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Understanding Systemic Challenges for Delhi

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Abstract

The paper examines the political economy of Indian higher education with a special focus on higher education in Delhi, and the federal structure which determines governance and management of universities and colleges in Delhi. Beginning with the purpose of the university, the paper analyses economic development and social inequalities while also outlining the governance and leadership aspects, including the recent debate on the issue of institutional autonomy. These topics, combined with the financial aspects, provide a comprehensive view of the uniqueness of the higher education system in Delhi. The paper argues that the public sector in Delhi is driving the growth of higher education in contrast to the findings that emerge when we study Indian higher education in its entirety.

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Introduction

In this paper, we argue that the political economy of higher education in India constrains the success of the system of higher education in the country, consequently also impacting the social and political advancement of the country. Many have argued that the quality of post-secondary education is inextricably tied to the well-being of a country. The United States, for example, has commissioned a great deal of federal and state resources over the last century to create a system of higher education that strives for excellence. More recently, China has endeavoured, since 2012, to invest at least 4 per cent of its GDP on funding its education system (UNICEF, 2018). Such an investment is closely approaching that of the United States and India, at 6.1 per cent (NCES, 2019) and 3.1 per cent (GoI, 2019), respectively. The pay-off to both nations is clear. The United States regularly has around 65 institutions listed among the top 200 institutions in world rankings.[1] In 1990, none of the universities in China, other than the British-created universities in Hong Kong, would have made it into the top 200; in 2018, they had 17. India has no institutions that rank in the top 200.

The rankings in league tables generally reflect the research capacity of an institution. Research, especially in the natural sciences, is dependent upon funding from the government and other agencies, such as foundations and private philanthropy. China has spent an inordinate amount of revenue to build a viable research infrastructure. In 2015, for example, the Chinese Government surpassed the United States on investment in late-stage research and development (Sirkin, Rose and Choraria, 2017). Since World War II, the United States has had an extensive array of funding arms that support research in higher education. In 2017, the U.S. Federal Government invested $75.3 billion for research and development in the higher education sector (NSF, 2018). Philanthropy, state funding, and foundation giving have each also become increasingly significant to higher education in the U.S. since the proportion of federal funding for research and development as a share of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) dropped from approximately 1.8 per cent in 1964 to 0.6 per cent in 2015 (Tulsi, 2018).

India's investment in a research infrastructure for universities has been relatively meagre. Indeed, the combined research support for all its institutes of technology has been less than that of what China pays for just one of its research universities (Krishna and Patra, 2016). Even though there is a significant amount of individual and family

[1] See, for example, the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) at http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU2019.html

wealth in India, philanthropic funding has not really taken hold in the country in a manner similar to what occurs in the United States. Private foundations in India are also few and far between; even international foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, have had their research dollars spurned for one reason or another (Mitra and Srivas, 2016). Indian academics are not encouraged to seek external funding akin to what takes place in the U.S. State governments also do not have the capacity to fund research in a manner akin to US States such as California. To put things into perspective, California, for example, a State with a population of just 40 million, spent $8.9 billion on research in 2016 (Hale, Britt and Gibbons, 2019), whereas the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh, with a population of 225 million, spent merely $361.3 million on its entire higher education sector during the 2016-17 academic year (Dubbudu, 2017).[2]

League tables, of course, represent only one aspect of quality in higher education. The many shortcomings of rankings (Altbach, 2010) could lead to a decision not to play "the rankings game" and instead seek a different path for academic excellence. In a globalised world, education, in general, and higher education, in particular, has assumed critical importance. Many, but not all, jobs require some sort of post-secondary credentials. In California, it is estimated that roughly 65 per cent of high school graduates will require some post-secondary training to meet the needs of the workforce by 2025 (Bohn, 2014). The Georgetown Center for the Workforce and the Economy estimates that as a nation, the U.S. would need 65 per cent of its high school graduates to take post-secondary courses for meeting the employment needs of the country (Carnevale, Smith and Strohl, 2014). The same holds true for China and India. In 2016, China set a target of having one of every two secondary school graduates attending a post-secondary institution by 2019 in order to have a workforce sufficiently trained to meet the economic needs of the country (Wu, 2016).

The result is that the massification of a country's system has become a standard part of any country's goals and objectives. What had once been the province of the upper classes, has become a standard gateway for working class individuals to gain a foothold into the middle class. In 1960, for example, 7.7 per cent of the citizenry in the U.S. completed college whereas currently, the corresponding figure is 35.0 per cent (Duffin, 2019). China went from extremely few post-secondary participants to a system that currently has 41.2 million undergraduate and post-graduate students, or a

[2] In official Government of India documents, the total is expressed as 2585 crore Indian Rupees. See http://budget.up.nic.in/PDF17_18/Gr73.pdf

Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 42.7 per cent.[3] India has also experienced massification. A few years after Independence, in 1950-51, only 0.2 million students in India were attending college; by 2019, there were over 38.5 million students in 1043 universities, 42,343 colleges, and 11,779 stand-alone institutions, leading to a GER of 27.1 per cent.

Obviously, simply attending an institution tells us very little about whether a student learns anything. The amount of revenue that a federal or state government provides to a university for undertaking research does not ensure that the resources will be used wisely or increase the research and intellectual capacity of the nation. Nevertheless, it is useful to examine the broad indicators of quality to gauge how an institution or set of institutions is doing when compared to other similar institutions. We know that two extremes exist: simply providing unlimited resources for an endeavour does not ensure quality. However, providing no resources or a miniscule level of support, as compared to other similar institutions, also makes it impossible to achieve any level of quality.

Systemic quality is also multi-faceted. Quality speaks not only to the financial resources of an institution but also to the governance, leadership, autonomy, and decision-making structures that exist to support and advance the mission of the institution. How an institution is organised can enable or disable the achievement of its goals. The autonomy that an institution has can help or harm quality. Leadership can be inspired, irrelevant, or harmful.

Determining the extent of systemic quality is a perpetual challenge. There is no easy or simple definition or a "one size fits all" model that is appropriate for all institutions, much less across countries. A community college system in the U.S., for instance, will have different criteria for judging quality than its research counterparts in the University of California.

Thus, our purpose here is not to write a multi-volume tome about the quality of higher education in India, much less to offer a common definition of quality for all institutions across the globe. Rather, we intend to delineate the various characteristics of post-secondary education in Delhi. Based on this analysis, we will attempt to put forward a framework identifying the prevalent shortcomings and how they may be ameliorated. In view of the limitations of a research paper, we intend to

[3] See http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_sjzl/sjzl_fztjgb/201707/t20170710_309042.html

limit our analyses to the following three criteria: (1) governance and leadership, (2) autonomy and decision-making, and (3) funding.

Our discussion is centred on Delhi, a city of 21 million, with a full array of post-secondary institutions. Recently, efforts have been made to convert the capital city of Delhi into a State. As part of this exercise, education has been made a priority, with 27.8 per cent of the city's budget going toward all education (PRS, 2019). Government schools have also been recognised for improvements. Nevertheless, significant challenges persist. In this paper, we have a dual purpose. We do not think that an overall strategy for reform can be delineated in a country of the size and diversity of India without specific data that exists on a state level. Hence, we analyse one particular geographical component of higher education in India that has a full panoply of institutions and foci. Delhi also offers reliable data, especially about student participation and needs. Hence, we investigate Delhi's post-secondary system for clues about how the system functions, what sort of challenges exist, what sort of data are needed to enable more informed decisions, and ultimately what might be done for improvement.

The Central Government of India has recently released an ambitious policy document on higher education. The National Education Policy (NEP) proposes the further expansion of higher education by setting a target of 50 per cent of GER to be reached by 2035; introduces flexible learning pathways for pursuing higher education; emphasises the urgent need for improving accreditation and external quality assurance mechanisms for quality enhancement; and argues for increased public funding for education. The proposed policy also recognises the need for placing education in a market context, for granting of institutional autonomy, and for establishing new governance structures at both the Central and State levels while creating a common regulatory framework for both public and private institutions (NEP, 2020). It is argued that while on one hand, the draft NEP looks to augment accountability from private and public institutions, on the other hand, the scope for State intervention seems to have increased under the new policy proposal with its implication for decision–making autonomy for institutional leaders (Varghese, 2019). Moreover, while the NEP 2020 provides a long-term perspective and is certainly helpful in setting the future direction, we also need data to illustrate the current status and ensure informed decision–making.

The paper concludes with recommendations for policy reform that will presumably have implications for tertiary education not only in Delhi, but also the rest of the country. We are working with the assumption that the strengths and

weaknesses existing in Delhi are emblematic of what occurs elsewhere in the country, and identifying what needs to change necessitates an in-depth understanding of the political economy of Delhi.

Kapur and Perry (2015), among others (Agarwal, 2012; Chandra, 2018), have offered gloomy assessments of the state of higher education in India. "The university system in India," they write, "is the collateral damage of Indian politics. The vast majority of government colleges in small towns offer dismal educational outcomes" (Kapur and Perry, 2015, p. 16). We argue that such an assessment, however accurate, is unacceptable for any country that wishes to succeed in a globalised world by building an educated workforce. There certainly may be alternative ways to analyse quality that are distinct from what counts for quality in a league table, but far too many analysts have reached the same conclusions as Kapur and Perry.

Altbach (1969), for example, writes, "There is no more dramatic example of this combination of crisis and status quo than the Indian university". While accepting that the quantitative growth has been impressive, Altbach points to the lack of direction in university growth. Similarly, according to Chandra, "Indian institutions seem to have forgotten their purpose on their way to growth" (Chandra, 2018, p.12). There are serious concerns about both equity and quality.

We suggest that it is the political economy of the country's higher education system that is preventing improvement and the achievement of excellence. By mainstreaming the idea of political economy, we are not simply asserting that additional financial resources will solve all the problems currently faced by the higher education system in India. Instead, we are working from a cultural perspective which suggests that the political economy of a country revolves around structures, frameworks, and the historical interplay between the state and the post-secondary system. Thus, in order to understand how to change and improve, we first need to understand the political economy that shapes action.

Purpose and Articulation of the University

Universities have always been perceived as collegial organisations governed and managed by a community of scholars. During the past decades, this very idea of a university has come under threat due to the growing new modes of managerialism. Some defend this change as being necessary due to the wave of globalisation as well as the need for greater accountability among governing boards, and internal and external stakeholders. However, it is also argued that there has been a decline in the power of the professorate and collegiality, in general. Thus, we are witnessing, and

infact, studying a new university governance and management model. Universities are increasingly also becoming difficult places to govern, manage, and lead due to the growing contestations and ideological divides being witnessed on campus.

Purposes: Although one can certainly wax eloquent about the purpose of a university, here we offer a commonplace observation that nevertheless needs to be highlighted. In a country of the size of India, with its talent pool and concomitant needs, the education system has four essential functions, as follows:

Research knowledge: A system, such as the one in Delhi, needs to have a research capacity. The goal of this system should be not merely to advance new knowledge or the search for truth, but also to consider how this new knowledge may help improve society. Pollution and transportation, for example, are two critical issues in Delhi, and careful research on the causes of and cures for these problems that exist can be conducted in some, but not all, post-secondary institutions. Not every institution needs to have a research capacity, but if a state of 20 million people were to lack any research capacity, it would be a significant oversight.

Vocational training and certificates: A certain segment of the population needs vocational training for specific skills and jobs. These sorts of skills do not necessarily require a bachelor's degree, but they do require more than simply a high school diploma.

Post-secondary knowledge and degrees: A much larger number of students need traditional bachelor's degrees that equip them with the skills for pursuing a professional career in areas such as engineering, medicine, and technology.

Critical thinking skills: The final purpose relates to equipping people with such skills that are necessary to enable them to function in a democracy as active, engaged citizens. Higher education in a democracy has an additional purpose, which differs from academic life in totalitarian countries, that is, to equip students with the ability to use their voice in order to improve the quality of the society.

The creation of technology and medical centres as well as prominent social science centres is an example of India's commitment to a research function. The massification, and the dramatic increase in the number of students in all types of post-secondary institutions in India is testimony to the perception that more graduates need some training and education beyond the high school diploma. India has a distinguished history of student involvement on and off campus, which speaks to the desire to educate individuals for being able to participate in a democracy. Albeit, there are multiple challenges in this task. About one million Indians, for example, will reach

working age each month over the next two decades (Kapur and Mehta, 2017, p. 7). What are the skills they need to cultivate? How can they best be educated and served? What sort of research needs to be done to aid us in serving serve them effectively and equipping them with the skills required to live and work in a rapidly changing economy? These are some of the questions that any system needs to address, and we discuss them in detail below.

Expansion of Higher Education in Delhi's Context: An Overview

Expansion and Massification: The expansion of the higher education sector in Delhi in the recent decades is impressive. The data in Table 1 highlights how Delhi's institutions have grown. Between 1971 and 2020, the number of university-level institutions increased from 6 to 28; the number of colleges from 66 to 179, and the number of students from 0.07 to 1.13 million. While over the past four-plus decades, Delhi's population increased four-fold, enrolment in higher education grew fifteen-fold. The number of universities in 2019-20 was five times that in 1970-71, and the number of colleges nearly three times. The GER increased from 10.76 per cent in 2001-02 to 48 per cent in 2019-20. In other words, the GER moved from an elite stage (of less than 15 per cent) in 2001 to a stage of massification (15 per cent-50 per cent) in 2020, with the higher education system in Delhi being at the higher end of the massification process (with the GER at 48 per cent). Further, the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of the GER between 2001 and 2019 works out to 8 per cent. This means that the development of higher education in Delhi is not very far from realisation of the national goal of universalisation of higher education and achievement of the 50 per cent GER target laid down in The National Education Policy, 2020 (MHRD, 2020).

Table1: Delhi Statistics

	1970-71	1980-81	2001-02	2011-12	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
Population (numbers)	4,065, 698	6,220,406	13,850,507	16,787,941	-		
GER (%)	Data Not available	Data Not available	10.76	38.9	46.3	46.3	48
Universities	6	9*	14**	21	27	27	28
Colleges	66	54	160	162	176	178	179
Students	70,804	72,855	1,66,039	2,96,837	10,64,406	10,77,556	11,32,856
Gender Parity Index	Data Not available	Data Not available	0.86	1	1.07	1.16	1.15
Teaching Staff	Data Not available	Data Not available	10,492	17,044	17512	20,647	21,762

Source: Census of India (COIa) 2011; AISHE (Various years), MHRD (Various years)

Note: * Includes two research institutions.

**Include some research institution.

The expansion of the higher education sector in Delhi is the outcome of a combination of increasing social demand and expanding supply conditions. A sustained level of economic growth, demographic trends, high participation rates at the school level, migration from other States, and public funding have fuelled the expansion of higher education in Delhi. Delhi's economy in 2019-20 registered a growth rate of 7.10 per cent, which was above the national average of 4 per cent (PD, 2021). Delhi's economy, as measured by the GSDP (Gross State Domestic Product) at constant prices, grew at 7.10 per cent over 2018-19 and increased to Rs. 6,13,843 crore (approximately US $83 billion)[4] during 2019-20.

Sustained economic growth: Delhi's per capita income was almost three times the national average, at current and constant prices, for the year 2019-20, as shown in Table 2. Its per capita income has also witnessed a steady growth over the past few years. At current prices, the per capita income of Delhi almost doubled and increased from Rs. 1,85,001 approximately US $2517) in 2011-12 to Rs. 3,76,221 in 2019-20 (approximately US $5119), registering a growth rate of 9.26 per cent over 2018-19 (PD, 2019; 2021). The service sector of the economy plays the most important role in its economic development. The percentage contribution of the service sector to the Gross State Value Added (GSVA) of Delhi at 2011-12 prices was nearly 83 per cent in

4 The Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) is defined as a measure that reflects the monetary value of all goods and services produced in a State.

2020-21. It may be noted that the growth rates of per capita income were adversely affected by the COVID pandemic in both India and Delhi during 2019-20.

Table 2: Per Capita Income of Delhi and India during the Period 2011-12 to 2020-21

Year	Current Prices (Base Year 2011-12)		Constant Prices (Base Year 2011-12)	
	Delhi*	All India	Delhi*	All India
2011-12	1,85,001	63,462	1,85,001	63,462
2012-13	2,05,568	70,983	1,92,220	65,538
2013-14	2,27,900	79,118	2,00,702	68,572
2014-15	2,47,209	86,647	2,13,669	72,805
2015-16	2,70,261	94,797	2,33,115	77,659
2016-17	2,95,558	1,04,880	2,44,255	83,003
2017-18 (3rd RE)	3,18,323	1,15,224	2,52,960	87,586
2018-19 (2nd RE)	3,44,350	1,25,883	2,60,967	92,241
2019-20 (1st RE)	3,76,221	1,34,186	2,74,671	94,566
2020-21 (AE)	3,54,004	1,27,768	2,54,001	85,929

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of NCT of Delhi, 2018.
Note: (4^{th} RE): Fourth Revised Estimates, (3^{rd} RE): Third Revised Estimates, (2^{nd} RE): Second Revised Estimates, (1^{st} RE): First Revised Estimates, (AE): Advance Estimates.
***** Projected on the basis of results of Population Census 2011 (Provided by CSO, Government of India) http://delhiplanning.nic.in/sites/default/files/Chapter%203_0.pdf

Favourable demography and high participation trends at the school level: As regards its demography, Delhi is also one of the two cities in India (the other is Mumbai in the State of Maharashtra) whose population exceeds 10 million. Close to 98 per cent of the population lives in urban areas, with a literacy rate of 86 per cent, which is higher than the corresponding all-India level of 74 per cent (Census of India [COI] b, 2011). Close to 17 per cent of its population comprises the Scheduled Castes (SC) groups (former untouchables) and 48 per cent consist of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) (Planning Commission New Delhi, 2017). More than 27 percent of the population in Delhi is below the age 15 years, and more than 20 per cent is in the college-going age group of 15-24 years (Census of India [COI] c, 2011). A focus by the Government (at both the Central and State levels) through school education development programmes led to an improvement in eligibility for access to higher education. School education programmes have aimed to universalise access at the elementary level and have consequently enhanced access to secondary and higher secondary levels of education. The GER at the secondary level (110 per cent) and at

the higher secondary level (73 per cent) is above the national average of 51 per cent (higher secondary GER).

Publicly-funded programmes at the primary level (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan or Education for All Programme), private efforts (Kapur and Mehta, 2017), and the passage of the Right to Education (RTE) Act in 2009, have led to the achievement of near-universal primary enrolment and an improvement in enrolments at the higher secondary level (Table 3 and 4).

Table 3: Gross Enrolment Ratio

Years	Primary Level		Upper Primary Level		Secondary Level		Higher Secondary Level	
	India	Delhi	India	Delhi	India	Delhi	India	Delhi
2012-13	107.9	117.48	84.11	109.48	68.71	96.88	40.11	85.39
2013-14	107.21	119.79	86.71	115.52	73.84	96.62	44.47	87.62
2014-15	106.85	123.76	88.24	116.28	75.68	97.77	46.37	81.39
2015-16	106.94	125.45	89.43	117.5	77.2	103.55	48.32	74.25
2016-17	103.73	124.66	88.06	119.05	76.42	110.75	43.77	70.16
2017-18	102.8	121.59	88.27	119.19	76.46	105.1	48.13	72.96
2018-19	101.25	120.15	87.74	120.21	76.9	110.39	50.14	70.09
2019-20	102.7	120.4	89.7	122.7	77.9	110.3	51.4	72.8

Source: UDISE+, GoI, Ministry of Education, Department of School Education and Literacy.

Table 4: Net Enrolment Ratio

Years	Primary Level		Upper Primary Level		Secondary Level		Higher Secondary Level	
	India	Delhi	India	Delhi	India	Delhi	India	Delhi
2012-13	93.55	100	66.03	83.96	44.25	62.71	24.95	52.49
2013-14	94.03	100	68.58	88.21	45.64	63.38	27.5	54.95
2014-15	93.35	100	70.1	88.6	47.31	63.48	28.69	51.89
2016-17	91.72	100	71.15	92.03	50.5	70.23	26.68	45.96
2017-18	91.31	100	71.92	93.07	51.49	68.2	29.97	47.13
2018-19	89.14	100	68.99	92.75	48.6	70.29	30.78	45.09
2019-20	91.4	100	71.1	95.7	50.2	72.3	32.3	47.4

Source: UDISE+, GOI, Ministry of Education, Department of School Education and Literacy.

Enhancement of access to the secondary level of education and improvement in its quality have also been supported by the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan* (National Secondary School Programme), launched in 2009. More recently, in 2018, these programmes were combined into a single programme, the *Samagra Shiksha* (an integrated scheme for school education) with the aim of promoting *quality education for all*, which extends from pre-school to class 12. At the secondary level, in Delhi, the pass percentage of class 9 improved from 55.96 per cent in 2013-14 to 57 per cent in 2017-18 (DoE, 2018), through focused efforts by the Delhi State Government in the form of various programmes like *Chunauti* and *Mission Buniyad*, implemented as academic support programmes for class 9 students).

The success of SSA and RMSA gave rise to the perception that there was a need for a Centrally-sponsored scheme for higher education, which focuses on state-level Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs), following which the Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA) or National Higher Education Mission was instituted. RUSA is based on some fundamental principles of performance-based funding and incentivising well-performing institutions and decision-making. RUSA also aims to provide greater autonomy to universities as well as colleges through greater focus on equity-based development and improvement in teaching-learning quality and research. The reforms initiated under RUSA are also intended to bring about greater accountability and autonomy of state institutions and to improve the quality of education. In order to be eligible for funding under RUSA, the States are required to fulfil certain pre-requisites such as the creation of a State Higher Education Council; preparation of the State perspective plans; allocation of a stipulated proportion of the GSDP towards higher education; initiation of academic, sectoral, and institutional governance reforms; and filling up of faculty positions, among other things. The quantum of funds for the States would consist of norms reflecting performance in key result areas pertaining to access, equity, and excellence (MHRD, 2013).

Public spending on education has also increased overtime. The aspiration to make Delhi a knowledge hub has led to education being considered a priority sector of spending in the State budget of the Government of the National Capital Territory, Delhi(GNCTD). During the year 2018-19, education received the highest allocation of 26 per cent of spending from the State budget. The total budget on education increased by more than 50 per cent from Rs. 5491 crores (approximately US $752 million) in 2012-13 to Rs. 13,997 crores in 2018-19 (approximately US $1.92 billion) (Delhi Economic Survey, 2018-19). There is a considerable focus on funding and promoting research and innovation, especially in the spheres of applied sciences, engineering, and

technology, and in the applied arts. A research grant scheme has been initiated in 2019-20, in which matching grants to support research activities is provided by the GNCTD. Additionally, setting up of incubation centres and an applied science university to carry out advanced research and development have been prioritised (PC Delhi, 2020).

Furthermore, the average private expenditure per student incurred across levels of attendance in Delhi too is above the corresponding all-India average (Table 6). The share of course fees, which includes tuition fee, examination fee, and other compulsory payments, accounted for 70 per cent of the total expenditure while another 19 per cent was spent on private coaching by students (Table 5).

Table 5: Percentage Distribution of Private Expenditure by Components of Expenditure at Different Levels of Current Attendance: Delhi

Level of Current Enrolment in the Basic Course	Share in Total Expenditure on Course Fee	Share in Total Expenditure on Books, Stationery and Uniform	Share in Total Expenditure on Transport	Share in Total Expenditure on Private Coaching	Share in Other Expenditure	Total Expenditure (Rs.)
Pre-primary	75.3	11.9	21.8	9.2	7.5	19,568
Primary (classes I-V)	80.5	13.8	20.8	14.7	5.6	22,070
Upper-Primary/Middle	82.9	15.5	12.7	21.1	5.7	21,009
Secondary	59.8	14.4	13.8	22.3	6.0	29,800
Higher Secondary	59.3	11.4	15.9	34.1	4.9	34,449
Diploma/Certificate Course (upto secondary)	55.9	8.4	22.3	8.5	9.3	29,666
Diploma/Certificate (Higher Secondary)	65.1	8.2	22.6	2.6	3.6	40,473
Diploma/Certificate (Graduation and above)	73.8	8.2	11.6	10.4	4.3	53,662
Graduate	60.8	11.7	18.8	7.1	8.2	36,279
Post-graduate and above	60.5	11.2	16.2	6.5	17.8	26,665
Total	70.0	12.9	18.0	18.6	6.4	26,956

Source: Calculated from NSSO (2017-18).

Table 6: Percentage Expenditure on Basic Course per Student during Current Academic Year Pursuing General Course by Items of Expenditure for Each Level of Current Attendance: India (2016-17)

Level of current attendance	Course Fee	Books, Stationery and Uniform	Transport	Private Coaching	Other Expenditure	Total Expenditure (Rs.)
Primary	53.6	20.6	12.8	8.3	4.8	6365
Upper Primary/ Middle	50.0	21.8	10.6	12.6	5.1	7273
Secondary	46.5	21.7	8.7	17.9	5.3	9516
Higher Secondary	48.9	17.7	9.3	18.8	5.3	15,077
Graduate	44.5	18.3	19.4	12.1	5.7	14,197
Post Graduate & above	52.1	17.2	16.5	8.1	6.1	14,710
All Levels	51.3	19.8	11.7	12.1	5.2	8,797

Source: NSSO (2017-18).

In-migration destination for education: Importantly, the expansion of higher education has been fuelled by the migration of students from other States of India. Delhi is geographically located in the north of India and shares its borders with two States, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Empirical studies indicate that Delhi is an important destination of in-migration for education (Chandrasekhar and Sharma, 2014). Using the NSSO survey on migration and employment, in their study, they show that Delhi attracts migrants with varied educational attainment from the surrounding States. Institutional levels studies as well as reports of the higher education institutions located in Delhi corroborate the findings of large-scale data-sets, such as the National Sample Surveys. For instance, according to the University of Delhi annual report, more than half of the students in Delhi University belonged to States other than Delhi (University of Delhi, 2018). An institutional level study (Babu et al., 2019) of one of the colleges in Delhi also points to regional diversity in student composition. Close to 50 per cent (46 per cent) of the students surveyed in this college were from States other than Delhi, dominantly from the neighbouring State of Uttar Pradesh (Table 7).

Table 7: State of Domicile of Students Attending a College in Delhi

State of Domicile	Frequency	% of Students
Assam	4	0.8
Bihar	23	4.8
NCT Delhi	259	53.8
Haryana	19	4
Jammu and Kashmir	6	1.2
Jharkhand	4	0.8
Kerala	5	1
Madhya Pradesh	4	0.8
Manipur	10	2.1
Nagaland	2	0.4
Odisha	1	0.2
Punjab	2	0.4
Rajasthan	7	1.5
Tamil Nadu	1	0.2
Uttar Pradesh	118	24.5
Uttarakhand	9	1.9
West Bengal	7	1.5
Total	481	100

Source: Babu et al. 2019.

Amongst the States and Union Territories (UTs) in India, Delhi also enjoys a top ranking position in the innovation index which measures innovation capabilities and performance (NITI Aayog, 2019). Indicators of innovation performance include knowledge output in the form of the number of grass-root level innovations in the State, the number of start-ups, patents filed from the State, the number of publications, and knowledge diffusion such as in the form of ICT exports, high-tech manufacturing entities, and the number of citations, among other indicators which symbolise an innovation-driven economy. Apart from the fact that it is the capital city of the country, the innovative capacity of Delhi is also built and supported by other factors such as its high concentration of universities and research laboratories, and its close proximity to business hubs in the neighbouring States such as Gurugram in Haryana and NOIDA in Uttar Pradesh (NITI Aayog, 2019).

In summary, a combination of economic and demographic drivers, government initiatives, and in-migration of students for higher education have fuelled the expansion of higher education in Delhi. The factors contributing to the development of higher education in Delhi are related to economic development and the modes of production, its demographic characteristics, its popularity as a destination for education for migrant students, the high share of government spending on school and higher education, and the high average annual private expenditure on the acquisition of human capacities. The analysis in this section suggests that the growth of human capital in Delhi is probably both a condition and a consequence of the economic growth of Delhi.

Challenges facing Delhi and its implications for the higher education sector in Delhi: Despite the strengths and resiliency of its economy, Delhi, however, faces critical challenges in maintaining its distinctive national position over the longer term. These challenges are related to its economy, demography, and secondary levels of education, which have implications for both the nature and forms of development o of higher education in Delhi. Furthermore, the existing challenges facing Delhi, as discussed below, need to be understood in the context of the characteristics of its economy and the approach followed for economic development.

As noted, the capital city of Delhi is undergoing a sectoral shift, with the contribution of the agriculture and manufacturing sectors continuing to decline in Delhi's Gross Value Added (GVA), the services and industrial sectors constituting a major share of the total number of persons employed, and the services sector accounting for more than 80 per cent of the income of the city. Furthermore, equally important has been the industrial approach adopted by the Delhi State in an effort to become globally competitive and locally engaged by aiming to promote knowledge-based industries, developing new industrial areas, and encouraging the growth of knowledge-intensive jobs (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2010). Similarly, the perspective plan of the regional Delhi Development Authority (DDA) (DDA, 2017) has, in its master plan, proposed to make 'Delhi a global metropolis and a world-class city, where all the people would be engaged in productive work with a better quality of life, living in a sustainable environment' (p. iv), simultaneously placing an emphasis on the development of tertiary sector activities such as commerce, sports, IT applications, cultural activities, and tourism.

In order to thrive in this changing environment and sustain the desired level of economic growth, Delhi's economy will need to focus on a more intensive use of knowledge and engage in knowledge-based activities. Achieving success under this

model will require access to knowledge-intensive jobs and the availability of skilled and qualified labour. However, Delhi falls short on both these counts. Only 22 per cent of the working age population (aged 15-64 years) in Delhi has acquired tertiary education qualifications (Census of India [COI] b, 2011). At the regional level, Delhi's work-force exhibits a low level of educational attainment due to the fact that the trade and retail-based services sector is engaged in economic activities of a low-skilled nature (GoI, 2019), which do not require a high level of educational attainment. In addition, employment opportunities in the organised public sector have declined over the years in Delhi, as indicated by the figure of 0.2 percent per annum over the last decade, as per the Economic Survey of Delhi, 2018-19), as a majority of the employment is being generated in the unorganized informal economy[5] (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2010), which may not value educational qualifications as much as the organised sector does.

The labour force participation rates and worker participation rates are also lower in Delhi as compared to the all-India average (NSSO, 2011-12), with the number of unemployed persons increasing in the city over time. According to the Economic Survey 2017-18, the number of unemployed persons registered in employment exchanges in the city increased by three times, from 0.4 million in 2009 to 1.2 million in 2017. And while a higher share of those with higher education were employed vis-à-vis the rest, the number of unemployed persons with graduate and higher levels of education increased the most as compared to those with lower levels of education. For example, the number of unemployed persons who were graduates increased by five times, from 0.05 million in 2009 to 0.2 million in 2017, and the number of unemployed among those with post-graduate level educational qualifications increased by about seven times, from 0.006 million in 2009 to 0.4 million in 2017. At lower levels of educational qualifications (such as below the secondary level of education or year 10), the number of unemployed increased by three times, from 0.05 million in 2009 to 0.1 million. Furthermore, in 2017, 29 per cent of the unemployed persons registered in an unemployment exchange in Delhi had graduate or higher levels of educational qualifications, implying that close to one-third of university graduates received no work opportunities at all.

The outstanding debt burden has also increased by over Rs. 80 billion in the last ten years, with its implications for the slowdown of economic progress and shifting of

[5] The unorganised sector informal economy is defined as unincorporated private enterprises (owned by individuals and households) that employ less than ten workers, with no access to social security or security of tenure.

the cost of expenditure of the current generation to the future generations (Daly, 1969). In addition, the dependency burden on the working class is also high. Delhi has a high dependency ratio of 68 per cent, with close to one-third of the total working age population in Delhi taking care of the remaining two-thirds of the population (Census of India [COI] b, 2011).

It is also projected that Delhi will become the most populous city in the world with 39 million people in 2030 (UNICEF, 2018). The MPD-2021 has forecast a reduction in the rate of natural growth of population in Delhi and an increase in migration between 2001and 2021. The MPD-2021 identifies multiple challenges impacting the quality of life and well-being as a consequence of the growth in population and in-migration in Delhi. These include the challenge of ensuring equitable access to housing, drinking water,[6] and infrastructural services; generation of decent employment opportunities; addressing the problems of low productivity in small enterprises, particularly in the unorganised informal sector; conservation of the environment, and preservation of Delhi's heritage (DDA, 2017), and ensuring better safety for women in Delhi. A survey conducted by UN Women and the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) of close to 2001 women showed that 95 per cent of the women and girls felt unsafe in public spaces in Delhi (UN Women, 2013).[7]

As a consequence, Delhi ranks third amongst the UTs in India on the enabling conditions for innovations which influence the States' innovation capabilities (NITI Aayog, 2019). Innovation capabilities are identified through measurement of the elements of a State's economy that serve as conditions for innovation and its influence on performance. These enabling conditions include the stock of human capital formation especially related to the number of students studying science and technology and students pursuing PhD programmes; the expenditure incurred on science, technology, and foreign direct investments; the number of workers engaged in knowledge-intensive employment; and the prevailing business environment, including that pertaining to safety and legal environment. In a subsequent section, we will show how the higher education policy has responded to improve the stock of human capital with technical skills.

In the education sphere, the literacy rate in Delhi, which is an important human development indicator, while being higher (86.2 per cent) than the national average

[6] For example, more than 16 per cent of the households in Delhi in 2016-17 did not have access to piped water supply (GoI, 2017).

[7] https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/2/un-women-supported-survey-in-delhi

(73 per cent), continues to be lower as compared to other States such as Kerala (94.0 per cent), Mizoram (91.3 per cent), and Tripura (87.2 per cent). Finally, inter-group inequalities and low pass percentages at the secondary levels as a result of low learning levels, plague schools in Delhi. At the secondary level, the pass percentage was less than the national level (GoI, 2017).

As far as inter-group inequalities in learning outcomes are concerned, academic distance among social groups is reflected in better academic performance of the privileged social groups as compared to the disadvantaged social groups. For example, according to the National Achievement Survey for class 10conducted among all the social categories, the General category students performed best amongst all the social categories in the subjects of Mathematics, Modern Indian Language, English, Sciences, and Social Sciences (NAS, 2017). The relatively poor results at the secondary level for the disadvantaged social groups are the result of a cumulative deficit in learning outcomes at the lower levels.

Another consequence is the rise of private supplementary tutoring or shadow education. This trend of shadow education in Delhi has been on the rise with tuition and coaching centres providing additional academic support at high costs (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2013). It is argued that private tuition exacerbates social class inequalities and has a detrimental impact on mainstream quality and equity in educational systems (Bray, 2009).

Thus, the primary challenges for educators and regional policy-makers in Delhi include finding ways to make higher education in Delhi respond to the talent demands of the future, to narrow the existing skill gaps, and to reduce inequalities and promote inclusion. In the next section, we discuss how the government of NCT Delhi and the Government at the Centre have developed the higher educational system in Delhi and how the governments at different levels have jointly responded to the demands of the changing economy.

Types of Higher Educational Institutions in Delhi and Their Diverse Dimensions[8]

Delhi has some of the country's best and most historic universities and institutes, such as the University of Delhi, the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), and the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), among others. A large majority of the higher education institutions in Delhi, including IIT, JNU, and the University of Delhi are under the control of the Union Government. The University of Delhi, for example, was established during the British Rule in 1922 by an Act of the Central Legislative Assembly, the lower house of the Imperial Legislative Council, the legislature of British India. It has 90 Colleges, 16 Faculties, 87 Departments, and 16 Centres, with more than 0.6 million students (University of Delhi, 2018).

The genesis of IIT, Delhi, which came into existence in 1961, and of JNU, which was founded in 1969, can be traced to the first three Five-Year Plans (1951-66), launched after Independence. In the public-led planned approach to educational development, while the need for bringing about improvement and establishing links across various stages of education was recognized during the initial stages of educational development in India, a high-level planning priority was accorded to the improvement of higher education standards, development of post-graduate work and research, and, expansion of technical education. Public institutions were established mainly to expand access to technical education, enable the increase in the number of professionals in the education system, improve its quality, and meet the economic needs of the country (PC, 1956; PC, 1961; PC, 1969; Varghese, 2015).

The Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), for example, is the premier research university in India established by an Act of Parliament titled the Jawaharlal Nehru

[8] In India, the types of institutions are classified under the three broad categories: University/University Level Institutions, Colleges, and Stand-alone Institutions. The main feature of the University/University level institutions is that these are the only form of higher education institutions that have the power to award degrees. Colleges are higher education institutions can impart courses of study to students after12 years of schooling, generally to enable them to qualify at the under-graduate level, having a durationof3/4/5years, in General or Professional courses. Colleges are, however, not empowered to provide degrees on their own. Stand-alone Institutions are non-university institutions in India, which offer diploma or post-graduate diplomas, generally after 12 years of schooling. The duration of diplomas ranges from one to three years. These institutions are not associated with Universities or Colleges, but are recognised by various Councils and Ministries. Stand-alone Institutions mainly offer vocational and technical skills in the fields of Nursing, Teachers' Training, Management, Chartered Accountancy, and Polytechnics.
It is also important to understand how higher education is defined in India. According to the definition of higher education included in the All India Higher Education Survey published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, higher education is defined as 'the education, which is obtained after completing 12 years of schooling or equivalent and is of the duration of at least nine months (full time) or after completing 10 years of schooling and is of the duration of at least 3 years. The education maybe of the nature of General, Vocational, Professional or Technical education.' (AISHE, 2018, A-4). The non-university tertiary programmes are counted as part of higher education.

University Act, in 1966. It is a Central University as it is a Central (Union) Government-funded HEI. It is primarily engaged in inter-disciplinary studies offered at the post-graduate and doctoral levels. Further, named after the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, its core mission has been to focus on promoting the study of the principles propagated by Jawaharlal Nehru, as clearly stated in the JNU Act, 1966: "The University shall endeavour to promote the study of the principles for which Jawaharlal Nehru worked during his life time—national integration, social justice, secularism, democratic way of life, international understanding and scientific approach to the problems of society" (JNU Act, 1966, p. 13), This objective is proposed to be achieved mainly by integrating courses in humanities, science, and technology in the educational programmes of the University.

The Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) in Delhi is an autonomous statutory organisation functioning as per the rules enunciated under the Institutes of Technology Act, 1961, amended vide the Institutes of Technology (Amendment) Act, 1963 (IIT, 1963), and the Statutes framed there under. The principal aim of the institution is to offer instructions in applied sciences and engineering at the under-graduate and post-graduate levels, which are comparable to the best in the world, as well as to provide facilities for research in order to meet the needs of specialised research workers for the knowledge economy. IIT, Delhi has been accorded the status of an Institution of National Importance, and is considered an institution of excellence, which has the power to frame its own academic policy, conduct its own examinations, and award its own degrees.

Delhi also has top-ranking higher educational institutions in India, which primarily enjoy financial support from the Union Government. According to the ranking of higher education institutions on performance by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), (National Institutional Ranking Framework: NIRF[9]), of the top 20 higher education institutions in India, a majority of the institutions (14) are located in Delhi.

A majority of the top 14 higher education institutions in Delhi are funded and supported by the Central (Federal) Government. Centrally chartered universities receive their authority and funding from the Federal Government, and are generally among the oldest and best universities in the country. In Delhi, these include 3 Central Universities (JNU, University of Delhi, and Jamia Millia Islamia), 11 colleges affiliated

[9] The NIRF assesses parameters which cover teaching, learning, and resources, research and professional practices, graduation outcomes, outreach and inclusivity, and perceptions of the higher education institutions.

and maintained by the University of Delhi, and an Institute of National Importance (IIT, Delhi). IIT, Delhi, which is a Central Government-funded institution, is, in fact, one of the institutions that is consistently ranked as among the 200 best universities in the QS World Ranking (Education Desk, 2021). The government at the State level too, that is, the Government of National Capital Territory, Delhi (GNCTD), has recognized the crucial role played by higher and technical education, and, of up-gradation of skills in promoting sustained and inclusive economic growth and access to decent employment (Delhi PC, 2017).

A two-fold strategy has been mainly adopted to promote higher and technical education at the federal level, and by the Government of NCT Delhi over the years, to make 'Delhi a knowledge city' (Delhi PC, 2017, p. 189). These include enhancing the intake capacity of the existing institutions of higher education, and increasing the number of universities, colleges, professional and technical institutions in the city. Interestingly, unlike the common trend of private-led expansion witnessed at the all-India level and across most States in India (Varghese, 2015), most of the growth in enrolment in higher education in Delhi has taken place through already established or newly established university level institutions by the State Government and the Union Government, with the bulk of expansion supported through the establishment of government (public) colleges.

Between 2006-07 and 2019-20, for example, the number of State public universities increased from 1 to 8 (funded by the Government of NCT Delhi), Institutes of National Importance (funded by the Union government) increased from 2 to 5 (Table 8) and government (public) colleges increased from 69 to 97 (Table 9). By 2019, Delhi had 5 Central Universities (under the Union Government), 5 Institutes of National Importance, 8 State Public Universities, 7 government-deemed Universities and only 1 private university (deemed-to-be university) (Table 8). In other words, Delhi is largely a public-dominated higher education system, with a majority of its higher education institutions having the authority to award a higher education degree. It has 28 higher education institutions with the authority to award degrees (these include only the Universities, and excludes colleges) at the under-graduate and post-graduate and above levels, a majority of which are under the Central (Union) Government. In addition, close to 64 per cent of the colleges affiliated to a degree-granting institution in Delhi are public or public-aided colleges, while only 36 per cent being private unaided colleges (Table 9).

Table 8: Types of Institutions: Degree Granting Institutions in Delhi

Years	Central University	Central Open University	Institute of National Importance	Others	State Public University	Institute under State Legislature Act	State Open University	State Private University	State Private Open University	Deemed University-Government	Deemed University-Government Aided	Deemed University-Private	Grand Total
2006-07	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	**18**
2007-08	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	**18**
2008-09	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	**18**
2009-10	4	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	**19**
2010-11	4	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	10	0	2	**26**
2011-12	4	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	8	2	1	**25**
2012-13	4	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	8	2	1	**25**
2013-14	4	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	8	2	1	**26**
2014-15	4	1	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	7	2	1	**26**
2015-16	4	1	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	7	2	1	**26**
2016-17	4	1	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	**27**
2017-18	4	1	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	**27**
2019-20	5	1	5	0	8	0	0	0	0	7	1	1	**28**

Source: AISHE (Various Years).

Table 9: Types of Colleges, Delhi

Year	Private Un-aided	Private Aided	Total Private	Government	Total
2006-07	-	-	-	-	165*
2007-08	-	-	-	-	170*
2008-09	-	-	-	-	155*
2009-10	-	-	-	-	155*
2010-11	59	11	70	69	139
2011-12	63	14	77	85	162
2012-13	64	14	78	87	165
2013-14	61	14	75	86	161
2014-15	61	16	77	89	166
2015-16	59	16	75	92	167
2016-17	62	16	78	96	174
2017-18	63	15	78	98	176
2018-19	63	15	78	100	178
2019-20	63	14	77	97	174

Source: AISHE (Various Years).
Note: *Statistics of Higher and Technical Education (Various Years).

Table 10: Percentage Enrolment in Private and Government Colleges (Delhi)

Year	Private Un-aided	Private Aided	Total Private	Government
2010-11	22.22	11.03	33.25	66.75
2011-12	19.48	13.21	32.69	67.31
2012-13	20.95	11.1	32.05	67.95
2013-14	20.3	11.29	31.59	68.41
2014-15	19.19	12.2	31.38	68.62
2015-16	19.53	12.1	31.62	68.38
2016-17	21.57	11.37	32.95	67.05
2017-18	22.53	11.47	34	66
2019-20	22.11	11.25	33.36	66.63

Source: AISHE (Various Years).

Table 11: Percentage of Enrolment in Private and Government Colleges (India)

Year	Private Unaided	Private Aided	Total Private	Government
2010-11	37.02	23.78	60.8	39.2
2011-12	38.33	23.73	62.06	37.94
2012-13	40.87	22.36	63.23	36.77
2013-14	42.6	22.37	64.97	35.03
2014-15	45.39	21.64	67.03	32.97
2015-16	45.58	21.44	67.02	32.98
2016-17	46.16	21.15	67.3	32.7
2017-18	46.67	20.62	67.29	32.71
2018-19	45.20	21.21	66.41	33.59
2019-20	44.92	21.42	66.34	33.65

Source: AISHE (Various Years).

Consequently, a majority of the students (78 per cent) in Delhi are enrolled in public higher education institutions, which is unlike the pattern noticed at the national level (AISHE, 2019-20). In 2019-20, in Delhi, 67 per cent of the student enrolment was in government colleges and another 11 per cent was in government-aided colleges, while only 22 per cent of the enrolment was in private un-aided colleges (Table 10). In contrast, at the national level, the student enrolment pattern showed a reverse trend, as 66 per cent of the student enrolment was in privately managed colleges, while the remaining 34 per cent was in government colleges (Table 11). If we compare Delhi to Chandigarh, we find that Chandigarh has an equal proportion of enrolment in private and government colleges. The public nature of the enrolment pattern in Delhi has been stable over the last decade.

Another notable feature of the tertiary education in Delhi is the diversity in the types of institutions where post-secondary education is imparted. Of the total number of higher education institutions in Delhi (303), a sizable proportion of the institutions (59 per cent) were college level institutions, followed by institutions offering non-university tertiary programmes (32 per cent) through Stand-alone Institutions (explained in detail in Footnote 8), which offer non-university vocational courses of a short duration and 9 per cent were university level institutions (AISHE, 2019-20).

Another important feature of Delhi is that higher education is imparted here in the distance mode as well. Delhi has the only Central Open University in the country, the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), which is granted federal support to offer distance education programmes. At the national level, IGNOU had a mandate

to operate as a distance teaching-learning system, but importantly, it was also given the responsibility to function as a body for the promotion, coordination, and determination of high standards in the open university and distance education systems in the country. The Open University System was initiated in the early 1980s to reach where higher education had not reached before and also to make it a lifelong process with no restrictions of age at the time of enrolment, prior educational attainments, or the pace and place of study. The growth of distance education in India has been exponential over the last four decades, starting with the establishment of the Dr B.R. Ambedkar Open University in Hyderabad in 1982. This was followed by the establishment of IGNOU in Delhi in 1985. The enrolment in distance education has been growing rapidly over the years and has been faster than the enrolment in conventional mode. In fact, during the pandemic period, while the conventional mode of enrolment grew by 2.5 per cent from 2018-19 to 2019-20, distance enrolment grew at 8 per cent.

This also implies that while the higher education system in Delhi is largely a public-supported system, it is however, increasingly vocationalised and academically differentiated (Clark, 1978). Academic differentiation is the result of the strengthening of a selective and limited number of elite public institutions for research and innovation,[10] on the one hand, and the fact that a majority of the students, on the other hand, are incorporated into college level and non-elite non-university tertiary programmes of a low duration. For example, IIT, Delhi has been accorded the status of an institute of eminence by the Union Government, which makes it eligible to receive additional grants of Rs. 10 billion,[11] serving about 0.01 million students (MHRD, 2018). The college-level institutions offering under-graduate degrees and institutions offering non-university tertiary programmes (also called Stand-alone Institutions, as explained in Footnote 8), serve a larger number of students as compared to elite institutions (enrolling 0.2 million and 0.03 million students, respectively, versus 0.01 million students: AISHE, 2018). These numbers have also doubled from 2010 to 2018 (AISHE, 2010; 2012; 2018).

The other key feature of higher education in Delhi is that it is mainly dominated by students pursuing an under-graduate level of education, leading to attainment of the Bachelor's degree or the first University degree. In 2019-20, close to 78 per cent of the students were pursuing undergraduate courses, 15 per cent were enrolled in post-

[10] UGC (Declaration of Government Educational Institutions as Institutions of Eminence) Guidelines, 2017.

[11] http://www.iitd.ac.in/content/iit-delhi-granted-status-institute-eminence

graduate courses, 3 per cent were enrolled in diploma programmes, and 2 per cent were participating in research programmes (Table 12). The low level of enrolment in post-graduate and research programmes has implications for the availability of qualified teachers to foster further expansion of the system (Varghese, 2015), which also points to a shortage of knowledge workers in meeting the requirements of a knowledge economy.

Table 12: Level-wise Enrolment in Delhi 2019-20

Level of Study	Total Enrolment	Percentage of Enrolment
Ph.D.	16,270	1.44
M.Phil.	1322	0.12
Post Graduate	1,75,451	15.49
Under Graduate	8,86,388	78.24
PG Diploma	10,812	0.95
Diploma	33,966	3.00
Certificate	4151	0.37
Integrated	4496	0.40
Grand Total	11,32,856	100

Source: AISHE (2019-20).

It may also be useful to note the social group composition of students. This is important in the context that the public higher education institutions such as government colleges, including government-aided institutions, have to follow an affirmative action policy of reserving seats for the disadvantaged social groups, such as the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs).[12] Data from AISHE, 2019, show that across social groups, however, the bulk of

[12] The reservation policy has been enacted for the Central Educational Institutions established and aided by the Central or the State Government. The Central Educational Institutions (Reservation in Admission) Act, 2006, provides reservation in admission of the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The reservation of seats in admission and its extent in a Central Educational Institution is provided under the following manner: 15 per cent of the annual strength in each branch of study or faculty is reserved for the SCs; 7.5 per cent for STs; and 27 per cent for the OBCs. The extent of reservation of seats in admission is similar in the case of higher education institutions established by the State Government, as for example, the Delhi Pharmaceutical Sciences and Research University. The reservation guidelines for this institute further mention, "in case of non-availability of ST candidates, the seats available are to be converted to SC category. In case of non-availability of OBC the seats to be converted to general category." (https://dpsru.edu.in/admissions/reservations-guidelines).
However, in the case of higher educational institutions in Delhi supported by the State Government offering general education, this is not the case. For instance, in the State government-supported higher educational institutions, Keshav Mahavidyalayas, the admission guidelines state, "in case, after giving 5 per cent relaxation, the reserved seats still remain vacant, further relaxation would be given to the extent required in order to fill up all the reserved seats. (AC [19] Resolution A88, 14.6.1983) (EC Resolution 157, 24.12.2001). Eligibility in these cases

students (67 per cent) enrolled in higher education institutions in Delhi were from the advantaged social groups (the non-SC/ST/OBC categories), followed by the OBCs and SCs (Table 13). This points to an under-representation of students from the socially disadvantaged social groups in higher education institutions located in Delhi.

Table 13: Social Category-wise Enrolment in Delhi, 2019-20

Social Category	Total Enrolment	Percentage of Enrolment
Others	765014	67.53
Scheduled Caste	162286	14.33
Scheduled Tribe	15629	1.38
Other Backward Classes	189927	16.77
All Categories	1132856	100.00
Persons with Disability	8262	0.73
Muslim	26475	2.34
Other Minority Communities	13988	1.23

Source: AISHE (2019-20).

It is also important to understand the course content that the students are studying as it has implications for future employment opportunities for graduates, as well as the levels of earnings and economic outcomes for individuals as well as for the economy of the State. This is especially relevant for Delhi. As noted earlier, the primary approach to economic development in Delhi has been to promote new industries related to information technology, with an emphasis on clean, high-technology, and high-skilled economic activities. According to the NSSO, 2017-18, a majority of the students in Delhi were enrolled in humanities (47 per cent), followed by commerce (22 per cent), engineering (5 per cent), management, and in Information technology- related courses (2 per cent each), respectively (Table 14).

is pass percentage" (KM, 2019). Furthermore, the objective of the state universities in providing education to its citizenry is fulfilled through implementation of affirmative action for students who had completed their higher secondary education from schools located in Delhi. For example, in professional institutions supported by the State government, 85 per cent of the total seats are also allocated for Delhi students and the remaining 15 per cent for students from outside Delhi (Delhi Act 8 of 2007).

Table 14: Courses being Studied in Delhi by Level of Study, 2017

Course Studied	Number of Students	(%) No. of Students in Each Course/ 11,38,330	Under-Graduate (in %)	Post-Graduate (in %)	Male (in%)	Female (in%)
Humanities	5,36,574	47.14	55.01	38.34	50.53	49.47
Science	1,56,675	13.76	3.58	7.97	56.68	43.32
Commerce	2,51,323	22.08	24.73	12.88	65.80	34.20
Medicine	13,128	1.15	0.40	2.82	27.02	72.98
Engineering	57,552	5.06	7.05	12.59	67.29	32.71
Agriculture	108	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Law	5738	0.50	0.30	2.28	48.47	51.53
Management	24,497	2.15	4.13	2.59	86.99	13.01
Education	11,928	1.05	1.35	1.94	71.02	28.98
Chartered accountancy and similar courses	7224	0.63	0.54	1.60	76.08	23.92
IT/Computer Courses	28,225	2.48	0.93	12.25	41.73	58.27
Recognised Vocational Training Institute, etc.	4681	0.41	0.00	0.07	97.24	2.76
Others	40,677	3.57	1.98	4.65	70.90	29.10
Total	11,38,330	100.00	100	100		

Source: Calculated from NSSO (2020).

Further, on the one hand, the preponderance of students in the humanities courses mostly at the under-graduate (UG) level (Table 14) indicates that the higher education system in Delhi at the under-graduate level is responding more to the pressures of the public demand for higher level of education, while it is only at the post-graduate level that the acquisition of skills is related to the vision that Delhi has for its economic development. At the post-graduate level, the dominance of enrolment in technical and professional courses such as commerce and management indicates the public desire to acquire skills which have the potential to increase their chances of accessing employment opportunities in the economy. However, as noted previously, the low level of enrolment in post-graduate and research programmes implies a shortage of qualified workforce for the expansion of the high-skilled knowledge-intensive sector of the economy.

In-spite of the State's efforts, the higher education system in Delhi faces multiple challenges. One of these is related to the persistence of social inequalities in the access to higher education. The preceding analysis shows that the higher education system in Delhi is dominated by the relatively large presence of students from elite groups being enrolled in elite institutions. Over the years, the GER has remained lower for the students from the SC group vis-à-vis those belonging to the rest of the population across the higher education institutions in Delhi. For instance, the GER for students from the SC group in Delhi in 2010 was 13.5per cent, which was much lower than the overall average of 19.4 per cent (MHRD, 2010). Similarly, while there has been an improvement in the GER of the SC group in Delhi, data from the AISHE 2019-20 show that the GER for students from the SC social group was lower (37.8 per cent) than the average (48 per cent).

Additionally, the share of students from the disadvantaged social groups such as the SCs in the Institutes of National Importance (which are highly selective elite public universities) offering technical and professional education was also lower, at 12 per cent, as compared to 58.41 per cent for the privileged social groups (non-SC/ST/OBCs) in 2020 at the all-India level (AISHE, 2019-20). In Delhi too, the scenario for the socially disadvantaged groups is the same. For example, in 2018-19, only 11 per cent of the students in some of these institutions in Delhi (for example, IIT, Delhi) were from the SC group, 5 per cent were from the ST group, and 21 per cent were from the OBCs, as compared to 64 per cent from the privileged social groups (non-SC/ST/OBCs) (MHRD, 2019). Disparities in access to such high-return educational opportunities adversely affect the ability of prospective students to acquire relevant skills for the labour market and reinforce the pre-existing social inequalities in the society (Varghese, Sabharwal, and Malish, 2019). It can be argued from the available data that Delhi has a higher education system that serves social elites, and its student body does not reflect the broader national or regional diversity in the population seen in the society, thereby negatively influencing civic learning outcomes from higher education. The prevalence of disparities in access to higher education implies that the campuses remain socially less diverse, offering limited opportunities to r students for inter-group interactions and for learning from diverse peers (Sabharwal and Malish, 2018; Varghese, Sabharwal, and Malish, 2018). As noted earlier, the share of students from the disadvantaged social groups in student population was also lower in higher educational institutions in Delhi as compared to the rest of the country in 2019-20.

The other problem is that of social and gender segregation in the disciplines being studied. While women constitute about an equal share (47 per cent) of all student

enrolments in Delhi (AISHE, 2020), Table 14 indicates an under-representation of women in access to professional courses, such as, commerce, engineering, and management in Delhi. The proportion of women enrolled in these courses was lower vis-à-vis that of men, while the women students as compared to men were predominantly enrolled in the disciplines of education and medicine. Similarly, the proportion of students from the disadvantaged social groups, such as the SCs and the STs are also under-represented in disciplines offering high economic returns and greater employment opportunities.

Tough admission procedures based on results attained in competitive exams, as followed by the IIT system[13] offering engineering courses and the high tuition fees charged by private colleges offering professional and technical education perhaps account for the higher educational institutions disproportionally enrolling a large number of students from privileged groups. These students are more likely to belong to families with higher incomes and parents with higher levels of education, and would have attended secondary schools, and coaching and tutoring classes that prepare students for elite institutions (Sabharwal, 2020).

An under-representation of women in access to elite institutions and technical and professional courses, such as commerce, engineering, and management in Delhi also adds to widening of the gender inequalities in workforce participation and access to employment opportunities. For example, the workforce participation rates for urban women with technical education are higher as compared to those for women without technical education (Sudarshan, 2018). Further, while the share of women in higher education enrolment has gone up, the facilities of hostels and accommodation for women remain inadequate in Delhi, and this has been an issue of major concern (PC Delhi, 2020). Moreover, the trend of academic differentiation, which also has a social colour, has the potential to contribute to income inequalities as individual earnings vary by levels of education (Varghese, 2019) and by the effect of the institutional brand on the value of the degree commanded in the labour market (Marginson, 2016).[14]

The third problem is related to the lack of internationalisation of the higher education system in Delhi. While evidence shows a steady trend of rising number of international students studying in Delhi, there is scope for increasing the numbers

[13] See Tierney and Sabharwal (2018) for more details on the selection process to the IIT system in India which is based on a national level entrance examination.

[14] https://academicmatters.ca/higher-education-and-growing-inequality/

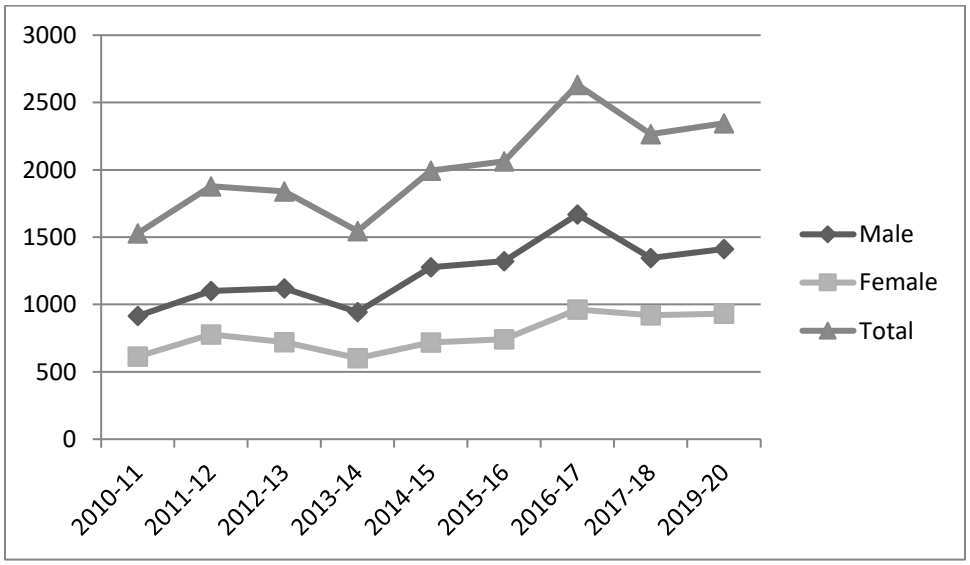
further (Table 15; Figure 1). Recent attempts to attract international students and internationalise the higher education system of Delhi are mainly related to the lowering of the tuition fees for international students (Nanda, 2018).

Table 15: Number of International Students Studying in Higher Education Institutions Located in Delhi

Years	Male	Female	Total
2010-11	915	614	1529
2011-12	1101	777	1878
2012-13	1119	721	1840
2013-14	944	602	1546
2014-15	1277	718	1995
2015-16	1321	742	2063
2016-17	1669	963	2632
2017-18	1345	921	2266
2019-20	1412	933	2345

Source: AISHE (Various Years).

Figure 1: Number of International Students Studying in Higher Education Institutions Located in Delhi



Source: AISHE (Various Years).

Finally, access to what one studies is also differentiated not only on the basis of one's social background as we have noted before but also on the ability to pay. Private investment in higher education in Delhi is increasingly being concentrated in

engineering and other professional courses such as management and commerce. Table 16 shows that a majority of the students studying technical and professional courses (except Chartered Accountancy), such as, engineering, management, and IT-related courses are enrolled in privately managed institutions. For instance, close to 80 per cent of the student enrolment in management courses was in the privately managed institutions (Table 16). In the next section, we will show that the higher education system in Delhi is increasingly relying on private institutions charging higher tuition fees to provide technical and professional education. Private institutions also contribute to distortions in disciplines (Varghese, 2015), as most of the institutions are established in the subject areas of engineering, technology, and management offering relatively better job prospects.

Table 16: Courses Attended in Delhi by the Type of Management of Institutions, 2017

Under-Graduate	Government	Private Aided	Private Un-aided	Not Known	Total
General Courses					
Humanities	86.1%	4.8%	3.5%	5.6%	100.0%
Science	93.4%	2.3%	3.2%	1.1%	100.0%
Commerce	70.8%	28.7%	.5%		100.0%
Technical/Professional Courses					
Medicine	37.7%	28.7%	33.6%		100.0%
Engineering	23.4%	51.2%	16.7%	8.7%	100.0%
Law	9.5%	31.7%	58.7%		100.0%
Management	19.2%	66.4%	13.3%	1.1%	100.0%
Education	7.5%		92.5%		100.0%
Chartered Accountancy and Similar Courses	75.0%		19.8%	5.2%	100.0%
IT/Computer Courses	26.6%	56.0%	13.1%	4.3%	100.0%
Others	56.3%	6.0%	33.8%	4.0%	100.0%
All Courses					
Total	72.7%	17.0%	6.4%	3.9%	100.0%

Source: Calculated from NSSO, 2020 (75th Round).

Consequently, the skew of investment in favour of certain disciplines may further perpetuate social and gender inequalities in access to the stratified structure of opportunities for higher education, which in turn, may influence earnings and social outcomes. It is thus useful to disaggregate the private higher education sector and the role it plays in producing externalities, even if those relate more to developing job

skills for the economy and less to the inculcation of civic learning values, given that there are significant social differences in access to these institutions.

The Public-Private Divide in Delhi's Higher Education System

We now turn to how the private higher education sector functions, as higher education institutions in the private sector are increasingly being relied upon to provide access to those students who would otherwise have been unable to obtain degrees in professional and technical education. While private investment in research and development is sparse (NITI Aayog, 2019), the private sector fulfils the expectations of students from various regions with regard to higher education that will equip them with the requisite professional skills to be employed in the knowledge economy. Carnoy et al., (2013) have argued that relying on the private provisions of higher education (through private higher educational institutions charging tuition fees or charging fees in public universities) to expand access to higher education, especially in disciplines with high demand and high economic returns, may not be the result of the fiscal inadequacies of the State to provide public services but a strategic choice of governments to devote more resources to elite public universities for achieving efficiency and equity goals. In Delhi, while the private sector is increasingly being relied upon to expand access to technical and professional education, as noted above, the goal of achieving equitable access for the disadvantaged social groups to elite public universities have not been met, and as we will show in subsequent sections, even achieving the efficiency goals remains a matter of ethical concern.

The manner in which higher education in the private sector functions in India is unique to the country, with the distinction between public and private sector education becoming blurred in the system. Higher educational institutions, especially those offering a Bachelor's degree, which is the first University degree of a duration of three years after 12 years of schooling, vary according to the source of financial support and the type of management. Colleges can take the form of government colleges which are fully publicly funded, financially maintained, and managed by the Central (Union) or the State governments. Private aided colleges are legally private but are publicly financed, wherein a major share of the expenditure incurred by the private institutions is covered by grants-in-aid (Varghese, 2015). The grants-in-aid to the colleges include the entire expenditure on salaries and admissible allowances to the staff together with other related issues (Punnaya Committee, 1993). In other words, these colleges are publicly supported; however, they are sponsored by private sector higher education. The fees of students in all types of private colleges, including

private aided and private un-aided colleges, are, therefore, fixed by the state governments.

The third form of higher educational institutions is called private un-aided institutions, which are privately managed and rely entirely on student fees to meet their expenditure. Generally, private colleges are perceived to be offering poor quality of education and are considered to engage in corrupt practices (Varghese, 2015; MHRD, 2019). Although India has outlawed for-profit education, many institutions are run by individuals who have entered the marketplace to earn a profit through provision of education. The private sector in higher education is tightly regulated by the State wherein fees that can be charged is fixed, and so also are the number of staff, the salaries of the staff, and the number of students who can be admitted. This then requires institutions to find ways to recover their operating costs in order to generate a surplus since the number of staff, the infrastructure-related specifications, salaries, and fees are fixed by the government. The operating costs include "off-the book" expenses to set up higher educational institutions. This is on top of the actual investments required in land, building, and other infrastructural costs. In other words 'off-the book' expenses are bribes that assume the form of "speed" money (Bardhan, 1997) in order to expedite the movement of the file at every stage of setting up of the institutions.

It is acknowledged (MHRD, 2019) and studies have shown (Tierney and Sabharwal, 2018) that the use of unethical practices through which approvals are granted (Joshi, 2011), costs are recovered, and surpluses are generated, is not uncommon. The various forms that corruption can take include granting of approvals to institutions to operate despite having inadequate infrastructural facilities (UGC, 2009), the appointment of teachers and principals "on-paper"; the disbursal of salaries too on paper with the understanding that the teachers will return an agreed amount from the salaries as bribes; and bulk admissions being negotiated with agents and sometimes even the principals of colleges themselves who charge commissions for getting students enrolled into the college. The students, and at times the agents, negotiate for both discounts in fees as well as attendance, that is, an arrangement to receive the degree without actually regularly attending classes. These unethical practices continue to incentivise all the stakeholders in the sector to deviate from the ethically and legally proper norms of behaviour, undermining the very basis of the educational establishment, to the ultimate detriment of both the individual students and the nation, as a whole.

In Delhi, many institutions are private colleges but they are tied to public institutions. This implies that the private colleges in Delhi (and across India) are affiliated with State public universities for the purpose of awarding degrees. In other words, students enrolled in colleges are granted degrees from universities, which have the power to enter into affiliations with colleges. The syllabus (course work) is generally prescribed by the affiliating university (UGC, 2014). The affiliation by the university is granted to colleges on the basis of certain norms and regulations, which determine the tuition fees, infrastructure and facilities, faculty and staff recruitment, the number of students who can be admitted, the student admission process, the curriculum, and examinations and results (UGC, 2014).

Although there are private universities in India that are, in some ways, similar to private colleges or universities in the United States, the practice of philanthropy is either done largely by one enormously wealthy individual, such as Jindal or Shiv Nadar, or by a trust. By and large, the history and culture of philanthropic giving or donations from foundations largely do not exist in the Indian education system. The tuition fee also does not come close to meeting the expense of the actual costs of a college education in the way that it does in many private institutions in the United States.

Across private higher educational institutions, the cost incurred on imparting education is recovered from students, based on guidelines prescribed by the regulating authorities. For example, guidelines, as laid down in the Justice B.N. Srikrishna Committee Report on Guidelines for Charging Tuition and Other Fees for Professional Courses, (AICTE, 2015), are prescribed for the private higher educational institutions imparting technical education for charging tuition and other fees to 'help prevent commercialisation of technical education' (AICTE, 2015, p. 2). The institutions are allowed to charge fees under the following heads: tuition; development; examination; and others. The development fees, which is limited to 15 per cent of the tuition fees, is charged to take care of the expansion of the institution and also to meet the non-recurring expenditure towards major repairs and replacement of laboratory equipment, and furniture, among other things. In addition, the caution money deposit (refundable), university fees, insurance fees, and hostel fees are also charged from students by the private institutions according to the prescribed guidelines.

The higher education system in Delhi is also witnessing the partial privatisation of public higher educational institutions, wherein differentiated fees to admission seats is charged in private institutions affiliated to public higher educational institutions. For

example, in the Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, New Delhi, there are many self-financing courses in private institutions with both free seats and payment seats. The fees for the free seats are determined by the university while the fees for the payment seats are determined by the institution (Varghese and Sarkar, 2017).

The average costs across institutions vary according to the type of institution, the socio-economic background, and the courses being studied. For example, the cost of studying courses related to social sciences and commerce at the under-graduate level in public and private-aided higher educational institutions for students vary from Rs. 400 annually (JNU, 2019) to Rs. 18,640 annually (Hindu College, University of Delhi, 2019). For studying engineering, the cost varies from Rs. 75,500 per semester (JNU, 2019) to Rs. 1,24,450 per semester (IIT Delhi, 2019).

In the case of public-private differences in the fees charged, the result is not surprising—studying in public institutions generally costs less than doing so in private institutions (Table A.1). In public institutions, 15 per cent to 25 per cent of the recurring expenditure is met through various sources, including fees charged to students enrolled in the institutions (Varghese, 2015; Panigrahi, 2017). However, Table A.1 also shows that in the case of technical education, the fees varies by the type of institutions-the fees are lower in the case of a Central University like JNU (Rs. 75,500 per semester) vis-à-vis the fees of Rs. 1,24,450 for a semester in an Institute of National Importance (IIT, Delhi), with the difference between the fees charged by this public university and that charged by a private higher educational institution being minimal. The fees associated with attendance at a private higher educational institution for an under-graduate level course in engineering is Rs. 2,40,700 annually (MAIT, 2019). It has been pointed out by Varghese (2015) that the 'level of fees levied in institutions such as IITs and IIMs' are not only high but are also close to the per student expenditure in these institutions' (p. 31). At the same time, the fees are rising in all institutions, with students protesting frequently against the fee hike, as in the recent case of the Jawaharlal Nehru University.[15]

Public higher educational institutions generally also offer full and partial fee waivers to the socio-economically disadvantaged students who need support (IIT Delhi, 2019; AUD, 2019). For instance, the fees associated with attendance at a public higher educational institution for a Bachelor's degree in engineering is Rs. 24,450 per semester for students from the disadvantaged socio-economic groups,

[15] https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/jnu-student-protests-security-hiked-outside-hrd-ministry/articleshow/72291291.cms

such as the SCs and the STs, while for the rest, the corresponding fees is Rs. 1,24,450 per semester (IIT, Delhi). In the case of private higher educational institutions located in Delhi (specifically those which offer professional courses), these are bound by regulations to provide concessions in fees and scholarships. The Delhi Professional Colleges or Institutions (Prohibition of Capitation Fee, Regulation of Admission, Fixation of Non-Exploitation Fee and Other Measure to Ensure Equity and Excellence) Act, 2007, directs the private institutions to provide free-ship for SC and ST students by utilising the excess funds generated from the admissions of non-resident Indians students, from charity and contributions by the government. Research funding comes mainly from the government, with such research primarily being carried out through universities and specialised government agencies, and corporations, through their research and development departments. Following is a list of different funding agencies for higher education in India:

1. All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE);
2. Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR);
3. Department of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homeopathy (AYUSH);
4. Department of Biotechnology (DBT);
5. Department of Science and Technology (DST);
6. Technology Information, Forecasting and Assessment Council (TIFAC);
7. Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR);
8. Indian National science Academy (INSA); and
9. Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR).

To summarise, higher education in Delhi is a publicly-supported system primarily serving social elites. Access to high quality and elite institutions, and to high economic return disciplines as well as the distribution of opportunities for research and innovations are disproportionately skewed towards the privileged groups with higher socio-economic backgrounds, which determines the nature of the future jobs and levels of earnings. This, in turn, contributes to the persistence of socio–economic inequalities and reduces the chances of inter-generational social mobility.

Moreover, as regards the further expansion of the higher education system, the lower enrolment of students in the Masters and PhD programmes and the dominance of under-graduate levels of education results in the limited availability of qualified teachers and shortage of researchers who would engage in research and innovation, thereby limiting the potential of the role of universities in regional development.

Furthermore, the massification and diversification of education providers has made the governance of the system a complex space. It is, therefore, critical to understand both the governance and leadership aspects in terms of internal governance as well as the external forces that influence governance within the university. These issues are examined in detail in the next section.

Governance of Higher Education in Delhi: A Contested Space

The provision of higher education is the shared responsibility of both the Centre and the States. The coordination and determination of standards in universities and colleges is entrusted to the University Grants Commission (UGC) and other statutory regulatory bodies. The UGC came into existence on 28 December 1953 and became a statutory body of Government of India by an Act of Parliament in 1956. In 1956, there were 33 universities in India operating under various Acts passed by the Central or State legislatures that were on the 'grants' list of the UGC. Of these universities, Delhi, Banaras, Aligarh, and Vishwa Bharati were incorporated under Acts of the Central legislature. The others were "State Universities" under the jurisdiction of the newly constituted States. Thus, the first decade ending with the Second Five Year Plan and beginning with the Third Five Year Plan saw attempts at expansion, diversification, streamlining, and coordination in the field of education.

The UGC serves as a vital link between the Union and State Governments, on one hand, and the institutions of higher learning, on the other hand. The UGC has two major responsibilities—one is to provide funds while the other is to ensure the maintenance of standards in higher educational institutions. It also plays a role in advising the Central and State governments on the measures needed to improve the quality of university education. The draft bill prepared for setting up of UGC contained provisions for the prior approval of the UGC for the setting up of a university and the power to de-recognise a university degree. In July 2019, the UGC released a list of 23 "self-styled, unrecognised" universities, eight of which are in Uttar Pradesh, and seven are in Delhi. The UGC has warned students against taking admission in these institutions. These institutions are offering undergraduate/post-graduate degrees in various subjects but are not established under either any Central, State, or UGC Act and hence, these institutions are fake and do not have any right to confer or grant degrees (PTI, 2019). This identification of fake higher educational institutions reveals the level of corruption in academia in Delhi but more so in the neighbouring State of Uttar Pradesh.

In order to come to terms with the pandemic and to ensure continuity in the teaching-learning process in the educational institutions, the Union Ministry of Education and UGC have issued certain guidelines (UGC, 2020). However, instead of leading to more flexibility, these guidelines are, infact, negatively impacting the autonomy of educational institutions and leading to greater centralisation of decision making within the UGC. The UGC has stipulated that upto 40 per cent of the courses can be taken from the SWAYAM (India's MOOCs platform). Apart from interfering with the evaluation and academic calendars and classroom teaching methods, this move has further impacted academic freedom.

Delhi has five Central universities, seven State universities, and 13 deemed universities. Delhi also has an international university established by the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), comprising eight members. Delhi also has Institutes of National Importance. The Central universities have been created by the Acts of national Parliament. Most of the Central universities are unitary structures with no colleges affiliated to them. The Central University with the largest number of affiliated colleges is the University of Delhi. The Central universities in India are fully funded by the Central Government through the UGC. They mostly offer graduate and post-graduate level courses, promote research study programmes such as MPhil and doctoral studies, and are authorised to award degrees at all levels of higher education.

The State universities have been established by the Acts passed in the State Legislatures and are managed by the statutes specific to those universities. They are funded mostly by the State Governments, though the UGC and other agencies provide development and research grants. The State universities have an affiliating system and in general, in India, a large number of colleges are affiliated to each of the State universities. Some of the State universities have more than 1000 colleges affiliated to them. Like the Central universities, most of the State universities offer courses at the graduate and post-graduate levels and promote research studies. However, Delhi has nine State universities of which only one State university, that is, the Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, has affiliated colleges. We have also witnessed a growth in the number of private un-aided colleges affiliated to this University.

Historically, the affiliating system is modelled on the practice of affiliation in London University. Some of the main characteristics of the affiliating colleges including the regulatory structure are detailed as follows. While departments are housed in the central campus and conduct research and post-graduate programmes, colleges remain as teaching institutions. Thus, the affiliated colleges are dispersed

geographically but they remain under the jurisdiction of a university, as in the case of Indraprastha University in Delhi. The UGC, infact, has national jurisdiction for the determination and coordination of standards while the universities exercise this role with respect to the colleges. Examinations are conducted by the university and the curriculum is also prescribed by them. However, while the affiliating system has come up for better regulation and standardisation, it only proves beneficial for the weaker colleges. While academically stronger colleges desire to excel, that is often not possible due to the standardisation imposed (Agarwal, 2009).

The unique feature of Delhi's higher education system is that most of the State universities are not affiliating institutions. In contrast, in the Indian higher education system, the State universities are affiliating institutions. Another striking feature of the education system in Delhi is that the University of Delhi, which is a Central University, is an affiliating one while most Central universities in India are unitary structures. Delhi does not follow the pattern seen in the rest of India, and is wedged between State and Central control. The Delhi Government has sponsored 28 colleges of the University of Delhi, out of which 12 colleges are 100 per cent funded and 16 are 5 per cent funded (with a constituent 95 per cent share by the UGC for meeting the recurring expenditure). Thus, 100 per cent funded colleges are provided grants to meet their day to day general administrative expenses, expenses on library books, Information Technology, furniture and fixtures, and laboratory equipment among other things. However, the issue of irregular and delayed release of funds to the 12 fully funded colleges has recently become a contentious issue between the colleges, the Delhi Government, and the University of Delhi (Baruah, 2021).

The concept of private universities is a new phenomenon in India. India did not legally permit the setting up of private universities until the turn of this century. Private universities in India are regulated under the UGC Regulations (Establishment and Maintenance of Standards in Private Universities) 2003. Private universities are established by an Act of a State Legislative Assembly. The Act varies from State to State. However, these Universities are also regulated by the regulatory authorities. Unlike the public universities, the private universities very commonly offer courses at the under-graduate level. Panigrahi (2017) points out that the Twelfth Plan document states that while 60 per cent of the students are enrolled in private un-aided institutions and pay full fees, 40 per cent are enrolled in public aided institutions and pay very low fees. There is an argument for increasing the fees to reasonable levels. However, in public universities this is a contentious issue, as witnessed during

the agitation in Delhi's premier higher educational institution, JNU, against the hike in hostel fees.

There have been major transformations in the relationship between Universities and the State, thus impacting both the internal governance structures as well as the way in which institutions function and adapt to changes. Keefer (2004) critically reviews the security of property rights, the quality of bureaucratic performance, tackling corruption, and ensuring voice and accountability in examining the aspects of "good governance", which affects economic growth and development.

There are differing views on this matter, and while some claim that it is necessary to increase the government's role in higher education governance (Courant, McPherson, and Resch, 2006), others support the opening up of higher education to competition and market forces, and reducing the power of the political and government element in higher education (Komljenovic, 2019). As pointed out by Tilak (2017), the relationship between the Centre and the States is not always smooth, and is further complicated by the regular change in governments at the Centre and the State.

Sahoo (2018) describes how full statehood for Delhi has remained an elusive, though desirable, goal. There are also complex political and governance dynamics, which underlie the characteristic of Delhi as a Union Territory. The issue of territoriality both in terms of sharing sovereignty involving shared rule with the Centre and having its own self-rule or autonomy in governance remain important areas of concern for both the Centre and Delhi. In fact, the most serious attempt towards seeking political and administrative autonomy for Delhi was taken up a month before India attained Independence in July 1947, by the then newly constituted Pattabhi Sitaramayya Committee, which studied this issue in different federal capitals across the globe, such as Canberra, Washington D.C., and London. In the case of education and higher education, there are overlapping jurisdictions among the governing bodies in Delhi, which makes the governance of Central universities, State universities, and deemed universities located in Delhi a complex issue.

The relationship between the Government and universities has evolved over time from direct control and monitoring to steering from a distance and devolving of authority to the institutions. While Central universities enjoy relatively more autonomy, the State universities are subject to greater control and enjoy less autonomy. A CPRHE Project on Governance and Management conducted in 2017 (Malik, 2020) revealed how a Central university like the Banaras Hindu University enjoys more administrative and financial autonomy as compared to State universities

like Savitribai Phule Pune University, Bharathiar University, and University of Rajasthan. However, as regards academic autonomy, all these universities enjoyed similar levels of freedom to conduct their academic affairs. Even the funding given to Central universities is at a higher level as compared to the share of funding from the State government to State universities. Hence, State universities face a higher resource crunch than Central universities.

The universities in Delhi, including both Central and State Universities, enjoy greater autonomy in academic matters but less autonomy in administrative and financial matters. Thus, the designing of academic programmes and curricula is done by the universities and approved by their Boards of Studies. Additionally, the governing bodies in the Central universities, such as the University of Delhi and JNU, have government officials and representatives from the Parliament (Lok Sabha), Legislative Assembly, and Legislative Council. For example, after studying the Act and Statutes in the Ambedkar University, which is a State university in Delhi, one finds the representation of government officials as well. This pattern of representation has important implications for the way in which control is exercised by these functionaries over the University. Most importantly, State universities have two layers of control: by the Central regulatory authorities and by the State government.

The UGC's plan to liberate higher educational institutions from regulatory control was first put forward by the National Institution for Transforming India, also called NITI Aayog, which was formed via a resolution of the Union Cabinet on 1 January 2015. NITI Aayog is a policy think tank of the Government of India and provides both directional and policy inputs. In June 2017, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) appointed a committee headed by the former vice-chairman of NITI Aayog, to suggest reforms in higher education. The panel submitted its report in August 2017. The UGC's new regulation on graded autonomy (formally known as Categorisation of Universities for Grant of Graded Autonomy Regulations, 2018), notified in February 2018, was among the panel's recommendations.

Thus, under this categorisation, the Central, State, deemed, and private universities are to be graded into three groups, with a different degree of autonomy applying for each category. The categorisation depends on an institution's performance in either reputed global rankings or the assessment done by the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC). The NAAC assesses institutions on the following seven parameters: curriculum, teaching-learning and evaluation, research, infrastructure, student support, governance and leadership, and institutional values, and gives a score out of four for each of the parameters.

An institution would be placed in Category-I if it has been accredited by NAAC, with a score of at least 3.51, or if it has received a grade/score from a reputed accreditation agency empanelled by the UGC, or if it has been ranked among the top 500 institutions by reputed world university ranking agencies such as Times Higher Education and QS.

Category-I institutions are free to start new programmes, departments, schools, and off-campus centres without approval from the UGC. They are also exempt from regular inspections by the regulator, and can collaborate with foreign educational institutions without permission from the UGC. Their performance is to be reviewed on the basis of self-reporting. Thus, they are not subject to any external peer review.

In order to be eligible for Category-II status, universities should have a NAAC accreditation score ranging between 3.26 and 3.50. Even though Category-II universities are exempt from regular inspections, and can start new programmes, departments, schools, and centres in disciplines that are part of their existing academic framework without the regulator's approval, they are subject to stricter control in comparison to the Category-I institutions. Hence, Category-II universities need the UGC's permission to sign Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with foreign universities and their performance would be reviewed by a peer group. The remaining higher educational institutions fall under Category-III, and they are to be regulated by the UGC. These institutions do not enjoy any of the exemptions granted to the other categories.

Higher educational institutions in India create governing bodies to take decisions, develop policies for staff recruitment and management, policies, introduce new study programmes and courses, define institutional strategies, and regulate student admissions. Institutions have diversified their sources of funding, mobilised resources, and allocated them internally based on certain widely accepted and objectively verifiable criteria. The areas of changes in governance and management include domains like student admissions, curriculum development, financial management, and teacher recruitment.

Thus, in Delhi, one Central university, that is, JNU; one state university, that is, the National Law University Delhi, Dwarka; and two deemed universities, that is, the TERI School of Advanced Studies and The Indian Law Institute, have been granted Category-I status. However, not everyone agrees with this categorisation of graded autonomy, and there are scholars who argue that autonomy should be absolute or may not be granted at all, but cannot be graded (Chandra, 2019). It is also important to understand the qualities of good leadership as governance stems from

the appointment of effective and strong leaders, who can steer the university towards achieving the desired results.

Leadership Aspects of Delhi's Higher Educational Institutions

Effective academic leadership in higher education is a function of several factors or characteristics. These include leadership in teaching, leadership in research, strategic vision and networking, collaborative and motivational leadership, fair and efficient management, and the development and recognition of performance and interpersonal skills (Ramsden, 1998).

According to Powar (2011), the leadership provided by the Vice Chancellor in academic, administrative, and educational policy matters is crucial. It is necessary for the Vice Chancellor to keep abreast of all activities taking place in the University and to maintain a decentralised decision-making structure, giving greater autonomy to faculty members.

At JNU, the JNU Teachers' Association cabinet expressed concern over the poor governance of the university. They felt that the affairs of the university had been grossly mismanaged (Das, 2019). They preferred to take sides with the students during the University lockdown in 2019. The students of JNU started agitating after the hostel charges were increased. In another related incident, the Vice Chancellor of the Jamia Millia Islamia University was surrounded by students who were protesting after the violence in the University in December 2019. When faced with such protests, the Vice Chancellor assured the students that the university would go to court (Paliwal, 2020).

If we study the leadership characteristics in the Universities in Delhi, we find that the Vice Chancellors are mostly male and have mostly been appointed towards the end of their careers. Only in some cases do we find female Vice Chancellors and those who are at the mid-career level. Vohra and Sharma (1990) discuss how non-academic considerations are increasingly becoming important in the choice of this functionary. While procedures change from place to place, the initial selection of two or three names should be made by a Committee of three members, one representing the university, the other, a nominee of the Visitor/Chancellor, and the third, a nominee of the UGC.

The recommendations of the Yashpal Committee in 2009 highlighted the need for maintaining transparency in the process of university appointments. However, even now it is found that there is manipulation in the appointment of Vice Chancellors and

political interference or interference from vested interests is widely seen as a common practice.

Centralisation and Its Relationship with Institutional Autonomy

Universities were always autonomous entities but with the advent of massification, there have been immense pressures from the State for promoting accountability from higher educational institutions. It is argued that high levels of autonomy might lead to higher education being unresponsive to the larger needs of society, while on the other hand, too much accountability may also prove to be counter-productive.

However, universities in India are tightly controlled by government agencies and their indicators. Under managerialism, a target culture has been emerging and we are witnessing the growth of the academic-manager. Thus, the State has strengthened its control over educational institutions through evaluation and funding mechanisms, and we need to question whether the university has more or less institutional autonomy under neo-liberalism (Shin, 2013).

The new mechanisms have brought a number of dramatic changes in higher education governance as pointed out by Shin (2013), who suggests that funding has become a major policy tool in the relationship between the government and the university; managerialism and efficiency have become the main concern of university administrators; formal forms of governance are moving towards private corporation status; and academics are being evaluated by external evaluators, such as research funding agencies.

The concern about the autonomy of the university and academic freedom has been an ongoing one, often forming the basis of public discussion both in Delhi, and in India, in general. Much of the debate has focused on the rise of external interference in the functioning of the university or the political onslaught on academic freedom, governmental monitoring, financial controls, and other similar interventions from outside the university system.

The university is generally regarded as being autonomous in relation to certain matters such as the appointment of some members of the governing body; the composition of its academic bodies; the determination of priorities in research and teaching; the generation of funds and allocation of the funds received; the appointment, dismissal, and conditions of service of academic and other personnel; the designing of curricula; the determination of the contents of curricula;

the examination for and conferment of degrees; and the general internal management administration and discipline (Varghese and Malik, 2020).

Institutional autonomy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for decentralisation of decision making within the university. It is observed that in Central and State universities, there is over-centralisation of power and decision-making at the level of offices of Vice Chancellors. It has been observed that the autonomy enjoyed by the university has not necessarily translated into a decentralised and participative decision making process within the university (Malik, 2020). It can be concluded that there is a decline in the bargaining power of the 'professoriate'. New governance arrangements have clearly reduced the collective influence of academics over decision making in the institutions (Malik, 2017).

The UGC has a scheme for granting autonomous status to colleges. Some of the objectives of this scheme were to allow colleges to exercise freedom in framing courses of study and the concomitant syllabi, devise appropriate teaching methods, and conduct evaluations and assessments independently. As per the UGC Guidelines for Autonomous Colleges, a college that falls under the scheme can determine and prescribe its own courses, restructure and redesign its syllabus, and become skill-oriented in consonance with job requirements. It can also fix the fees for the various courses. An autonomous college is also empowered to prescribe admission rules in accordance with the prevalent reservation policies, evolve methods to assess the students' performance, conduct examinations, and even launch self-financing courses. However, talks of autonomy in colleges like St. Stephens, a part of the University of Delhi, have sparked off protests from both students' and teachers' groups as they want the college to remain closely associated with the university.

Moreover, the Delhi University Teachers' Association (DUTA) and the Federation of Central Universities' Teachers' Associations (FEDCUTA) have protested against the replacement of grants by loans through the Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA), and the graded autonomy to universities and grant of financial "autonomy", which they claim, will turn reputed higher educational institutions into "teaching shops". They believe that graded autonomy and setting up of HEFA signify a step towards privatisation whereas what Delhi needs is more public funding of higher educational institutions. For example, the Delhi University does not have enough funds even to appoint teachers and is largely dependent on adhoc (temporary) teachers to run its undergraduate courses (Alexander and Kwatra, 2020). The major concern expressed by the teachers is that the government wants to withdraw public

funding and impose self-financing models on public sector universities and colleges, and force them to take loans for augmenting their infrastructure (Bhanj, 2018).

Financing the Higher Educational Institutions in Delhi

Grants for development and maintenance are received by Central universities and other institutions of higher education through the UGC, and sometimes directly from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). The State universities, on the other hand, receive development grants from the Union Government through the UGC, and maintenance grants directly from the State governments. Due to this financial dependency of State universities upon both the State government and the Union Government (including the UGC and other Ministries), they are subject to regulation by both the Central and State agencies (Tilak, 2017).

Moreover, a majority of the enrolment in higher education in Delhi is in Central universities (Table 17).

Table 17: Number of Institutions and Enrolment in Delhi, 2019-20

Types of Institutions	No. of Institutions	Enrolment	% Enrolment
Central University	5	4,66,946	63.96
Central Open University	1	2,89,777	29.43
Institute of National Importance	5	14,768	1.72
Others	0		0
State Public University	8	28,062	2.74
Institute under State Legislature Act	0		0
State Open University	0		0
State Private University	0		0
State Private Open University	0		0
Deemed University-Government	7	2472	0.49
Deemed University-Government Aided	1	9138	0.99
Deemed University-Private	1	4947	0.67
Grand Total	27	8,16,110	100

Source: AISHE (2019-20).

Approximately 65 per cent of the budget of the UGC budget is utilised by the Central universities and their colleges while the State universities and their affiliated colleges get only 35 per cent. These State universities also receive very small amounts of grants in comparison to Central universities. Thus, under Section 12 (B) of the UGC Act, the funds are allocated to universities and institutions for the maintenance and

development of the universities, and while the Central and Deemed to be Universities are given grants under both Plan (development) and non-Plan (maintenance) schemes, assistance to State universities is offered only under the Plan schemes (Panigrahi, 2017). We can see the trends in the UGC Plan Grants given for universities and colleges in Delhi till 2016-17 in Tables 18 and 19.

Table 18: Grants (Non-Plan and Plan (General)) (Rs. in lakhs) Released to Universities

Year	New Delhi		India	
	Plan	Non-Plan	Plan	Non-Plan
2016-17	16,041	1,02,658	3,69,069	4,90,292
2015-16	25,341	99,529	2,82,342	4,41,586
2014-15	24,530	86,856	2,92,348	3,85,113

Source: UGC Annual Report various years.

Table 19: Grants (Non-Plan and Plan (General))(Rs. in lakhs) Released to Colleges

Year	New Delhi		India	
	Plan	Non-Plan	Plan	Non-Plan
2016-17	3519	1,33,389	16,564	1,38,345
2015-16	2553	1,53,458	34,446	1,57,303
2014-15	3580	1,52,542	27,837	1,55,910

Source: UGC Annual Report *various years.*

The State governments give two types of grants, that is, recurring and non-recurring. The recurring grants are given under various heads like maintenance grants, block grants, supplementary grants, salary grants, and adhoc grants. The non-recurring grants are given under other heads like building grants, hostel grants, equipment grants, books and journals grants, and additional grants. However, according to Panigrahi (2017), States spend barely 10 percent of their total expenditure on capital works and 5 percent on other categories. The larger share is spent on paying the salaries of the employees. This poses a serious problem and more so because of the acute faculty shortages faced by State universities. Further, as suggested in the Twelfth Plan document, block grants should replace line item budgets. Moreover, it is imperative to explore the possibility of mobilisation of funds in State universities through other means such as endowments, and contributions from industry and alumni, among other sources. When we compare the situation in Delhi to that in other States in terms of the expenditure incurred on higher and technical education, we find that it is much less than that in most states, as brought

out clearly in Table 20. The trends also suggest that it has not been growing over the years, as also seen in Table 21.

Table 20: Higher and Technical Education Expenditure, 2018-19

States	Percentage of Total Expenditure on Higher Education (2018-19)	Percentage of Total Expenditure on Technical Education (2018-19)	Percentage of Total Expenditure on Total Higher and Technical Education (2018-19)
Andhra Pradesh	0.36	3.81	4.17
Arunachal Pradesh	0	3.42	3.42
Assam	2.04	2.25	4.29
Bihar	4.12	2.44	6.56
Chhattisgarh	0.01	1.54	1.55
Goa	21.15	12.43	33.58
Gujarat	1.62	4.58	6.2
Haryana	5.31	3.31	8.62
Himachal Pradesh	0.56	1.12	1.68
Jammu & Kashmir	0	2.61	2.61
Jharkhand	0	10.75	10.75
Karnataka	1.28	3.59	4.87
Kerala	10.03	5.98	16.01
Madhya Pradesh	0.03	2.46	2.49
Maharashtra	0.17	4.41	4.58
Manipur	3.3	1.71	5.01
Meghalaya	1.49	1.54	3.03
Mizoram	0	1.21	1.21
Nagaland	0	1.23	1.23
Odisha	9.44	1.58	11.02
Punjab	11.73	1.77	13.5
Rajasthan	9.75	0.83	10.58
Sikkim	0	0.99	0.99
Tamil Nadu	0	7.48	7.48
Telangana	0.16	3.79	3.95
Tripura	0.65	0.86	1.51
Uttarakhand	0.26	2.77	3.03
Uttar Pradesh	3.33	0.75	4.08
West Bengal	0.78	2.76	3.54
UTs			0
Andaman& Nicobar Islands	96.38	3.48	99.86
Chandigarh	0	12.27	12.27
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	3.81	3.81
Daman & Diu	0	7.45	7.45
Delhi	7.27	3.5	10.77
Lakshadweep	0	8.83	8.83
Puducherry	0.41	8.5	8.91

Source: MHRD, Report on Analysis of Budget Expenditure, 2018-19.

Table 21: Public Expenditure on Education by Level of Education of Delhi in the Last Ten Years

(Rs. in Thousands)

Levels	2010-11		2011-12		2012-2013		2013-14		2014-15		2015-16		2016-17		2017-18		2018-19	
	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age	Value	Per-cent-age
Elementary Education	81,58,823	22	1,09,91,043	24.6	1,34,64,505	41.4	1,44,11,387	21.8	1,51,64,439	20.9	1,62,74,632	18.6	1,64,21,856	21.9	2,18,37,653	23.8	2,23,55,571	23.6
Secondary Education	2,43,87,692	65.6	2,81,70,312	63	1,39,89,905	43	4,57,01,581	69.1	4,93,53,722	68	6,12,82,039	69.8	4,96,17,733	66.1	6,28,30,618	68.5	6,47,68,080	68.3
Higher Education	11,43,620	3.1	13,92,500	3.1	12,87,373	4	17,77,480	2.7	19,52,000	2.7	31,55,000	3.6	28,24,167	3.8	29,89,000	3.3	35,91,000	3.8
Adult Education	8,65,423	2.3	9,83,850	2.2	10,39,590	3.2	9,75,217	1.5	10,97,101	1.51	12,94,650	1.5	15,76,795	2.1	900	0.00	950	0.0
Technical Education	18,04,974	4.9	19,75,396	4.4	17,27,568	5.31	19,25,250	2.9	24,00,951	3.3	34,04,565	3.9	23,13,200	3.1	32,14,413	3.5	33,21,774	3.5

Source: MHRD, Analysis of Budgeted Expenditure on Education (Various years).

It was envisaged under the Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (National Higher Education Mission) (MHRD, 2013) that the MHRD would follow a norm and performance-based approach to allocate funds to various States. Thus, Delhi and other UTs would receive funding in the ratio of 65:35 as the Centre: State share of financing. However, the current funding status suggests that more resources are, in fact, needed for the development of higher education in Delhi. HEFA was set up in 2017 by the Central Government as a non-profit, Non-Banking Financing Company (NBFC) for mobilising extra-budgetary resources for building infrastructure in the higher educational institutions under the Central Government. Accordingly, HEFA is a joint venture company of Canara Bank and MHRD, and provides financial assistance for the creation of educational infrastructure and research and development in premier educational Institutions. Contrary to what one would expect, the higher education sector in Delhi is, infact, resource- crunched.

Higher education in Delhi is a publicly-supported system, which is mainly functioning as an elitist system. This, in turn, contributes to the persistence of socio-economic inequalities and minimises the social and economic benefits of development. Further, the dominance of under-graduate levels in Delhi's higher education ecosystem implies the lack of research and innovation, thereby limiting the potential of universities in their development. While islands of excellence like the IITs do exist, for the better part, the system is faced with quality issues. Thus, we have explored the governance and leadership aspects in terms of internal governance as well as the external forces influencing governance within the university. We conclude with recommendations for policy reform, which will have implications for tertiary education in Delhi, and this paper, therefore, is an endeavour to understand the political economy of Delhi. There are also complex political dynamics, which underlie the characteristic of Delhi as a Union Territory, and the issues of territoriality and self-rule of autonomy in governance remain important areas of concern.

Concluding Observations: The Future of Higher Education in Delhi

To conclude, the development of the higher education sector in Delhi has been remarkable. The higher education system moved from an elite stage to a stage of massification in 2020 being near universalization with a GER of 48 per cent. Thus the development of higher education in Delhi is already close to realizing the national goal of universalization of GER of 50 per cent target as set out in The National Education Policy, 2020 to be achieved by 2035.

Importantly, unlike the common trend of private-led expansion witnessed at the all-India level and across most States in India, most of the growth in enrolment in higher education in Delhi has taken place through already existing or newly established university-level institutions by the State government and the Union Government, with the bulk of the expansion being supported through the establishment of government (public) colleges.

However, Delhi faces critical challenges in maintaining its distinctive national position. As discussed in the paper these challenges are related to its economy, demography and secondary levels of education. The labour-force participation rates are lower in Delhi as compared to the all India average and the number of unemployed persons are increasing over time. The number of unemployed persons with graduate qualification increased five times and with post-graduate qualification the number of unemployed increased about seven times from 2009 to 2017. Other challenges remain of the pressure on Delhi's urban infrastructure due to population growth and in-migration. Moreover, inter-group inequalities exist at the secondary level and the pass percentage was less than the national level. The other equity challenge pertains to the access to high-economic return professional and technical disciplines which is disproportionately skewed towards the privileged groups from higher socio-economic backgrounds. While HE system in Delhi is a publicly supported system, it is increasingly relying on the private sector to expand access to technical and professional education.

Delhi higher education system is witnessing a partial privatization of public higher education institutions, where, differentiated fees to admission seats is charged in private institutions affiliated to public higher education institutions. As noted, the differentiated fee's structure takes the form of presence of free seats and payment seats. The fees of free seats are determined by the university while the fees for the payment seat are determined by the affiliated institution. The goal of achieving equitable access for disadvantaged social groups in this scenario calls for affirmative action's that aim to increase access of disadvantaged social groups to professional and technical education offered in Delhi HEIs.

From the point of view of financing, the fees have generally remained low. However there is a general pressure to increase the fees, at the same time it is resisted by the policy makers. Ultimately, the government needs to invest more funding to support a fully functional public higher education system. The system is also moving from being state-controlled to state-regulated through setting of quality

and accountability regulations and Delhi higher education institutions are uniquely positioned in this respect as well.

The governance and management of Delhi higher education system, especially of the Delhi University and its affiliating colleges, which offers under-graduate level of education, a level that majority of students in HE in Delhi are pursuing, is complex. The complexity of governance and management of Delhi higher education system lies in the multiplicity of authorities i.e. Central Government, State Government, University Grants Commission. A unique feature of Delhi is that Delhi University which is a Central University is an affiliating one while most Central universities in India are unitary structures.

The governance and management of colleges which are affiliated to Delhi University is vexed between the State and Centre control. This is because in Delhi there are colleges affiliated to Delhi University which are under different funding arrangements –Central and State funding that makes interventions by different agencies. Many of the affiliated colleges to Delhi University are Delhi Government funded colleges subject to layers of rules from multiple authorities – Central, UGC, State – influencing decisions and how these are applied. Government university relationship has evolved over time from direct control and monitoring to steering from a distance. Existing research as noted in this paper, shows that while centrally supported higher education institutions enjoy relatively more autonomy, institutions supported by the State are subject to more control and enjoy less autonomy. In the case of funding, centrally supported higher education institutions are better placed as compared to State supported HEIs.

In order to effect many of the changes in the system, it requires HE administrators with higher levels of leadership qualities than what is available now. The National Education Policy 2020 also envisages higher education institutions in India, through a system of graded accreditation and graded autonomy, to aim to become independent self-governing institutions pursuing innovation and excellence. Moreover, National Education Policy envisages a structure of higher education where there are multidisciplinary universities and colleges involving consolidation of all existing Higher Education Institutions into a new ecosystem of research universities, teaching universities and autonomous colleges.

In all the cases the institutions will become more autonomous and independent taking their own decisions including decisions on choice of its own leader. Many universities in the U.S. have alumni in governing boards. However, this possibility needs to be further explored in the Indian context. There is also a need to develop a

curriculum which is better aligned with employment opportunities. Finally, it is important that availability of data improves in order to manage higher education institutions and support in making informed decisions.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Fees Structure

Institution	B.A.(Hons.)/ B.A.(Prog.)/ B.com. (H/P)/ B.Sc (H/P)/BBA/ BJMC/LLB/ BCA	M.A./ M.Sc. /M.Com/ MCA/ LLM	Ph.D./ M.Phil	PGDT	B. Tech	M. Tech	MBA	Fee Exemption
JNU (Central University)	Rs. 400 (Approximately) (per Year)	Rs. 400 (Approx-imately) (per Year)	Rs. 420 (Approxi mately) (per Year)	Rs. 10,200 (Approx-imately) (per Year)	Rs. 33,800 to Rs. 75,500 (School of Engineering) (per Semester)	Rs. 420 (Approx-imately) (per Year)	Rs. 1,60,000 to Rs. 3,20,000 (Atal Bihari Vajpayee School of Managem ent and Entrepren eurship) (per Semester)	There is an exception for economically most backward students.
Ambedkar University (State University)	Rs. 16,000 per Semester, Rs, 500 for Student Welfare Fund, Rs, 2000 refundable security deposit.	Rs. 1160 to Rs. 2320 per credit, Rs. 500 for Student Welfare Fund	Rs. 1160 to Rs. 2320 per credit, Rs. 500 for Student Welfare Fund				Rs. 1160 to Rs. 2320 per credit, Rs. 500 for Student Welfare Fund	Students, whose combined family income is less than Rs. 4.00.000, will be eligible for a fee waiver.
Miranda House (Government)	BA(H)- Rs. 14,160, BA(H) Geo- Rs. 17,080, B.Sc. (H) Maths- Rs. 17,100 B.Sc. (H)- Rs. 19,200 to Rs. 19,800 B.El.Ed– Rs. 19,000	M.A.- Rs. 14,530 M.A. (Eco)- Rs. 19,030 M.Sc. (Maths)- Rs. 14,530 M.Sc. (Other Disciplines) –Rs. 15,170 to Rs. 16,170						SC/ST students whose parents' income is such that they are not paying income tax are exempt from the payment of the College Tuition Fee and College Admission Fee amounting to Rs. 186.

Hindu College (Private Aided) (per Year)	B.A.(H)- Rs. 16,540 B.com (H)- Rs. 17,240 Math(H)- Rs. 17,140 B.Sc. (H) Stats- Rs. 17,440 B.Sc. (H)- Rs. 18,640	M.A./ M.Com– Rs. 16,590 M.Sc.- Rs. 16,690						Fee exemption for PwD students: students, with physical disabilities will get a waiver on all the fees, including examination fee and other University fee, except administration fee, subscription towards Delhi University students' Union and identity card fee.
Vivekanand Institute of Professional Studies (VIPS) (Private Unaided)	BA(LLB)- Rs. 81,400 B.Com (H)/ Eco(H)- Rs. 87,800 BCA- Rs. 90,000 BBA/BJMC- Rs. 91,300 BBA(LLB)- Rs. 92,500	LLM- Rs. 92,500 MCA- Rs. 1,38,000 (per Year)						
IIT Delhi (per Semester)		Rs. 10,500 to Rs. 29,450	Rs. 10,500 to Rs. 32,000		Rs. 24,450 to Rs. 1,24,450	Rs. 13,000 to Rs. 65,000	Rs. 1,08,000 to Rs. 2,44,450	There is an exception for economically most backward students.
Maharaja Agrasen Institute of Technology (Private Un-aided)					Rs. 1,10,700 (excluding hostel fee) (per Year) hostel fee Rs. 1,30,000 toRs. 1,96,000. (Single to Four Bed and with/without AC)		Rs. 1,33,000 (per Year) Hostel fee Rs. 1,30,000 to Rs. 1,96,000. (Single to Four Bed and with/without AC)	

Source: Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), 2019; Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD), 2019; Miranda House, 2019; Hindu College, 2019; Vivekananda Institute of Professional Studies (VIPS), 2018; Indian Institute of Technology Delhi, 2019; Maharaja Agrasen Institute of Technology, 2019.

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About the paper

The expansion and diversification of the higher education system that is taking place in India has important implications for higher educational institutions across the country. This paper examines the political economy of higher education in India with a special focus on higher education in Delhi and the federal structure, which determines the governance and management of universities and colleges in Delhi. Beginning with the purpose of the university, the paper analyses Delhi's economic development and persisting social inequalities in access to higher education. In contrast to the rest of India, Delhi has experienced remarkable growth in its higher educational institutions, primarily led by the public sector, but systemic challenges remain in the city. The paper discusses the challenges related to Delhi's economy, demography, secondary levels of education, the public-private divide, the fees charged, and the affiliating structure, which is leading to the complexity and poses challenges to the leadership. The paper indicates how the multiplicity of authorities has implications for the autonomy and decision making power of institutions.

About the author

Garima Malik is currently an Assistant Professor at the Centre for Policy Research in Higher Education (CPRHE) in the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA), New Delhi. She holds a PhD in Economics from The Ohio State University in the U.S. Her current research focuses on governance and management in higher education. She has also led the India research team for a multi-country UNESCO-International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris Study on "SDG4: Planning for Flexible Learning Pathways in Higher Education", in collaboration with CPRHE/NIEPA.

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