieu of post-independent India. The decade of the sixties witnessed widespread student unrest. And in the absence of radical corrective measures the trend is likely to continue during the seventies.

Student unrest has increased progressively in scope and intensity during the last several years. The major factors responsible for student unrest in India are (1) lack of congenial academic atmosphere,

27 Indian University Reform III, Minerva, Spring 1967, p. 397.
(2) dwindling respect for authority—parental, educational and governmental, (3) dichotomy between ideals and realities, (4) political intervention and exploitation, (5) economic uncertainty, (6) the demonstration effect of global student activism, and (7) administrative insensitivity to student demands.

Student unrest in post-independent India has been primarily related to local non-ideological problems, rather than political issues. Aileen Ross notes that:

"the aim of many protest movements [in India] has been to protect the interests of students as students. It is this kind of collective action that is most likely to enlist the support of the largest number of students, for educational problems may impinge on them all."

Students in India feel that the only way to get the attention of the university authorities and state governments is through violent agitation. This approach is favored in the case of short-term goals like changing the date of an exam or long-term ones like reducing tuition fees. This poses the question as to whether the current educational establishment is structurally conducive to arousing the hostility or anxiety of the students. In most cases students have no voice in the academic decision-making process. There are not channels through which they can air their grievances or present their problems.

Students find it difficult to have personal contact with their teachers or with people in higher administrative echelons. This makes them believe that their problems are not understood or that they do not receive enough sympathy and this contributes to a credibility gap. What is more, the student unions have not been able to mediate between the students and the administration. "This lack of communication, combined with the little personal contact between student and lecturer (faculty member), leaves the student with a deep sense of frustration and they feel they have problems needing attention."\(^ {29}\) Thus, students play only a very limited role in university governance.

Many students see "strikes", marches and other violent demonstrations as the only effective means for dramatizing their demands. This is evidenced by the following analysis by Aileen Ross\(^ {30}\) of the 96 instances of student unrest reported in two leading Indian newspapers (the "Hindu" and "Times of India") during the period February 1, 1963 to January 31, 1964.

In all, 96 demonstrations were recorded. They occurred in all States except Orissa and Gujerat. Of these, 71 were staged to protest against some aspect of the educational system or to safeguard student

\(^ {29}\) Ibid., p. 25.

\(^ {30}\) Ibid., pp. 13-14.
interests. Twenty-three of these were aimed at the university administration. Thirteen of the demonstrations were related to problems involving university faculty. Twelve incidents concerned the rights of students and dealt with subjects like the constitutionality of using Hindi as the medium of examination in the Union Public Service Commission examinations. Two agitations were triggered by a rise in university fees, five had to do with examinations and six were the result of increased bus fares. Sub-standard living conditions in university dormitories were the target of nine incidents. Thus, approximately 75 percent of the demonstrations reported in the press in one year pertained to some aspect of the educational establishment.

The Hindi "heartland" of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has been especially susceptible to student activism. Both Banaras and Allahabad Universities in Uttar Pradesh witnessed campus-oriented student unrest which necessitated the closing of these institutions. In October, 1958, the government and university authorities responded to the violent outbreak of student rioting by closing the Banaras Hindu University for an extended period. An inquiry into the situation conducted by the Federal government concluded that the university had become a "hot bed of intrigue, nepotism and corruption and even crime. The real menace to the satisfactory working of the university lay in the teacher-politicians and the formation of groups which dominate in all the affairs of the university. Warring
factions among the faculty encouraged the students to demonstrate, and the situation had gotten out of hand.\textsuperscript{31}

A similar state of affairs prevailed in Allahabad University. This trend is a clear indication of the increasing intrusion of "regional, factional and linguistic politics"\textsuperscript{32} into university life.

Aileen Ross in her analysis of the Mysore University strikes (1959-1964) remarks "any critical event such as a raise in tuition fees, or the feeling that there has been some infringement of student 'rights', may cause the students to rebel."\textsuperscript{33}

The first strike was occasioned by the student demand for holidays to attend the All India Youth Festival which was held in 1959 in the city of Mysore. The Bangalore city students wanted to attend the Youth Festival. The university refused to grant the holidays and the students went on strike. The strike took a violent turn and there was fighting between the police and the students. Several policemen and students were injured. The holidays were not granted and after several days of violent demonstrations, clashes with the police and destruction of property the strike grinded to a halt.


\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., p. 55.

\textsuperscript{33}Ross, A., op. cit., p. 27.
The second student strike in 1962 was caused by the State government's decision to raise college fees and reduce the number of fee waivers, scholarships and other grants to students. The strike was less violent and more successful, at least to the degree that the government agreed to institute changes in educational policy.

The third strike in Mysore State started on December 12, 1963, and continued until January 17, 1964. "This was the longest, the best organized and most peaceful strike that the students had carried out; it was completely successful in that the students finally achieved their aim." 34 This strike was the result of the government's failure to carry out its promise not to increase the fees and reduce the number of scholarships. The government in 1963 raised the fees. Students went on hunger strikes and peaceful marches. The strike was extremely well organized and the chief of police managed to establish channels of communication with the militant students and avoided violence. The student leadership was remarkable and the morale of students was high. Mammoth processions and student vows to fast until death increased the tempo and aroused public concern. The press and the public started to exert pressure on the government. The strike reached a climax when the students threatened to instigate the villagers not to pay their taxes until the government agreed to meet student demands. Finally, the

34 Ibid., p. 52.
government capitulated and yielded to all student demands. The student leadership in this case was extraordinarily articulate and effective.

Shaw observes that "incidents in which students place particularistic demands upon university authorities represent the most common form of student agitation." A typical example of this kind of militance is the strike that took place in the Engineering College at Osmania University (Hyderabad) in 1965. The students demanded that parallel classes be established to accommodate those students who failed in the university exams held in April and later passed the make-up exams in September or October. Under the existing pattern the students had to wait until next July to resume their studies. Thus, nearly nine months of their time would be wasted. The students suggested that if parallel classes were started in January then they would lose only three months. This request was rejected by the university authorities on the grounds that the necessary funds for such an arrangement were not available.

On November 26, 1965, the students went on strike and the demonstrations took a violent turn when the students occupied the Engineering College and summarily evicted the principal from the premises.

Immediately, the university administration decided to change their stand and agreed to set up parallel classes. It reinforced the students' belief that strikes and other violent demonstrations were the only effective way in which they could gain the "ear" of the university authorities.

Indian higher education has remained relatively inflexible and has often failed to respond and adjust to the dynamics of social change and technical innovation. "As Myron Weiner points out, Indian students function in a 'society of scarcity', and this fact is central to any consideration of Indian higher education, as well as other aspects of Indian life."^{36}

Lack of adequate student participation in university governance is probably the most dominant factor responsible for student unrest in India. The UGC report on student unrest (1967) suggests:

"1. Political parties be prevented from interfering in universities and colleges.

2. The Vice Chancellor should be sympathetic, responsive, understanding and responsible in his dealings with the students.

3. There should be greater student representation in the decision-making process so as to safeguard

^{36}Altbach, P.G., Turnoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India, op. cit., p. 18.
student interests and establish channels of communication between the students and the administration."

The above report has brought into focus the need for reform in the area of university governance. The students should not only have a greater voice in university governance, but should also know their duties and responsibilities in this area.

"It emphasizes the fact that a university is a body corporate of teachers, students and administrators. Student participation is a requisite for the effective, smooth and peaceful functioning of the university."\(^{38}\)

This concept of student participation in university governance is slowly gaining ground among the universities. Universities like Baroda allow student members to serve in the senate and though they have the opportunity to participate in all decisions affecting the student body. Student councils and courts are also being established in some universities. The University of Kerala has made a statutory provision allowing student representation on the Executive Council or syndicate.

**Conclusion**

In the final analysis, the effectiveness of university governance in any country would depend to a pronounced extent on two critical

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variables: the degree of flexibility it possesses, and the degree of freedom from external interference it enjoys. Higher education in India, viewed in light of the above discussion, does not appear to score high on either count. The typology of universities and their structure of governance have undergone no significant change during the post-independence era to meet the dynamics of social change. The pattern of university financing in India is such that it serves as an eminently suitable mechanism for exerting external pressure on the formulation of educational policy. Student participation in decision making is at best minimal. The pursuit of university autonomy has often been subjected to political, institutional and economic externalities of awesome proportions. In fairness though, it has to be mentioned that the academic community in India has on several occasions successfully resisted serious intrusions, especially of a political nature into university autonomy. On balance, however, there seems to be considerable scope for increasing the effectiveness of governance in India's higher education.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Indian university, as it exists today, is essentially a creation of the British and dates back to the nineteenth century. During the pre-independence era English was the language of instruction at the university level. The first universities were established in 1857 in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Modelled on the University of London these were affiliating universities. Since independence in 1947, several commissions were established to study the state of the universities in India. The goal was to revamp the whole system and to make it relevant to the needs of an emerging nation like India. The University Grants Commission (UGC) was established in 1956 by the Indian Parliament. The UGC is primarily concerned with the promotion and coordination of university education and the maintenance of standards.

Higher Education and Social Justice

India, since its independence in 1947, has undergone a transition from a society in which education was the privilege of a small minority to one in which it is more freely accessible to the masses. One of the chief features of higher education in post-independence India has been the rigid increase in the number of colleges and universities. The colleges affiliated to the different universities play a crucial role
in Indian higher education and together they constitute over 85 percent of the total enrollment.

A parallel development which demonstrates that the "effective demand" for higher education has been rising continually is the significant increase in university enrollment that has occurred since 1947. There are nearly 3 million students enrolled in Indian universities today. This phenomenal growth in enrollment is the result of deurbanization of colleges and universities, provision of dormitory facilities and a system of liberal scholarships and fellowships for the needy.

Since Indian higher education operates in an economy of scarcity, a dilemma is created by increasing enrollments and decreasing per capita facilities. The rise in enrollments has brought in its wake several serious problems like a fall in standards, a deterioration in the quality of education and unemployment and underemployment among university graduates.

Significant progress has been achieved during the First, Second and Third Plan periods in reducing the sharp inequalities in educational opportunity that existed in 1951. Most of the scholarships are provided on the basis of financial need and to students from underprivileged areas and castes; practically all needy students belonging to the scheduled castes can get a free university education provided they can get passing grades. Only 19 percent of the total student population
consists of women. However, the number of women in the universities has risen dramatically since independence.

The ability to secure talent from the total population without regard to class or racial considerations is directly dependent on the kind of educational policy that the government formulates and its impact on the development and growth of talent in a total context. Viewed against this perspective the question of language (medium) of instruction at the university level assumes a new relevance and significance. Due to public demand and demand from the various state governments, the trend is for the regional language to replace English as the medium of instruction in the Indian universities.

There has been a progressive democratization of the country's higher educational system since independence. Given the physical, institutional and financial constraints within which the country operates, the accomplishments so far have been impressive. Social justice makes it imperative that all men and women regardless of class, creed, race or economic status are given the opportunity for attending institutions of higher learning, provided they have the ability to profit from it. The national policy is to bring education to the masses regardless of consequences.

The Quality of Education

Clark Kerr while setting forth the "quality and balance of service" as one of the criteria for the evaluation of systems of Higher Education
explains that in a developing country (like India) most of this comes under the heading of modernization. It is clear that higher education in India needs to be modernized if it is to survive as a viable institution. The most significant educational reforms are those that deal with content, teaching and evaluation. A radical change in the system of external examinations with its rigid pattern of essay-type questions is crucial to any attempts at modernizing the educational system. Hence, the University Grants Commission has made examination reform one of its major goals.

Another vital area needing reform is the courses of study. The problem of formulating relevant and up-to-date courses of study should be viewed against the broader perspective of the knowledge explosion that has occurred during the last two decades. The Boards of Studies in Indian Universities should try to improve the syllabi and keep them in tune with current developments.

The caliber and training of the teaching staff in general and in the affiliated colleges in particular are often very inadequate. They are unable to handle revised courses properly. Hence, measures to improve college teaching like in-service training, refresher courses, summer schools and seminars are urgently needed. The sad fact must be recognized that the vast majority of college and university departments are not equal to the demands which modernization of courses will make on them. The huge size and the decentralized nature of the system of
affiliated colleges make meaningful and effective innovations difficult to implement. Since the improvement of standards is one of the statutory obligations of the University Grants Commission, it will be necessary for the Commission to take an active role in improving the quality of instruction.

A substantial improvement in salaries, accompanied by a corresponding increase in social status, is essential if talented young scholars are to choose college teaching as a career. From its inception the UGC has been actively involved in efforts to raise the scales of pay for university and college teachers. The success of this reform is vital to the whole effort to improve standards of teaching and research. In spite of the above measures teachers' salaries remain low. There is no parity between salaries in teaching and the other professions.

The introduction of the three-year degree course on an all-India basis is a major innovation in the field of undergraduate education. This measure was designed to improve the quality of education at the undergraduate level and to achieve an overall coordination of standards. It was hoped that this would provide the colleges with an opportunity to break away from the inherent rigidity and other shortcomings of the old system and to introduce significant changes in content, teaching methods and evaluation procedures. It is estimated that nearly 250 million rupees was spent on this innovation by the UGC. It is doubtful
whether the measure has resulted in any appreciable rise in the standards of undergraduate education. This phase of higher education is the poorest in terms of the quality of education and the largest in terms of quantity (numbers). Since 85 percent of the students receive their education in the affiliated colleges, the quality of university education in India, particularly at the undergraduate level, will depend largely on the standards maintained in these colleges. The quality of education and the caliber of students in the professional colleges (medicine, engineering, etc.) and the five Indian Institutes of Technology, is vastly superior to that prevailing in the three-year degree course in Arts and Science. The former maintain high levels of excellence and follow a very selective admissions policy based strictly on merit.

Higher education at the graduate level is vastly superior to that prevailing at the undergraduate level, in terms of the quality of education and the caliber of the students. The smaller numbers at this level help to provide better per capita facilities. The caliber of the faculty at this level is also superior since the conditions of work are better and the salaries higher. Graduate education has shown steady improvement in the post-independence period.

The UGC introduced an innovation of nation-wide significance in 1963-64 when it established the Centers of Advanced Study in selected universities. These centers were designed to encourage the pursuit
of excellence and to accelerate the attainment of international standards of teaching and research. This concentration of resources and effort in a few selected centers has resulted in a marked improvement in the quality of graduate education.

Judging in terms of the quality and balance of service, the record of higher education in post-independent India is far from impressive. Although some progress has been achieved with respect to reorganizing the pattern of undergraduate and graduate education, it falls short of any radical restructuring. Such critical areas in the modernization of higher education as examination reform and quality of instruction remain largely untouched. Efforts at improving the economic and social status of university teachers have at best been marginal. On balance, the changes in the qualitative content-oriented dimension of Indian higher education have been too superficial and minimal to make any perceptible increase in its efficiency.

The Effectiveness of Governance of Higher Education

The typology of universities in India includes the affiliating university, the unitary and teaching model and the Federal teaching university. The majority of these are state universities while a few are administered by the Federal government.

The internal government of Indian universities (regardless of its type) is conducted through the Senate or court, the syndicate or
executive council and the academic council. This system of governance has undergone very little change in the post-independence era. Some universities also have Boards of Studies, concerned mainly with the curriculum. The senate is the "supreme governing body" with wide powers including budgetary ones. The syndicate, as the executive authority of the university, performs all the significant administrative functions of the senate. The academic council is concerned primarily with academic matters. It is the function of this unit to direct and supervise the academic work of the university like setting up the curriculum, administering examinations, conferring degrees and regulating teaching and research.

The key figure in university governance is the Vice-Chancellor. The reputation of a university in academic circles is largely dependent on the caliber of its Vice-Chancellor.

According to the Indian Constitution higher education is the responsibility of the states. Higher education is also a concurrent subject which means that the Federal government has limited roles in this area. The universities and colleges receive the bulk of their financing from the state government. Student fees and UGC grants are other sources of financial support. The UGC funds are, however, given on a matching basis and as such are again tied to the state government's contribution. Through the control of the purse-strings the state government can limit the freedom of the universities. Thus, the
autonomy of the university in academic matters can be nullified by the lack of financial autonomy. Indian universities operate in an economy of scarcity and a constant struggle to find enough funds to meet the growing maintenance and development expenditure is the normal state of affairs.

In general, the state governments do not misuse their power (to amend the constitution of the university) by interfering in the internal governance of universities. A notable exception to this precedent was the Osmania University case. However, the university was able to safeguard its autonomy and force the Andhra Pradesh government to withdraw its demands. There have also been other occasions where state governments have either directly or indirectly interfered in university governance and acted against the wishes of the academic community.

Student unrest, often termed student "indiscipline" in India has figured prominently in the academic milieu of post-independent India. Students in India feel that the only way to get the attention of university authorities is through violent agitation and demonstrations. This approach is favored in the cases of short-term goals like changing the date of an examination or long-term ones like reducing tuition fees. The current educational establishment is structurally conducive to arousing the hostility or anxiety of the students. There are no channels through which they can air their grievances or present their problems. The students have no voice in the academic decision making
process. They use strikes and other forms of student agitation as a means of placing "particularistic demands" upon university authorities.

Indian higher education in the post-independence era has remained relatively inflexible and has often failed to respond and adjust to the dynamics of social change. Lack of student participation in university governance is one of the chief causes of student unrest in India. The concept of student participation in university governance is slowly gaining ground among universities. This is a move in the right direction.

In the final analysis, the effectiveness of university governance in any country would depend to a pronounced extent on two critical variables: the degree of flexibility it possesses and the degree of freedom from external interference it enjoys. Higher education in India, viewed in the light of the above discussion, does not appear to score high on either count. The pattern of university financing in India is such that it serves as an eminently suitable mechanism for exerting external pressure on the formulation of educational policy. Student participation in university governance is at best minimal. The pursuit of university autonomy since 1947, has often been subjected to political, institutional and economic externalities of awesome proportions. On balance, however, there seems to be considerable scope for increasing the effectiveness of governance in India's higher education.
Conclusions and Recommendations

1. The spectacular growth in enrollment in an "economy of scarcity" has resulted in decreased per capita facilities and a shortage of qualified teachers at this level. It would be advisable to restrict enrollments at the university level on the basis of a more realistic assessment of facilities in terms of teachers, equipment, estimated manpower needs and employment opportunities.

2. The open-door admissions policy has resulted in the dilution of the quality of education at the university level and a consequent fall in standards. The need for a stricter or more selective admissions policy is also indicated by the 50 percent dropout rate and the large scale unemployment and underemployment among university graduates. Alternative vocational programs for those who are unable to meet the admission requirements of the university should be provided in the secondary schools.

3. The phenomenal growth in enrollment has brought higher education within the reach of many who a generation ago did not have any access to it. The change in the social class composition of the student body is a very interesting development in post-independence India. There has been a substantial increase in educational opportunity, as far as the students from the scheduled castes and other underprivileged groups are concerned. The percentage of women enrolled in the universities has also shown a steady increase during 1947-1970. To a large
extent these changes are the result of a liberal system of scholarships for the needy and the minority groups. However, high priority should be accorded to the scholarships program and it should be expanded further. Special attention should be given to women's education since only 19% of the university students are women. Attempts should be made to identify promising students from underprivileged homes and minority groups in the high schools so that they can be awarded scholarships to attend the university.

4. English has been replaced by the regional language as the language (medium) of instruction in several universities. Regionalization of the medium of instruction will mean that higher education will become more democratic in that students from the lower socio-economic groups will be able to compete on a more equal basis with students from the upper and middle classes. However, care should be taken to see that the teaching of English as a library language is carried on extensively since the students will have to depend heavily on English language books for many years to come.

5. The qualitative dimension of higher education particularly at the undergraduate level has suffered as a result of the ever-growing public demand for more and more universities and colleges to contain the growing numbers of students flocking to the universities. The University Grants Commission should be consulted before new universities are founded and colleges should be disaffiliated if they do not conform to the minimum standard prescribed by the university.
6. The efforts of the University Grants Commission in the area of coordination and maintenance of standards have achieved only partial success because of inadequate finances, lack of cooperation from state governments and the inability, on the part of the universities and colleges, to implement the measures designed to improve or modernize the traditional system. If standards are to be improved the universities should try to implement the UGC recommendations. The state governments will also have to be more receptive of innovations.

7. Only marginal changes in content and technique have been introduced in the areas of curriculum and instruction. Teaching at the university level has to be "student-centered" instead of "examination-centered". Examination reform on the lines suggested by the UGC should be instituted without any further delay. Measures to improve college teaching like in-service training, refresher courses, summer institutes and seminars are urgently needed.

8. The large affiliating universities, with jurisdiction over innumerable colleges scattered all over the state are very inefficient and archaic. It is extremely difficult to administer these colleges effectively or to introduce innovations. This situation can be corrected only if the better colleges are granted autonomous status, thereby freeing them from the lock-step of external examinations and a rigid curriculum. This measure would also provide the colleges greater flexibility and the ability to experiment and innovate.
9. A marked lack of leadership has characterized the academic councils in Indian universities. This has serious implications in light of the fact that the quality of higher education has shown a steady decline during the last two decades. The academic councils will have to take a more active part in university governance, particularly in the area of deciding educational policy if the standards of university education are to be improved.

10. University autonomy has been seriously threatened in Indian universities. State governments have infringed on university autonomy. The pattern of university financing in India is such that it serves as an eminently suitable mechanism for exerting external pressure on the formulation of educational policy. This trend has to be reversed by greater vigilance on the part of the universities and the public to safeguard university autonomy. "Regional, factional and linguistic politics" should not be allowed to intrude into university governance.

11. Lack of adequate student participation in university governance is probably the most dominant factor responsible for student unrest in Indian universities. University authorities should be more concerned with student welfare and also involve the students in the academic decision making process. Better channels of communication should be established between students and the administration so that they can present their grievances without resorting to violence and other forms of student indiscipline.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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APPENDIX A

ENTRIES RELATING TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN
THE SEVENTH SCHEDULE OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION
While deciding to include education in the state list, the Founding Fathers were anxious to safeguard the interests of higher education including research and scientific education. Accordingly, the following entries relating to education are included in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution.*

LIST I—UNION LIST

63. The institutions known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University, and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65. Union agencies and institutions for—
   (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
   (b) the promotion of special studies or research; or
   (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

LIST II—STATE LIST

11. Education including Universities, subject to provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III.

LIST III—CONCURRENT LIST

25. Vocational and technical training of labor.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA (1970)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>University, City (Year)</th>
<th>Region, Type, Teaching</th>
<th>Expenditure (1966-67)</th>
<th>Students (1966-67)</th>
<th>Courses</th>
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**Notes:**
- Figures relate to the year 1964-65.
- Provisional.
APPENDIX C

STATE--TERRITORY-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1965-66
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**Excludes two boards for which statistics are not available.
APPENDIX D

HIGHER EDUCATION: A CLOSER LOOK
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APPENDIX E

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE OF OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
"Whereas, in pursuance of the resolution of the Senate of the Osmania University denouncing the proposed legislation as being subversive of university autonomy, representations have been made to the members of the State Government, U.G.C., Inter-University Board and other authorities of the Government of India, requesting their assistance and good offices for securing from the Chief Minister of the Government of Andhra Pradesh a deferment of the legislation till the Government has consulted the University and other concerned authorities, And Whereas these appeals, though sympathetically considered, have been ineffective in securing the postponement of the enactment of the State Legislature,

And earnestly believing that the right of the citizens of a country to have institutions of higher learning where free thought and academic freedom are effectively guaranteed, is a fundamental right as the main-spring of democracy,

And Whereas the said proposed legislation fundamentally seeks to alter the character of the Osmania University in a way far removed from its honoured traditions of liberal thought, and is one grossly contravening the principle of academic freedom and university autonomy,

And on account of other avenues of persuading the Government having failed to abate the speed with which the measure is being enacted, leaving us only the constitutional means of expressing our concern through direct and immediate action, Therefore, we the undersigned Deans of the University Faculties, the University Professors, the Heads of University Departments and the Principals of the University Colleges, the Constituent colleges and the Affiliated colleges, gathered together in this meeting, do hereby firmly resolve to declare, if the said enactment is passed by the Legislature, we will unanimously and completely, by collective and individual action, abstain from giving effect to its provisions through:

- Refraining from participation in the bodies and committees of the University like the Syndicate, Senate and Academic Council,
- Refraining from holding office of membership of the committees constituted by the State Government of which they may be members and to which they may be invited,
- Refraining from undertaking research projects and advisory commitments for the State Government, till the Act, if passed, is withdrawn by the Government, or declared by the Governor as one reserved and referred to the President of India, or
having been refused assent sent back to the Legislature for amendments in keeping with the principle of university autonomy,

And basing our stand on the cause of academic freedom affecting higher education in the whole of the country, we hereby appeal to the State Government, to the Union Government, to all authorities concerned, to all universities in India, to all citizens of our State and our country to bring to bear upon the Union and State authorities concerned their moral pressure for securing that this enactment be deferred,

In pursuance whereof we pledge our honour and dignity to a ceaseless search for all constitutional remedies to secure our democratic, righteous and earnest objective."
APPENDIX F

MAP OF INDIA
Higher education in post-independent India (1947-1970)