4.

"But I don't want comfort. I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness. I want sin."
"In fact," said Mustapha Mond, "you're claiming the right to be unhappy."
"Alright then," said the Savage defiantly, "I'm claiming the right to be unhappy."
"Not to mention the right to grow old and ugly and impotent; the right to have syphilis and cancer; the right to have too little to eat; the right to be lousy; the right to live in constant apprehension of what may happen tomorrow; the right to catch typhoid; the right to be tortured by unspeakable pains of every kind."
---from Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*

4. What is Liberal about the Humanities?

Outline:

The transformation of the English department into linguistics departments or soft-skills departments, discussed in chapter 3, was symptomatic of the change in the ecology of the university as an academic institution. The marginalization of English literature departments has been a shared destiny of many disciplines in the Humanities after privatization of higher education across the globe. An environment that is governed by industry-oriented research, quantitative outcomes, measurable impact, problem-solving skills, and performance metrics has posed a special challenge to all disciplines within the Humanities, and modified the character of certain others within the Social Sciences. The aim of this chapter is to examine the direction of higher education reforms in India and in Gujarat in the larger context of the global debate around education as skilling versus educating the imagination through the study of the Humanities. In an age where university departments have to compete for funding from industry, Humanities everywhere have come under pressure to justify their very existence, to establish their relevance in a rapidly changing world. This chapter traces how worldwide debates around Humanities departments relate to private universities' policy-making and practices in India/Gujarat. It also attempts to examine the efforts of an upcoming private university in Ahmedabad to find a fine balance between the two divergent pulls of skilling and humanizing. The chapter is divided into three sections: 1) The Crisis in the Humanities, which discusses the decline of the Humanities across the world, especially in the US and the UK; 2) Education Reforms in Gujarat, which focuses the history/non-history of liberal education in Gujarat; 3) The Response of UWG and its efforts to make a difference

I. Crisis in the Humanities and possible causes :

Manuel Castell's discusses six important functions that universities have carried out over a long period of history from the earliest religious universities to the universities of knowledge economies in the present era. They have been regarded as the producers of values and social legitimacy, agents of social stratification, trainers of the national labour force, degree-granters in an era of mass education, pursuers of scientific knowledge for national development, and catalysts in the emerging network of scientific and technological innovation for business. The universities of the knowledge economy, he argues, see a direct relationship between their quality, effectiveness, and relevance on the one hand, and the development of ability or capacity in people, society, and institutions on the other.

> In the context of technological revolution and in the context of a revolution in communication, the university becomes a central actor of scientific and technological change, but also of the other dimensions: of the capacity to train a labour force adequate to the new conditions of production and management. (Castell. 2009. 1)

The chapter argues that in the midst of the growing cry of crisis in the university's ambition to produce 'self-programmable' individuals for the network society, the humanities are tragically shortchanged. The political and the social space of universities has been transformed into a purely economic space in this global 'Information Age', governed by the dominant prevailing logic of supply and demand. The decreasing value and demand for an education in the humanities is affecting universities the world over. A number of factors already mentioned in an earlier chapter are responsible for this side-lining of the humanities across the globe. One of the main reasons is the shift in world politics from democratic socialism, where the state took on the active role of distribution of goods and services, to neo-liberalism, where the

market has replaced the state as the main provider of goods and services, reducing welfare to a safety net (Giddens, 1998, 2000). This, along with an economy driven by lightning changes in information and technology, led to a redefinition of knowledge as skills and capacity-building rather than the training of an imagination through deep immersion and study of a particular field of interest.

At the end of Jefferson lecture (2017) for the National Endowment for the humanities, Martha Nussbaum reiterated the need for the humanities in education today. Commenting on a culture that thrives on retributive sentiments and a system of laws based on punitive justice, her speech was an example of a sustained engagement with evocative ideas from literature, supportive instances from history, and critical arguments from philosophy. It is at the intersection of these prominent fields in the humanities that she imagines a space for hope and transformation in an age that is largely defined by anger.

> I believe democracy urgently needs all three of the humanistic fields [Literature, History, and Philosophy] I've mentioned, which complement one another. All three offer practice in skills of mind and heart that are essential, especially in our current time of fear, resentment, and division, if our conversation with one another is to be respectful deliberation (Nussbaum: 2017).

The plea that makes for a serious study of the humanities against the growing popularity of more profitable disciplines has had a history. It is to 1959 Rede Lecture of C. P. Snow called "The Two Cultures," and the ensuing debate between C.P Snow, the scientist and novelist, and the literary critic F. R. Leavis that we often trace the genealogy of a 'crisis' in the humanities, if not to an earlier exchange of 1880s between the poet and educator Matthew Arnold and the biologist Thomas Huxley[i]. Huxley and Arnold were the Victorian counterparts of Snow and Leavis: engaged in a battle fought over the rightful place for science and humanities in the curriculum for schools in late nineteenth century England, the former championing an equal space for science in

Centres of learning, and the latter upholding a moral high ground for literature,[ii]. Despite their differences, they shared some common ground while advocating educational reforms in England. Paul White observers, "The Victorian era was perhaps the last one where disparate practices of science and literature were united, where scientific works could be written in ordinary language, where common education in classics was still the norm, where men of science and letters together contributed to the higher journalism enshrined in Victorian periodicals like the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly Review*" (White. 2005. 116)

It was in the subsequent period that the struggles over cultural authority built rigid boundaries around learning practices with disciplines constituted as fields not to be trespassed. Snow refers to such an atmosphere of hostility in his Rede lecture when he says,

> It is obvious that between the two, as one moves through intellectual society from the phycisist to the literary intellectuals, there are all kinds of tones of feeling on the way. But I believe that the pole of total incomprehension of science radiates its influence on all the rest. That total incomprehension gives, much more pervasively than we realise, living in it, an unscientific flavour to the whole 'traditional' culture, and the unscientific flavour is often, much more than we admit, on the point of turning anti-scientific. The feelings of one pole become the anti-feeling of the other. If the scientists have the future in their bones, then the tradtional cuture responds by wishing the future did not exist (Snow. 8-9)

That the ground was shifting towards science is evident when he called literary scholars "natural Luddites" who failed to acknowledge the strong contribution of science and technology towards satisfaction of fundamental human needs.[iii] Since then the rhetoric of 'crisis' has become inevitable while describing the state of the humanities' departments in universities. If scientific advancements in space technology and the rise of the industrial economy impelled a rethinking of the nature and practice of the humanities in the 1960s, it was the revolution in communication technologies that led to another phase of rethinking in the 1980s. Stephen White, vice president of the Alfred

P. Solan Foundation, was quick to realise and articulate the need for such a reorganisation. The world had visibly changed by the early 80s with Steve Jobs's Apple computer, Bill Gates and Paul Allen's founding of Microsoft, Bop Metcalfe's invention of Ethernet. Hayes' first modem and Epson's affordable dotmatrix printers hit the market, and the first speadsheet computer programme for personal computers *Visicalc* was created by Dan Bricklin and Bob Frankston. As with science in the previous century the tools of technology, White claimed, deserved a central space in liberal education. Academia could not afford to let technology grow in the cracks between the humanities, social sciences, and pure sicences. Instead he funded a "New Liberal Arts" programme that included computing, quantitative reasoning, and applied mathematics to be infused throughout arts and humanities faculties in colleges. It was the beginning of quantitative reasoning, technological literacy, the age of technocracy. The impact of the new technologies was rapid and widespread, changing the fabric of the world altogether, ushering in a new age of globalisation in the next few years. In the last fifteen years, with the rise of technological, economic, and cultural globalisation, the weakening of the welfare state, and the rise of competitive knowledge economies, many academicians in the US and UK fear the apocalypse of the humanities is at hand.

As discussed in the first chapter, a series of changes in politics, culture, and economy worked to create a knowledge-driven economy, with higher education taking centre stage[iv]. In the early 21st century higher education began to be viewed as a very important instrument for national productivity and economic progress. International agencies and national governments debated both, the advantages of a democractic dividend, and the uncertainty of potential high growth in the absence of skilled labour in many Asian countries. Production of human capital or skilled labour force thus came to be the primary aim of higher education institutions.The rapid expansion of

information and communication technology changed old ideas of what constitutes valid knowledge and the role of Universities as custodians of such knowledge. In an environment where skills and employability[v] have become important critera of a successful, and useful college degree, the value of a degree in the humanities was once again called into question. Humanities teachers who had once direct link with career-providing professions were asked to justify and demonstrate their usefulness; their right to receive grants for teaching and research were questioned as enrollments dropped and funding shrank.

By 2010 the crisis was undeniably accelerated. Many reports by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Commission on the humanities and Social Sciences, the National Endowment for Humanities, as well as articles in the *New York Times*, *Atlantic*, *Inside higher Education* and *Chronicle of Higher Education* among others offered daunting facts and figures. Many predicted that the humanities were on the verge of extinction in the face of rapid scientific and technological advances. Judith Butler remarks that the humanities have been under pressure in the present era to 'describe and defend' a set of values and beliefs that had been taken for granted and for long been their raison d'etre. What surprises and confounds her is that the link of the humanities with public life had hitherto been unquestioned; a humanistic education offered training in thinking, articulating, understanding, evaluating, and creating a world of ideas and practices. But now that training, that education, needs to be justified and explained. This she ascribes to the rise of new metrics of neoliberal values claiming the centrality that the humanities had once had. What had seemed like the self-evident and obvious value of the humanities was now lost, replaced by another set of 'obviously central' values, the values of profitability, impact, marketable skills, managerial efficiency, donor appeal, the appreciation of human capital, and the internal demands

of systems analysis (Butler. 18). Arguments against the humanities have been very many: economically, a humanities education is impractical as it is not aligned neatly with the national economic goals at a time when nations are fighting for global supremacy in the knowledge economy(Independent Task Force Report, "U.S. Education Reform and National Security" 2012). Culturally, the humanities are exclusionary and elitist with no public purpose. Humanities have lost their public appeal as they largely speak a language of power that is inaccessible to most people. (Harpham. 2005.) Scientifically, the argument goes, the humanities are not sound and strong; on the contrary, they are rather weak and ineffective. The way of the humanities in arriving at knowledge fares badly when compared with the scientific model adopted by the sciences and even by the social sciences (experimentation and observation and builidng of a model); the Humanisitc way by comparison seems highly subjective, limiting, and soft, relying largely on interpretations. Vocationally, the humanities do not have an impact. They neither engage with the study of money, nor attract serious research money, nor promise attractive packages and placement opportunities to graduating students, functions that are important for drawing support from university administrators. The declining enrollment only shows its market value (Engell et al 2005). Technologically, the humanities are a failure. They are grounded in the idea of deep and sustained immersion, which only backfires when dealing with a generation that neither reads books nor favours long narratives. The techno-savvy student of the day is better served with a diet of media studies than high art, which has been the pride of the humanities (Miller 2012).

The arguments in favour of the humanities were as numerous as those against them. One widely articulated defence of the humanities has been the capacity to prepare citizens for a democracy. Judith Butler, for example, considers a humanities education

as the education of the senses, which is a necessary pre-condition of a successful democracy.

> We have to be able to know how to read the newspaper or understand and evaluate images in television and film, on video, and on the kisoks of the street if we are to find out way with those parts of the world that present themselves to us commonly, which does mean they present themselves to us all in the same way. If we are to understand ourselves as not only participating in that established public sphere but engaged in the very establishing of what counts as public, then an education of the senses is required. We have to be both receptive and critical to what should be known, heard, seen, and debated within the various idioms of public life, whether they are verbal or written, visual or autistic, architectural or haptic and performative. In this way an education of the senses is a precondition of what we might call a sensate democracy, one in which our capacity to hear and feel is not cut short by the media on which we depend to know that world (Butler: 2014. 16).

The humanities are valuable not only for their ability to impart soft and transferable skills for democratic citizenship or leadership but also for their liberating tendencies and their power to humanize; not simply because they offer utilitarian ends of enhanced cricial comprehension and writing skills, but precisely because they create a space free of profit in which a more reasonable, human perspective may prevail. It is only from within the humanities that one can carve a space to critique the instrumentalisation of knowledge. One of the most noteworthy champions of the contribution of the humanities in building up democractic citizenship has been Martha Nussbaum[vi]. In her book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs Humanities* (2010) she argues that the humanities are in the best interest of modern democracies that rely on competitive economies and thriving business cultures to produce a culture of 'creative innovation.' She believes that the skills that support a florishing economy are no different than the ones that support good citizenship, for example an ability to think, examine, reflect, argue, debate issues of national importance, respect difference, or to judge political leaders critically. Nussbaum says that a great deal of policy-making today is still built on a simplistic developmental model of democracies, one that relies excessively on

gross national product per capita under the faulty assumption that economic growth alone will eventually deliver other goods like education, health, and social equalilty, even in the absence of any clear correlation among these. They seem to think there is a clear correspondence between education and growth. In fact, in an information-driven economy, it is possible for a state or a nation to increase its GNP without even bothering to address existing inequalities, but focusing instead only on creating 'competing technology and business elites' (Nussbaum. 2010, 20). Instead what she advocates is Socratic pedagogy in education, which has been a moulding factor for many thinkers as a way towards a stable and healthy democracy in the past. Even today, leading corportate executives have come to value critical voices that can raise questions as a way towards developing individuality and accountability. Independent thinking and creativity are innevitable for a culture of innovation, and business leaders therefore have come to understand and appreciate an education in the liberal arts. In addition, the gobal interconnectivity which defines our existence makes it imperative for universities to prepare their students to live in a heterogeneous world, to interact with people separated by geography, culture, language but united in the large scale economic, political, evnironmental and religious problems that they all share and that cannot be resolved without cooperation across these divides. The goals of global citizenship that Nussbum recommends are not entirely new; they were upheld by thinkers like Tagore and Dewey in the previous era. "Education for global citizenship is a vast and complex subject that needs to involve the contributions of history, geography, the interdisciplinary study of culture, the history of law and political systems, and the study of religions interacting with one another, and all operating in increasingly sophisticated ways as children mature"(Nussbaum. 2010, 85-86).

In an atmosphere in which political leaders across the world are recasting education on the lines of economic growth and linking the contribution of each department and researcher to the economy, many departments have had to face mergers that lead to an unheathy emphasis on teaching and research related to "useful" areas and measured by "economic impact" rather than any seach for real meaning or critical thinking. Colleges will be unable to educate for global citizenship, she thinks, without a strong component of liberal arts, where a set of general courses outside the required majors are part of an undergraduate's education design.[vii] It is only by giving a central role in the curriculum to the arts and the humanities that you can develop the capacity in your students to look at the world from a different perspective, to be an empathatic reader of someone else's experiences, to have the capacity for genuine concern.

> If we do not insist on the cricial importance of the Humanities and the arts, they will drop away, because they do not make money. They only do what is much more precious than that, make a word that is worth living in, people who are able to see other human beings as full people, with thoughts and feelings of their own that deserve respect and empathy, and nations that are able to overcome fear and suspicion in favior of sympathetic and reseasoned debate (Nussbaum. 143).

A training in the humanities, in other words, is a much needed thing for a world that is defined by cultural differences and political, religious, and communal conflicts. Andy Delanco, on the other hand, while arguing for a need to have a greater number of students pursuing a liberal arts education in the present times, also sees reason in the demand for a demonstrable utility of the humanities as taught in academia. He establishes, as does Martha Nussbaum, the need for liberal education in three points. The first is that "the nation needs liberally educated people if it is to compete in the global economy," in other words, people with knowledge of foreign cultures along with 'creativity' and 'versatility'. The second is that "if citizens are to participate responsibly in a democratic society, they require some knowledge of history and a capacity for

critical thinking." The third reason is that "Liberal education – and education that includes some engagement with the humanities -- deepens and enriches individual experience." Delanco, however, argues that academic humanities have lost the trust of the public and therefore, universities need to respond to the public demand for demonstrable utility. He argues that "if the entire exercise in education is to be empowering and meaningful at the same time" the mission of the humanities is twofold, being "curatorial" as well as "critical." The failure of the humanities' scholarship was manifest in "decades of jargon-ridden theorizing" that left it 'ironic' and 'iconoclastic'. It failed to maintain a fine balance, where students could claim their past without a sense of shame while being critically aware of its dark deeds. He rejects the "prideful purity" of "inutility" as he urges self-reflection and self-knowledge within the humanities such that the demands of "demonstrable utility" are met and public trust and support regained (Feb 13, 2009. http://www.chronicle.com/article/A-New-Day-for-Intellectuals/21359).

Patricia Cohen is a scholar representing another set of people from within the humanities who made equally powerful arguments to justify what is being taught. According to her the idea of personal growth and participation in a democracy irrespective of one's choice of profession might have worked in an earlier era but it definitely needs to be re-examined in these changing and uncertain times. There is a need to justify the disciplines within humanities (language, literature, the arts, history, cultural studies, philosophy and religion), and address the disjunction that has taken place between liberal arts and sciences on the one hand, and our professional roles on the other. If this is not done, she fears that an education in the humanities will end up being what it is derided as being: a luxury or privilege available to a select few.

The question then is how to justify the humanities in the absence of data; without knowing whether the colleges and universities were actually and adequately cultivating abilities among students that an education in the humanities is supposed to, for instance, fostering citizenship abilities. A report in 2002 from American Arts and Sciences "Making the Humanites Count: The Importance of Data" noted the following:

> They can help us to understand, in a way that anecdote cannot, what has been happening to the recruitment, training, and career chances of students of history, philosophy, or literature. Eventually, if more and better information leads to better decisions in universities, foundations, and government, over- and under-recruitment can be avoided, and students can be trained in ways that are better adapted to the functions they will actually perform and the lives they will lead. ... On a broader scale, it is surely useful that educational resources should be better adapted to the demands that society will make on students and professionals. (2002. 1)

It is to answer questions like: "How do we assess the teaching of complex literacy skills and critical thinking? What do we know about student attainment in foreign languages and cultural understanding as graduates set out to pursue careers in a rapidly changing global economy? What do we know about the humanities workforce within and beyond educational institutions?" that American Academy of Arts and Sciences launched the Humanities Indicators project, very much on the lines of Science and Engineering indicators (Berlowitz: 2010. P. 1). This initiative, through more than seventy indicators and two hundred graphs, tries to offer statistical data about the growth and vitality of the humanities, by observing trends in the humanities in K to 12 school education, undergraduate and graduate education, the humanities workforce, research and funding for the humanities, and the place of the humanities in American life beyond the academy. The indicators claim that their standards of accuracy and usefulness have become a useful instrument for university administrators, policy makers, and business leaders -- more than a million have visited the website already -- in understanding trends, measuring progress, and deciding priorities (Academy project. 2010. 2).

Based on the Spelling Commission Report's diagnosis of a decline in the quality of higher education in the US, on the Collegeiate Learning Assessment, Arum and Roska came up with an analysis in *Academically Adrift* (2011) that showed dismal levels of preparedness among students when measured on various criteria like critical thinking, complex reasoning and writing. It was argued that many of the graduate students were unable to understand and analyse a problem, far less write about it in clear sentences to the satisfaction of their employers. While the education attainment increased in America, there was also a growing doubt that this increase was not necessarily correlating with an increase in an individual's capacity for critical thinking among learners. What it proved though is that the students who showed the most improvement on the CLA were majors in science/mathematics and humanities/social sciences (the groupings are Arum and Roksa's). The students who showed improvement in various skills of reasoning and writing were the ones that had opted for courses with heavy reading and writing requirements, many of them within the humanities and social sciences. "Science/mathematics majors scored 77 points higher than business majors on the 2007 CLA, while social science/humanities majors scored 69 points higher (after adjusting for the 2005 CLA scores)" (2011. 106). The study provided data to establish that when student reading and writing became the measure of academic achievement, the disciplines of the humanities, which are founded on practices of reading and writing, proved more central and essential to the university's mission.

The emphasis on data and ranking through quantification of the humanities, and a prioritization of the demands of society and business organisations over larger goals of education also led to a growing distinction between cashable and non-cashable disciplines, leading to a significant transformation of the humanities. Many disciplines,

like Political Science, Education Theory, and Economics, for example, now positioned themselves at some distance from the humanities and engaged in extensive empirical and quantitative studies. Philosophy and English, on the other hand, presented themselves at the service of other useful disciplines by offereing courses in business ethics, medical ethics, and legal writing, or business writing. Political Science paid more attention to a study of voting patterns and statistics than to the study of thinkers like Locke, Mill, and Marx (Anderson. 2002). Departments that could not make a quantifiable difference either in terms of enrollment figures, student placements, research support from industries, or research output from faculties were at the risk of losing their legitimate place within universities. By 2010 public funding for the humanities and the Arts in the US was being cut; departments of French, Italian, Russian, Theatre, Classics, and Philosophy were threatened; and a number of language departments were abruptly merged with one another in both the United States and United Kingdom with little academic forethought. The State University of New York in Albany announced a freeze on new admission to programmes in French, Italian, Russian and Classics along with Theatre in 2010 for 'good reasons' like cost-efficiency and relevance. The same was being repeated with departments of language, philosophy, physics, and ceramics at many universities across the US as well as across the UK.[viii]

In a climate of cutbacks, changed priorities and increased emphasis on rationality, science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and business subjects were prioritised over the humanities. The 'obvious' logic is that more money poured into science, technology, medicine, and business will give more competent managers and entrepreneurs to the country. The goal, it would seem, is more towards financial engineering than creating an enhanced life for individuals. The SciVal report on the trends in funding in arts and humanities between 2004 and 2012 shows a significant

and consistent decline in total expenditure in funding (both public and private) of these disciplines across the world in Australia, Canada, the European Commission, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States since 2009 (see figure.3).

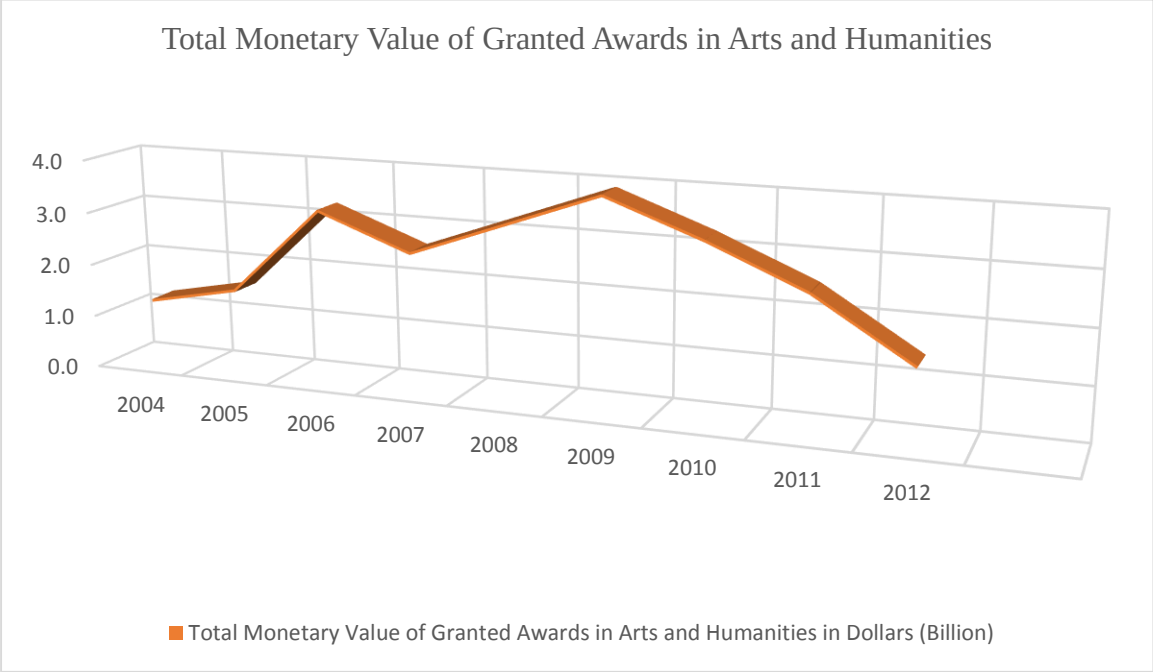


Figure: 3
Source: From a report on *Trends in Arts & Humanities Funding 2004-2012* in Research Trends (2013)

It is not only the internal resources that have shrunk but even the enrollment ratios and the share of degrees that students receive from department of humanities, the number of doctoral students from these departments, and the number of jobs that they secure post their doctoral degree have all declined in the last few decades. The rise in the majors in USA in computer and information sciences, protective services, transportation and material moving, health professions, public administration, and business only equals the decline in the share of majors from arts and sciences.

II. The case of Education Reforms in Gujarat

The identifiable new value system that distinguishes between 'commercially useful' knowledge and the humanities has been on the rise within higher education circles since the beginning of the twenty-first century, as discussed in the earlier chapter on English studies across the globe. It has privileged the values of profitability, employability, competition, skills, and applied knowledge in the face of a steady decline of the humanities as reflected in the number of students opting for these courses, the funding money that these departments attracts, as well as in the job opportunities available to these students after their doctoral degrees. The survival mechanism for many humanities departments has been to qualify as productive according to the new matrix. This pattern of marginalization of the humanities, as shown in the last section, is pervasive in the US and UK, as well as in India. Indian Higher Education, for example, has moved in the direction of the new wave since 1998. The policy documents pronounce the need to refurbish humanities departments in such a way as to make them more relevant to the new economy. But unlike in the US and UK one cannot speak about declining numbers of students in the humanities in India. There has been a steady stream of students that enroll in these departments in India. If we were to look at Gujarat, there is a spike in the demand for Higher Education after the 1990s from 4 lakhs students in 1999 to 14 lakh students enrolling for college degrees in 2011. A 40% of the total enrollment of students still take place in Arts colleges (KCG report 2016). But India's disenchantment with the old existing model of general education had begun in 1999. The delegation representing the country at the UNESCO in 1999 called for a refurbishing of the general education model, on the grounds of making it more contemporary, relevant and applied in order to produce more productive human resources equipped with right skills and aptitudes. The paper said, "Emphasis has to be

laid on curriculum change; interdisciplinary courses gradually replacing discipline-oriented learning, especially at master's degree level; greater emphasis on field based learning experience for students both in undergraduate and post-graduate programmes; more career oriented courses and response to local needs for human resource in specific work-related opportunities" (UNESCO:1998, 45-46). A number of policy changes that have come after 1998, as discussed in the earlier chapter, have progressively moved in the direction of greater privatization, industry-orientation, and technical sophistication in the space of education. This section specifically focuses on the initiatives that have defined the higher education space in Gujarat and how this has affected the departments of the humanities within the state.

The State Higher Education Policy 2015-16 (SHEP) recognized knowledge as a key source of economic growth and a valuable advantage to be leveraged in an era of increasing globalization.

> For a high-growth economy (like Gujarat) built on sound agriculture and vibrant industrial sector, knowledge sector is thought to be playing an instrumental role in its future growth trajectory. The growth of the future economy will be highly dependent on invention, innovation, ideas and knowledge, the flourishing of which is grossly *(sic)* contingent upon higher education and research. Therefore, with the fact that higher education, skill development and creative thinking can be an economy's global opportunity, the mission of the Government of Gujarat is to ensure that a massive number of youth, who are the highly enthusiastic as well as promising section of the population, get good quality higher education…Gujarat has a good potential to emerge as an educational hub in the near future since industrialization has taken place which leads to a demand for more skilled resources. If resources are mobilized for the enhancement of quality of higher education, Gujarat will also emerge as a hub of better human resources. (RUSA SHEP 12)

This relatively recent policy document under Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyaan (RUSA) articulates the role of higher education in the production of skilled resources for the industrial economy of Gujarat and the need for the state to define and measure outcomes of Higher Education. It seeks to develop a quality-and-outcome-oriented approach in education, and is dominated by two important criteria (1) competencies;

(2) employability. An economic understanding and prioritizing of the role of higher education is unequivocally articulated in the entire document as it makes a case for recognizing the change and implicit policy directions in the nature of higher education from public good to quasi-public good.

Higher education has been a rapidly growing sector in Gujarat over the last ten years, not only in terms of the number of students enrolling for undergraduate education, which has reached 14 lakhs but also in terms of the number of new providers of education in the state, which has almost doubled (SHEP 2015-16). In 2015-16 Gujarat prides itself on having 68 Universities, and more than 1900 colleges (SHEP. 2015-16). The mission and direction for all these institutions is quite clear:

> With the innumerable industries and start-ups that are being set up in the conducive environment of Gujarat, it is only natural for the higher education system to cater to the budding large, medium, and small scale industries. However, the need of the hour is to develop youth who not just possess a generic skillset but are skilled in their relevant fields. Therefore, the focus going forward will be on specialized and specific skill building programs and colleges. (KCG report:15)

Privatization and internationalization of education became a central concern for the state in Gujarat, when in 2003 the Government started hosting the biennial Vibrant Gujarat Global Summit with a view to make Gujarat an investment destination. This important international business event offered a prime venue to many educational institutions, both state-funded and private, to explore business opportunities and sign cooperation agreements and partnerships in education. Under the leadership of the minister for education Jayanti Ravi, and the then chief minister of Gujarat Narendra Modi, Gujarat saw the beginnings of a wave of reforms of the higher education sector that continues to this day. What I attempt here is to classify the different reforms into three major categories that I observe in the policy and practice of higher education in the state, in order to show how each one works to erase the space of

humanities' education in Gujarat systematically. The three discernible directions of reform that one can identify in the space of higher education in Gujarat are 1) a set of efforts directed towards improving the workings of the state-run universities and grant-in-aid colleges; 2) establishment of new state- run, state- funded universities, 3) creation of a space for the growth of the private sector in higher education.

The challenges to higher education in state universities were many: irrelevant curriculum, poor infrastructure, lack of teaching equipment, poor faculty quality, challenges of employability, equity and access, evaluation and research output, etc. Among the multiple initiatives by the state (see figure 1) towards improving the quality of education in the state universities in Gujarat, Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) was one of the earliest. It claimed to usher in three different reforms with one stroke: curriculum, examination, and administration.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) had prescribed CBCS for many years and Gujarat was one of the states to implement it in early 2011. The point to be noted here is not only the way in which it was implemented, where colleges ended up offering 'mandatory' electives according to their available resources; but also the philosophy that guides our introduction of CBCS. The strong push for CBCS from the UGC came in 2015, which directed colleges/universities to introduce the semester system, CBCS, and grading system with a view to facilitate student choice and movement across campuses. The discourse of CBCS was structured on an understanding of making education more relevant and industry centric.

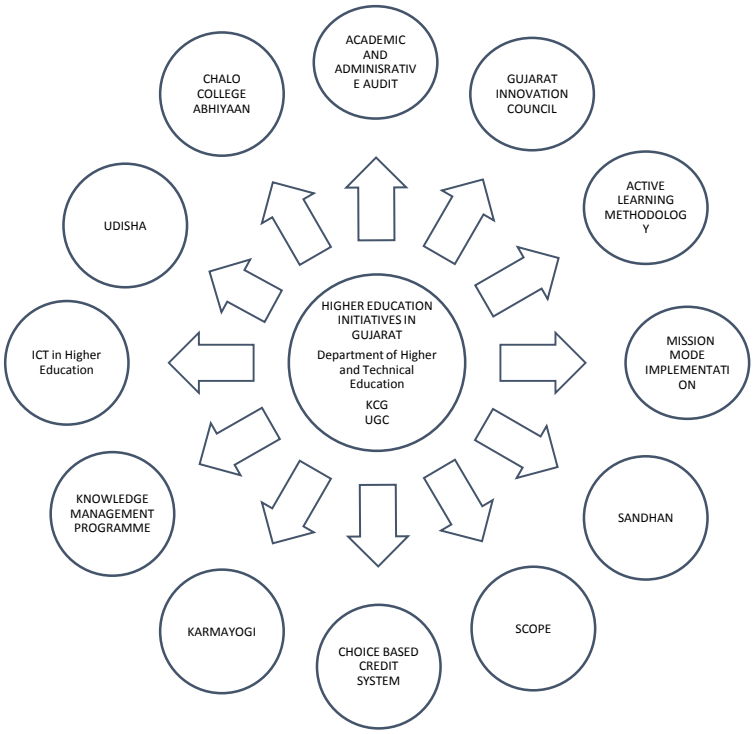


Figure:1 Higher education initiatives in Gujarat after 2000.

The rationale articulated by KCG says "The current higher education curriculum does not impart the necessary skills that would make the students employable adequately. There is a lack of Interdisciplinary approach as well as there is a very little scope for value based courses to be taught" (https://kcg.gujarat.gov.in/initiatives_cbcs.php). The UGC then offered guidelines for implementation along with sample syllabi for various degree programmes. The courses were divided into 1) Core (compulsory/ required courses), 2) Elective (discipline specific, dissertation/ project, generic elective from an unrelated discipline, 3) Ability Enhancement Courses, both compulsory and skill enhancement courses. "An Undergraduate program degree in humanities/ social sciences/ commerce," for example, says the manual of UGC guidelines, "may be awarded if a student completes 4 core papers each in two disciplines of choice, 2 core papers each in English [language] and MIL [Media and Information Literacy] respectively, 2 Ability Enhancement Compulsory

Courses (AECC), a minimum of 4 Skill Enhancement Courses (SEC), 2 papers each from a list of Discipline Specific Elective papers based on the two disciplines of choice selected above, respectively, and two papers from the list of Generic Electives papers. The UGC offered a common minimum syllabus to university departments with a 20% option of deviation (see appendices 1 and 2). What I have outlined here stands in startling contrast with the history or evolution of a system of curriculum formation based on electives in the U.S. If one were to think about the transformation of the general education programme in American higher education, along with the change in the role of the university, both of which are associated with the coming of Charles William Eliot as the president of Harvard in 1869, one would certainly think of the abolishing of required coursework, and the introduction of an elective system for undergraduate programmes among many other changes. While he advocated the absolute abandonment of required courses for undergraduates, he also advocated an undergraduate degree as a pre-requisite for all aspirants of professional degrees. What he managed to do as he introduced the distributive system of electives was to infuse a liberal spirit into American education. (Menad: 2010) What is happening today in Gujarat and other places in India, on the other hand, is the introduction of the same system of electives but with an entirely opposite underlying philosophy. Instead of restoring the spirit of liberal education into the system, the CBCS aims to bring in professionalism at the cost of a liberal education.

The three other ways in which the state has conceptualized quality in higher education in the public universities is through technological up gradation, student employability, and increased accountability through regular assessments. In August

2017 the state government of Gujarat launched its latest scheme called the NAMO e-TAB (New Avenues of Modern Education), which entitled every fresh undergraduate student to get a tablet from the state government at a nominal cost of Rs. 1000/-. The state claimed to make the tablets available to 3 to 4 lakh students in the first phase of the scheme. The advertisement in the newspaper underlined the state government's employment-oriented approach as part of its determination to develop the potential of youth; and praised it as a transparent, sensitive, decisive government with a distinct programme for development. "The youth of Gujarat will connect with the world at their fingertips. Updated with the latest information the young people of Gujarat will be known for their intelligence and skills." The state government allocated 200 crore rupees for the implementation of the scheme.

The move was supposed to empower all students by ensuring that every student in Gujarat is digitally connected. The Chief Minister Mr. Rupani said, "Rivals call our decision to give subsidized tablets a poll strategy. But we want Gujarat students to lead the world…Giving NAMO Tabs to students is giving them Lord Krishna's *Sudarshan*

chakra. It will bring knowledge at fingertips." This 'Teuth-like'[ix] almost religious, faith in the enabling power of technology has been the distinguishing characteristic of higher education reforms in the existing state universities in Gujarat since 2002 onwards. Following the guidelines of the National Knowledge Network (NKN) and National Mission in Education the state offered financial support to institutional initiatives in IT through Information and Communication Technology (NME-ICT) programmes of the central government. Individual institutes were encouraged to take major steps to leverage ICT in teaching, learning, information dissemination, evaluation, and management of university systems. Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), Learning Management System (LMS) and Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment (MOODLE), On Demand Online Exam(ODOLE), All Gujarat Integrated Classroom(SANDHAN), Learning Management Systems(LMS)---these were all introduced one after the other with a belief that "there is a potential to overcome challenges of access (distance) and time. Students can attend multiple lectures at a time of their convenience and learn from highly acclaimed faculty" (KCG report 2017. 66)

SANDHAN, the all-Gujarat integrated classroom was conceptualized as an innovative and interesting way to teach through Audio Video tools, multi-media, the phone-in facility, webcam, internet, and the two way communication software Roobaroo. All the colleges were funded to equip them with Direct to Home (DTH) systems and a SANDHAN classroom with a television, where students could watch specific lectures on various topics being telecast. The project was neither new nor unique and without history in India. In the 1970s an experiment such as the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) was conducted by Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) in collaboration with National Aeronautics Space Administation

in 1975 and UGC's Countrywide Classrooms (CWCR) on Doordarshan in 1984. It was with a mission to use technologies for the building of a new, enlightened India that Vikram Sarabhai advocated SITE, as the quotation below clearly indicates:

> There are some who question the relevance of space activities in a developing nation. To us, there is no ambiguity of purpose. We do not have the fantasy of competing with the economically advanced nations in the exploration of the moon or the planets or manned space-flight. But we are convinced that if we are to play a meaningful role nationally, and in the community of nations, we must be second to none in the application of advanced technologies to the real problems of man and society. (quoted in https://www.thebetterindia.com/96639/vikram-sarabhai-isro-space-research/)

SITE was studied in great detail by a team of over hundred inter-disciplinary social scientists under the leadership of Dr. Binod Agarwal. A year-long experiment conducted to assess its impact involved experts from various social science disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, sociology and political science together with communication experts. While the experiment proved of great value in fields like communication, broadcasting, weather forecasting, disaster management, locational services, it had little success on the education front. In the absence of historical awareness of India's moderately successful efforts in education via SITE or its rigorous and self-reflexive modus operandi, SANDHAAN remains at the level of political rhetoric of educational reform rather than a path- breaking initiative in the real sense. The faith in ICT that guided Sandhan and other similar initiatives brought in by the then Minister of Higher and Technical Education, Dr. Jayanti Ravi, is also echoed in her monograph *Multiversity.* She claimed that improvement in ICT is a 'possible silver bullet', the enhancement of which would solve all core issues of education from content creation, teacher assessment and training to research, extension and distance learning (Ravi. 10). ICT, along with English Language, also found a place in many of the programmes that were designed to improve the quality of teachers and enhance their knowledge base. Karmayogi, and Knowledge Management Programme focused on

developing information technology skills, better subject knowledge base and English language skills. In a culture where learning is equated with information gathering and application, a teacher is nothing but a manager of this warehouse, better equipped to do the job with the help of technology. "In the present educational context," as the KCG website says, "a teacher is a manager of knowledge for and on behalf of the students' community so that s/he can make her/his students proficient managers of knowledge. It is possible only if all faculties are equipped with proficiency in ICT and English." (KCG website information on initiative http://www.kcg.gujarat.gov.in/initiatives_kmpf.php)

The rhetoric of reform also rests on the need to evolve human resources faster than technology, which is taking over roles of semi-skilled workers. The role of educational institutions now does not end with providing competence, knowledge and skill sets but also extends to helping students identify employment opportunities at the end of the undergraduate programme. Placement cells have become be a common and essential entity on Indian University campuses. Knowledge Consortium for Gujarat (KCG) in 2011 established Universal Development of Integrated Employability Skills through Higher Education Agencies (UDISHA). It was created with a stated purpose: "to bridge the gap between the demand and supply of human resources" through soft-skills training (functional English), capacity building (ICT) and placement initiatives of the Commissioner of Higher Education. It aimed at leveraging the opportunities in specific sectors of industries like banking and financial services, information and telecommunications. Udisha was to be an interface between educational institutions and the market by organizing job fairs for students and providing opportunities that matched their educational training. With the help of the Ministry of Industries and Commissionarate it organized programmes to facilitate field training for students, and also tried to create an interface between universities with industries through workshops,

conferences, and exchange programmes. Several colleges established Placement Cells under Udisha. The emerging linkages of the ministry of education with the ministry of industries, or of universities with the market clearly discernible in these policy documents speak of a new ethos in higher education in Gujarat. This rests on a sustained and extensive collaboration between industries and universities "to develop market-friendly courses" as well as research, and "to create linkages with job providers"(KCG website).[x]

For this three point agenda of reforms comprising IT enhancement, relevance in curriculum, and placements (see table 1) in Gujarat's state universities to succeed, perfect implementation and regular assessment were needed. Many of the initiatives of the education policy of 1986 had failed, it was thought, to make an impact; a good system of surveillance, assessment and implementation was lacking. One of the main roles that KCG performed was to introduce and implement initiatives of the State and Central governments into the university system through effective monitoring of financial, academic, and administrative performances of institutions of higher education. These later got mandated for the Higher Education Council. KCG worked to introduce many other initiatives in this direction, like the Chalo College Abhiyan, Academic and Administative Audit (AAA), and Mission Mode Implementation or what is known as an "expressway to higher education" to achieve excellence in the education system.

Challenge	Initiative	Means	Actions
Curriculum	Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) make learning student centric Active Learning Methodology	Administrative reform Evaluation patterns reform Curriculum reform with increased skilling. Task oriented learning	Develop structures with room for flexibility for horizontal and vertical migration of students Design curriculum with appropriate labels and provision for

			interdisciplinary and vocational courses. Question bank preparation Creating centres for ODOLE to facilitate e learning Use of activities in making classroom student centric and more engaged
Infrastructure and Teaching Equipment	The National Mission on Education through Information and Communication Technology (NME-ICT)	Use of ICT Promote e-content development	Setting up NME-ICT taskforce for promotion and e content development Development of KCG website Establishing Assessment Centers for ON demand Online Examinations
Faculty Quality	Knowledge Management Programme for Faculty (KMPF) Karmayogi Programme	Use of ICT & English Enhance the quality of the faculty through language skills, E-skills, and Professional skills	Organize training for capacity building Prepare material for training Cascade model for training and capacity building
Employability and relevance to society	Placement Initiative UDISHA English language Skills: SCOPE	ICT, Language, and Industry linkages Increase employability through suitable training, increase placement opportunities and bridge the skill gap	Organize job fairs Provide training in soft skills and ICT Planning of internship programmes Interfacing academia with industry through workshops, conferences, and exchange programmes

Equity and Access	Statewide Integrated Classrooms (SANDHAN)	ICT for Access To facilitate virtual teaching and discussion To facilitate large scale dissemination of ideas	Creation of task force Selection of 10 experts Organisation of training workshop for experts Broadcast of lectures by experts from across the State on specified topics for students
Evaluation and Research Output	AAA and other UGC schemes	Create awareness about range of provisions that fall under UGC schemes	To plan, implement, monitor, and regulate state government initiatives in
Implementation of the above	Mission Mode Implementation Chalo College Abhiyan	Quality meter check of institutions' efforts towards excellence Increase accountability through performance evaluation Plan- Implement- Monitor- and Regulate	Set targets Move from Plan to Result in a time bound manner Identify action plans to reach the result Follow up with teams Review the performance periodically Regular college visits by teams

Table: 1 Overview of important reform initiatives in Gujarat after 2002.

The second set of efforts in Gujarat was directed at establishing new state universities. The state began to restructure the existing colleges in different zones of the state by re-affiliating them under newer umbrellas of the new state universities after 2003, so as to bring more accountability and quality into higher education by reducing the size of universities. It also began operating new, fully state-funded universities in the State. Mostly uni-disciplinary in nature, these universities furthered a linear connection between the university and the market, with each working to produce human

resources needed for one specified industry/sector. Gujarat has established more than ten such universities since 2003: Children's University for research related to early childhood and education, Gujarat Forensic University for investigative sciences, Raksha Shakti University for Police Science and Internal security, Swarnim Sports University, Kamdhenu University for Veterinary and Animal Science, Shri Govind Guru University, Shree Somanath Sanskrit Universityfor development of Sanskrit language and literature, Gujarat University of Transplantation Sciences, Gujarat Law University, Indian Institute of Teacher Education for teachers' education and Gujarat Technological University for Engineering, Pharmacy, and Management education are some of these. Gerard Delanty has remarked that the functions of the university to define and legitimate national culture, to engage in the production of basic scientific knowledge are getting eroded in the knowledge economy. The justification of the university is no longer aligned with the needs of the nation-state but rather with the needs of the market (Delanty. 2002). The humanities have no space in an instrumentalizing university that is out to embrace both the market and information technology. The history on the webpage of a UGC recognized Raksha Shakti University in Gujarat reads, "The Government of Gujarat has established "RAKSHA SHAKTI UNIVERSITY" vide '**The Raksha Shakti University Act, 2009**', Gujarat bill No-16 of 2009 in the sixtieth year of the Republic of India to prepare the youth of the state for becoming effective and efficient security personnel and to conduct courses and award degrees, diplomas and certificate for the said purpose. This university is dedicated for developing skill in field of internal development, and future employees in internal Security Management sector" (http://www.rsu.ac.in/).[xi]

This culture, where "market share" and relevance have come to be very important for the university administrators and universities compete for applicants,

entails vocationalisation of curriculum, leading to specific employment opportunities. The questions that such reforms raise are moot. What meanings, and what is and social significance are generated by a university? If the universities have to remain the zones of interconnectivity between knowledge as science and knowledge as culture (Delanty. 2002); if they are to forge a new space for themselves, not as spaces of enlightenment but spaces of debate; can they do so in the absence of the imagination that the humanities bring?

A third set of reforms in Gujarat was directed to create a space for private players in the provision and delivery of Higher Education with a goal to improve the quality and reclaim legitimacy for university-generated knowledge by forging new connections with industry. In early 2003, Gujarat, like many other states, also took a cue from the Chhattisgarh government's Private Sector Universities Act of 2002 and started establishing private universities by passing a state Act. The number of private universities rose significantly in Gujarat after 2003, but it was only in 2009 that the state passed the Gujarat Private University Act to simplify the process of establishing such universities. As discussed in an earlier chapter [give no. of chapter], many educational trusts had already established their own self-financed colleges by 1999, parallel to the many grant-in-aid colleges functioning under the same Trust.[xii] The 2009 Act allowed these educational trusts to put together their self-financed and grant-in-aid colleges under the new rubric of a private university[xiii]. A prolonged agitation from many of the affiliated colleges run by the trusts now interested in setting up private universities led to an amendment of the Act in 2011. The faculty of the grant- in-aid colleges were reluctant to join the new private university and the result was that government then had to leave the affiliation of the existing grant-in-aid colleges of the trusts undisturbed. It passed an amendment, therefore, to allow only the self-financed

institutions of the trust to be a part of the new state private universities. The words "The constituent colleges -and institutions-- of the Sponsoring Body affiliated to and enjoying the privileges of any "University immediately before the commencement of this Act", were substituted by the words " The constituent colleges and institutions of the Sponsoring Body, *except the grant-in-aid colleges and institutions*, affiliated to and enjoying the privileges of any University immediately before the establishment of the University under subsection (1)" (emphasis added. Act. 2011. 2). Most of the self-financed colleges that had opened in Gujarat since 1999 were either commerce, or management colleges; thus the new private universities comprising these clusters of colleges had no space for the humanities from their very inception. The newer universities did little to disrupt the largely neo-liberal idea of higher education now prevalent in the state. There are about 30 private universities in Gujarat at present; the majority offer education in the field of professional, management, or vocational education (see table 2). While there are several issues associated with the establishment of private universities, the main focus of the argument in this thesis is on the fact that the very structure and conception of private universities make very little room for the humanities[xiv]. In more than twenty universities the humanities have zero presence, that is, no presence at all. Hardly two universities have a college or School of Humanities offering more than two disciplines. In others, departments of humanities, if they exist, perform the role of a finishing school or a service department offering soft-skills training to graduates from other reputed departments of the University. Many of these universities are also uni-disciplinary, like some of the new state universities with a very specific mission---to offer an industry-oriented model of education. UWG stands out in the list in this matter. A news report describes in its journalistic way "how a private university is trying to carve a niche in today's competitive academic arena. The

abundant corpus (Rs 600 crore) is providing UWG the liberty to experiment with streams and courses without being worried about churning out market-driven programmes that can rake in the moolah." That is how a journalistic news story records the experiment.[xv] The current Vice Chancellor of the university describes it thus: "Technically, we are a private university since our funding is private. But we have a very public ethos."

The experiment called UWG offers a kind of humanistic oasis in the educational arena of private universities. It works to create a school of liberal arts and sciences at its centre, drawing in research scholars from some of the best universities across the world. I offer below in tabular form the courses offered by some new private universities other than UWG.

No.	University/ Degree Granting Institutions	Year of Inception	Programmes Offered	School of Humanities / Liberal Arts and Sciences	Humanities Departments
1	Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of Information and Communication Technology, Gandhinagar	2003	Medical, Health Science, Pharmacy, Engineering ,	NO	
2	Nirma University, Ahmedabad.	2003	Technology, Management, Pharmacy, Science, Law, Architecture & Planning, Commerce, Design, Continuing Education	NO	
3	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology University, Ahemdabad	2005	Architecture, Planning, Technology, Design, Management	NO (closed down in the year..)	
4	Ganpat University, Mehsana	2005	Engineering & Technology, Pharmacy, Compter Studies, Management Studies, Sciences, Social Science and Humanities, Computer Applications, Architecture, Design & Planning	NO	(UG)Commerce, Social Work and English (PG)
5	Pandit Deendayal Petroleum University, Gandhinagar	2007	Technology, Petroleum Technology, Petroleum Management, Liberal Studies	Yes	English, Mass Communication , Public Administration,

					Psychology, Economics
6	Kadi Sarva Vishwavidyalaya, Gandhinagar.	2007	Computer, Management, Commerce, Education, Physical Education, Nursing, Pharmacy, Bio-Technology, English, Science	Yes	Education (B. Ed.)
7	Ahmadabad University, Ahmedabad	2009		Yes	School of Liberal Arts and Sciences is in the process of getting built
8	Charotar University of Science & Technology, Anand	2009	Technology and Engineering, Pharmacy, Physiotherapy, Nursing, Computer Science and Application, Management, Applied Science	NO	
9	Calorx Teacher's University, Ahmadabad.	2009		NO	
10	Navrachana University, Vadodara	2009	Business and Law, Engineering and Technology, Environment, Design and Architecture, Liberal Studies and Education	Yes	Journalism and Mass Communication , Social Work (PG), Education (B. Ed.),
11	AURO University of Hospitality and Management, Surat	2011	Business, Hospitality, Information Technology, Design, Law	Yes	Law
12	Institute of Advanced Research, Gandhinagar	2011			
13	R.K. University, Rajkot	2011	Medical, Health Science, Pharmacy, Engineering, Computer Application, Management, Sciences, Agriculture, Design	NO	
14	UKA Tarsadia University, Surat	2011	Business Management, Computer and Information Technology, Biotechnology, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Commerce, Polytechnic , Pharmacy, Nursing, Architecture, Sports, Physiotherapy, Fashion Design and Technology, Interior Design	NO degree granting programmes	Center for Humanities and Development (offers short duration training programmes in Industrial trainning, Academic Trainning, Corporate Trainning, Voice Modulation, Individual Trainning, Personality development, designer sessions, tailored session for abroad goers, special

					sessions for foreign clients
15	Indus University, Ahmedabad	2012	Technology and Engineering, Information and Communication Technology, Management Studies, Design, Environment and Architecture, Aviation, Technology and Engineering, Special Studies	No	Indus Institute of Special Studies conducts activities like Kumbh Mela Film Project from a Dharmic Perspective, Conferences in History of Indian Science and Technolgy, Study of Indian Civilization through its center for Swadeshi Ideology
16	Rai University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.	2012	Engineering and Applied Sciences, Business, Media and Communication, Fashion, Technology and Performing Arts, Arts, Science and Commerce, Law, Agriculture, LifeSciences	Yes	Mass Communication , English, Economics, Social Work (UG)
17	Lakulish Yoga University, Ahmedabad	2013		No	
18	C.U. Shah University, Surendranagar-Wadhwan City	2013	Technology and Engineering, Computer Science, Pharmaceutical Science, Management Studies, Social Science, Nursing, Commerce, Sciences and Life Sciences, Arts and Humanities, Education, Law	Yes	English, Gujarati, History, Psychology, Vedic Science, Economics, Sanskrit, Journalism (UG)Social Work (MSW),
19	Team Lease Skills University, Vadodara	2013	Commerce, Information Technology, Mechtronics, Computer Application, Management, Journalism, Hospitality and Tourism Management,	NO	
20	ITM-Vocational University, Vadodara	2014	Management, Technology, Hospitality and Tourism Management, Interior Design, Fashion Design, Law,	NO	
21	GSFC University, Vadodara	2014	Technology, Science	NO	
22	Indian Institute of Public Health-Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad	2015		NO	
23	G.L.S. University, Ahmedabad	2015	Commerce, Business Administration, Management, Education, Computer Technology, Design	NO	

24	Parul University, Vadodara	2015	Engineering and Technology, Architecture, Design, Management, Nursing, Forensic Science, Applied Science, Ayurveda, Homeopathy, Physiotherapy, Computer Application, Social Work, Commerce, Law, Medicine	Yes	Economics, English, Linguistics, Mass Communication , Political Science, Sociology, Psychology
25	Anant National University, Ahmedabad	2016	Architecture	NO	
26	Marwadi University, Rajkot	2016	Engineering, Management, Computer Application, Law, Architecture, Science	NO	
27	Plastindia International University, Valsad	2016	Engineering, Management	NO	
28	Sankalchand Patel University, Visanagar	2016	Computer Technology, Engineering, Management	NO	
29	P. P. Savani	2017	Science, Architecture & Design, Physiotherapy, Nursing, Engineering, Management	NO	
30	Swarnim Startup and Innovation University	2017	Innovation and Enterpreneurship, Engineering, Design, Paramedical, Science, Homeopathy	NO	
31	Indrashil university	2017		No	

Table: 2. Private Universities in Gujarat and the role of Humanities
Source: UGC website records, and website of various universities

The case of a Private University:

An earlier chapter on privatization has dealt with the birth and growth of GES with its grant-in-aid colleges, as well as with the founding of UWG in 2009. The support of the then GES president Shrenikbhai Lalbhai was instrumental in starting this new university of the Trust. Under the leadership of an academician L, now the Provost, Prof. B an institutional builder, as Chairman, the university went through a foundation period of institutional building in its first five years. Underlying the setting up of a private university was the dream of establishing a free space in which an academic institution could realize its vision and larger social mission in Gujarat.

> First, the freedoms that are required, that are necessary for institutions to progress in terms of academic merit, reputation and positioning, were simply not available. There was practically no freedom to select the deserving students, no freedom to design our curriculum. We had no freedom to evaluate students. We had no freedom to fix the fees. We had no freedom to decide the promotion

> standards. We had constraints on freedom to hire Faculty because the University used to dictate terms. The grant-in-aid colleges, those were a different story. Even the positions had to be approved by the Government and they had a major role in selecting the people concerned. I mean, it was all a very difficult situation in which the kind of freedoms, that you need to have to strategize and pursue your goals in order to achieve the larger vision and objectives, were simply missing. And at that point of time, it was seen that the only course open to us was to find ways and means by which we could get some of these freedoms. Not unfettered. Obviously, there would be regulators, there would be controls. So, we wanted to be able to have some of these freedoms in order to make our mark on the academic scene – both – in the country, and in the later years, in the global scene. And the only route available to us at that point of time was actually to form a University."– from an interview with the former Provost UWG.

The leadership team in this first phase slowly and steadily changed the ethos of the old institutions now within the orbit of the new university with a new logo, in which an epitaph in Sanskrit *Pariprashnen Samridhdhi [raising questions is a way to enrichment]* encircled a shield-shaped emblem with a modernist design in blue and red forming the letters U, W and G for University of Western Gujarat, and five stars, perhaps representing the first five colleges of the university. This was the first phase of the new university. A tagline that was attached to the logo read: "Global education at local cost, context, and ethos." The cost, context, and the ethos did change from the very start and were reflected at various levels, namely the revision of fee structure (fees for the colleges still affiliated to Gujarat University remaining the same but fees of the self-financed colleges affiliated to UWG considerably higher) in addition to administrative structure, programme structure, infrastructure, faculty experience and students' learning. The objective of the University was "to foster continuous progress of the self and society" through disciplinary as well as interdisciplinary programmes that actively worked for "the advancement of social, economic, and ecological development of local, national, and international communities." Ahmedabad and India were not incidental contexts for the university, not just places where it happened to be located, but an intentional and integral part of the design of a university that still hoped

"to generate knowledge within a local context even while it went on "to contribute to India along with the world (UWG statutes)". The faculty members retained their positions in the new organisation; new recruits were drawn from the pool of talent in Gujarat/India, while the student pool also remained vastly local.

It was in the second phase of the institution that one saw more changes pointing in the direction of internationalization (to be discussed later). The five self-financed institutions that became the constituents of the private university retained their individual identities even within the new university structure. Their calendars, courses, faculty appointments, grading patterns, programmes, admission processes and budgets continued to be independent of each other. Many faculty members did teach across institutions but it was still a question of choice. What was not optional was a newly introduced orientation towards research among the faculty members. To begin with, it was clear that faculty members in a University had to have a PhD degree. One of the faculty members remarked in an interview, "The very first day they addressed us they said 'PhD'. Everyone would have to do it. It was meant in good faith, but the tone left no one in any doubt that this was a requirement, the next milestone. Across all constituent institutions there were only two people who had a doctoral degree in the university. But by 2011 many had enrolled and the understanding was that within five years all those who were made senior lecturers/assistant professors would complete their degree requirement" (excerpt from an interview with a professor at UWG). Exposure to faculty came in various forms. Scholars from leading foreign universities were invited to engage with the faculty. Regular research seminars became part of daily life at the institution. An MoU with Judges Business School Cambridge in 2011 and the US College of Engineering in 2013 enabled faculty and student visits to programmes Judges Business School for a couple of months every year. The courses

and the programme structure they designed had to be vetted by an external subject expert before it went to the academic council for approval and were changed every three years. A formal system of performance evaluation was also put in place, wherein faculty members submitted their annual statement of work (based on ten pre-defined criteria, like teaching, material development, research, administration, social and personal development etc.) and faced a one-on-one meeting with the provost, the director of the institution and the academic dean. "The system did value your contribution in the classroom teaching, what you taught, how you taught, unlike now," says a faculty member, "where everything boils down to what you have in the four columns of the appraisal form. The academic process is much more than that." (Excerpt from an interview with a professor at UWG). Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) systems entered the University from 2012 onwards in order to improve the efficiency of the system and to improve student learning experience. The move that changed the student experience the most was the introduction of CBCS. The choices in the first couple of years were limited and mandatory. French, for example, was the compulsory foreign language that all students studied in this phase. Many more credits were granted to electives across institutions from 2013, when institutions invited visiting experts to offer electives ranging from clay modeling, to photography, event management, design thinking and sociology under the humanities and social sciences (HASS) umbrella. Choices could also be made among non-core electives, for example, a choice between statistics or communication, and management or economics for the third year B.Com. students.

The university also took new initiatives over the years. The UWG Centre for Heritage Management was the earliest, offering two year masters programmes in heritage management, and awareness programmes on a larger scale. The web pages of

the Centre are laced with a line from the article on fundamental duties in the Indian constitution 45(51A): 'It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.' The Centre, rooted in the geography of the city claimed a particular interest in the culture of its home city. Venture Studio, "a startup incubator and accelerator" was begun in collaboration with Stanford University's Centre for Design Research in 2011. The Centre aimed to advance regional economic development, to make a national and international impact through its design-led approaches to business creation. It supported programmes offered by National Initiative for Developing and Harnessing Innovations (NIDHI), supported by the Ministry of Science and Technology. The Institute of Life Sciences came into being with a post graduate programme in life sciences in 2012. An integrated programme in management (iMBA,) as well as science (iM.Sc) were started in 2014.

In 2015 the university saw a change of leadership. The challenge of UWG was taken up as an exciting experiment that had the potential to take on the 21st century.

> How many Universities get set up in 21st century? How would you be able to imagine Sciences in 21st century? How would you be able to imagine a Science student's understanding of Humanities and Languages and vice versa in the 21st century? Where the kids are very different, the tools are very different, technology is very different. And unfortunately, which I know because of the baggage of the larger Institution that our other GES colleges carry, will find it very difficult, in the short, near future to be able to transform themselves and relook in this manner, which we can. And to me, that's the excitement (excerpt from an interview of the Vice Chancellor of UWG)

The aspirations were to become global; so too the ethos, as shown in the excerpt below:

> Why would we not look at an issue of water in the slum of Juhapura, and not look simultaneously at a water issue at a slum in Pretoria. Today, technology allows us to do that. All we have to do is partner with some colleagues in school in Pretoria and say this is what they're wanting to do. And we'll have now a big Skype video conferencing at this time. But it requires that imagination to do it. If you do it, amount of learning would be – just imagine! I mean, you've brought, actually the world in here. In fact, we were, the other day talking with Anand Shah and he had a fabulous suggestion. He says, 'our kids can't go all over the world', which is true because at this point in our history, we can't have kids who can do that. Can we not get, hire somebody, for maybe 20 cities of the

> world. He can roam with a camera on his head. And just go and go into these cities – keep speaking and just drive around and comeback with a video. And then, we do a study of cities. And then, do many other things with it, you know. How cities move, transport, this, that – social relationships – there's many things you could do, and you rock the world. You'd be a classroom, here locally. I think our engagement has to be at multiple levels. But our lens has to be very, very telescopic from the local to the global. (Excerpt from an interview with the Vice Chancellor of UWG)

The strength of this vision also comes from an enormous corpus that supports it. In an article in a financial newspaper in May 2017 the Vice Chancellor spoke about the advantage of a corpus of over 600 crore rupees, which was to increase to 1,500 crore.[xvi]

In the last two years the university has actively tried to build a brand for itself. The institutional structure with which it originally started has given way to schools and programmes across which all faculty members now teach. There is one university, one logo, one website, one online application window, a centralized process of admission handled by a separate office of admissions, a centralized process of recruitment, a common calendar, a common timetable across the university, common courses for all university students, common credit system. The university has moved beyond brochures, open houses, bill boards, and newspaper ads towards many outreach activities that encompass over 7000 CBSE schools across India and the Middle East and 500 new Government residential schools by way of either school visits, info-sessions, or posters.

The admission processes too were revamped with the introduction of a holistic assessment of students based on their 10^{th} and 12^{th} board exam marks, their statement of purpose, their achievements, and performance at a personal interview. Admitted students now take a competency test in three areas Communication, Computer Literacy, and Mathematical Reasoning; and if they do not reach a certain level of competence in

a given area they are required to take additional courses called 'bridge courses' at an additional payment.

Rigour, flexibility and choice have come to define the student experience at UWG. The intensification of CBCS system now allows students to choose courses freely across programmes and schools. A student can choose when, where, and what she wants to study by designing her own timetable online, with the help of a newly designed resource information system by a new IT department. A student is free to pursue a programme of her choice at her own pace. She can accelerate her pace by taking courses during the summer semester, and slow down if she wishes by taking fewer credits each semester, and extending her life on campus by an additional one, all at some additional cost. Independent Study Projects (ISP) have become another feature added to the student experience since 2016, where all first year students are expected to enroll in a two-week course offered by faculty members on the campus or invited experts from outside[xvii]. The courses have to be interdisciplinary and experiential in nature, the two words that have now become essential aspects of pedagogy at UWG. The learnings from the US College of Engineering and their experience with the Project Based Learning (PBL) programme extended beyond faculty and student exchanges. Now the university has designed its own version of PBL known as Engagement Project Based Learning (EPBL) that has permeated courses offered across schools and programmes. The Enable courses offered were smaller in size and more student-centric in their pedagogical approaches that deployed techniques like project-based learning, flipped classroom, discovery-based methods etc. The professor performed the role of a facilitator rather than a teacher in these classes. A lot of learning was to take place through a journal that all the students bought and were asked to maintain, jotting down their answers to questions asking them to plan, analyse, and engage in self-evaluation.

Ms. K, the associate director of learning initiatives at Centre for Reading and Writing (CRW) has a management background, and is 'banker-turned-entrepreneur' with more than 10 years of experience in financial services. She has been responsible for realizing initiatives like EPBL and ISP. According to her, EPBL is more of a universal pedagogical tool compared with PBL, especially at a university that also offers business/commerce/ humanities related courses. "The PBL methodology assumes that they go out and come back and do the theory," she said in an interview "but there are some courses that cannot have a possibility of this. There is something called action based learning: something new. Students engage through an activity. Could be a project, activity, discussion, case study, flipped classrooms, anything that engages the students…something that is not a lecture method and does not encourage rote learning. So, I thought of EPBL. It has gone through lot of iterations. The Vice Chancellor and the Dean of the management school ran through some versions. The Vice Chancellor used the word and I drew from the word and EPBL came from that. Ran pilots [two years ago] with 10 students and 4 faculty, and launched 3 courses in monsoon semester [again]." (excerpt from an interview from head of learning initiatives at UWG)

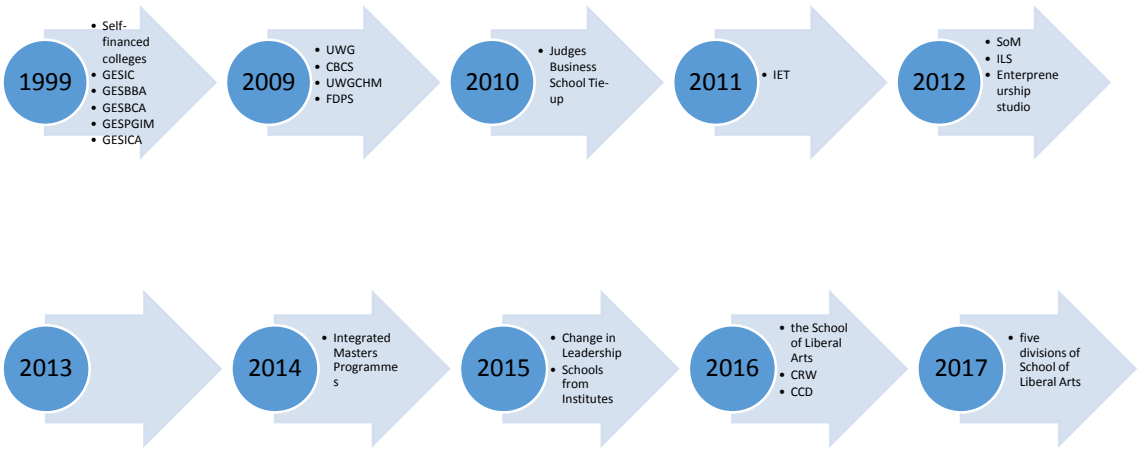
There are more than 20 EPBL courses being offered in the 2017 winter semester. The advancement of the experiments in pedagogy and learning have been realized in the formal establishment of a CRW on the campus, with the view to facilitate students in "acquisition of knowledge and skills with a focus to improve comprehension of concepts, ideas, world-views, values, and theories." The same Centre runs bridge courses for students to enhance reading and writing skills, apart from additional workshops and courses on the same lines. The Centre has plans to develop a parallel Writer's Clinic in the future to assist faculty members and students with research writing.

The faculty profile at the University has changed dramatically since 2015. In a single year 25 new faculty members, all with a significant number of publications, were brought into the University. Most of them hold degrees from universities abroad or have worked for some years in highly reputed universities abroad. "University implemented a tenured system with its *new* faculty to deepen its culture of research. UWG is one of the four institutions in the country that have a six year tenure process in place. The other three are Indian Institute of Science, The National Center for Biological Sciences, and ISB in Hyderabad" (an excerpt from VC's convocation address, emphasis added). The university also appointed a few distinguished professors in 2016, namely Prof S formerly with NUS and IIM Bangalore, Prof. E in Chemical Engineering from IIT Kanpur, Prof. S, former Governor of the Reserve Bank and Governor of Andhra Pradesh, and Prof. R, formerly with IIM Ahmedabad and current co-chair of the inter-governmental panel on climate change.

The university has established a University Research Committee (URC) that promotes faculty research, and student and staff research projects through internal funding (up to 2 lakhs for initiating new projects and up to 20 lakhs *startup grant* for newly recruited faculty). It also examines research proposals for external funding. The board also introduced an Undergraduate Research Programme last year that aimed to introduce undergraduates to an experience of mentored research, and of scholarship through involvement in designing and implementing a project.

The latest developments are a new Global Centre for Environment, and a School for Liberal Arts (SLA). The old School of Life Sciences functions now as a division of biological and life sciences). The school is to launch its first Masters programme in Economics in 2018, and an undergraduate programme in Liberal Arts in 2019. While the SLA is yet to function in its full capacity (currently there is only the division of

biological and life sciences), it plans to expand to five divisions: Humanities and Languages, Social Sciences, Mathematical and Physical Sciences, Biological and Life Sciences and Performing and Visual Arts. The SLA building designed by a distinguished architects S will be completed in early 2019 and occupy a prominent position, literally and otherwise, in the 180-acre campus of the University, bounded to the north by a green cover. All faculty members who have been appointed so far in SLA are holders of degrees from foreign universities. The inaugural dean of the School, Prof. R from the UK, is a historian, a biographer, 'a global researcher.' An eminent writer, he also holds the position of the Professor of the Public Humanities. In his welcome statement to the school he states that the next century is Asia's century, with global structures of economic, political and cultural power in flux. He also believes that it is also a time when demands for an overlay between the arts and sciences are greater than ever. "Our goal here is to change learning, and to motivate our students to change the world. As artificial intelligence and big data make complex moral and political demands on our understanding; as digital technology fundamentally changes music and the possibilities of art; as questions about the future of the environment spring up at the interstices of science and philosophy, we will seek to act as a bridge not only between the liberal arts and sciences, but between academic and intellectual life." I shall conclude this chapter with a rough timeline of the developments at UWG as discussed in this thick description.



The aspirations of the school to bridge the chasm mentioned at the beginning of this chapter between sciences and humanities, as well as the chasm between academic and intellectual life are remarkable and extremely relevant to our times. There is no denying the fact that important ethical questions/ awareness need to be addressed at the intersection of science and philosophy, education and economics, or management and literary studies, for example. The question though is: what are the dilemmas or challenges that exist for a School of Liberal Arts as it aspires to realize such a noble mission in a world where the triad of knowledge, application and impact have come to define the meaning of education. The concluding chapter of the thesis will address some of these; as it tries to articulate a much needed understanding of the humanities, its place and value in the times of supercomplexity.

[i]For a detailed analysis of the debate between Huxley and Matthew Arnold refer to Paul White's *Ministers of Culture: Arnold, Huxley and Liberal Anglican Reform of Learning* in History of Science, vol. 43, p.115-138

[ii]Rede Lecture, Cambridge Univesity by Matthew Arnold "Literature and Science" delivered in 1882, in reply to Thomas Henry Huxley "Science and Culture" delivered in Brimingham on 1 October 1880. www.bartleby.com/28/9/9.html,

[iii] Many later day works have focused on Leavis' critique of C.PSsnow to show.???? While Leavis was often criticized for his extremely personal attack on Snow, later critics maintain that many of the things that he says about C. P. Snow in terms of his literary genius or his scientific standing may well be true. If he was being sensational in his speech it was because he had to fight a text, which by then had acquired an iconic status. His attack, they believe, though laced with personal criticism was, at its heart, was opposing a utilitarian worldview that science was out to offer.

[iv]Explain what knowledge economy is. Who all have explained it.

[v] Employability: talk about the difference between employment and employability.

[vi]Even though the terms like "market share" were to appear crass to the practitioners of humanities, the fact remained that the humanities strong hold could not be taken for granted in an environment that was competitive, and fullof vocational tracks leading to particular job opportunities. It seemed obvious to Mark Bauerlein writing in 2010 that when the "Colleges and universities compete with one another for applicants, and programs that match the 21st century or promise quick employment after graduation make better promotional copy than do seminars on David Copperfield and David Hume."The way out of the crisis of the humanities that he proposed was to hold on to Plato, Leonardo, Woolf, in other words to tradition.

Another passionate plea that came for the humanities was from the President of Harvard Drew Faust in an article in New York Times in 2009. She recognised the diminishing role that the American universities play in adding value and critiquing values in a period driven by quick results and contended

A British council report showed how majority of leaders in the world held a degree in humanities or social science. https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/what-do-worlds-most-successful-people-study

Vinod Khosla: Is majoring in liberal arts a mistake for students?
Critical Thinking and the Scientific Process First—Humanities Later https://www.quora.com/Is-majoring-in-liberal-arts-a-mistake-for-college-students-today-Is-it-a-bad-idea-to-major-in-the-humanities

[vii] Martha Nussbaum notes that even in countries where the larger liberal arts structure does not exist, India, for example, there is a recognition of its need. She gives the example of the IITs and the inclusion of humanities courses in their syllabus. She does

not realize though that such departments of humanities remain on the periphery in these technological institution rather than becoming an integral part of them.

[viii]http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/05/education/05languages.html

"The University of Maine's president, Robert A. Kennedy, has recommended University of Nevada, Reno, students can no longer declare majors in German Studies or minors in Italian. At Winona State University in Minnesota, officials have placed a moratorium on new majors in French and German while it challenges the faculty to make those disciplines more relevant to the contemporary world.

Other schools, public and private, have recently eliminated or diluted the foreign-language component of their core curriculums. Starting next fall at the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences at the George Washington University, students will no longer have to take a foreign language to graduate, although they may use language courses to help fulfill a broader humanities requirement.

[ix] In Plato's *Phaedrus* there is a story about Thamus, the king of a great city of Upper Egypt. The story, as Socrates tells it to his friend Phaedrus, unfolds in the following way: Thamus once entertained the god Theuth, who was the inventor of many things, including number, calculation, geometry, astronomy, and writing. Theuth exhibited his inventions to King Thamus, claiming that they should be made widely known and available to Egyptians. Socrates continues:

Thamus inquired into the use of each of them and as Theuth went through them expressed approval or disapproval, according as he judged Theuth's claims to be well or ill founded. It would take too long to go through all that Thamus is reported to have said for and against each of Theuth's inventions. But when it came to writing, Theuth declared, "Here is an accomplishment, my lord the king, which will improve both the wisdom and the memory of the Egyptians. I have discovered a sure receipt for memory and wisdom." To this, Thamus replied, "Theuth, my paragon of inventors, the discoverer of an art is not the best judge of the good or harm which will accrue to those who practice it. So it is in this; you, who are the father of writing, have out of fondness for your off-spring attributed to it quite the opposite of the real function. Those who acquire it will cease to exercise their memory and become forgetful; they will rely on writing to bring things to their remembrance by external signs instead of by thir own internal resources. What you have discovered is a receipt for recollection, not for memory. And as for wisdom, your pupils will have the reputation for it without the reality: they will receive a quantity of information without proper instruction, and in consequence be thought very knowledgeable when they are filled with [put into end notes]the conceit of wisdom instead of real wisdom they will be a burden to society. (quoted in Postman 1993. P 3-4 as quoted in Plato Phaedrus and Letters VII and VIII, New York: Penguine Books, 1973 P.96)

[x]The trend towards skilling is also reflected in the reorganization of ministries at the Centre. In his article in Indian Express Ritika Chopra talks about shifting of schemes from HRD to other ministries in recent years. Many of the education schemes have been moved away from the purview of HRD to other Ministries; architecture has gone from HRD to Urban Development, and four schemes of polytechnics from HRD to Ministry of Skill Development. http://indianexpress.com/article/education/after-architecture-hrd-ministry-loses-polytechnic-too-4595853/

[xi]Martha Nussbaum says, "India's universities today, like those of Europe, have long been structured around the single-subject rather than the liberal arts paradigm. Tagore's university, Visva-Bharti (which means "All-the-world"), was taken over by the government, and now it is just like any other single-subject-model universitity, largely aiming at market impact." (Nussbaum. Page)

[xii] The self-financed institutes Som Lalit and L. J., GLS, Chimanbhai Patel were all established before GESIC became self-financed. There were two three others which had received govt. permission to set up self-financed institutions. Gujarat University were decision makers. They appropriated them through power and authority…all GSL and CP all were hand in glove. They gave themselves these institutions. The govt. threw it open. We realized that it was a good source of income. The fees were less till then. The dispensation was that the government will decide intake, fees, faculty appointment, faculty salary and all that. Management will just need to foot the bill to run a decent institution. (Retired Prof. R). Overnight we decided we would launch BBA, BCA and BCom programme. There was a lot of resistance as they were worried that their value will be eroded. GES was never hand in glove with other managements. GES was always looked upon as a rival. HL was always viewed as a rival with a strong record of academic performance. There was a lot of politics that was played out at that time. Making sure that people did not seek admission. There were people preventing it. GES had not thought about it. Pathak sir had gone and convinced Shrenikbhai to go in this direction was in the interest of the society. There will be no financial burden but will in fact be a source of income. This is how the management was convinced to apply for that. -- From an interview with Prof. I

[xiii] "Prof. B was the major force. For a few years we have been working on it. There was a lot of frustration on the way in which everything was being controlled. From enrollments, courses that were offered. There was no question of doing anything more than what we wanted to do. There was a lot of time that we took to discuss and finalize the decision. Management took a lot of time in deliberating, discussing, debating, crystalizing, and writing up the act. The management took some time. Everyone in the management was active at that time and wanting to set up a good educational institutions and was becoming aware of the constraints that made uplifting of academic standards". –from an interview with Prof. I, former director of the management school.

[xiv]See Jandhyala B G Tilak. 2010. A Weak Attempt to Curb Unfair Practices in Higher Education. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 45, No. 38 (SEPTEMBER 18-24, 2010), pp. 19-21

[xv] See http://www.financialexpress.com/education-2/how-a-private-university-is-trying-to-carve-niche-in-todays-competitive-academic-arena/690310/)

[xvi] Financial Express: May 29, 2017 http://www.financialexpress.com/education-2/how-a-private-university-is-trying-to-carve-niche-in-todays-competitive-academic-arena/690310/

[xvii]This is made possible through consistent collaborations with peers in a Project-based environment. ISP makes sure that learning is not trivialised and academic rigour remains uncompromised. ISP courses have the following characteristics:

- Designed around a passion or interest of a student
- Cross-disciplinary boundaries
- Driven by theory
- Promoting learning by doing

An example of one such ISP course offered during the last term is "Making of a Musical Instrument". It became a way for students to not just pursue their interest in music but also fabricating and handling of materials, develop a deeper understanding of concepts of Physics & the Science behind Sound, and of course collaborative learning & organizational skills.

A range of ISP courses are offered through December, instead of regular curricular periods including: block courses; studio-inspired experiential courses; perspective, skill building and field courses; innovative experiments in learning and more. All courses are credit-based and students are required to register for a minimum number of credits as part of ISP. The courses are rooted in disciplines like literature, sociology, design, science, technology, heritage, humanities & languages and more but cut across areas and specialisations. (from the director of learning initiatives at UWG)