

competed in terms of RAE in 1992, 1996, and 2001.

The sample includes 165 British university presidents, those who have led the 55 institutions over approximately a 20-year period. Again, the focus is on presidents' lifetime citations, normalized for discipline and used as a proxy measure of each individual leader's past research productivity.

EVIDENCE OF CAUSAL LINK

The longitudinal study uncovers evidence consistent with the existence of a causal relationship between the research ability of a leader and the future performance of the university. Thus, across the nine years, universities led by better scholars went

The longitudinal study uncovers evidence consistent with the existence of a causal relationship between the research ability of a leader and the future performance of the university.

on to perform better in terms of RAE measurements. The data indicate that the top-performing institutions were disproportionately led by presidents with higher lifetime citations. Put simply, of the total 55 universities in the sample, the 10 percent that improved the most were led by presidents with average lifetime citations that were four and a half times higher than those of presidents who led the 10 percent of universities that improved the least.

SCHOLARSHIP OR MANAGEMENT?

Scholarship does not serve merely as a proxy for either management experience or leadership skills. Of the 165 presidents in this study most were either deputy-heads or had led major centers and laboratories before their step to the top position. Maybe a different question to ask is does management matter more than scholarship?

Twenty-three leaders of UK and US research universities were interviewed. The majority defined leadership as setting the overall direction and planning the execution of strategy. Interestingly, the leaders interviewed overwhelmingly saw themselves as responsible for developing university strategy, albeit admitting that a process of consultation followed.

Increasingly, UK university presidents are trying to centralize decision making, a customary US structure. Many regarded making decisions by committee both inefficient and untenable. Commonly, they also expressed frustration at not being able to appoint members of their own top management team. Deputies, deans, and even heads of departments were traditionally appointed by committees of academics, with numbers sometimes as high as 100. Most of the interviewed leaders had successfully changed the process of appointing top teams in their organization, allowing leaders greater powers of selection.

While most saw it as essential for presidents to have had

some experience, they clearly felt that, when needed, many areas of managerial expertise could be brought in.

WHY MIGHT SCHOLARSHIP MATTER?

The root of this question is about context—namely, does leading a university differ greatly from leading any other organization? Of the 165 presidents in this study only eight were not career academics. To explain the faculty leadership norm among UK research universities, university presidents cited three general themes. The first was about the importance of gaining credibility and respect from peers. It was suggested that a good scholar will appear more credible, which enhanced a leader's influence. Second, leaders needed to act as the arbiters of quality—to set the institutions' academic standards. Therefore, in the words of one leader, "the standard-bearer has to first bear the standard." Finally, leadership required fully understanding the university's business and culture, a capacity they felt was not easily achieved by nonacademics nor, to a lesser degree, by those who gave up research a decade earlier. It was also suggested that being a scholar signals that a leader may well sympathize with the needs of other scholars.

CONCLUSION

Earlier research has uncovered a pattern showing that top universities and business schools are led by top scholars. A recent longitudinal study has started to reveal a causal relationship between the former research success of a university president and the future performance of the respective university. This evidence suggests that research universities need more than managers to lead them, specifically, that universities are organizations requiring leaders to have expertise from within the academy. The appropriate level of scholarship for a leader may, ultimately, depend on the ambitions of a university. ■

Private Tutoring in India

PAWAN AGARWAL

Pawan Agarwal is a visiting scholar at the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, Core 6A, India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110003, India. E-mail: pawan.agarwal06@gmail.com.

India has a tiny quality sector in higher education. The seven Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and six Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) are at the top of this quality hierarchy. With a strong meritocratic tradition, these institutions are ranked among the most highly selective higher education institutions in the world. Entry into many other medical, engineering, and management institutions is just as difficult. As a result of strong linkages between admission to these insti-

tutions and later life opportunities, these institutions have high-stakes entrance exams. Strategic interventions by students and parents to improve performance on these tests have stimulated a rapid growth of private tutoring in India.

CHANGING PATTERNS

There is a long tradition of private tutoring in India. Earlier, a teacher used to make some money by teaching a gathering of 10 to 15 students in a makeshift classroom in his house after school. He solicited students through word of mouth. (This home-based private tutoring is referred to as “private tuitions.”) This form of tutoring essentially provided remedial classes for academically weak students.

The focus on admissions exams of reputed institutions and a plethora of tests for entry into government and the public sector has now transformed the tutoring business. Prime commercial addresses with spacious classrooms capable of accom-

There is a long tradition of private tutoring in India.

modating hundreds of students and specialized, full-time teachers are now offered. Classrooms are now air-conditioned and equipped with modern teaching aids and comfortable furniture. Customized education packages, glossy brochures, and a complete marketing strategy for promotion are provided. Though this continues to be a largely urban phenomenon, private tutoring has made inroads in rural areas as well.

No longer a covert job, private tutoring has become a booming industry. This organized private tutoring is referred to as coaching classes in India. Big private players—such as FIIT JEE, IMS, Career Launcher, and Career Point—have nationwide franchise operations. Some of these firms are even offering coaching to students in the United States.

Many coaching centers are bad and indifferent, charge heavy fees, and prey on the anxieties of parents. Teachers from regular schools moonlight at these centers and use quasi-blackmail methods to exact demand for tutoring from their regular students. However, other centers are well organized, have specialized tutors, and use instructional guidebooks and materials, provide customized programs, conduct periodic assessment of students’ progress, and provide students with diagnostic feedback. Some centers develop their own teaching and practice materials and provide guidance and information services.

Private tutoring has become a significant portion of household spending. Some of the big players have estimated the market potential of organized coaching in India, for a number of competitive exams alone, at Rs. 70 billion (US\$1.6 billion), nearly half of what the government spends on higher education annually. Spending levels for home-based private tutoring are much higher than for classes at coaching centers.

IS PRIVATE TUTORING BAD?

In a 1999 nationwide survey, two-thirds of the people expressed the opinion that coaching institutes flourish because of the poor quality of education; nearly 90 percent stated that even the best students feel the need for systematic coaching. Ninety percent of parents were even prepared to pay the high fees for private tutoring since they felt that this would be an essential investment in their children’s future. While no systematic study has been conducted on the influence of private tutoring on student performance, the fact that nearly 60 percent of students who qualified for admission to IITs in 2004 had received some form of private tutoring seems to suggest that there is a linkage.

Private tutoring in India has become one of the most important, yet unacknowledged, factors in children’s performance on the high-stakes entry tests. The inability of families from the lower-income population to spend much on tutoring results in inequalities in academic competitiveness, particularly in rural areas. This situation skews the class-mix in higher education, particularly in institutions with competitive entrance exams.

Moreover, private tutoring appears to cause some problems—including a weakening of students’ self-directed learning capabilities, students’ low engagement in classroom teaching, and undue pressures (both financial and psychological) on parents as well as students. Private tutoring also increases inequalities in access to highly selective higher education institutions. The tutoring culture is making education a unifocal exam-oriented activity. Instead of imparting a holistic education, it force-feeds students with knowledge to get high marks but does not enhance the questioning, reasoning, or analytical ability so vital to meeting the challenges of life.

This phenomenon can be observed in other countries. The effectiveness of Japan’s school system in teaching difficult subjects like math and science is often attributed to the widespread use of after-school tutoring known as *juku* and *yobiko* in Japan. In Korea, high levels of family expenditure on private tutoring (*hakwon*) is believed to have the salutary effect of ensuring high academic achievement on the part of Korean students, particularly their high science and math scores.

Considering these factors, it is difficult to say whether private tutoring is definitely bad. Tutoring appears to fill a vacuum left by a grossly inadequate formal school system. Though only a few thousand students may get entry into the limited number of quality institutions, competition tends to push up the science and math skills of a large section of the student population that aspires for entry into these highly selective institutions. This may be providing a competitive edge to the workforce from India. For this reason, it would be inappropriate to dismiss private tutoring totally.

CONCLUSION

The growing dissatisfaction of parents with the formal school system and their realization that bad exam results will doom the life chances of their offspring will further stimulate the

growth of private tutoring. With the emergence of mass private tutoring, distinction between formal and informal learning would get blurred. Private tutoring costs will occupy a significant proportion of household expenditure on education. Efforts to control or monitor private tutoring are likely to meet with only limited success.

Several measures could be taken to cope with the growing incidence of private tutoring. These could include making teachers in the formal school system more accountable and the schools qualitatively more competitive; reviewing the selection criteria for entry to higher education institutions; and, finally, supporting students from poor households and in rural areas so that they are better prepared for entry to reputed and highly competitive higher education institutions.

Since it is not feasible to control supplementary private tutoring and perhaps not even desirable to curb it, considering that it might be raising the country's average levels of achievement, the best option is to adopt a coping strategy that takes care of its negative consequences. ■

Trends in American Academic Work and Careers

MARTIN FINKELSTEIN

Martin Finkelstein is professor of higher education at Seton Hall University. Address: Seton Hall University, 418 Jubilee Hall, South Orange, NJ 07079, USA. E-mail: finkelma@shu.edu.

In 1994, Jack Schuster and I launched an ambitious project on the future of the American faculty. Retrospectively, we sought to comb the available evidence provided by three decades of national faculty surveys in the United States (mostly in the public domain) to trace empirically the trends in academic work and careers. Prospectively, we sought to place these trends into the context of seismic shifts in the global economy and the mission of higher education and provide an explanation of the dizzying concatenation of trends we were seeing. The fruits of that project were recently published as *The American Faculty* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

All in all, the last 30 years have probably seen changes in the American system on a historically unprecedented scale. Since the 1960s, American faculty have grown from a corps of some 300,000 to nearly 1.2 million. The sheer magnitude of this growth has been accompanied by a shift in the overall shape and character of the profession.

INSTITUTIONAL AND DISCIPLINARY VENUES

The center of gravity of the American academic professions

has shifted from the university sector (from about half of the whole in 1970 to about 40 percent today) to the two-year community college sector (from about 10 percent in 1970 to 20 percent today) and the public four-year college sector. Moreover, the center of gravity has also shifted from the traditional arts and science fields to the professions. Indeed, the majority of newly hired faculty in the past decade are in the professions.

DEMOGRAPHY

The proportion of women in the academic professions has

The center of gravity of the American academic professions has shifted from the university sector (from about half of the whole in 1970 to about 40 percent today) to the two-year community college sector (from about 10 percent in 1970 to 20 percent today) and the public four-year college sector.

increased overall from about 17 to 35 percent since 1970. However, if one examines new entrants to the academic professions over the past decade, one finds that about 45 percent are women; and in some fields in the humanities and social sciences as well as some professions such as education, the majority of newly entering faculty are female. At the same time there have been notable, albeit less dramatic, increases in the representation of foreign-born faculty (especially Asians and especially in the natural sciences and engineering) and faculty from racial and ethnic minority groups (Asian, Black, and Hispanic).

NEW TYPES OF APPOINTMENTS

While about 45 percent of current college teachers in the United States are employed part time, over the past decade and largely under the radar screen of most observers colleges and universities in the United States have been engaged as well in the restructuring of *full-time* faculty appointments. Nominally, that restructuring has involved the introduction of a parallel system of fixed-term contracts alongside the traditional tenure system for full-time faculty.

This parallel system of full-time, fixed-term contracts has grown rapidly. Since 1993, the majority of new full-time faculty hired in US higher education institutions have been appointed *off* the tenure track. This new type of full-time appointment differs not only (or even primarily) from traditional tenure appointments in contract duration but also in function. These appointments involve more specialized roles that differ from the Humboldtian model of a single individual playing a functionally integrated (teaching, research, and service) role—thus supporting a largely tacit, unexamined depar-