Chapter 1

Introduction
Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The period since 1991 has witnessed an extensive change in the composition of teaching community in the institutions of higher education in India. Temporary/ad hoc and contractual teachers are increasingly being appointed in colleges and other institutions of higher education (Chanana 2007, Pay Review Committee of the UGC 2008, Gauri and Robinson, 2010). Financial constraints in many colleges and universities have led to the hedging of their commitment to long term employment of full time tenure track faculty (Leslie 1998). This group of faculty which is hired on contractual / temporary basis falls outside the traditional academic protection of regularity of job. The features of casual/contractual and temporary jobs are as follows.

- These jobs are non-regular.
- The salaries are less than those of teachers working on regular basis.
- These jobs are not secure.
- No social security benefits
- Career growth opportunities are very limited.
- There is no surety of any increments in salary.
- There are no unions to protect their interests and bargain on their behalf.

This practice of hiring teachers on contract impacts the earning, prestige, social status and job satisfaction of teachers (Gauri and Robinson, 2010). Various researchers have termed the trend of hiring contractual/part time/temporary/ad hoc faculty in colleges and universities as casualisation of jobs (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Nelson and Watt 1999; EI 2009).

Casualisation of faculty in higher educational institutions has implications both for teaching and learning. Uncertainty of job and irregularity of income make the position of teachers in the institutions very vulnerable. Scholars have researched the privatization of higher education largely from the point of view of the students and not much has been analyzed from the view point of faculty. The issue gains further significance because a majority of casual/contractual jobs are held by women. As such, there is a need to analyze the current situation from a feminist perspective as well. The focus of this study is to examine the socio-economic implications of casualisation of jobs in higher education and their impact on the empowerment of women teachers in the colleges of Haryana. The issue has drawn
attention since a silent change is taking place in the institutions of higher education. Full time permanent and regular jobs are being replaced by temporary, ad hoc, contractual and part-time jobs.

A predominant reason for the increase in the hiring of teachers on contractual/ad-hoc/temporary basis is the continuous decline in spending on faculty recruitment in higher education by state governments. In India, the reduction in spending on higher education started with the introduction of neo-liberal policies or introduction of pro-market policies in the early 90s. The subsidy which was earlier given to higher education was placed in the non-merit category and along with many other changes the composition of the teaching staff also underwent a sea change. Faced with a cash-crunch, the institutions started hiring more and more teachers on contractual/ad-hoc/temporary basis.

The same kind of change took place much earlier in the western countries, more specifically in the US, Canada, Australia and several other countries. In the US and other western countries, teachers that work full time and on regular basis are termed as tenured faculty while the rest are called non-tenure track faculty. They are also known variously as contingent faculty or adjunct faculty. Contingent faculty are defined as not only non-tenure track part time faculty but also others who lack full faculty status, including full time fixed term faculty and post-doctoral researchers (American Association of University Professors, 2006). While defining the contingent academic faculty, Benjamin (2003) emphasizes the importance of a ‘tenuous connection’ between the individual and the institution, leaving the individual with no expectation of being reappointed, no opportunity to appeal and no explanation. Many researchers (Gappa 1984; Leslie 1998; Schuster and Finkelstien 2006) reference the increasing use of contingent faculty in the US system of higher education. Contingent faculty is not a monolithic group; part and full time non-tenure track faculty is included in it. According to the American Federation of Teachers (2009), only 3 out of every 10 faculty are on tenure track which implies that 70% of the faculty is contingent. This growing phenomenon can also be linked to neo-liberal global trends that have resulted in the commoditization of education as another product or service found in a market driven economy (Zabudsky, 2008).

Contingent faculty exists in both the publicly funded as well as private-for-profit institutes. The impact on the lives and working conditions of the teaching community can be
seen in unequal wages for equal work, uncertainty of jobs, lack of job security and benefits, limited opportunities for professional development, no collective bargaining, reduced social status and prestige, lack of academic freedom and unfair treatment by the institution and low self-esteem and self-worth of teachers.

As stated earlier, the purpose of this research is to examine the socio-economic implications of casual jobs in higher education and their impact on the empowerment of women teachers. To that effect, the research includes the study of the impact of the casualisation of teachers in terms of the well-being, satisfaction and empowerment of women teachers working on such positions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The issue which led to our interest in the present study is that the expansion in the number of higher educational institutions in recent years has led to an increase in the job opportunities for those interested in an academic career. But employment arrangements or options are not the same as they were earlier. Jhabvala and Sinha(2002) note that one of the major debates today is the casualisation of jobs; it displaces the better paid and more protected workers and increases insecure and low paid jobs. The number of employment opportunities created by casualisation is certainly more but those so employed find themselves in worse conditions.

Casual, contractual and temporary jobs are on the rise in the absence of any government support and intervention in the aided and private academic institutions. It has been observed that women are proportionately in larger numbers in casual jobs. Women have suffered for a long time due to gender biases operating in the society. Government, planners and policy makers are aware of the issue and have introduced various legislative measures as well to empower women. Education and employment are the two acknowledged pillars which can enhance the empowerment of women. Now our interest is to see how the casual jobs of women teachers have impacted their empowerment.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the empowerment of women teachers working on casual/contractual basis. In order to see how and why this process of casualisation grew in the higher education sector, we need to go through the historical background of the higher education sector and the changed philosophy of the government in the present scenario.
The following section of the present chapter deals with the growth and changes in the approach of the government towards the higher education sector. After that the concept of casualisation has been delineated in detail. The term casualisation and its various dimensions have been one of the focal points of our study and that is why it needed to be explained in detail in a separate section. In order to clarify the term empowerment and how it has been used by earlier researchers, we have devoted a section to go into the varied meanings and variables which impinge on teacher empowerment.

1.3 Historical Context and Present State Analysis of Higher Education

To develop a better understanding of the impact of casualisation of teaching jobs in the sphere of higher education in India, it is pertinent to explore the trends in the growth and development of the higher education institutions and their present status in the country. In India, the higher education sector has seen both qualitative and quantitative expansion. Srivastva (2008) tracks the beginnings of higher education institutions as follows:

“In the modern times in India the first universities in the three presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were formed in 1857 and were followed by Universities in Lahore and Allahabad in 1882 and 1887 respectively. Later on a few universities such as BHU (1916), Viswabarti (1921), AMU (1920) and Delhi University and large number of colleges were set up by philanthropic efforts of a few and some support from the government” (p. 277).

While charitable and philanthropic sources of finance were important in the context of funding higher education from the very beginning, the role of state finance (central and state) increased significantly in the post-independence period (Srivastva, 2007). Tilak (2005) posits that in traditional societies no economic return was expected from education and it was considered a public good having a huge set of externalities benefiting not only an individual but also the whole society. These externalities covered all aspects of a civilized society be they economic, social, political, cultural or technological. The presence of externalities justified public investment in the field of education and increase in productivity of labour, social peace and harmony, creation of wealth and all other benefits of education were accepted as the reasons for the state to take care of this sector.
Vaizey (1962 p 23, as cited by Tilak 2005) observed that “there is a long and honorable tradition from Adam Smith to Alfred Marshall which assigns to publicly supported education a major role not only in promoting social peace and harmony and self-improvement but in the process of wealth creation itself”. Thelin (2004) states that the golden period of college and university teachers in the United States of America (USA) was between 1945 and 1970 when the teachers accumulated the biggest gain in incomes, power, prestige and protection. During this golden period, the Federal Government increased the funding drastically from $ 2.2 billion in 1945 to $ 23.4 billion in 1970 (Bender, 1997). A major consequence of the increase in funding was that the faculty in every college and university came under the protection of tenure. However, the period subsequent to the 1970s witnessed a continuous decline in the percentage of tenured faculty in the US. While the roots of contingent academic employment go back many decades and surged in early 70s, it was not until the 80s that the higher education community really began to notice that contingency had exploded to a level of concern, marked by radically reduced level of wages, frequent lack of access to benefits, limited access to professional support and opportunities for advancement, and institutional disrespect making contingency one of higher education’s darker secrets.

India too followed the same tradition and funding towards higher education was predominantly seen as a government function which was consistent with an appropriate role of the government and the concept of welfare economics. As per the Constitution of India, all education, including university education, is the responsibility of the states and the role of the Central government is limited to performing two functions: coordinating and determining standards. The University Grants Commission (UGC) and The Ministry of Human Resource Development establish broad guidelines for higher education. However, the adoption and implementation of the guidelines is the responsibility of the respective state governments. The UGC, which came into existence in 1953, became a statutory body of the Government of India by legislation in 1956. Section 12 of The UGC Act provides that the UGC shall in consultation with the concerned universities take all steps as it may think fit for the promotion and coordination of university education and for the maintenance of standards in teaching, examination and research. The UGC serves as a vital link between the Union and state governments and institutions of higher learning (UGC, 2012).
In our Constitution the sector of education comes in the Concurrent List. The broad guidelines for higher education are given by the UGC and Human Resource Ministry, and their adoption is left to the respective state governments since most of the funding is to be done by the states (Singh, 2004 pp 2155). The funding model is determined by the type of institution. On the basis of ownership, management and the type and amount of funding received from the state government, the colleges can be classified as government, aided or private. The following flow chart provides a visual representation of the three types of colleges.

**Figure 1.1: Types of Colleges in India**

- **Government Colleges** (owned and managed by State Government)
- **Private Aided Colleges** (owned by private trusts and societies but receiving aid from the government)
- **Private Colleges (Self Financing) and Institutes** (run on corporate lines by private entrepreneurs)

The government colleges are completely funded by the state government. State universities and their affiliated colleges funded by the government are predominant in the sphere of higher education with 86 percent of the students enrolled in them for graduate programmes (UGC, 2012). General Course Arts, Science and Commerce colleges form a majority of such colleges in India. The report by (FICCI, 2009) says that of all the colleges 65.5 percent are general colleges. A large number of general colleges are under the overall purview of the UGC. The professional colleges including engineering, medical, pharmacy, law, management and colleges of education fall under the purview of various bodies like the All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), the Medical Council of India, and the Bar Council of India etc.

Privately managed colleges may receive some or no funding from the state governments. The former are called aided colleges. Such colleges are privately managed and mostly run by trusts with religious or sectarian identities that invest in the capital costs of the
college but have their recurring expenses including staff salaries paid for by the state governments (Chandrasekharan, 2011, p. 25). These colleges are, generally speaking, affiliated to a state funded university.

Finally, there are entrepreneurial based for-profit private colleges that receive no funds from the state governments. Such colleges depend totally on their own funds; capital costs as well as recurring expenses are borne by the college. These are also termed for-profit institutes which are run more like the corporate sector, meeting the demands of customers (students) by providing courses which can provide jobs and charge high fee in comparison to government and aided colleges and consider teachers as knowledge workers from whom surplus value can be extracted by getting more output and paying less. Today, India ranks third in the world in terms of student enrolment preceded only by the US and China. With 28,519 institutions, India ranks first in terms of the number of institutions (FICCI, 2010). In fact, according to another report by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI, 2009), the rapid growth of higher educational institutions has taken place in the last decade only. Table 1.1 captures the growth of colleges and universities which form a subset of the institutions of higher education in India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Colleges</th>
<th>Number of Universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>1,542</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>3,604</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>4,738</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>7,346</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>12,806</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>32,023</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-13</td>
<td>35,513</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Higher Education in India at a Glance (March 2012), UGC

Haryana came into existence in 1966 and at the time of its inception there were only 6 polytechnics and only one engineering college. Since then a massive expansion has taken place in the number of higher educational colleges and institutes. The increase can be seen in both the government funded (aided and unaided) institutes as well as privately funded institutes. The exponential growth in the number of colleges and institutes in the private sector in recent years has belied the earlier belief of the policy makers and economists in the public funded system of higher education. It clearly indicates the quantitative rise and growth of
higher education in Haryana. Table 1.2 provides an overview of the increase in the number of institutions in Haryana.

**Table 1.2: Number of Higher Education Institutions in Haryana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of College/Institute</th>
<th>Number of Colleges/Institutes (January 2012)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aided B. Ed. Colleges</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaided B. Ed. Colleges</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Degree Colleges</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided Degree Colleges</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaided Degree Colleges</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaided Law Degree Colleges</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Colleges (Government funded University Departments)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Engineering Colleges</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Institutes (Government funded University Departments)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Management Institutes</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)Total of all Government and Government aided Institutions</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)Total of all Private/ Self-financed Institutions</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Directorate General of Higher Education, Haryana (2012)*

If the number of colleges and institutes has increased, there is considerable evidence to indicate that there has been a corresponding increase in public funds approved for on higher education in Haryana. Table 1.3 shows that funding for higher education is not increasing consistently, rather in the year 2011-12 the approved spending on higher education has come down from the level of 2007-2008.

**Table 1.3: Expenditure on Higher Education in Haryana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Funds (in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>22.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>109.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>1,022.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>5,093.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>7,935.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>13,135.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>24,455.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>25,459.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>23,100.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>18,306.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12(approved)</td>
<td>21,100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistical Abstract of Haryana 2011-12*
According to Srivastva (2008), the unprecedented expansion in the number of colleges and universities and opening up of this sector to private initiative has led to new developments which have given rise to various new issues. The 80s and 90s initiated a complete change in which the free market philosophy replaced the welfare state paradigm (Tilak, 2005) and education was no longer the domain controlled and managed completely by public funding. As a result, all over the world changes are now visible in the funding pattern of higher educational institutions.

Chanana (2004) expresses her worry about the change in the relationship between the universities and the state that has happened in the Indian context after 90s. One of the key features of this changed relationship is the reduced funding from government which has caused the institutions to expand their financial resources either from the open market or from students through enhanced fee. Some universities have been downsized and the jargon of efficiency and accountability which was earlier reserved for the corporate sector has come to be used for the education sector as well. At one time it was thought that with a majority of institutions of higher education being governed and administered by private non-profit trusts/societies with public funding, decision making was driven more by service-oriented and democratic criteria. But it is not so anymore. The realm of higher education is equally subject to the interests and objectives that govern the corporate sector. This growing trend can be linked to neo-liberal global trends that are resulting in commoditization of education as another product or service found in the market driven economy (Zabdusky, 2008). The chief business of higher education has become business and as in any other business the entrepreneur institutions try to maximize profits and returns and minimize expenses. In his doctoral thesis, Berry Joe (2002) provides a substantive analysis of the state of higher education institutions in the USA. According to him, “Private sector is running institutes like corporations treating teachers like labour by saving on whose wages and benefits they improve the “bottom lines” and also the increased “just in time flexibility”. India has also adopted privatization and liberalization policies from 1991 onwards. “Liberalization changed India from a democracy organized around a planned economy to a democracy with increasingly free market principles” (Gauri and Robinson, 2010). Along with many other sectors, the higher education sector has also changed beyond recognition. One of the
implications of the changes in higher education is manifest in the increase in the number of ad-hoc/casual/contract teachers in colleges and universities.

A majority of the state universities put a hiring freeze in place during the 90s. As a result, a significant number of the appointments today are contractual/temporary/part time for a defined short term and pay low salary and non-existent benefits. The entire education system at such universities is being run by the contingent faculty and it has caused dramatic changes in the nature of the workforce in the universities in terms of compromising academic freedom and autonomy. In a narrowing space for jobs and careers, the influence of regular faculty has increased while the contingent faculty is left out of the loop. Chanana (2007, p. 15) opines that the worst sufferers in such a scenario are state universities and affiliated colleges. She calls it a silent change because there has been no meaningful nationwide discussion on it (Chanana, 2007). It is evident in the ‘new academic generation’ (Finkelstein et al., 1998) of new hires, a growing percentage of which are off the tenure track and are women and minorities, meaning that there is a gendered and raced dimension to the changing working conditions of professors in the new economy and in the negotiation between employees and employers to define those conditions.

The University Grants Commission (2011) in its report on the expansion of higher education acknowledges that over the years the state universities and their affiliated colleges, including the affiliated aided colleges, have played an important role in improving access to higher education and nearly 85 percent of students are enrolled in these colleges. However, these aided educational institutions run as trusts or societies are de facto for profit institutions. Chandrasekharan (2011, p25) comments that the aided colleges neither provide quality education nor are responsive to the labour market needs. She further states that the funding model for such colleges follows pseudo privatization that in the long run is quite profitable for the managing trusts.

Changes in the funding approaches to aided colleges are imminent as reflected in the Approach Paper to the 12th Plan prepared by the Planning Commission. The paper refers to the fact that currently aided colleges are required to comply with the rules and regulations stipulated by their respective state governments. However, the paper indicates a proposed change by which the government will reexamine the not-for-profit tag and review the provision of financial assistance to these privately managed but publically aided institutions.
This proposed change in public policy has been appropriately captured by Tilak (2012) when he comments, “education which by definition and nature has been a de jure a not for profit sector until now is likely to be converted into de jure for profit sector”.

It is evident that the dominant perspective shaping public policy is neo-liberalism, emphasizing the reduction of public sector subsidies, the increased intersection between public and private sectors, with public entities becoming more responsible for generating more of their own revenues and more accountable for their productivity and efficiency. Higher education is moving away from its cultural and public goods function as well as from promoting social justice and social trust between higher education, state and society (Slaughter and Leslie 1997 cited by Chanana 2007). The result is what Slaughter and Rhoades (2004, p 11) call academic capitalism which describes the phenomenon of market driven pressures that transform education from operating for the public good to operating within a competitive industry. The authors define academic capitalism as “pursuit of market and market like activities to generate external revenues, with an analysis that focuses on the blurring of boundaries among markets, states and higher education”.

For more than a decade or so, most state governments have virtually ceased to expand the list of government aided institutions, thereby increasing the percentage of “self-financed” or “private unaided institutions”. The presence of private unaided colleges was at first most noted in professional and technical education. However, even in general education there is now a mushrooming of private, self-financing colleges. In one university alone (Kanpur University in UP), the number of such colleges outnumbered state assisted colleges in the ratio of 3:1(Srivastva, 2007, p 812).

The National Knowledge Commission (NKC, 2006) rightly draws attention to overhauling the college system which is the backbone of higher education since the vast majority of students are college students. However, the biggest hurdle in this regard is the vacancies lying vacant and filled up on casual basis in order to save the financial burden on account of salary and other payments to teachers. And the evidence of vacancies being filled by casual teachers is not limited to just one university. Many universities are behaving in the same fashion.

Hatekar (2010) reports that the University of Bombay, one of the oldest universities, and declared as having potential for excellence, is having on average faculty strength of four
in various departments. Other state universities also have average faculty strength of 5-5.5. Though there is a strong need for large scale recruitment of faculty in higher educational institutions necessitated by long term de jure and de facto banning of recruitment, many universities are severely starved of faculty (Tilak, 2007). The Report of Special Task Force constituted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Aug 2011, TOI) has estimated that there is 54 percentage shortage of faculty in higher educational institutions. Among affiliated colleges Himachal Pradesh has the highest teachers’ jobs lying vacant at 33 percent. The Pay Review Committee of the UGC (2008) has also raised the important issue of vacancies lying vacant both in colleges and universities. The situation is grim for entry level jobs in colleges where 41 percent of positions at Lecturer level and 18 percent at Reader level are lying unfilled. These vacant positions are being filled by employing teachers on ad hoc and contractual basis. The sample of colleges and universities, which was taken up by the Pay Review Committee of the UGC, found that out of every 100 lecturers in colleges 38 were part time contract lecturers. In private aided colleges the incidence of contractual teachers was the highest. The report further mentioned that the manner in which such part time, ad-hoc or contractual teachers are employed giving service break during vacations for many appointees and the pittance that is paid out to them in the name of salary, though in most cases they are selected through a properly constituted selection committee, is a matter of serious concern. And the Damocles’ sword keeps hanging over their heads. The moot point in all these categories of jobs is non-permanence and insecurity of jobs and meager salaries.

1.4 Definitions
The following section provides the definitions of all the terms used in the study.

1.4.1 Concept of Casualisation
Apart from regular and permanent teachers, the other segment of teachers being hired in colleges and institutes is that of the casual teachers. In the western countries the words which have been usually used for such faculty are non-tenured faculty (Savage 2004). Tenure has been defined by Oxford English Dictionary as “guaranteed tenure of office, as right granted to the holder of a position(usually in a university or school) after a probationary period and protecting him against dismissal in most circumstances”, and tenured as an “official position usually in a university or school carrying a guarantee of permanent
employment until retirement”. Webster defines tenure as “a status granted usually after a probationary period to one holding a position especially as a teacher and protecting him from dismissal except for serious misconduct or incompetence determined by formal hearing or trial”.

The process of casualisation of higher education started much earlier in the U.S., Canada and Australia where teaching jobs are bifurcated as tenured and non-tenured. The basic distinction between the two is directly linked to the security of job. Non-tenured teachers are those teachers who do not have permanent and ongoing employment relationship with their employers.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, teachers hired on non-tenured basis are also known as casual teachers, part time faculty, guest faculty, adjunct faculty, and contingent faculty. In Australia such academics who do not hold permanent tenured positions are variously called casual, non-continuous, sessional or part time staff. Though Gappa (1984) acknowledges that contingent faculty can be difficult to define, she (1993) later attempts to categorize it in four ways:

**Table 1.4: Overview of Gappa’s Classification of Contingent Faculty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Contingent Faculty</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Specialists             | • Full time job outside academia  
|                            | • Interested in sharing knowledge |
| 2. Freelancers             | • Working part-time in different institutes |
| 3. Career enders           | • Retired or nearing retirement  
|                            | • Interested in networking opportunities in the academic world |
| 4. Aspiring academics      | • At the beginning of their career  
|                            | • Use casual/part-time jobs to find full-time/tenured appointments |

*Source: Gappa (1993)*

1) **Specialists, Experts or Professionals**: Those that have full time employment outside academia and teach to share their experience, to network with community members and to repay the psychological debt to an educator from the past.

2) **Freelancers**: Those that are employed in two or more part time jobs or a regular full time job at another college and supplement their income by working as contingent faculty.
3) **Career Enders**: Professionals who are near or at the end of their work lives but want to maintain contact with the professional world.

4) **Aspiring Academics**: Those that are usually at the outset of their academic careers and intend to use casual jobs as a way to earn income while exploring full time job opportunities.

The main focus of the present study is the fourth type of contingent faculty who are aspiring academics. They have the necessary qualifications to be able to work in their field. Their terms of employment include a full work load similar to that of the permanent, tenured teachers but they are unfortunately paid at a significantly lower level. Hebert et al (2002) clarify the use of the word ‘casual’ to signify non-tenure contingent faculty. According to the authors, referring to non-tenure academics as casual seems pejorative, especially when their attitude to work is anything but casual. They are simply the opposite of continuous even though many of them are employed from one academic session to another, albeit continuously. They are all defined by what they are not: they are not regular faculty.

This growing trend of casualisation in teaching has its roots in the manufacturing and industry sector where workers are hired according to the needs of the labour market. Further, the need to reduce costs of providing higher education led to the governments and private institutes hiring academic staff on a casual basis. The employment of temporary/ad-hoc teachers has increased to levels that have been unseen historically. The trend has gained prominence and this is reflected in the study by the American Federation of Teachers (2009) that reports that by 2007 part time faculty appointments made up more than half of the academic workforce at 4 year public and private universities with the result that now only three out of every ten faculty hired are on the tenure track. In the past security of tenure was the granted goal of employment in academia. The American Federation of Teachers (2009) pointed out that thirty years ago 90 percent jobs in academia were either tenured or tenure track. But now 73 percent posts are non-tenured.

The implications of casualisation in the institutions of higher education are enormous. Casual teachers in countries like the US, Canada and Australia consider themselves second rate employees and ‘employees at will’ who have to voice their opinion very carefully. The second class treatment is internalized variously and results in anger, fear, lack of self-confidence and esteem and general insecurity. The casual staff in higher educational
institutions complain of being isolated from the organization, being unable to take part in decision making, having no access to infrastructural facilities and being subject to arbitrary fluctuations in employment. Along with higher education, these contractual/ad-hoc/para teachers are engaged in great numbers in the school system in various states including the state of Haryana. Various agitations continue in different parts of the country by such teachers and court cases are filed against the unfair practices of the government and the private managements. A report on court cases filed by contract teachers (Gauri and Robinson, 2010) says the nomenclature is not important; the issue is that contractual teachers are treated unfairly in relation to regular teachers. Contractual teachers are unfairly paid less than regular teachers for the same kind of work, and are subject to arbitrary dismissal and harassment. The use of such teachers whose jobs are not secure and who remain permanently under the fear and stress of losing their jobs and are treated unfairly by the system by getting salaries at one third or one fourth of the regular employees for the same work has serious economic and social consequences.

Permanent government employees in India have many legislative protections while contract workmen in both the private and public sector were and continue to be highly regulated under such legislation as the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 and the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition Act) of 1970. However, teachers on contractual basis fall outside these legislative protections (Gauri and Robinson, 2010). Teachers are not considered as workmen by the Supreme Court (1988 Supreme Court Judgment cited by Gauri and Robinson, 2010), thus excluding them totally from the purview of such legislation.

1.4.2 Concept of Empowerment

The concept of empowerment is currently in use by researchers and authors in a variety of ways and in diverse contexts. It is a generic term and its connotations and meanings range from psychological and social to economic and political empowerment. Women empowerment is also a multidimensional concept entailing various meanings ranging from greater control over resources, equality and agency function, culminating in positive achievements.

Increased understanding of the role of women in development by the national and international agencies with the efforts of the feminist writers has contributed in some way and coincided with the emergence and popularity of the term empowerment (Razavi and Miller,
The concept of empowerment has a long history backed by several predecessors. During the early years of international women’s decade, the term ‘status of women’ was widely in use the objective of which was to narrow down the inequality between men and women. The idea was to increase the access of women to education, income and other assets so that the status of women could be improved. Thereafter the concept of ‘women’s autonomy’ came into vogue when it was argued that women have to be agents of change. The terminology kept on changing with the changed perception about the role of women but the measuring rod remained the same socio-economic indicators. Currently the term empowerment is in vogue, says Bina Pardhan (2003).

The term empowerment has its roots in the word ‘empower’ which is defined by Oxford Dictionary as ‘give (someone) the authority or power to do something’. Hence, empowerment means to give power or authority and to ‘enable or permit’; generally, empowerment implies enabling and providing power and they reinforce each other. Empowerment, according to Pradhan (2003), is the process by which the powerless gain control over the circumstances of their lives by having control over resources such as physical, human, intellectual and financial, and control over ideology like beliefs, values and attitudes. Rowland (1995) says empowerment means undoing negative social constructions so that the affected people can perceive themselves as having the capacity and the right to act and have influence. Investing in women’s capabilities and empowering them to exercise their choices is not only valuable in itself but also contributes to the overall progress and prosperity of the country.

This term is used to depict and denote a process of change whereby the erstwhile disempowered people feel empowered. The term empowerment is open to different interpretations in different contexts. Kabeer’s simple and illustrative definition of empowerment is ‘the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this facility was previously denied to them’ (1999). This expansion is a result of a process of change by which the earlier disempowered people get empowered and are able to make strategic choices. Interpreted in this way, empowerment has three dimensions, namely:

a) resources which form the conditions under which choices are made;

b) agency which is at the heart of all the processes by which choices are made; and,

c) achievements or outcomes.
The flow chart depicting the interrelation between the availability of resources, agency function and positive outcomes and achievements is as follows.

**Figure 1.2: Interrelation between the Availability of Resources, Agency Function and Positive Outcomes**

Source: *Resources, Agency and Achievements, Nalia Kabeer, 1999*

Kabeer (1999) identifies three main components of empowerment which are availability of economic as well as social and human resources; the exercise of power or agency in the presence of resources is the “process” of empowerment and resources and agency together create the potential for certain outcomes called “achievements”.

Based on this definition, Malhotra and Mehra 1999 (cited by Williams 2005, p 5) suggest that empowerment contains two important elements that distinguish it from the general term power, the idea of change or process from a condition of disempowerment and the concept of human agency which implies choices made from the vantage point of real alternatives without severe consequences.

Indicators of empowerment can differ according to circumstances and are case specific. Women’s unpaid household chores have never been regarded as empowering them since these don’t carry any economic value. Therefore, empowerment is also translated as participation in labor force and working for paid jobs. But there is an observation that mere participation in labor force cannot ensure empowerment if the structure remains oppressive and exploitative (Elson 1991; Fleming 1991).

The same sentiment has been voiced by the International Labor Organization when it talked about the concept of ‘decent jobs’. Participation in the labor force and income generation are necessary conditions for bringing economic empowerment but are not
sufficient unless and until the quality of jobs is ensured. Only if jobs of decent quality are provided with some social security norms and stability can women teachers feel satisfied and empowered.

In the last few years, no doubt, the avenues of employment for women have increased but whether the jobs are helping women in the process of empowerment depends on the quality of jobs. Professional satisfaction is the amount of overall positive affect (or feelings) that individuals have towards their profession (Feldman and Arnold, 1983). Women teachers will feel empowered if they are satisfied with their profession. It is not self-satisfaction, happiness or contentment but the satisfaction on the professional front. The key factors affecting professional satisfaction and empowerment, according to Purcell et al (2003), are career growth, the quality of supervision, social relationships with the work group and job influence.

According to Moorhead and Griffins (2000), there are five major organizational factors towards which employees form attitudes and these are pay, opportunities for promotion, the nature of the work, policies and procedures of the organization and working conditions. Kahn (1981) provides a summary of job characteristics that determine work satisfaction. These are varied task content, work autonomy, supportive supervision, appropriate resources, opportunities for developing co-worker relationship, working conditions, rewards, wages, and fringe benefits, job security in exchange for appropriate performance and promotions linked to outstanding performance.

Literature also reveals that “tenure concerns power –who has the authority to decide and direct, and who has the prerogative to refuse and resist” and that faculty at institutions without tenure generally exercise less social, political, and or scientific power than faculty on campuses with tenure (Chait, 2002 p. 69). August and Waltman (2004) are of the opinion that female faculty’s overall career satisfaction was linked to comparable salary, good relations with the department chairperson, the level of involvement within the department, student relations and departmental climate.

Teachers employed on casual basis in higher educational institutions are working along with another group of teachers who are regular and permanent and have job security and enjoy all the privileges of regular employment. This basically flouts the constitutional provision of equal remuneration for equal work. Justice and equity are the first causality in
such jobs. Other economic and social implications of non-regular jobs can be quite problematic and can have serious implication for the empowerment of women.

1.5 Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the present study are as follows.

1. To study the phenomenon of feminisation of casual jobs in higher educational institutions in the state of Haryana.

2. To analyse the impact of casualisation on the economic well-being of women teachers through indicators such as salary, increments, parity in compensation and additional benefits like various types of leave.

3. To study the social implications of casualisation at the personal, family and societal level for women teachers through various indicators such as status and prestige in society, cooperation from spouse/family in maintaining work-life balance etc.

4. To study the implications of casualisation for employment equity, professional growth, decision making, due recognition and self-esteem of women teachers at the workplace.

5. To suggest various policy measures to make teaching profession more attractive and empowering for women teachers.

After going through various studies on empowerment in general and teacher empowerment in particular, the researcher framed various questions pertaining to these variables and prepared a questionnaire in three parts. Our understanding of the whole issue after going through the forces of casualisation has been that these jobs have strong economic dimensions in terms of salary, regularity, parity and other benefits. Economic dimensions are inextricably related to social dimensions. That is why we have framed our questionnaire in three parts; economic implications, social implications and workplace implications of casual jobs.

1.6 Significance of and Need for the Study

Human development, human rights and empowerment are the terms which are generally not associated with traditional Economics. Development Economics with its interest
in the economies of Asia, Latin America and Africa brought these aspects of people’s lives into the limelight.

The prevalent thinking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was that the availability of physical means of production in the form of land and capital in its myriad forms could help the economies in their onward march towards economic growth. Todaro (2005) has summed up the situation thus: “traditional economics is concerned primarily with the efficient, least cost allocation of scarce productive resources with the optimal growth of these resources over time so as to produce an ever expanding range of goods and services”. Increase in national and per capita incomes was the sole concern of the policy makers and for achieving this end efficient utilization of scarce resources was the only available option. It was thought that increase in the accumulation of wealth would lead to increase in the standard of living of the people and thus the objective of economic growth was justified. Neo-Classical economics with its faith in the working of the market economy dependent on price mechanism in the face of scarcity of resources was considered a panacea for achieving maximum growth rates in the national and per capita income. There were other goals also which were hoped to be achieved by targeting the growth rates of national and per capita income. The United Nations Development Programme (1996) in its Report titled ‘Growth as Means to Human Development’ quoted the sentiment of the policy makers regarding growth. “Growth is often seen as a solution to other problems such as building military strength, increasing employment and reducing budgetary deficits”. This obsession with growth rates of national income in rich countries was subsequently followed by the governments and policy makers of the developing countries as well. Till the middle of the 20th century almost each country of the world considered itself more successful by achieving higher rates of growth in national and per capita income.

However, in the second half of 20th century, this excessive emphasis on economic growth gradually came under attack from the various stakeholders. Social scientists, environmentalists, women groups and many others started challenging the agenda of maximizing growth. The critics of pursuing economic growth as a worthwhile objective were a broad range of people from various areas who started questioning the relevance of growth by looking at their deteriorating quality of life.
There is no doubt that economic growth is imperative for poor countries but increasingly the critical questions still remain the same, “What kind of growth? What are the costs? Who benefits and who pays?” (UNDP, 1996)

From these doubts and suspicions about growth grew the concern for human development. The various reports of the UNDP moved beyond the debate whether the economic policies were pro-growth or anti-growth and moved to the issue of quality of growth – whether it was genuinely serving human development in a country, in a region or in the world. The issue which was raised in the UNDP report was “Is the character of growth advancing people’s human security, freedom and empowerment?” (1996).

On the whole, before 1970s development was nearly always seen as an economic phenomenon in which rapid gains in national and per capita income were the primary concerns and removal of poverty, income distribution and unemployment were of secondary importance. No one has dealt with the human goals of development as well as the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen who says “capability to function” is what matters for a poor or non-poor person. He further says growth cannot be sensibly treated as an end in itself. It has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy (2002).

Perhaps the best attempt till date is still that by Goulet (1971) who distinguishes three basic components or core values in this wider meaning of development which he calls life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom. As a social science, Economics is concerned with fulfilling the economic needs and aspirations of people but the economy does not exist in a vacuum, people have social aspects to their lives and development economics takes care of them by trying to create an environment where people can realize their full potential as economic and social beings.

Amartya Sen (2005) has elaborated on the concept of human development in a broader sense, “Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it.”

Around the world, political leaders and economists are realizing that they cannot sell the idea of a better world to people merely in economic terms such as higher growth in GDP. People want to know how their lives will be improved, the freedoms they will have and how much happier they would be with some policy change (Maria, ET, 11th July).
If people do not have the freedom to lead their life according to their own convictions and beliefs and are victims of exploitative economic, social or political structures and feel subjugated and have a feeling of being not treated fairly and justly, they start having serious doubts about their efficacy and self-worth.

One such segment of people who has been treated in an unjustified manner all over the world is women. They have been given unequal treatment and have been treated as not equal to men. Gender inequality and injustice is one area of which we find abundant examples (Sen 1995; World Economic Forum, 2011). Through a unjust social, economic, cultural and legal framework, women have been systematically disempowered. Studies on women’s work have observed that it is mainly women who work part time and on temporary, ad hoc jobs. The prevalence of gender inequality is visible in the realm of higher education as well. As students their number is less than that of boys and as teachers and administrators their number is less in higher administrative positions in colleges and universities. Education and employment have long been considered as tools for empowering women. Among the various indicators used for measuring the process of women empowerment, their achievements in education and participation in the job market or income earning activities are given significant consideration (Kabeer, 2009).

As pointed out in a report by the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR, 2008), Australia wide there is more than double the number of causally employed women academics. Rather than employing ad-hoc teachers to use the specialized skills of a few practising professionals or to get over a temporary financial crisis, the use of casual and contractual staff has become the very economic driver of the teaching components of higher education. Chanana (2005) refers to the feminization of teaching as a real possibility as teachers who retire or leave the job are not replaced by the provincial universities. She has further pointed out that contract teaching generally has very low pay, sometimes paid by the hour, and enjoys a lower social status. Such jobs also do not provide for paid holidays, maternity and sick leave. There are likely to be gendered implications of the change in the nature of academic appointments.

Within higher education these faculty members represent a separate class of teachers in that they are paid lower wages for their work, are provided fewer benefits, given fewer opportunities for professional development and enjoy less professional prestige for their work.
This segment of teachers falls outside the purview of job protection. They don’t get decent salaries, leave benefits, pension and provident fund etc. And there is generally no protection of collective bargaining mechanism (Kingdon 2010; Chanana; 2007; Pay Review Committee 2008; Tilak 2007).

According to Sridevi (2005), only by the empowerment of women that favours teachers can the future generation emulate and learn from their mentors. Stacki (2002 cited by Sridevi) argues that for women teachers to be true role models and to pass on the values of gender equity to girls and boys, they need to facilitate their own empowerment in both private and public lives. Especially the entrepreneurial type of higher education institutions that focus on profits have been hiring teachers like casual labour to reduce costs and to have flexibility in hiring. The significant reduction in state appropriations has also resulted in the implementation of this innovative cost-saving measure among public higher education institutions. As elaborated by Gappa (1984), Leslie (1998) and Schuster and Finkelstein (2008), institutions of higher education heavily rely on contingent faculty instruction.

Regular and permanent jobs for teachers in government and aided colleges are funded by the state government. The jobs follow the overarching framework of rules and regulations as decided by the UGC. And in privately managed institutes imparting technical, management and medical education which have come up in a big way, rules of AICTE are followed while appointing teachers on regular basis. As against this, casual jobs are non-regular and impermanent and no standard rules are followed regarding appointment, salary structure and other benefits.

The state governments are approving new courses and programs under the self-financing head. In such courses, all the teachers hired come under non-regular kind of employment. A few colleges have given permanent status to teachers but the salary and emoluments are not at par with those of regular teachers. In aided colleges where managements and principals as their proxies have the complete power to make appointments, teachers are not ready to divulge much information fearing that it will go against them and they might not get job in the next session. One study has used the term “invisible teachers” for them. Our system of higher education is being transformed beyond recognition by the proliferation of such teachers. This increase in the number of teachers on ad hoc, casual or contract basis is a phenomenon which provides financial and program flexibility to the higher
education institutions but its impact on the personal and professional lives of teachers has not been researched and much literature on this issue is not available in India. Gappa (1993) has used the term “invisible teachers” for such teachers and Rajagopala (2004) addresses them as the “hidden faculty”. State governments don’t keep any record of these teachers and they are like persona non grata for the government. Our system of higher education is being transformed beyond recognition by the proliferation of such teachers with a majority of them being women with real consequences for their empowerment. Women are already a vulnerable section in India because of various social and cultural factors and we want to see the impact of casual teaching jobs on their empowerment; economic, social and professional.

In such a scenario when casual/contractual jobs are being stretched for 8 to 10 years and there is no hope of ever getting a stable and regular job with decent working conditions, the fate of such teachers needs to be investigated. No doubt both men and women are suffering on account of non-availability of regular jobs but, keeping in view the Millennium Development Goal of women empowerment by all nations by 2015, our study focuses on the empowerment issue of women teachers working on casual basis.

1.7 Outline of the Study

This section provides the outline of the research:

- **Chapter 1** deals with the origin of the problem. A brief historical background of the higher education sector in India has been given. The impact of neo-liberal reforms on this sector in the form of reduced funding and appointment of faculty has been taken up. Further, the concepts of casualisation of teaching jobs and women’s empowerment have been discussed in this chapter. The need for and the significance of the study has also been examined.

- **Chapter 2** provides an in depth review of the various studies already undertaken nationally and internationally in this area.

- **Chapter 3** brings out the detailed methodology. It includes the selection of the topic, the objectives of the study, the operational definition of various concepts, the scope of the study, the methods of data collection, the sampling procedure and a description of the sample characteristics and tools used in the present research and the limitations of the study.
- **Chapter 4** details the analysis of the data on economic implications. Compensation to casual women teachers and its relationship with qualifications and experience has been assessed from the data collected from the respondents.

- **Chapter 5** deals with the social implications of casualisation and its impact on women teachers. Various statistical tests have been used to bring to the fore the issue of social indicators of empowerment of women teachers.

- **Chapter 6** tries to look at the workplace implications of casualisation. Factor analysis has been used in this chapter to bring forth various factors of teachers’ empowerment. Decision making, self-efficacy and self-esteem, professional development and having meaning in work are important components and constructs of employee empowerment which have been delineated in this chapter.

- **Chapter 7** gives the major findings of the study along with recommendations.

1.8 Conclusion

A number of changes have taken place in the sphere of higher education in our country in the last two decades. Massive expansion in the number of colleges, universities and institutions along with the huge increase in the enrollments of students is a positive change on which the future progress of the economy hinges. But some developments are not so positive and one amongst these is that a large number of the posts of teachers are lying vacant in these institutions and against these posts teachers are hired on ad hoc, contractual and purely temporary basis.

Even in aided institutions where the salary grant is provided by the concerned state governments, there is a virtual freeze on the sanction of new posts. In the wake of new courses and fresh enrollments, aided colleges are making do with ad-hoc or contractual teachers. The colleges, whether government, aided or private, are indulging in this practice to reduce the financial burden of hiring teachers on regular basis and in most of these positions women have been found to be in disproportionately large numbers. The economic and social consequences of the hiring of teachers on ad hoc and contractual basis are quite serious. The present study attempts to explore the lives and experiences of such teachers whose records are not kept by any agency. Their voices are ignored and, moreover, they don’t have any worthwhile platform to raise their voice. The study covers all those women teachers of the colleges of Haryana who
don’t have regular or permanent jobs, are not getting full grades and don’t even have any future assurance or opportunities for a stable career and professional development.