THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Management School

The Expectations, Outcomes and Perceived Benefits of Postgraduate Business Programmes for Indian Nationals

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2013

Abstract

The literature suggests that there are several stakeholders who influence postgraduate study for social and personal benefits. These stakeholders comprise governments, employers, HEIs, families and individuals.

The findings from this research study suggest that fathers from Indian middle class families play a significant motivational role in the lives of their offspring by encouraging them to develop their cultural capital through postgraduate business programmes. Parents expect that higher level academic study will improve their offspring's symbolic and social capitals and result in good social and career outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986). Many of these Indian middle class parents who have access to and are willing to use their economic capital, also influence and support their children to gain 'exposure' in new environments for example in the USA and the UK . The aim of this parental competitive strategy is to ensure *'positional advantage'* (Brown, 2003, p3) in the labour market and in some cases to gain experience foreign study that they did not have the opportunity to do.

As more Indian nationals undertake postgraduate business programmes there is evidence to suggest that credentialism is resulting in what Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011) argue is a 'global auction', bringing more rewards only for the very best or the educated elite. This perception was found from the respondents in this study. Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011) further argue that this is perpetuating social divisions in different societies as the labour market becomes more competitive due to economic trends and corporate restructuring.

The findings from this study suggest that most Indian respondents who have postgraduate business qualifications achieve some of their expectations, but not at the management level, nor in other areas that they had expected e.g. they achieve a lower than expected salary. To ensure graduates career expectations are realistic, the findings suggest that UK and Indian higher education institutions, should report in an ethical and honest way, the destinations and career outcomes of all their Indian business postgraduates. The findings also suggest that UK and Indian institutions should improve their alumni services and forge closer links with Indian employers to support graduates' career opportunities.

Evidence was also found which suggests that there is a perception of greater symbolic capital from UK credentials, which may add value to an individual's employment opportunities and to their marriage capital and where it occurs, their dowry/gift capital.

Table of Contents

Recommendations, Implications, Limitations of the Study and Reflexive Account

List of Appendices

List of figures

Chapter 4 Literature Review

Chapter 5 Methodology

List of tables

Declaration of Authorship

I Kaye Foskett, declare that the thesis entitled:

The Expectations, Outcomes and Perceived Benefits of Postgraduate Business Programmes for Indian Nationals

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

Signed: Kaye Foskett
Date: 01/03/2013

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor John Taylor for his support and guidance and above all for his patience. Without John's unfailing enthusiasm and wisdom I would not have completed this thesis.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of my work colleagues and my Indian friends in Delhi and to thank all my respondents without whom this research would not have been possible.

A huge thank you goes to my husband Richard and my two children, Samantha and Harry for the many times they have listened to various sections of this study, showing great tolerance, support and advice.

Finally I want to thank my parents and to wish that my father had survived long enough to share in the happiness from the successful completion of this work.

List of Abbreviations

AACSB	Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business
ABS	Association of Business Schools
AGCAS	Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Service
AICTE	All India Council for Technical Education
AMBA	Association of MBAs
ASCI	Administrative Staff College of India
ASSOCHAM	Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BAC	British Accreditation Council
BBA	Bachelor of Business Administration
BC	British Council
BIS	Department for Business Innovation and Skills
CABE	Central Advisory Board of Education
CAT	Cognitive Assessment/Ability Test
CIHE	Council for Industry and Higher Education
CVCP	Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals
DEC	Distance Education Council
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEI	Foreign Education Institutions
FT	Financial Times
GMAC	Graduate Management Admissions Council
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IBS	Indian Business School
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IITTM	Indian Institute of Tourism and Travel Management
MA	Master of Arts

MBA	Masters in Business Administration
MAGM	Masters in Global Management
MAIB	Masters in International Business
MNE	Multi National Enterprise
MNC	Multi National Corporation
PGDM	Post Graduate Diploma in Management
NAAC	National Assessment and Accreditation Council
NASES	National Association of Student Employment Services
NCHE	National Council of Higher Education
NPE	National Policy of Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OU	Open University
PMI	Prime Ministers Initiative
PR	Permanent Residency
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
SRHE	Society for Research into Higher Education
TEQIP	Technical/Engineering Education Quality Improvement Project
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UKBA	United Kingdom Boarder Agency
UKCISA	UK Council for International Student Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.11 Introduction to the Study

International higher education (IHE) has undergone significant developments over the past twenty years with an increase in international student mobility from non-English speaking countries, e.g. India and China, to English speaking countries for example, the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), and Australia (OECD, 2007; Wildavsky, 2010). As a result of this trend, and the internationalisation strategy of one particular UK higher education institution (HEI), initiated in response to these academic developments, I experienced first-hand the desire and practice of HEIs to recruit international students from India to the UK for postgraduate business education. I also observed the influence that Indian middle class parents have on their children, to motivate and support their foreign study choices, for what they hoped would result in the credentials which would help to secure a good career and economic and social benefits.

In addition to these personal observations, and a review of current literature on the topic of international higher education, it soon became evident that there was a limited amount of research evidence about postgraduates and especially Indian business postgraduates. In order to address this situation, I decided to explore the social world of Indian postgraduates in more depth, using what Merriam (2009, p22) refers to as a *'basic qualitative research study'*, to provide fresh insights and knowledge about postgraduate business programmes for Indian nationals.

This chapter presents the rationale for the decision to perform this qualitative study, and it gives an outline of the research process. It provides an overview of the international higher education environment and an overview of the benefits of higher education and a list of the chapters which comprise this thesis.

1.12 Rationale for the Study

As a former marketing lecturer and international student recruitment manager for a UK University College Business School, I attended many student recruitment fairs in many cities in India, hosted by the British Council, or organised by other educational recruitment companies between 2003 and 2009. I also spent a great deal of time in the office of an Indian recruitment agent in Delhi and his offices in other Indian cities, interviewing potential postgraduate students, many of whom came with their fathers, in order to assess their standard of English and their reasons for wanting to study a business programme. During this time, I observed and wondered why it was that so many Indian students, the majority of whom were male, wanted to invest their or their family's economic resources to develop their human capital e.g. knowledge and skills (Becker, 1993) through the study of postgraduate business programmes in the United Kingdom, rather than study in India. I also wondered if the expectations that I observed in the faces of these students, and in the verbal statements that they gave about their hopes and dreams of gaining a UK Masters degree, would secure as they stated, 'a good job', or 'a better career', or 'a good salary'.

I also noticed, whilst working in India, that there was evidence to suggest that some Indian students chose to study postgraduate programmes abroad, for what appeared to result in credentials with 'added value' in the form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), thus giving the holder what I perceived as added prestige or recognition within their own culture. Examples of this symbolic capital could be found in the personal columns in many of the Indian English language newspapers, which indicted that brides and grooms with 'UK or London' postgraduate business qualifications, e.g. UK Masters in Finance, or a London MBA, were seeking marriage opportunities. This appeared to be a type of branding for the individual, which signaled to the newspaper column reader, that the person had 'added value or greater status', and was an indication for any potential bride or groom, or parent of a bride or groom, that the person was a 'good match', for an Indian marriage arrangement. Linked to this, I was also fascinated by the comment that I heard from another UK international student recruiter, who said that, *'some of these male students only come to study in the UK to get their family a bigger dowry'.* This was a perception I also wished to explore in more depth.

It appears that for some middle class Indian nationals a postgraduate business programme may result not only in an investment in their individual human capital for the development of their knowledge and skills (Becker, 1993; Burton-Jones & Spender, 2011) and the accumulation of the tangible elements of the outcome of study, in the form of academic credentials, their cultural capital, it may also result in other benefits, such as improved '*economic and social outcomes*' (Nahapiet, 2011, p71), a phenomenon observed in other Asian societies (Nahapiet, 2011; Waters, 2008). Waters (2008) for example, acknowledges in her study of Chinese IHE students that *'qualifications can be strategically accumulated by individuals with access to financial, cultural and social capital'* (Waters, 2008, p6), and that these foreign credentials are even more valuable to individuals, as they may add cultural capital and social status providing '*symbolic performative magic*' (Waters, 2008, p6), in their own cultural environments. Other authors also suggest that global companies recognise foreign qualifications and may demonstrate a preference for management graduates who speak English (Dahlman & Utz, 2005; Popli, 2005). I wondered if these arguments were also true for Indian nationals who studied UK postgraduate business programmes, and if this symbolic performative magic might manifest itself in Indian society.

In order to research Indian business postgraduates' career outcomes, I made contact with some of the graduates that I had recruited from India who came to study in the UK and had remained in the UK post-graduation. It appeared from some of their comments that many of the Indian graduates, who had sought employment in the UK for their newly acquired management skills, had not achieve their desired or anticipated outcomes i.e. the management career, or salary, that they had expected. These Indian graduates could only find work in the UK, in burger bars, betting shops, retail outlets, and care homes, the places where many of the students had been working part time, when they were studying full time. Several graduates, who did not secure work in the UK, had I was informed, returned to India in the hope of finding employment in their home country; sadly, these Indian postgraduates did not remain in contact with me. Having reflected on my telephone discussions with a couple of the UK based Indian postgraduates, I wondered if the outcome of UK study from other institutions actually lived up to graduates expectations. I also wondered if there were any other perceived additional benefits, and thus ‘added value’, for Indian nationals linked to acquiring a UK postgraduate degree when they returned to India.

The initial enquiry for this study began with a literature review, to gain a better understanding of the history and development of higher education, and of business and management education, in the UK, America and India.
(See appendix 1 for a summary of UK higher education and business and management development, and chapter 2 for the history of Indian higher education.)

Other literature was also reviewed to enable me to appreciate in greater depth, the diverse culture of India i.e. its political and social development, religion, language, and customs (marriage and dowry); and to enable me to gain a better understanding of the emerging and growing middle class who, it is argued, are mobilising their economic capital to secure advantages for their offspring. Literature was also reviewed related to the motivation for higher education, and the perceived benefits and outcomes of higher education, and, in particular, postgraduate business and management education.

The review of the literature further indicated that growing and emerging knowledge-driven economies, for example India, require workers with human capital e.g. knowledge and skills, to meet the changing needs of employers. This has resulted in an increase in demand for higher education; and has resulted in what has been described as the massification of supply of higher education, as government policies seek to match the needs of current students and to encourage even more students to study for higher degrees.

Whilst UK and Indian government policy has encouraged more individuals to enter higher education to improve their knowledge and skills, it has also resulted in greater challenges. Governments are now required to provide funding for the development of human capital through improved access for all levels of society based on a meritocratic system and for improvements in the delivery and quality of higher education. The result of this higher education policy has resulted in what some authors have termed a *'credentialing system'* (Collins, 1979, p192) for employability by the middle class, keen to reproduce their social status (Brown, 1995); with higher education now regarded as a commodity accessible to those who are able and willing to pay (Gibbs, 2011).

It also appears from the literature, that studies related to higher education are seen by many as '*a contested domain….in which there are many disputes, about for example, its purpose and its various effects on individuals and societies'* (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2009, p4). Various stakeholders, for example, politicians, economists, educationalists, social scientists, and philosophers, have undertaken research studies to determine if there are any perceived links between higher education and economic development, productivity, employability, increased wages, or improvements in other non-monetary benefits for individuals, families, and society in general i.e. social and cultural advancement (Agarwal, 2008a; Becker, 1993; 2002; Bourdieu, 1986; Brown, 2003; Coleman, 1988; Goldthorpe, 1997; Hoda, 2008; Nahpiet, 2011; Noel-Levitz, 2009; Simpson, *et al*, 2005; Leitch, 2006; Waters, 2006; Wolf, 2002).

Current studies in the USA suggest that, despite the recessionary times we are in, and changing industry structures, higher education is still a real necessity for the development of individuals skills, and especially so to ensure the employability and earnings of the middle class (Carnevale, Smith & Strohl, 2010). Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011), however, highlight their and others' concerns about current trends in higher education, and they suggest that, due to the expansion of higher education in emerging economies, i.e. India, the real value of academic credentials from higher education, in the era of knowledge capitalism, is falling and the relationship between *'learning and earning is being called into question…with growth of a high-skill, low-wage workforce'* (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2011, p9).

Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011) further suggest that these trends are resulting in what may be regarded as a 'global auction', bringing more rewards only for the best top-talent, or the educated elite, thus perpetuating social divisions in many societies. These concepts of education and social reproduction are also explored in the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu further argues that the economic, cultural and social capitals of families strongly influence the outcome of their offspring (Bourdieu, 1986).

Smith, *et al*, (2010) highlight in their review of higher education, that UK postgraduate taught Masters level education, has grown faster than undergraduate studies over the last twelve years, and *'half of the international students studying in the UK are taking postgraduate qualifications'* (Smith, *et al*, 2010, p4). Despite these trends, it appears that there is limited research evidence related to postgraduate higher education in general and Indian business postgraduates in particular. There are limited studies about the perceived value for Indian students of studying postgraduate business programmes in India and the UK, or the perceptions of Indian employers of business postgraduates, or the outcomes for those who have gain postgraduate degrees (Brown & Kneale, 2011; Chen, 2007; Lees, 2002; Rothwell, Jewell, & Hardie, 2009; Smith, *et al*, 2010).

A report from the UK Department for Business, Innovation & Skills reinforces the view that little is known about postgraduate education:

> *'Compared to the undergraduate sector, postgraduate provision has had relatively little attention paid to it by policy makers, despite the fact that postgraduate education is of enormous value to the UK and will play a crucial role in driving innovation and growth – particularly in the areas the UK Government has identified in New Industry, New Jobs.'* (BIS, 2010)

In the area of postgraduate business programmes, there is evidence of research findings related to the student experience and curriculum design (Tight, 2003). There is also evidence from various business and management literature, which references reward theory and identity theory, to address the motivations for and expectations of those individuals undertaking postgraduate business study, i.e. MBA programmes, executive MBA programmes, in the UK and USA (Baruch and Peiperl, 2000; GMAC, 2010/2011; Ituma, *et al,* 2007; Wilton, Woodman and Essex 2007). There is also evidence of the outcomes related to income gains for postgraduates from top-ranked institutions, e.g. the Financial Times Business School Rankings. Chen (2007) also argues that there is evidence of, *'interest in international students …. mainly for academic, economic, political, and cultural reasons'* (Chen, 2007, p272) however, there does appear to be limited knowledge about the expectations, career destinations, outcomes and other perceived benefits, of postgraduate business education and more specifically for Indian business graduates.

Other evidence also suggested, that some UK organisations are attempting to monitor international student career destinations, for example, I-Graduate. This UK Company had started to track international student destinations from several of the UK Russell Group universities, offering £500 as an incentive for postgraduate alumni to respond on line to their team of researchers (I-Graduate, 2008). However, it is not clear from the I-Graduate report how many of these alumni responses are from Indian students. I-Graduate (2010) has also produced, through the Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Service (AGCAS) a booklet entitled 'Starting Your Career in India Country Guide', for returning Indian International graduates (I-Graduate, 2010). This booklet appeared to be an attempt to address the importance of the development of social capital through institutional alumni networks and to offer support for those Indian nationals who return home after they have completed their UK higher education study, a missing support system which was also identified in the findings of Binsardi & Ekwulugo (2003).

The main aims, therefore, of this interpretive qualitative research study are to draw on human, cultural and social capital theory and elements of management theory to explore and gain deeper insights into the motivations for postgraduate study, the expectations of postgraduate study, the outcomes from UK and Indian business programmes and to investigate if there are any other perceived benefits or added value attached to UK postgraduate business credentials.

1.13 Background to the Study

The aim of this section is to outline further some of the environmental changes arising from globalisation which have had an impact upon higher education, i.e. economic, political, cultural and technological developments. These are influencing the provision of higher education in all countries, and especially the emerging economies e.g. India. These changes, the literature suggests, are resulting in, *'a restructuring of jobs, and the various impacts on national cultural industries, local and national politics and ultimately on peoples hopes and aspirations'* (Ganguly-Scrase and Scrase, 2009, p1). This section will also highlight some of the benefits of higher education which have informed the study.

A major government focus for most countries around the globe is social development and economic prosperity, a focus which is closely linked to *'free trade, market economics, the virtues of entrepreneurship - and education, education, education'* (Wolf, 2002, pix). This view is succinctly outlined in this paragraph from the UK Council for Industry and Higher Education (CIHE):

> *'As a nation we need better educated people in every walk of life. Our international competitiveness and hence our ability to create new jobs and provide living standards and services for everyone rests on our ability to develop and harness new ideas and skills. To do this effectively and comprehensively we need to tap the initiative, and inventiveness and inherent capabilities of everyone in society.'*
> (CIHE, 1997, p1)

As previously noted in an earlier section in this chapter, the literature suggests that there are several purposes of higher education for all countries. Firstly, the aim of higher education study is to enable people to achieve their personal goals of employability and wages through the development of their human capital, (Becker, 1993). Secondly, scholarship and research activities within higher education institutions support the advancement of knowledge and innovation (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002); and thirdly, higher education study *'contributes to an economically successful and culturally diverse nation'* (HEFCE, 2008), in an increasingly globalised world.

In the United Kingdom (UK), four of the key skills which were recognised for the development of undergraduates for employability, and which are still widely acknowledged today, were highlighted by the Dearing Report (1997), Section 9.17, of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education:

> *'communication, numeracy, the use of information technology and learning how to learn; cognitive skills, such as an understanding of methodologies or ability in critical analysis'.*

For Postgraduate Research Training, Recommendation 31, of the Dearing Report (1997) (see appendix 1) also made it clear that, in addition to training in research methods, students should be trained in professional skills i.e. '*communication, self-management and planning'*, the aims of which were to ensure postgraduates met the skills requirements of employers, for organisational efficiency and productivity (Lauder, *et al*, 2006).

The Indian government also regards the provision of higher education to develop human capital as an important factor in their country's economic development in the global market place (Alexander, 1998). With the influx of multi-national companies, skilled workers are required to develop further India's emerging global cities, for example:

> *'metropolises like Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay) and Bangalore, now aggressively seek the status of global cities and their urban middle classes assertively claim a national visible role as the agents of globalisation in India.'*
> (Fernandes, 2006, pxiv)

However, as India's population is growing faster than other global economies (Kowalski, Dihel & Garcia, 2008) it is suggested that, if future economic growth is to outperform that of China, higher education and health provision need to be addressed by India's government to meet the country's growing demand (Kowalski, Dihel & Garcia, 2008; Panagariya, 2008; Subramanian, 2008).

Much of India's economic success is based on liberalisation strategies which began in India in 1991, and through the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), and foreign direct investment (Kowalski, Dihel & Garcia, 2008). These government initiatives have resulted in a growing economy driven by skill-intensive employment activities, in India's ever expanding service sector. This is a sector which, due to the growth of the internet and Information Technology (IT), offers outsourcing services to both domestic and global companies. In software and IT support, there are call centres and software design companies, and business process outsourcing companies (BPOs). There are also many accounting companies, and knowledge and legal process outsourcing companies (KPOs & LPOs), and there has been growth in India's biotechnology sector, banking services and community services i.e. education and health; the hotel sector, and distribution services (AGCAS, 2010; Gordon & Gupta, 2004; Hoda, 2008; Meredith, 2008), all of which require employees with the knowledge and skills to meet the growing needs of the economy (Brown, Green & Lauder, 2001).

The result, however, of India's economic growth has, according to Varma (2007), affected the overall structure of Indian society. He suggests that *'as the size of the economic cake grew, so did the jobs and business opportunities for middle class Indians'* (Varma, 2007, pi). This is a middle class which, he suggests, is now difficult to define and can thus only be estimated, and one which, Saxena (2010) suggests, *'not only categorises an income group, but also a political and social class and a consumer market. Thus, quantifying this demographic group can yield varying results'* (Saxena, 2010, p2).

Varma's (2007) reference to middle class is one which, he argues, has emerged from British colonial days and which is now predicted to reach in '*excess of 500 million people by 2025'* (Varma, 2007, pxx) which Chandhoke & Priyadarshi (2009, p136) suggest should be termed in the plural due to its complex structure, as *'the Indian middle classes'* . This is a growing middle class, which uses, and is predicted to use, its newly acquired socioeconomic power to demand more discretionary goods and services, and greater access to quality higher education institutions (McKinsey, 2007). This is an emerging social class, which is motivated by their desires and aspirations and their cultural, economic and social capitals to invest in their children's knowledge and skills and academic credentials, for their careers and other social benefits (Brown, 2003; Fernandez, 2006). This is also a class which appears to acknowledge the trends in the work place for postgraduate business education, and also appears to desire greater recognition and social status, from their children's, academic achievements. These are examples of Brown's *'positional conflict theory'* (Brown, 2000, p634) and *'ideology of parentocracy'* (Brown, 1995, p44). (This is a perspective, which is developed further in chapter 4.)

India is a country of contrasts; rich in heritage and culture, all of which have influenced and continue to influence the developments of Indian democratic society and higher education today. (This is developed further in chapters 2 and 3.) India, is included in the acronym, 'BRIICS' to denote its status as one of the emerging global economies together with, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, China and South Africa (Reyes, Garcia & Lattimore, 2008), all of which are significant players in the social and economic phenomenon that is, globalisation.

1.14 The Effects of Globalisation on Higher Education

Globalisation has influenced the development of the '*knowledge society'* (Drucker, 2010, p157), and may be defined, or described, in many ways (Maringe & Foskett, 2010). One definition is cited as, *'the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, ideas across borders'* (Knight and de Wit, 1997, p1). Globalisation has had an impact upon higher education, and higher education is *'itself an agent of globalisation'* (De Wit, 2008, p3). *'Globalisation affects each country in a different way due to a nation's individual history, traditions, culture and priorities'* (Knight and De Wit, 1995, p1).

The response to globalisation includes elements of free trade and the declining importance of geographical and cultural borders, with a greater *'interdependence of people'* (Lauder, *et al*, 2006, p31), and is termed internationalisation. Knight (1997, p6) argues that *'internationalisation of higher education is one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalisation yet, at the same time, respects the individuality of the nation'.*
This is a response which may be characterised in various ways, e.g. developing students' understanding of international cultures, and/or the mobility of students abroad, and/or the mobility of faculty abroad, and/or the delivery of programmes abroad, and/or direct investment in education in a foreign country (De Wit, 2008; Knight, 1997; OECD, 2004).

Internationalisation plays an important part in many global HEIs, for commercial advantage in the growing global knowledge society. Some researchers suggest that, for UK institutions, the recruitment of international students who pay fees, is being used to make up for the reduction in UK Government higher education funding. This was one of the motivations for the recruitment of Indian students for my particular UK institution. However, internationalisation may also result in greater risks of increased commercialization and low quality degree mills (Altbach & Knight, 2007; De Vita & Case, 2003) an outcome which has been identified in India.

Due to changes in infrastructure and higher education capacity across the world, it is estimated that the total number of mobile tertiary education students was over '*2.7 million in 2005'* (Verbik, 2007, p3), with India as the second top source country for international students, after China, for the UK. Approximately 20,000 Indian students arrived in the UK in 2006 (Verbik, 2007) and rose to approximately 34,000, in 2008/9 (UKCISA, 2010). The fees from these students are regarded as a significant contributor to UK HEIs' revenue streams and to the UK economy as a whole.

1.15 Higher Education in India

The early UK universities were responsible for the establishment of many overseas programmes and universities in the British colonies; one of these colonies was India (Perkin, 2007).

The basic structure of the higher education system and the use of English as the language of tuition, found in many universities in India today, were developed under British rule following independence in 1947. Since that time, India has developed her own higher education policies in an attempt to meet the demands of a country with a rapidly growing population (Ghosh, 2007). (See Appendix 1 and Chapter 2.)

These higher education demands currently exceed supply in India's complex and emerging economy and Dreze & Sen (2002, p11) identify some of the major issues of *'inequality and participation, where social divisions (based on class, caste and gender among other sources of disparity) are pervasive'* . These are demands which India's Government is endeavouring to address through government policy by '*a) satisfying basic needs and generating social protection, and b) engendering income and employment'* (Candhoke & Priyadarshi, 2009, pxiv).

Examples of Indian government policy for improving these inequalities to aid social mobility can be found in their affirmative action for eligibility and reservation strategies, for the backward castes, and religious groups, e.g. Schedule Caste, SC; Schedule Tribe, ST; Physically Handicapped /Challenged PH. Government Jobs and government university places are reserved for certain groups of underprivileged members of society or castes (Candhoke & Priyadarshi, 2009). However, due to the rapid expansion of the higher education sector in India to address the growing skills shortage, many consider that this type of government policy on reservation is unfair, and a form of social engineering, or positive discrimination, which further reduces the already limited number of places for those who are not considered as 'underprivileged', the 'creamy layer' (Varma, 2007). (See chapter 3)

Many of the population who are considered as ‘rich’ in India are able, through the Indian government’s reservation policy, to secure places in prestigious institutions, simply because they are categorised as members of a minority caste (Berlia, 2007). This may also be considered as an example of what Brown (2006, p381), refers to as, *‘positional conflict’*, where the middle class mobilise all their power, in this case through their caste, for their own success. One outcome of this middle class strategy is the perpetuation of the complex Indian caste structure.

Other Indian middle class parents, who cannot secure access to quality HEIs in India through the caste reservation policies, may use their economic capital to send their children abroad for education. Waters (2008) argues that often, despite democratization and increased access to higher education, social mobility for many is not apparent and that the middle classes are keen to maintain their status and privileges by using their accumulated forms of capital, which are defined as economic, cultural and social capitals, for their social reproduction. Waters (2008, p8), following, Bourdieu (1986), defines these three forms of capital as follows:

> *‘‘economic capital’, ‘which is immediately and directly convertible to money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights’, cultural capital, ‘which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications’, and social capital, ‘made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital’’.*

Other factors which influence middle class parents to use their economic capital for their children’s benefit, i.e. to study abroad, are, it is suggested, related to the generally poor levels of Indian higher education provision, quality assurance issues, and the quality of Indian academic faculty, all of which are considered by many to be severely lacking (Agarwal, 2007). The Indian government does, however, acknowledge that to become a knowledge power house, and to compete in the global market place, it must address these criticisms and shortfalls, and is endeavouring to develop its higher education infrastructure by proposing an increase in the number of places in universities and colleges, the quality of this provision, and the quality of research output (Kakodkar, 2011). A recent article from Sharma.com (2011) states the following:

> *'The figures are staggering. India's government speaks of increasing the proportion of young people going to university from 12% at present to 30% by 2025 - approaching the levels of many Western countries. It wants to expand its university system to meet the aspirations of a growing middle class, to widen access, and become a "knowledge powerhouse". It will mean increasing the country's student population from 12 million to over 30 million, and will put it on course to becoming one of the world's largest education systems.'*

In order to meet its aspirations, the Indian government has encouraged the development of many private higher education institutions to support India's growth, but, sadly, many of these are considered to be of dubious reliability and quality (Agarwal, 2007).

Other responses intended to address the issue of supply have been taken by several UK and USA universities e.g. Leeds Metropolitan, and Duke. These institutions offer programmes through third party Indian institutions, or they plan to establish their own campuses in India. The current market for universities, higher education colleges, schools and training institutes in India, is estimated at '*$20bn and forecast to grow to $100bn by the end of the decade'* (Sannam, S4, 2011). These figures highlight the attractiveness of the market for foreign providers.

Legislation for the establishment of these foreign institutions has been discussed by government since 2007 (AGCAS, 2010), and regulation has been proposed through the Foreign Education Institutions Bill, which has been reviewed by the Indian government for a whole year and will require greater debate for its implementation. The Bill will require foreign institutions to gain approval to become a Foreign Education Provider (FEP), in order for them to offer their courses in India, a requirement which may impact upon foreign universities' strategies. The Bill will regulate foreign university activities, not just the establishment of campuses (Booker, 2011). The Indian government recognises the need for greater provision, if their aims, highlighted below, are to be met:

> *'No one doubts that accredited international universities offering degree programmes in India will be necessary if the Government of India is to come close to its three objectives for higher education: 'excellence, expansion and*

inclusion'. They will help widen opportunity and accessibility to higher education and will also potentially retain some of $13bn currently leaving India's shores annually through foreign education-seeking Indian students.

Hosting international university campuses will also help India become a destination for students from other countries. Research investment will be attracted to foreign universities that have a presence in India and this will also help India retain and develop its own intellectual talent for the benefit of all'.

(Booker, 2011, p68)

As competition for places at the highly regarded Indian government funded higher education institutions, e.g. Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), or the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), is so intense and supply is so limited (Agarwal, 2007; Wildavsky, 2010) many students are currently faced with a lack of quality places for study. This factor, and a desire to study overseas, has encouraged many of those students who can afford it to seek higher education institutions outside India, especially in the USA, UK and Australia:

'The deep-seated malady of higher education system is not yet discernible simply because there are pockets of excellence, an enormous reservoir of talented young people and an intense competition in the admissions process. The country is rightly proud of the international standing of IITs and IIMs, but a handful of these world class institutions are not sufficient to usher in an emerging knowledge society.'

(Mungekar, 2008, p41)

Higher education has now become what many describe as a global tradable commodity, marketed by countries and Institutions to attract those international students, who can afford it, and who cannot find places in their home country; or who seek globally recognized management qualifications and thus foreign credentials for added cultural capital, and competitive advantage in the job market. Indian students, choose to study abroad to develop their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986); to gain those all-important credentials, credentials/signals of managerial success which they hope will help them to secure management careers from discerning employers (Becker, 1993; Dore, 1997; Taylor, 2010), and social status and thus greater recognition from their family and friends. It was suggested that in 2007, *'160,000 Indians'* (Sengupta, 2007) were studying abroad, *'spending an estimated $4 billion a year'* (ibid) in order to gain those all-important qualifications, and to improve their credential ranking in the job market (Brown, 2003).

1.16 Benefits of Higher Education

As highlighted previously by Waters (2008), there is a body of existing research evidence which suggests, that most students not only gain academic credentials i.e. cultural capital, when they study higher education programmes, this cultural capital may increase depending upon which HEI they attended (Winkle-Wagner, 2010). The literature suggests that Individuals benefit from higher education in several ways, firstly, they develop their human capital e.g. their knowledge and skills and secondly, they may improve their employment opportunities and thus generate economic capital (Becker, 1993). Thirdly, they may also develop their 'social capital'. Social capital is a term which Field (2008), following a review of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's work, suggests, is often used as a loose analogy with economic capital, which he argues, if it is invested in through for example institutional links, and may offer a return to the individual. Field suggests that it is a capital which, *'consists of personal connections and interpersonal interaction, together with the shared sets of values that are associated with these contacts'* (Field, 2008, p16). Halpern (2005) also suggests that social capital is the connection between people, and Putnam (1995) refers to it as, *'social connections and the attendant norms and trust'* (Putnam, 1995, p664).

Postgraduate business study may also improve an individual's social identity, and mobility (Becker, 1993; Brown, 2003; Nunn, *et al.*, 2007; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). There is, however, limited evidence to suggest that higher education results in any of these benefits for Indian postgraduates, a deficit that this study aimed to address.

In addition to the benefits outlined above, there may also be the added personal benefits for Indian postgraduates in terms of the value that the postgraduate business qualification holds for marriageability. This proposition is supported by other literature and evidence obtained from the personal advertising columns in newspapers e.g. The Times of India, and marriage bureau web sites e.g.

Shaadi.com, both of which promote Indian 'boys and girls, or grooms and brides' with postgraduate qualifications e.g. MBA or MA, as a 'good match'. These postgraduate qualifications appear to provide what I suggest might then be termed 'marriage capital' in India. Capital, which is defined by Lin (2002, p3) as '*an investment of resources with expected returns in the market place… producing or adding value to a resource',* which, in this case, is the investment in postgraduate education for what appears to create added value for an individual, bride or groom, and their marriageability in the Indian marriage market.

Also, for those Indian families who give and take wedding gifts in India, which may be regarded by some as a form of dowry, an increase in the amount may occur if a 'groom' has a Masters qualification. This raised the question, as to whether the perceived value of this dowry/gift increases if the business qualification is obtained from abroad. An Indian masters qualification or an international masters qualification for a groom, may it appears, equate to the investment in credentials which may result in greater status and recognition and may create enhanced long term employment opportunities with higher wages. All these factors appear to result in 'added value' for the holder and may thus provide a better return on the investment for the groom's family. This idea of a greater level of return may influence some middle class parents to invest in international postgraduate business education, and thus they may 'push' their son into foreign postgraduate study for foreign credentials, which some suggest perpetuates the reproduction of class privilege (Waters, 2008).

Although dowry, giving or taking, is by law, illegal in India today (See chapter 3), literature about the topic suggests that it still exists in many castes and is in fact on the increase throughout India (Menski, 1998). The findings published by Kishwar (2005), Paul (1985), and Sheel (1999), suggest that there appears to be a link between higher educational achievement and an increase in dowry payments, a phenomenon that I have termed 'dowry/gift capital for the groom'. I wanted to investigate if, in addition to the expectation of securing a better job and increased economic capital and thus securing a better marriage, there is a perception that the concept of 'dowry/gift capital' increases if the groom has greater institutionalised cultural capital from a foreign postgraduate qualification (Bourdieu, 1986; Waters, 2008).

1.17 The Specific Aims of the Research

> *'The purpose of research needs to include some element that is different from other investigations on the topic, some new twist, some new angle that marks the research as different' (Denscombe, 2002, p30).*

The research question addressed by this study aims to do this by exploring and identifying the motivations, the expectations, the outcomes and any other perceived benefits of postgraduate study for Indian nationals, topics which had not been explored in depth before.

Denscombe (2002, p25) suggests that *'research should have clearly stated aims'*, to ensure the reader knows what it is all about. These are statements of purpose which *'indicate the focus and direction of the research, and provide criteria for the evaluation of outcomes of the research'* (ibid). The broad aims which I developed from the critical review of existing literature for this research study are as follows:

a. To present a brief overview of the history and the development of higher education and business and management education in India.
b. To present an overview of some of the main features of Indian culture, i.e. the way of life for the people, their language, religion, caste, and the growth of India's middle class, marriage and dowry/gift giving.

These sections will help the reader to contextualise the research study as proposed by Delva, Allen-Mears & Momper (2010, p4):

> *'it is important to incorporate into the research activity, knowledge of relevant historical, environmental, and social forces that make up the cultural reality of the study participants'*

c. To review critically and reflect upon the motivations for postgraduate business study; the expectations of postgraduate business study; and the perceived outcomes of postgraduate business programmes for Indian nationals.

1.18 Scope of the Qualitative Research Study

Two phases of primary research data collection took place:

Phase One – Part One - UK – Two focus groups – Masters business graduates.
Phase One - Part Two – Delhi – Face-to-face semi structured interviews – Masters business graduates; those who had studied programmes in India or the UK.
Phase Two – UK – Face-to-face semi structured interviews with current Indian students enrolled on a Masters business programme in the UK.

Phase One – Part One – Focus Groups in the UK

Two '*focused group interviews'* (Merton, *et al*, 1956, in Merriam, 2009, p93) were held in the UK, in order to gain a basic insight into the perceived benefits, for those Indian nationals who had graduated and were working twelve months on from their postgraduate programme in the UK. These focus groups enabled simultaneous questioning and discussion with group members, a technique, according to Fontana & Frey (2005, p703) which is often used in marketing research and sociological research, and a method which *'straddles the line between formal and informal interviewing'* (ibid). This method enabled me to explore and gain a deeper understanding of the Indian respondents, and of the topics of interest related to the study, and helped me to develop a semi-structured interview guide, for use in the face-to-face semi-structured interviews in India.

The aims of the focus groups were to investigate:

a) Who had motivated the respondents to study postgraduate business education?
b) What their expectations had been of the postgraduate degree?
c) What the respondents' career outcomes were?
d) If they perceived there were any additional benefits of gaining a UK postgraduate business degree?

Phase One – Part Two - Face to Face Semi-structured Interviews in Delhi

Following a review of the findings from the focus groups, a semi-structured interview guide was developed and used to record the findings from the face-to-face semi-structured interviews with Indian graduates, e.g. those that had graduated from either a UK or an Indian Masters programme for one or more years. These interviews took place in Delhi, the capital of India, in June/July 2009.

Initial data from phase one, of the enquiry i.e. the focus groups and the face-to-face interviews in Delhi, suggested that many graduates had not achieved the outcomes that they had expected to achieve from their credentials and that there was also a perceived link between Masters qualifications marriageability and dowry/gift payments.

As resources, time and money were limited for further research in India, phase two was undertaken in the UK.

Phase Two – Primary research collection in the UK with current Indian postgraduate students

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews, were carried out with current Indian postgraduate business students, in a college in London in the UK, in 2009/2010, to explore further the motivations for and the expectations that current students had of postgraduate education, and to explore the perceived benefits of postgraduate qualifications on marriage and dowry in India. Data from this study supported, and added to, the views of those collected in Phase One in India.

1.19 Benefits of the research

As already noted there appears to be limited qualitative evidence in the literature of the impact of foreign postgraduate business qualifications on the outcomes and perceived benefits for Indian nationals. The purpose of this qualitative study was, therefore, to provide a greater depth of knowledge for academics and UK recruiters of the motivations for, and expectations of, and the perceived outcomes and perceived added benefits, from academic postgraduate business study for Indian nationals.

1.20 Research Challenges

Conducting research in a different country or with respondents from a different culture requires careful attention to research procedures, to ensure that concepts which are being investigated have equivalent meaning. Mullings (1999, p337) suggests the following:

> *'as scholars we embark upon research with 'maps of consciousness' that are influenced by our own gender, class, national and racial attributes. A researcher's knowledge is therefore always partial, because his/her positionality (perspective shaped by his/her unique mix of race, class,*

> *gender, nationality, sexuality and other identifiers), as well as location in time and space will influence how the world is viewed and interpreted.'*

Shah (2004) also argues, that qualitative research, which is often used to research cross-cultural issues, and is an area of research which has seen increased growth due to the effects of globalisation and international mobility, requires more attention from the researcher. Shah (2004, p549) further suggests, that it is important for researchers to *'communicate meaningfully across these divides'*, with a specific focus on *'cross-cultural interviewing and its implications for data collection and data interpretation'* (ibid).

She further outlines the importance of *'differences in experiences and perceptions, which influence how meaning is made of conversations and social behaviour'..* and that there is*.. 'the interplay of different factors on interviewing ... issues of gender, personal experience, age, social status, race, ethnicity*' (Shah, 2004, p553).

There may also be some topics or areas which may be regarded as 'taboo' (ibid), or difficult to discuss in other cultures e.g. dowry in India. These complexities have been carefully considered in this study and will be further outlined in the methodology chapter.

With further reference to Shah's arguments regarding cross-cultural research studies, it is important for the reader to note, that although I did not have Indian nationality, nor speak Hindi, I have gained significant insight into the Indian higher education system, and Indian culture, through my many visits to India, and through my background reading. I have travelled and worked in international locations on many occasions, and thus I consider that I have a high level of cultural competence (Pirani, 2008). I have taught marketing subjects to Indian and other international students who were studying postgraduate business programmes in the UK and abroad; and I have met Indian students' families at functions in the UK and India. I also have Indian family friends in the UK and abroad who I have socialized with and on many occasions. While these factors do not guarantee understanding, they have all helped to ensure that this cross-cultural qualitative study has been well designed and implemented, in order to collect and interpret the data, to provide further insight and knowledge of Indian postgraduates.

1.21 Outline of the Chapters

1.22 Summary

This chapter highlights the background of the researcher and provides a justification for the study. It also outlines the impact of globalisation which has resulted in greater student mobility for the development of human and cultural capital, and, the expectation that it will improve employment opportunities and result in other social benefits in the growing knowledge economy.

It has also outlined that this basic qualitative cross-cultural research study, aims to explore and determine what the motivations, expectations, outcomes and additional perceived benefits are for middle class Indian nationals, who gain postgraduate business credentials in India, or the UK.

Further, this chapter provides the reader with an overview of the research process, its aims and the relevance, scope and benefits of the research and an outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 2 will provide the reader with an overview of the history and development of Indian higher education, which will help to provide a contextualization of this study. Appendix 1 also provides an overview of the history and the development of UK higher education and business and management education which influenced the development of India's higher education system.

Chapter 2: History of Indian Higher Education and Business and Management Education

2.11 Introduction

This chapter will present an overview of the development of the higher education system and business and management schools in India's growing economy, where population, which was estimated at 251 million in 1921, is now estimated to be greater than 1.1 billion, and *'is rich in potential human capital. The word "potential" is key to this statement, as an unskilled, uneducated and illiterate population may be considered a liability rather than an asset'* (Berlia, 2007). India has the second largest population in the world after China, and has the third largest higher education system for enrolments, after China and the USA (CIA, 2010; Hardgrave and Kochanek, 2000; World Bank, 2008).

Berlia (2007, p32) suggests that, although many sectors of the economy are transforming, education in India requires attention:

> *'education is one of the last bastions of control for the government and bureaucrats and they are adamantly refusing to let go. It empowers them, as they are able to please their constituents by artificially reducing the cost of education, get their friends, relatives, and patrons coveted seats in institutions, and exercise direct control of the fundamental instrument of democracy.'*

This chapter traces the history of Indian education back to the Indus Valley and British rule, and introduces the implementation of Indian Government policy, which has resulted in India having the highest number of higher educational institutions in the world; *'18,500 in total, a figure greater than those in China or the US'* (Agarwal, 2009, p4), but, currently, not enough capacity to meet the demands of the population. There is evidence which suggests that there is over-bureaucratisation by the Indian government, a shortage of higher education funding, and a lack of quality institutions and faculty within the HE sector (Altbach, 1993; Jayaram, 2004; Tilak, 1997). (This chapter should be read in conjunction with Appendix 1, which highlights the history and developments of higher education from the UK to the USA and into India.)

Current Indian institutions comprise Universities, Deemed Universities, Private Universities, Institutions of National Importance, Premier Institutions of Management (IIMs), and Premier Institutions of Technology (IITs), and many Colleges, which are affiliated to the Universities. There is also an informal education system in India, which comprises *'corporate entities, granting certificates and diplomas of varying quality and relevance*' (Berlia, 2007, p6). This informal system has developed to support the growing IT industry with many institutions affiliated to software companies, e.g. Microsoft.

The World Bank reports that approximately '44 % of India's labour force is illiterate and only 17% has secondary schooling' (World Bank, 2010). Also, *'the quality of most graduates is poor and employers offer very little upgrading of skills; only 16% of Indian manufacturers offer in-service training compared to over 90% in China'* (ibid). A report from the Government of India's Planning Commission also argues:

> *'For skill development, the Group has noted that shortages exist equally at the level of managers and supervisors and of skill categories. In some categories, the numbers being turned out by the institutions are extremely inadequate while in others the quality of trainees is poor and they need to undergo a 'finishing' process so that they become employable.'*
> (Hoda, 2008, p6)

It has been argued that even though higher education enrolments have increased in India, there are high levels of graduate under-employment, and unemployment, due to a lack of appropriate work-place skills (Agarwal, 2009). India has the opportunity to be a leader in the global knowledge economy; however, *'there are concerns that the country's antiquated higher education and training system might derail the growth process'* (Agarwal. 2009, p169).
Before reviewing further elements of India's current higher education system the history of education in India will be outlined.

2.12 Influence of Invaders

India's history is diverse, rich and complex beginning with settlements in the Indus Valley 3000 years B.C., followed by the Aryans in 1500 B.C. with their Vedic sacred Sanskrit Hindu texts. Islam was introduced by the Muslim traders, who established themselves in the South of the continent. In the north of the country the Mogul emperors from central Asia ruled, and eventually occupied most of North India. Other states were ruled by Hindus e.g. the Rajputs (Keay, 2000), and early records suggest there were unique communities with different societies stratified into Hindu castes or jati. These societies had their own languages and religions, and are still found in the complex culture of India today (Ghosh, 2007; Keay, 2000; Wankhede, 2010). Wankhede, (2010), further suggests that this stratification, or caste system, was based on differences of hierarchical levels, which relied upon each other without damaging society. Keay (2000), stresses *'that caste assumed its passive and static connotations only after the Muslim conquest'* (Keay, 2000, p189), a period which resulted in early discrimination for Hindus restricting their influence and *'political participation and economic advancement'* (ibid).

In the sixth century, the Hindus' Vedic religious education was taught in the Gurukulas, i.e. schools, by the higher level priestly castes, the Brahmins, and later, the Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, castes which still hold significant status positions in India today (Alexander, 1998; Deka, 2000). The languages of Sanskrit Hindu and Buddhist evolved, and religious education was taught in *'local dialects and vernacular'* (Ghosh, 2007, p55), and was mostly found in India's northern areas and some other regions. In regions replaced by Islamic settlers, education was taught in the Madrasahs, i.e. religious schools, with instruction in Arabic and Persian. Persian was also the language used in official offices and administrative positions in Delhi and Agra at that time. Muslim rulers developed a new language in India, called Urdu, with many Arabic words, and written in Persian characters. This became the '*lingua franca of the Muslim community in India*' (Alexander, 1998; Ghosh, 2007, p7), a language which Alexander suggests was a result of Muslims and Hindus studying together in universities, and other educational institutions (Alexander, 1998).

2.13 East India Company – 1600s

In the seventeenth century, in 1653, the famous Taj Mahal mausoleum was built (Taj Mahal, 2010), and Europe increased its development of trade with India and China. The Portuguese had already begun trading with India and they had established a port in Bon Bahia, later to be called Bombay (Keay, 2000), and later renamed Mumbai in the twentieth century.

The *'East India Companies of London and the Netherlands'* (Keay, 2000, p 323), were founded in the 1600s, to trade with the East, and the British East India Company took over many parts of India using its military power to establish control (ibid). Many wars were fought between Muslins and Hindus, and stronger trading links and further enclaves were developed by the East India Company through their relationships with the Mughal leaders and other Indian elites. Some of these relationships resulted in an increase in some of the company's employees' personal assets, status and power. The East India Company gradually took control of more Indian territory, playing *'one ruler against another'* (Hardgrave & Kochanek, 2000, p30; Keay, 2000). They established enclaves at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and, with this increase in power, British rule slowly developed throughout the country (ibid). In 1857, against the oppressive rule of the British, some suggest that the first war of Indian independence took place, an uprising known as *'the 'Sepoy', Bengal, or 'Indian Mutiny'* (Hardgrave & Kochanek, 2000; Keay, 2000, P437). Many Indians were opposed to Christian conversion and against Hindu soldiers being sent abroad; this resulted in the uprising (ibid).

2.14 British Rule – British Raj

In 1858, the Government of India Act was passed, and a royal proclamation in Britain, made Queen Victoria, the Queen of India. All rights previously held by the East India Company, were transferred to the British monarchy. British rule, or the British Raj, as it was known, was established. Treaties with the Indian hierarchy were strengthened and a centralised administration was established to develop social and economic policy; the foundations of British education were also established (Ghosh, 2007; Keay, 2000).

2.15 Education

When the East India Company began trading links with India in the eighteenth century, India had two recorded education systems, one Hindu and the other Muslim. It was only during the first half of the 1800s that a policy on education was developed to widen the use of English language which Governor General Bentinck, based in Calcutta, considered *'not only a 'cure' for the kind of social evils .....but also a key to the improvement of the country'* (Ghosh, 2007, p313).

In 1835, the policy for higher education tuition became bilingual when the first member of the Governor Genera'ls Council, Thomas Macaulay, convinced Governor Bentinck, in his now famous minute, to adopt English as the language of instruction, rather than Sanskrit or Persian. This he suggested, would create a select upper class, a *'class of people who would be Indians in blood and skin but English in spirit'* (Alexander, 1998, p3, Ghosh, 2007), a move not welcomed by Muslims or Hindus, who endeavoured to maintain their own higher education institutions alongside the English ones (Alexander, 1998).

2.16 Development of Higher Education

In 1845, higher education colleges had combined English with the vernacular, and the first central university based on the model of London University was proposed to the British Government (Ghosh, 2007). In 1854, Wood's Dispatch, which was described as the '*Magna Carta of education in India'* (Jayapalan, 2001, p9), was sent to India to outline a policy for higher education, a policy which was to provide a grant-in-aid system to help private institutions to develop, with English as the recommended language for tuition (Jayapalan, 2001). This also resulted, in 1857, in the Acts of Incorporation, and the establishment of three affiliated universities modelled on the University of London, in*, 'Calcutta, Bombay and Madras*' (Altbach, 1993; Ghosh, 2007, p355). The Chancellors, Vice Chancellors and fellows were supported by the grants-in-aid for religious neutrality. Their aim was to educate Indians, so that they could be employed in the British and Indian Government Services (Alexander, 1998; Ghosh, 2007; Jayram, 2004).

Also, at this time, colleges were established by either wealthy Indians or missionary bodies which were affiliated to, but not part of, the new universities. Students could only study topics such as languages and humanities, and they were required to take any exams for their degrees at the universities (Ghosh, 2007). The universities at that time were *'largely affiliating and examining bodies with very little intellectual life of their own'* (Agarwal, 2007, p197). Agarwal (2007) also suggests that science and technology studies did not develop at this time, and, as such, India inherited higher education *'which could be referred to as an 'anemic, distorted and dysfunctional'* system (ibid, p198).

The affiliated colleges rose '*from 27 in 1857 to 72 by 1881-1882'* (Ghosh, 2007, p 363). The most prestigious were *'St. Xavier's College, Calcutta (1860), Reid College, Lucknow, (1877), and St Stephens College, Delhi (1882)'* (Jayapalan, 2001, p10), all of which are regarded as prestigious institutions of higher education today. Ghosh (2007) also argues that, as graduates accrued material gains from their employment opportunities with the government, more Indians wanted to study.

In the late nineteenth century, following the removal of British government support, there was a growth of private colleges under Indian owner control; a university of the Punjab and Allahabad were also established. Indian graduate numbers grew with Bas and Mas, but, employment opportunities did not increase in the same way. The jobs which the graduates expected in government offices, tended to go to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, as a result, there was great unrest and Indian graduates, turned against the Raj (Agarwal, 2007; Ghosh, 2007).

2.17 Universities Act – 1905

Universities became centres for teaching, not just affiliating and examining institutions, and staff tenure and appointments became more regulated. Affiliations of colleges were restricted, and territorial limits covered by the universities were reduced too. Interestingly, in an attempt to reduce the growing unrest of those students who were against the Raj, it was announced that university degrees would be revoked if a graduate's anti-social activities resulted in a criminal conviction. To ensure the enforcement of these reforms, an Indian Universities Commission was established by Lord Curzon in 1902, and the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1905. This Act outlined a new policy for higher education, with reforms, additional funding and the development of technical education, through engineering colleges and technical schools (Agarwal, 2007; Ghosh, 2007).

Ghosh (2007) also argues that, in 1912, despite an ever expanding population, there were still only *'five universities and one hundred and eighty five colleges'* (Ghosh, 2007, p417). Education went through various reforms from this time onwards, resulting in a resolution in 1913, which stated that for Higher Education, *'there would be a university for each province of British India'* (ibid). In response to this resolution, five new universities were established including '*S.N.D.T Women University in 1916'* (Deka, 2000, p9).

2.18 Government of India Act – 1919

India's development continued through various challenging times, with the non-cooperation movement supported by Mahatma Ghandi, and the increased Hindu-Muslim rioting. In order to provide a policy on education, the Government of India Act, 1919, was passed which included a recommendation for education provision. This resulted in the establishment of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in 1921.

The aim of CABE was to outline a general education policy across India, to avoid duplication and to improve coordination (Agarwal, 2009; Ghosh 2007). CABE was abolished in 1929, and the Hartog Committee presented a new report on education. The Committee highlighted that despite the growth of universities, further improvements in quality and in the education of women were required (Ghosh, 2007; Hardgrave and Kochanek, 2000).

The Government of India Act was passed in 1935, resulting in many changes and the revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE). Ghandi, recommended compulsory education for all teenage children, but due to the war in Europe, progress slowed, and India fell far behind Britain in educational provision (Ghosh, 2007).

Although women's education had been highlighted in Wood's Dispatch in 1854, and women had been allowed to attend Calcutta University in 1877, it was not until the early 1900s that women's education developed. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 highlighted the poor state of women's education, and recommendations were made to increase the funding available (Deka, 2000). In 1901-1902, there were twelve colleges and over four hundred schools for girls, but very low enrolment, due to such factors as, early marriages, female household responsibilities, lack of female accommodation, and lack of suitable curriculum. The level of mass poverty impeded women's opportunities for improvement in their status, social, and economic development:

> *'Economic Problems,*
> *Most of the people of our country depend on agriculture and small business, like rope, basket and mat making. Boys and girls are enrolled in the education institution, but the parents decide at last, to drop the girls from the educational institutions. Because in our social position, education of boys is more essential than girls for the future. Low income source has hampered the development of education of women.'*
> (Deka, 2000, p55).

The Women's Indian Association was founded in 1917, followed by the establishment of the National Council of Women in 1925; it is now affiliated to the International Council of Women (Deka, 2000). Post-Independence, the various Education Commissions and Committees resulted in the development of higher education for women which enabled them to be *'absorbed into many vacancies in Hospitals, Schools and various offices'* (Deka, 2000, p46). Women now constitute about 40% of all student enrolments in Indian higher education (Kapur and Mehta, 2007).

2.19 Independence – 1947

In 1947, the UK Labour Government under economic post war pressures, debated and reviewed India's independence. Many politicians in Britain suggested that independence and self-governance would be impossible, due to India's diverse culture, ethnic communities and cultural groups (Hoveyda, Kumar & Alam, 2011; Sagar, 2005). However, in 1947, the Indian Independence Act was passed by the British Government, which outlined the independent dominions of India and Pakistan. India gained her independence on the 15th August 1947, and negotiations with Hindu and Muslim representatives resulted in the controversial partition of India to prevent a civil war breaking out. Mass migration of some 10 million people took place (Bates, 2011). Muslims moved to North India, now Pakistan, and to the

East, to East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. The struggle for partition resulted in the massacre of many Hindus and Muslims, mostly backed by religious justification. Not only was religion an issue which would be difficult to deal with in a post-independence India, but language would be a problem too (ibid).

Hindustani was suggested as the preferred national language rather than English, but as Hardgrave and Kochanek (2000) highlight, India had, over twelve major language groups. The newly formed Indian Congress had therefore, to design the new union states based on these major languages. This resulted in the administrative map not being drawn until 1956. These policy decisions resulted in the India of today, which some regard as a '*highly pluralistic and segmented society which lacks uniformity. Each of India's 25 states and 7 union territories, has its own distinctive cultural, linguistic, and social mosaic that makes it a distinct political unit*' (Hardgrave and Kochanek, 2000, p25). There are now 28 states due to the creation of additional states in 2000. These distinctive cultural factors, some of which are still unresolved, have influenced the complexity of decisions, on both political and higher education policy found in India today (Agarwal, 2009; Altbach, 1993).

2.20 University Education Committee

In 1948, the University Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a visiting Oxford professor (Murty and Vohra, 1990), was established to review and develop proposals for the improvement, and expansion, of higher education provision, to meet future socio-economic development needs (Ghosh, 2007; Jayaram, 2004; Singh, 2004). Before independence, not only did the expenditure on colleges rise significantly between 1937-1947, but also the '*number of students rose from 53,697 in 1937-1938, to 71,897 in 1946-1947*' (Ghosh, 2007, p450).

2.21 The Constitution of India

Post-independence, a new liberal, secular, democratic Constitution of India was developed from mostly UK and US constitutions, to protect the rights of the state, its government, and its citizens, and in 1950, India became a Republic with membership of the British Commonwealth (Ghosh, 2007). This was the start of the country's first planning process and budgets were allocated to various sectors, including higher education. The current government comprises a President, a Vice President and Head of Government; and a Prime Minister, currently Dr. Manmohan Singh (Government of India Web Site, 2010). India has multiple-political parties, with six National parties and twenty three State parties (Ghosh, 2007; Hardgrave and Kochanek, 2000; Keay, 2000; World Bank, 2008). There is a Council of Ministers which has the real executive power with the Prime Minister as its head. There is also a Council of the Parliament which is composed of the President and two houses; one, the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the other, the House of the People (Lok Sabha) (Government of India, 2010). The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the House of the People. The Constitution outlines the responsibility for education between central and state governments, *'the central government sets policy, stimulates innovation and plans frameworks. The state governments are responsible for running the education system on the ground'* (Lall, 2005, p6). The problem with this structure is that different states have different priorities in allocating their resources to education, so richer states have developed better facilities. It can be noted that *'the IT based success of southern states owes much to their higher number of engineering colleges and consequent greater pool of graduates*' (ibid). Political involvement in higher education is extensive which has resulted in policy agreements which are difficult to implement (Altbach, 1993).

Ghosh (2007) suggests that independence gave India a chance to restructure educational provision like that in other emerging nations. The problem was that, since India had so much to reconstruct following British rule and partition, an education system did not really develop as had been expected, by the then Union Education Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The universities at this time were overspent and the findings of the report of the University Education Commission (UEC), under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, (1948), resulted in a review of university funding (Kulavelil, 2003).

2.22 University Grants Commission – 1956

In response to the UEC report, the Indian government established the University Grants Commission (UGC), in 1953, and made it an autonomous statutory body by an Act of Parliament in 1956, a body similar to the UK Commission. Its role was to regulate and coordinate, and set standards, and to manage higher education funding (Government of India, 2010; Powar, 2002; Singh, 2004). In '*1950-51 the government (federal, provincial/state and local), met only 40% of the total expenditure on higher education*' (Alexander, 1998, p41). Parents contributed 37%, with the remainder from donations and endowments. The share of total contributions made by government did however increase in the early 1980s, although this was still considered too low for a developing country (ibid).

2.23 Kothari Commission – 1964

Ghosh (2007) argues that *'the vision for a national system of education seen in 1947 got blurred within two decades'* (Ghosh, 2007, p 455), and it was not until 1964, under the National Education Commission, or Kothari Commission (Deka, 2000), that a national system of higher education evolved. Kothari's report of 1966 outlined that there should be:

- *'a radical improvement in the quality and standard of higher education and research',*
- *an expansion of higher education to meet manpower requirements of the nation and the rising social ambitions and expectations of the people; and*
- *an improvement of university organisation and administration.'*

(Powar, 2002, p31)

The Kothari commission also reviewed the *'importance of vocational, technical and professional education'* (Ghosh, 2007, p460), and educational expenditure for the next two decades, 1966-1968, was recommended as '*6% of GNP*' (Kulavelil, 2003, p41). This was supported by the Acharya Ramamurity Commission in 1986, which also recommended increased fees for higher education, linked to parental income (ibid). This National Policy on Higher Education of 1986, was used to translate the Radhakrishnan, 1945, and Kothari, 1964, Commissions, into five principal goals for higher education which included '*Greater Access, Equal Access (or equity), Quality and Excellence, Relevance, and Promotion of Social Values*' (Thorat, 2006, p3).

2.24 Higher Education Funding

The funding for higher education which comes from government sources, central or state, and from households, was believed by many to be inadequate to meet existing and planned provision. In 1963-64, due to an increase in the need for additional funding, the central government established a National Loan Scholarship Scheme. However, as Alexander (1998) points out, many Indians do not consider loans for fees as an appropriate investment. Many Indians believe that it is more appropriate that loans should be for investments in physical capital, and for '*consumption activities such as marriages'* (Alexander, 1998, p53), but, *'not for invisible human capital formation, whose benefits are not easily identified, nor quantifiable, nor certain*' (Alexander 1998, p 53). Alexander (1998) further argues that student loans were rarely paid back and policies were required by those who offered them, to ensure that inequalities did not ensue. This system was discontinued in 1991, due to the problems of poor uptake and paybacks. Further loan schemes were developed in 1995, and again in 2001-02; although uptake has increased, the number of families taking such loans is still very low. Of those that did take loans, only a small proportion was used for overseas study (Agarwal, 2006).

2.25 National Policy of Education – 1968

In 1968, a National Policy of Education was developed, although Ghosh (2007) suggests this was only adopted half-heartedly with a recommendation for a common educational structure of 10+2+3 years. There was also a focus on increasing funding, and access, with equality for women, the scheduled castes and tribes, and the backward castes (Ghosh, 2007). This issue of reserving university seats for specific groups, added to the political pressure from society, faculty, and students to implement higher education reforms.

It was, however, not until 1985 that an urgent review of the massive growth in Higher Education took place. Ghosh (2007) states that in 1947 there were *'19 universities and about 800 colleges'*, and in '*1974 there were 100 universities and about 4,000 colleges'* (Ghosh, 2007, p463). He further states *'that education was in turmoil in most of the developing countries which have recently emerged independent, but in India it has a peculiar dimension because of the vastness of the* *country with a huge, almost exploding population* (Ghosh 2007, p463). The possibility of an Open University to support the country's needs was discussed by the Indian Government in the early 1970s, but this did not come to fruition until 1982 in Andhra Pradesh, and later, as India's National Open University (IGNOU), in 1985. The enrolments to these institutions have, however, been very low (Narasimharao, 2009).

In 1976, education was transferred from the states' list of responsibilities to the Central Government, but, due to lack of government development, the Indian economy did not expand to absorb the increasing number of graduates, many of whom remained unemployed (Ghosh, 2007). This resulted in political unrest and the Indian National Congress Party lost its control over some of the states. Due to a lack of government agreement on education policy from 1968, a New National Policy of Education (NPE) (Ghosh, 2007) was only introduced by Rajiv Gandhi in 1986; the purpose of which was to prepare India for the 21st century. The main aims were to raise standards and improve access (Lall, 2005; Thorat, 2006). The new policy also proposed that *'all children irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex could have access to education'* (Heitzman & Worden, 1995, Section 1).

2.26 Central Agencies for Higher Education

Following the success of the NPE, centralized agencies were established to improve standards and quality, and a '*National Eligibility Test (NET), was established by the UGC'* (Ghosh 2007 p469), to regulate teachers in HE. The following International agencies were also given statutory authority:

> *'National Assessment and Accreditation Council, (NAAC); the National Council of Higher Education (NCHE); the National Council of Teacher Education (NCTE),* and, the *All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE).'*
> (Ghosh, 2007, p469)

The All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), originally established in 1945, became a statutory body by Act of Parliament in 1987, for technical education, which was *'defined as programmes of education, research and training in engineering, technology, architecture, town planning, management, pharmacy and applied arts and crafts'* (AICTE, 2010).

The National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) was established by the UGC in 1994, to assess and accredit Indian institutions of HE. The National Board of Accreditation (NBA), was also established in 1994, by the AICTE, to accredit and monitor the quality of technical Institutions. Powar (2002) demonstrates that, by December 2000, the NAAC had only *'assessed 22 universities and 123 colleges'* (Powar, 2002, p238). It was also highlighted by the World Bank (2008), that in 2006 the NAAC, had still *'only accredited 128 universities and 2879 colleges, and reaccredited 4 universities and 43 colleges (NACC website)'* (World Bank, 2008, p7). Powar (2002), also argued that '*accreditation in India is in its infancy'* (Powar, 2002, p238), which may be one of the main reasons behind the levels of perceived poor quality of provision.

A higher education report on emerging issues related to access, inclusiveness and quality, from the Nehru Memorial Lecture 2006, clearly highlights some of these issues:

> *'A substantial portion of colleges and universities are not assessed for quality and therefore we do not have a full picture of the quality and excellence of university and college sector engaged in higher education. 61% or equivalent to about 8500 colleges are without proper assessment for quality. We do not know much about the quality of these colleges. In fact accredited colleges constitute only 20% of the total colleges (that is 14000). Most of these colleges are self-financing and without permanent affiliation. It is therefore necessary to bring these colleges under the fold of quality assessment to improve the standard of college education in the country. As far as university sector is concerned about 50-60% of the universities are not assessed with elaborate criteria of NAAC.'*
>
> (Thorat, 2006)

Kaul (2006, p55), agrees with Thorat (2006), suggesting that:

> *'While the bogus or poor quality colleges are a matter of concern for every regulator, the problem in India is that University Authorities do not have a proper monitoring and surveillance system for colleges.'*

Some of the problems facing the NAAC are a result of the complexity of the HEIs, which are *'functioning under contradictory and complex situations with regard to geographical, demographical, social, political, economic and cultural factors'* (Pillai & Srinivas, 2006, p95). The complexity is added to by the fact that each university and each state has its:

> *'own policies in academic and administrative matters such as admission, curriculum design (for example an annual, semester or choice-based credit system), course structure, infrastructure, human resources, evaluation processes, recruitment, reservation policies (such as affirmative action for socially and economically disadvantaged groups), organization and management. This makes it extremely difficult to undertake benchmarking for objective assessment of institutions.'*

It is also important to note that the central universities are *'established by Acts of Parliament and regulated directly by the Ministry of Human Resource Development'* (Jayaram, 2004, p88). State universities are *'regulated by an Act of the State Assemblies, and regulated by the respective State Governments'* (ibid).

This complexity is also a concern for Indian parents and students, as they compete for limited higher education places. As foreign universities are currently not legally allowed to establish institutions in India (Kapur and Mehta, 2004; Kapur and Mehta, 2007), save for a few UK and US universities which operate through non-formal arrangements (Agarwal, 2007), it has been suggested that the Right to Education Bill, which outlines access or inclusiveness for all Indians irrespective of class, caste, religion, gender or economic status (Thorat, 2006; World Bank, 2007), should be observed by all Indian private education and any foreign providers, which are non-Government funded, and they must make the provision to meet the Act and provide quotas for the underprivileged castes (Agarwala, 2008). Gupta (2008) argues that there is a lack of agreement between Government Departments on foreign provision, with some, i.e. Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), wanting India to benefit from the fees rather than foreign institutions, and, other Ministries, i.e. the Ministry of Commerce, only wanting to allow highly ranked foreign institutions to establish institutes in India (Gupta, 2008).

More private education is suggested as a way of increasing the supply of higher education provision, but there are debates about quality as well as control issues

(Agarwal, 2009). One of the many problems is that, as the private institutions and colleges offer their degrees through the universities, and because the universities set the curricular guidelines, there is limited development of new programmes, and few possibilities of any pedagogical improvements, due to state control over education policy (Kapur and Mehta, 2004).

Lall (2005) suggests that the results of the 1986 policy, were focused on *'privatisation, and continued emphasis on secularism and science'* (Lall, 2005, p3). This resulted in independence for HEIs, but reduced funding by government and increased fees for students. Lall (2005), further contends that *'the balance between public and private sectors becomes almost synonymous with a balance between excellence and access'* (ibid, p7).

2.27 1990s

When government changed to the National Front Government, under V. P. Singh, a policy review was implemented under Acharya Ramamurti, in 1990, and a Programme of Action was outlined in 1992, to improve access and participation in HE. However, due to political changes that again took place, the report was withheld (Ghosh, 2007; Powar, 2002).

Further political changes took place in the 1990s, and issues with the reforms and international policies of the eighties were reviewed. As a result, there were economic reforms and improvements in international trade, but little development of higher education. In India's pluralistic society, with different religions, castes and views, and differing agendas, support for a decision on higher educational policy was not possible, and debates resulted in a lack of agreement and stagnation (Ghosh, 2007). Due to a lack of policy on HE, many institutions have emerged to meet the demands of the growing middle class, with little regard to quality standards (Altbach, 1993). Altbach (1993) also suggests that privatisation of HE stalled at this time, increasing the pressure on the Indian Government for greater access to higher education (Altbach, 1993). The bulk of the Indian higher education system became highly fragmented and was constituted by the affiliating system of university provision, which resulted in as many as 18,000 colleges, with approximately 300 affiliated colleges linked to some universities (ibid).The original idea of affiliation was devised to improve quality of higher education provision, but this has not always been the case.

There were no private universities in the early 1990s, only some private, deemed universities. Due to the financial constraints on Government provision, private colleges grew in great numbers and were affiliated to existing or new universities (Agarwal, 2009). Some of these colleges are supported by government operating funding and are termed *'private aided institutions'* (Agarwal, 2009, p68), e.g. IIMs. Other institutions which, are fully private are referred to as unaided private institutions (ibid), which as they have no government funding, are not subject to academic controls. Many of these colleges charge high fees, and have developed, as demand exceeded supply, but, due to the lack of government controls, some of these colleges are of dubious quality (Agarwal, 2009; Alexander, 1998; Gupta, 2008). Some of these private colleges and 'deemed-universities', previously affiliated to colleges, have been established by families, or groups of families (Altbach and Levy, 2005). A current example of the problems with these poor quality institutions was highlighted in the Times of India on line:

> ***'Centre to derecognize 44 deemed universities.***
> *NEW DELHI: The Centre has told the Supreme Court that it has decided to withdraw the "deemed" status to 44 universities in the country alleging these were being run as family fiefdoms rather than on academic considerations. However, to avoid jeopardizing the future of nearly two lakhs students enrolled in these universities spread over 13 states, they would be allowed to revert back as affiliated colleges of their original universities, the Centre said in an affidavit. The affidavit filed by the HRD Ministry said the government has accepted the recommendations made in this regard by the high-powered P N Tandon committee and the Special Task Force set up to suggest measures to tackle the problem.'*
> (Times of India, 2010)

2.28 Higher Education Developments

Post-independence higher education has developed in several stages, from 1947 to 1980, with growth in universities and affiliated colleges and the development of provision throughout the whole country. This was followed by a further growth stage from 1980, and again from 2000 with additional private provision of HE (Agarwal, 2009).

The increase in provision to create equality and social mobility has not yet delivered the results that Government had been hoped for. There is still a lack of high quality institutions in India today, due to what some describe as a breakdown of the state system and internationalisation across institutions making *'the majority of degrees meaningless in the market place'* (Cheney, Ruzzi, & Muralidharan, 2005, p14; Kapur, & Mehta, 2004). One result is that those upper and middle class families, who have economic capital, send their children abroad for their education, predominantly to the USA, UK, or Australia. This has resulted in a loss of revenue for Indian institutions, and a possible brain drain for India's growing economy, as graduates seek employment abroad (Agarwal, 2009; Kapur, & Mehta, 2004).

Kapur & Mehta (2004, p6), argue that institutions are growing at an enormous rate, and despite the absence of precise data, *'the situation in the 1000 odd business schools suggests that 90 percent are private sector. Even as political parties rail against de jure privatization, de facto privatization continues unabated'* (Cheney, Ruzzi & Muralidharan 2005, p14).

Postgraduate education is seen by Singh (2004) as a problem which has not been fully addressed, and he suggests that the UGC has done little to improve the quality of provision. Singh proposes several reforms from consolidation of provision, to improvement in teaching methods, and the linking of government departments to ensure quality (Singh, 2004).

2.29 Development of IIMs and IITs

The great variability in the quality of higher education generally, has resulted in what Powar describes as the '*existence of islands of excellence in a sea of mediocrity'* (Altbach, 1993; Power, 2002 p36). The *'islands of excellence'* (ibid) that Power is referring to, which were developed in the 1960s for postgraduate studies and research in business and management, were the two Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs); one established in collaboration with, the Sloan School of Management, and the other with the Harvard Business School (Ibid). They have both adopted new curriculum and teaching styles from faculty from these two prestigious institutions making them the most sought after institutes in India (Agarwal, 2007). In the 1970/80s, in order to focus on technical education and to target the needs of industrial developments, the '*Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), and Regional Engineering Colleges'* (Agarwal 2007, p12), were established. These institutions are still rated as some of the most prestigious places of study in India, offering limited, but highly competitive, places and accepting only the very best of India's students who achieve the highest Common Admission Test (CAT), (Agarwal 2007, p12). Access can also be granted to students who have high scores on the Graduate Management Admissions Test (GMAT), an international test offered by the Graduate Management Admission Council (GMAC), (GMAC, 2010). Students who graduate from these institutions are some of the most respected and sought after in India and abroad (Agarwal, 2007). Many students who cannot gain access to these institutions may choose to study abroad to secure the quality of educational programmes.

2.30 Indian School of Business – 1990s

In 1996, a group of business leaders developed the idea of a Business School in India, to support the needs of the growing economy; the result was the establishment of the Indian School of Business in Hyderabad, in 1990. It was opened in collaboration with Wharton, the Kellogg School of Management and the London Business School. This Institute is now ranked twelfth in the Financial Times (FT) Global MBA Rankings, which presents the salary scales for graduates in excess of £100,000 per annum (FT.com, 2010; IBS, 2010); these salary scales appear to motivate many more students to study for their management qualifications.
Under a succession of governments since the 1990s, India has developed large university and non-university sectors, driven by the growing economy and emerging middle classes, who could afford private education. Very few universities were established by the government at this time and Agarwal (2006) suggests that the government actually withdrew from their responsibility for the additional development of higher education. This move appears to be, as previously suggested, towards the greater development of an Indian HE sector (Agarwal, 2006). This growth from elite to mass provision has been experienced in many countries, e.g. the UK, and is a reflection of the trends in other global HE systems (Maringe and Gibbs, 2009; Trow, 1973). This is a trend, however, which, unlike other global HE provision, is seen in India not as a response to demand, but as '*a*

result of a breakdown of the state system' (Kapur & Mehta, 2004, p3). Kapur & Mehta (2004), suggest that this growth in institutions and the reduction in Government control are due to politicians' involvement in universities for their own self benefit. They further suggest that poor governance of these institutions is due to weak trustees and administration (ibid).

2.31 University and College Provision

The different types of university that exist today in India vary depending upon their academic, administrative and financial structures. Central universities are established by an act of parliament and state universities by state legislation. Some universities are granted 'deemed to be university' status, by central government and are degree-awarding HEIs (Agarwal, 2006). The number of deemed universities grew rapidly in the period 2000-2005 and, although they do not have affiliating powers, many have multiple campuses. The State Governments also developed private universities, and in 2005, seven were established in different states, and '*recognised by the UGC'* (Agarwal, 2006, p 9). This development was highlighted by Kapur & Mehta (2004, p6):

> *'private universities (as distinct from private colleges), needed approval from the UGC. After the break-up of Madhya Pradesh, the Ajit Jogiled Congress government in Chhattisgarh put paid to that assumption. It saw a regulatory loophole and enacted the Private University Act in 2002. One hundred and eight such universities came up in the state, with 94 in the state capital, Raipur, alone. After a new BJP government came to power, it passed the Private University Amendment Bill, 2004 under which proprietors of all private universities would have to deposit Rs 2 Crore with the government and prove that they have 25 acres of land for their institutions. Belatedly, the UGC came up with the UGC (Establishment of and Maintenance of Standards in Private Universities) Regulations 2003. Each private university would now require a separate State Act conforming to the relevant provisions of the UGC Act.'*
>
> Note
>
> (1 Crore = 10 million Rupee = 10 Lacs - £120,000)

Gupta (2008) shows that the Supreme Court of India is also active in higher education legislation, dealing with such basic issues of administration and fee fixing, and it has suggested a requirement for an assessment and accreditation body, similar to the UK Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) and the UK Association of Business Schools (ABS) (Gupta, 2008).

In 2006, there were both public and private institutions which comprised 367 university level institutions. Kaul (2006) suggests that private education provides almost 50% of higher education in India today and it may be both government aided and unaided/non-aided. Of the aided colleges/institutes, 95% of the teachers' salary bill is government funded. Non aided institutions rely on higher level student tuition fees and grants, or donations (Kaul, 2006).

The 'pure private' sector which has reduced the burden on government provision has increased rapidly, but many of these institutions have not observed University Grants Commission (UGC) regulations and are lacking in regard to their level of public good, i.e. access, equity and quality (Gupta, 2008; Talak, 2008; UGC, 2010). In 2003, the first energy corporate university, the University of Petroleum and Energy Studies (UPES), was established and is now run by the UGC (UPES, 2010).

2.32 Colleges

There were 18,064 degree and postgraduate colleges (including 1,902 women's colleges) in 2006, of which 14,400 came under the control of the University Grants Commission (UGC). The rest were professional colleges which came under the control of the Central Government, or other statutory bodies such as the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), and the Distance Education Council (DEC) (World Bank, 2008).

2.33 Financing Higher Education

Finance for education in India also appears very complex, but is drawn mostly from state governments, and central government. Funding for higher education has four strands, general, technical, medical and agriculture, each of which are funded by different ministries at Government and state levels. General education at 130 HEIs, is funded through the UGC, the buffer between government and the universities, and technical education is funded directly from the Department of Higher Education (Agarwal, 2009).

Expenditure on higher education by Central Government, although generally focused on central universities, has increased over the years, but '*is limited and spread unevenly*' (Agarwal, 2009, p 121; Tilak, 1997). It is used to support a selection of favoured universities and colleges '*50% of which are in Delhi*' (ibid). The share of spend for higher education decreased from '*25% during the Fourth, Five Year plan (1969-74) to 8% in the Eighth Five Year plan (1992-97)*' (Powar, 2000, p39). The first five year plan was devised in 1950, after the constitution was established, and, the other plans were developed every five years after this. In 2008-09, total education spend was 5%, of which higher education and technical education's share was '*27.5% an increase from the Eleventh, Five Year Plan*' (Agarwal, 2009, p122). The increase was to be used for the support of existing and the development of new institutions (Agarwal, 2009).

Powar (2002) suggests that government did not recognise the benefits of higher education to the economy in the mid-nineties and he states that a discussion paper in 1997 entitled, 'Government Subsidies in India; identifies the spending on higher education as a *'non-merit subsidy''* (Powar, 2002, p39), and resulted in overall underfunding. It was suggested that universities would have to source more of their own funding, other than government grants, and reduce their spending. A similar situation is found in HEIs in other countries around the world, where economic resources for social benefit are also declining (Agarwal, 2009; Powar, 2002). Jayaram (2004, p91) argues that, in India, whilst:

> *'expansion is often mistaken for development....the socioeconomic cost of overhauling the system would be prohibitive. Also, the philosophical vision and political will required for such a task are sadly lacking'.*

The lack of quality institutions in India and highly effective marketing activities, which were first developed in the 1980s by foreign higher education institutions, most notably from USA, UK and Australia, has resulted in greater and more difficult choices for the parents of Indian students. There has also been a loss of revenue for Indian institutions, a situation which, it is suggested, will continue unless innovations in systems and infrastructures emerge, in order to bring about changes in the provision of high quality Indian Higher Education (Chakrabati, Bartning & Sengupta, 2010; Jayaram, 2004).

2.34 Study Abroad

Motivations to study overseas, such as limited provision in the home country as outlined above, and/or uncertainty regarding quality in the home market, and/or personal psychological student drivers/motivators, are considered complex issues to research (Naidoo, 2007). Some suggest that there are various *'push-pull factors influencing students'* (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p82) to study abroad. Push factors operate within the student's home country and pull factors operate from the host country (ibid). These, they suggest, include such factors as colonial or historical links and commonality of language, e.g. English. Other factors which Indian students suggest are likely to influence their choice of destination, which support the views of Naidoo (2007) are also highlighted by Mazzarol & Soutar, i.e. *'overseas course better than local, quality of education, reputation of institution, job opportunities, friends and relatives study there'* (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p85/86), factors which host countries and *'institutions should be aware of for their international marketing strategy'* (Ibid, p88). Mazzarol, Choo and Nair (2001) also found that important pull factors for Indian postgraduates, were lower tuition fees, lower costs of living, opportunities for part time work and recognition of the qualification. There should also be an awareness of the outcomes of study abroad, to add to this literature.

In 2006, there were about 20,000 Indian students in UK HE and in 2008/9 approximately 36,000 students (HESA, 2009). A report on the influencing factors, *'Fresh Thinking'* (British Council, 2010b), developed by Education UK of the British Council (BC), has highlighted that the key factors which encourage students to choose a country to study in, e.g. the U.K., are similar to those outlined by Mazzarol & Soutar (2002); firstly, career prospects; secondly, a highly valued globally recognised degree; and, thirdly, quality of education. It is also interesting to note that among the prospective students that were asked 72% were male, and only 28% were female, (British Council, 2010b), figures reflected in HEFCE enrolment data for Indian students in UK English institutions.

When Indian students were asked about their foreign education funding methods, in the British Council (2010b) study, the highest score was rated as, private funding from parents, the second highest choice of funding was a scholarship, and the third

was student loans. This also reflects the findings highlighted by Mazzarol & Soutar (2002).
The census of India estimated that, in 2001, there were 37.67 million graduates in India, a rise of 10% since 1991 (Agarwal, 2007, p9). In 2006-07, an estimated 13.93 million students were enrolled in Indian HEIs, but these access rates are lower than other developed and developing countries such as China (World Bank, 2007). There is, however, still a problem of under-employment and unemployment due to the lack of skills required by employers (Agarwal, 2009).

2.35 Investment in Higher Education

Kaka and Sarangan (2005) argue that for India to increase its lead in the Global IT and Business Processing Offshore (BPO) industries, the Indian Government must invest much more in education to address the shortage of skilled workers and suitable graduates. This situation was acknowledged by the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh's Independence Day speech, in August 2009 (Times of India, 2009).

It has been suggested by many researchers, that India has invested too little on education; 2.8% of GDP on education 2005-06 (Panagariya, 2008), compared with the UK's 5.4% suggested by the UK government's Social and General Statistics Office, (Bolton, 2009). Since 2000, the World Bank (2010) has committed over $2 billion to strengthen education in India, supporting several Technical/Engineering Education Quality Improvement Projects (TEQIP). The aim of this initiative was to increase and improve employment opportunities by promoting academic excellence and improving management skills and to *'improve the quality of technical education and enhance the capacities of educational institutions to be more responsive to a rapidly changing economic and technical environment'* (World Bank, TEQIP, 2010).

Many of the problems with funding are thought to be due to increased government bureaucracy; for example, in an attempt to increase university funding, alumni contributions were developed in India in a similar way to institutions in the US, although most notably in the IITs (Kapur and Mehta, 2004). Kapur and Mehta (2004, p26) also outline that the '*Indian government's Human Development Ministry formed the Shakisha Kosh, (the Indian Education Fund) in 2003'* , insisting that any overseas donations had to be paid into a central fund, thus preventing donors from choosing where their donations were spent. As a result, the amount that was given declined and this increased bureaucracy, together with faculty who have not supported the educational reforms, has added to India's current higher education difficulties (Kapur and Mehta, 2004). It will be interesting to see how higher education in India develops over the next decade and beyond, to meet the needs of the developing knowledge economy and middle-class aspirations.

2.36 Growth of Business and Management Education in India

Indian Business Schools are now considered to be part of a market which promotes and sells MBAs and other business postgraduate awards, to various segments of customers, or, as they are often referred to, consumers (Khurana, 2007), and despite their global growth, there does appear to be '*little serious academic research into the business school'* (Starkey and Tempest, 2005, p61), and limited evaluation of the promises that some business schools make compared with the outcomes that graduates actually achieve.

There also appears to be some debate in the literature about which Indian institution was the first to offer business education in India. Gupta, Gollakota & Streekumar (2003), suggest that institutions are now based on the American model but have developed from the 19th century commercial studies education, which developed in the days of the Raj. This was a time when graduates worked '*at the clerical 'babu' rank'* (Gupta, Gollakota & Streekumar, 2003, p2). This, they suggest, resulted in business education, at that time, lacking social status, as confirmed by the label *'babu-ism'* (ibid). The Economist, however, reports that the elite Indian Administrative Service (IAS), which is a small proportion of India's 10 million civil and state servants, is a bureaucratic service which is regarded by many as one of India's obstacles to real growth. It has a reputation for the habitual absorption of state spending on education and other services, and has had mixed respect from the population, but is still seen as a safe employment destination by many, and one which offers increased social prospects:

> *'Male recruits are among India's most marriageable: more suitable, it is said, than the elite geeks of the country's booming computer-services industry. Indeed, India's recent run of 8% economic growth has if anything increased their prestige, by creating more senior positions for which IAS officers are*

> *required. This year 140 people will be recruited into the IAS from around 200,000 applicants, one of the biggest intakes ever.'* (Economist, 2008)

The Indian Administrative Service (IAS) outlines on its web site the benefits of the civil service:

> *'The backbone of the Indian government machinery constitutes all the departments which run the State administration. A highly competitive and challenging area, it involves a variety of jobs in different departments. Compared to private sector jobs this profession has job security. The prestige and power that comes along with these top-notch jobs is a definite reason for anybody to join this profession. The salary, allowances and facilities like healthcare, housing, conveyance etc. also make it a lucrative profession.'*
> (IAS, 2010)

Entrance to the profession is very competitive and applicants are required to take state entrance exams once they have their degree or equivalent qualification. The Economist further suggests that the quality of applicants is falling which it highlights maybe caused by:

> *'falling education standards; growing competition for talent from the private sector; increasing political interference; and, above all, caste-based reservations, which now retain half of all IAS posts for outcaste and low-caste Hindus and members of tribal communities'.*
> (Economist, 2008)

The twentieth century college courses in commerce were first offered in Mumbai in 1913, at the Government College of Commerce, which was later renamed Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics (2010). The College was established with the support of '*Lord Sydenham Governor of Bombay*' (Sydenham College, 2010) and another college was set up in 1920, in Delhi, the Commercial College (Gupta, Gollakota & Streekumar, 2003).

2.37 Managing Agency System

Many of the industries which have enabled India's economy to develop, remained under British management in the 1940s and 50s, known as the *'managing agency system'* (Pylee, 1967, pC207). Pylee (1967) also suggests that, due to a lack of management skills in the Indian population, which had only ten percent literacy rates, and the impact of a growing economy, the Indian government appointed a committee in 1949 '*to review the needs of industry for management training and skills development'* (ibid). In *'1954 the All India Council for Technical Education set up a Board of Management Studies'* (Pylee, 1967, pC211), which resulted in a programme of management studies being offered in several cities in 1955 (ibid).

2.38 Management Education in India

Management education developed from this time, with the establishment of the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), in Hyderabad in 1956/57. This was along the same lines of the UK, with Henley College (Pylee, 1967; ASCI, 2010). After this, came the government's development of the postgraduate Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) in Calcutta, and Ahmadabad (IIM Ahmadabad, 2010; Pylee, 1967). The third IIM was opened in Bangalore in 1973, which has collaborative links for its postgraduate programmes, '*with INSEAD, McGill University, Lancaster University and a consortium of Japanese universities'* (IIM Bangalore, 2010). Others have since been opened in four other cities. These institutions do not require AICTE approval to expand their activities (Palety, 2009). In addition to these institutions, Pylee (1967) also suggests that several universities started offering Masters Degrees and Postgraduate Diplomas in management, and others offered commerce degrees. Pylee (1967) further suggests that management education had no universal acceptance as an academic discipline in the 1950s and 1960s, and was regarded more as an art than a science in India. The Indian government attempted to address these views at the time, by developing new degree programmes, and by training teaching staff who could develop and teach the management and business programmes. The problem was that attracting people with industrial experience was difficult due to the poor salaries of university and college staff. There was also a belief that management skills should not and could not be taught in the class room (Pylee, 1967).

Management education developed further in the 1990s, with the government's liberalisation of trade, and the opening of India's economy to global companies, all of which required a skilled work force. There were, according to Sinha (2004, np), '*approximately nine hundred institutions of higher education in management',* that offered Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) degrees, and Masters in Business Administration (MBA) degrees. The market in India for MBAs developed rapidly in the 1990s, becoming *'a passport for best jobs in the country'* (ibid) and *'a middle-class dream degree'* (Agarwal, 2009, p188). With the growth in business schools, the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), which many considered was over bureaucratic and ineffective, also became responsible for these institutions too (Kapur and Mehta, 2004; Sinha, 2004).

2.39 India's Business Schools

Premchand Palety, Chief Executive of the Centre for Forecasting & Research (Cfore), in New Delhi, performed a business school survey for the Wall Street Journal of India. In this report, he argues that there has been an increase to 2,000 business schools from 1991 to 2009, which, although he suggests is good in quantity terms, appears poor in terms of quality and research outputs. He states on the Cfore website that:

> *'Not more than 30 B-schools in the country – about 1.5% of the total – have systems and processes in place to deliver quality education. The vast majority are inefficient teaching colleges and function primarily as placement agencies. If there has been proliferation of dubious B-schools, one important contributing factor has been the "license Raj" of the government's regulator, the All India Council for Technical Education or (AICTE).'*
> (Palety, 2009,np)

To secure approval from the AICTE, all new Business Schools need to have a minimum sized campus and, faculty who are permanent, and must limit their recruitment to 60 students per annum, and, for any further expansion the Business School would have to apply and gain more permits (Palety, 2009; Sinha, 2004). These bureaucratic requirements have resulted in poor programmes from the legitimate institutions, and the development of unapproved business schools, which often fail and close, taking students' fees with them (Palety, 2009).

> *'If competent B-schools were allowed to increase student intake, they would have substantially crowded out the substandard ones. But to get AICTE approval, a school must meet the AICTE's requirements such as a minimum number of permanent faculty, a minimum campus size, a minimum built-up area etc. Many AICTE-approved schools have adhered to these minimum requirements but have not gone beyond. AICTE approval has become a licence for them to become complacent and, of course, to make money'.*
> (Palety, 2009)

Many Business Schools have been accused of employing good marketing techniques to attract students and granting them access without any approval procedures; any profit has been siphoned off without any reinvestment. The annual Business School rankings assessment in India did, however, help to identify some of these weaker institutions to enable entrants to make better choices (Palety, 2009). Pathak (2010) endorses Palety's claims, suggesting that many students are buying their way into colleges which is resulting in poor quality graduates without the skills that are needed for employment in India. One example of this was noted by Kaul (2006), who indicates that Pune, the cultural capital of Maharashtra, a large metropolis near Mumbai, has become a hub for thousands of students, attracted by over a hundred institutions, of which nine are universities. This opportunity to develop business schools to make money out of middle class parents seems to have also attracted the interest of Maharashtra's politicians, as noted by Kaul, (2006, p39/40):

> *'There are instances of a single politician running over 140 educational institutes. All these institutes generate huge amounts of money. There are rampant cases of malpractice in the form of illegal charges to allocate seats from the management quota. These institutes have been subject to income tax raids which have revealed that seats are indeed sold for cash and a seat in the medical institute can fetch a handsome Rs 25 lakh from the candidate. The quantum of black money involved runs into thousands of millions of Rupees. Clearly, middle class India is willing to pay for educating its children and the private institutes can fill this gap provided proper standards are maintained.'*

Middle class parents are taking advantage of 'paid for educational opportunities' offered by these institutions, which may reflect what Brown refers to as *'parentocracy where educational selection is increasingly based on the wealth and wishes of parents rather than the individual abilities and efforts of students'* (Brown, 1995, p44). Brown, further proposes that, *'the equation ability + effort = merit, has been reformulated into resources + preferences = choices'* (Brown, 2000, p643). Although merit, in the form of prior qualification, is required for entry to foreign institutions, there may be some evidence of this proposition; if students have gained entry to Indian institutions through corrupt financial means, i.e. funded by middle class parents, they may then wish to study abroad and they may be accepted by the UK institution based on their less-than-merit based qualifications.

Kapur and Mehta (2004) suggest that the increase in the number of business schools is, however, not as a response to the growth of India's middle class *'but rather the entrepreneurial activities of politicians'* (Kapur and Mehta, 2004, p14). They are seen as a way for individuals i.e. politicians, to earn large financial returns by satisfying the wishes of middle class parents.

According to a report from The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM, 2010), *'the share of private unaided higher education institutes has increased during 10th plan and is expected to grow further through 11th plan'.* This is despite the concerns about the current poor quality provision. They suggest that India does have some excellent institutions with links to other international business schools, and they suggest that with increased quality assurance and an increase in good academics, more could be added to the list (ibid).

Sinha (2004) argues that there is no professional body accrediting institutions in India which matches EQUIS – the world's leading international accreditation for Business Schools, or the Association of MBAs (AMBA), or the Association of Business Schools (ABS), in the UK, or the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), in the USA. As mentioned earlier, the National Board of Accreditation (NBA), established in 1994 by the AICTE, requires Business Schools, on a voluntary basis, to seek accreditation, but due to the bureaucracy involved in this procedure, business schools have not done this in significant numbers (Sinha, 2004). This has resulted in a lack of quality institutions to meet the needs of the student population. Indian students are travelling abroad to gain high quality academic credentials in order hopefully to secure their future employment prospects. Evidence from this study will highlight the expectations and outcomes and perceived benefits, for some of India's postgraduates who choose to study abroad.

2.40 Summary

This chapter has outlined the history of India's higher education system and Government policies, post-independence, to meet the higher education demands of a rapidly growing population and economy. It has also highlighted the prolific growth of Business and Management Schools, many of which are lacking in quality, and, in some states, appear to be owned by politicians to secure their personal income streams.

Chapter 3: Language, Religion, Caste and India's Emerging Middle Class, Marriage and Dowry

3.11 Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, India has a unique history which has resulted in one of the most diverse nations in the world. It has many religions, languages, cultures and castes, all of which have impacted upon government policies and which have resulted in a growing economy and the rise of an Indian middle class. These environmental factors are also important for the reader to understand, if the findings of this study are to be fully appreciated.

3.12 Language

Language has always been an issue for India, especially post-independence. India has more than fourteen regional languages and hundreds of dialects, with Hindi spoken by 41% of the population; these languages are often found in different states, and each has its own cultural identity:

> *'there are 14 other official languages: Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi, and Sanskrit; Hindustani is a popular variant of Hindi/Urdu spoken widely throughout northern India but is not an official language (2001 census).'*
> (CIA World Fact Book, 2010).

English, as a legacy of British colonial rule, was used as the administration language by the educated elites, those of mostly high-caste Brahman origin, and was commonly used as a *'link-language'* (Hargrave & Kochanek, 2000, p153) for commercial purposes. It is now found in common usage in India's central government and is seen by many as one of the main reasons for India's global economic progress (Agarwal, 2009). This is an outcome which would, perhaps, not have been achieved if Ghandi's views regarding his rejection of the West had been adopted as follows:

> *'His rejection of 'modern' or Western civilization was all encompassing. He described it as the 'Kingdom of Satan' polluting everyone it touched. Modernization in the form of industrialization, machinery, parliamentary government, the growth of the British Empire and all the things that most people regarded as progress, Gandhi rejected.'*
> (Infed, 2010)

Similarly, Ghandi's views of the use of English for education in India could have had a similar effect, as highlighted by Infed (2010):

> *'the rottenness of this education' and that 'to give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them ... that, by receiving English education, we have enslaved the nation'. He was enraged that he had to speak of Home Rule or Independence in what was clearly a foreign tongue, that he could not practice in court in his mother tongue, that all official documents were in English as were all the best newspapers and that education was carried out in English for the chosen few.*

Others, however, suggested that Hindi in the Devanagari script, which was supposed to replace English post-independence, '*Article 343*' of the constitution (Hargrave & Kochanek, 2000, p152), should have been adopted as India's main language, and many believed that the head of the Indian National Congress Party, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, should have made his independence speech in 1947, in Hindi, not English, so that more of the population, rather than just the elite, and some of the middle classes, could have understood his historical presentation (Varma, 2007).

One of the problems of cohesion in India is highlighted by Keay (2000) who suggests that, as many of the states spoke different languages, e.g. Tamil, Kannada, Gujarati, Marathi, and each has different cultural identities and since Hindi, was the largest speaking group, it was chosen as '*the official language but not the national language*' (Keay, 2000, p520). In 1961, a '*three language formula was proposed, the regional language, and English, with Hindi for the non-Hindi states*' (Hargrave & Kochanek, 2000 p152). This proposal resulted in many protests between different language groups, but English has remained the language of the central government and middle classes, and there are now a wide range of television programmes, cinema performances, radio shows and newspapers, being produced in English (Tollefson & Tsui, 2008).

Varma (2007) wonders in his review of India, how the use of English became so dominant, despite the ideology of a united and independent India; he suggests that:

> '*English had become an instrument for social exclusion: the upper crust of the Indian middle class presided over the linguistic apartheid....for entry into the charmed circle of the ruling elite*' (Varma, 2007, p64)

It had become, he further suggests, one of the *'criteria for social acceptance'* (Ibid). He argues that Nehru suggested that '*a new caste or class in India, the English-educated class*' (ibid, p 65) had been developed, to which those lower down the social order aspired for their own upward mobility. This, Varma (2007) further argues, has resulted in the growth of schools and higher education institutions using English as the language of instruction and is a view supported by Agarwal (2009). Agarwal (2009, p224) also argues that:

> *'although English is the main medium of instruction in the universities, most of the interaction amongst the students and between the students and the teachers takes place in Hindi or the vernacular medium.'*

Agarwal (2009) also suggests that, despite India's legacy of English tuition, the dramatic growth in service jobs, which require a good command of English i.e. in the call centres and other back office providers, has highlighted a lack of talent with good English language skills in the current student graduate population. Tests for English in the engineering schools and for professional education are not always carried out, due to the various states wanting to have education in their own languages. In 2007, a move was made to make English a requirement along with the first language, from school year one, as it was indicated that a good command of English was a way to a good job and social mobility (Agarwal, 2009). The progress for the introduction of English has been slow, resulting in a lower level of language skills than is demanded by the growing number of companies operating in India, e.g. Accenture, IBM, Infosys, Tata Consulting (Agarwal, 2009; Fernandes, 2006).

Chawala's (2010) comments found on the Coolavenues web site highlight this linguistic chauvinism that Agarwal (2009) is possibly referring to:

> *'Indian Institutes of Management (IIM's) have failed to do what the IITs started doing in 1973. Common Admission Test for IIM's has only two papers – Mathematics and English. Both papers are competitive and the marks are added for deciding rank of a candidate. This is exactly the same as pre-1973 situation of IITs, albeit with one difference. In pre-1973 JEE, the weightage of English was only 25%, but in present-day IIM's marks of English get a weightage of 50 per cent. This gives a great advantage to students coming from families*

where English is spoken as a family-language. Students, who have studied in English-medium schools, also get an advantage. Hindi and vernacular medium students have practically no hope of clearing the CAT. The effect that this has on the profile of students entering IIM's is obvious. IIM's have become no better than premium public schools whose products look down on India and everything Indian with an arrogance that has a distinctly colonial touch to it. At one time IIT's were the same, but they have grown out of that.'

(Chawala, 2010)

Tollefson and Tsui, (2008, pviii) also reflect this view when they suggest that:

'the medium of instruction is often a reflection of the socio-political and socioeconomic forces at work in the community, as well as a vehicle for power among different social groups.'

This is further qualified by Ajit Mohanty (2006):

'In the colonial period, education in English was a means to social and economic resources, and now, it is also used to divide the society into the privileged and under-privileged classes. Public education, mostly in major regional state level languages and of poor quality, is seen as a disadvantage vis-à-vis education in English, and thus more and more people from the lower strata are forced to seek expensive English-medium private schools for their children. Over the post-Independence years, English has become the single most important predictor of socio-economic mobility. Failure in English alone accounts for more than 50% of the failures in high school examinations throughout the country. The privileged English-knowing-elites (estimated to be less than 2% of the Indian population) seem to have an advantage since, with the positive attitudinal and environmental support for English, their children outperform the new aspirants. With the globalized economy, English education widens the discrepancy between the social classes.'

(Mohanty, 2006, p268/269)

He further suggests that English is a major attraction for matrimonial advertisements which may be an additional benefit for those who choose to study abroad in the UK:

> *'Note 4. So strong is the link between English-medium education and perception of social class that the matrimonial advertisements published in newspapers emphasize English-medium education as a very positive point in the marriage negotiations.'*
> (Ibid, p282)

Agarwal (2009) argues that Indian parents are prepared to '*spend more than half their income for their children to learn English'* (Agarwal, 2009, p225). He further argues that the lack of English proficiency, and low standards of skills, from those who do graduate from low quality Indian institutions where courses also lack innovation due to their controlled curriculum and pedagogy, could result in less growth in India's future economy (Agarwal, 2009). This parental motivation may encourage foreign study, i.e. in the UK, so that their offspring can gain a competitive advantage in the job and marriage market. This research study sought to explore this phenomenon and to identify clear and empirical evidence for this view.

Varma (2006) also suggests that the importance of the English accent and fluency in speaking are, good indicators of Indian high social status; high status being an important pre-requisite, together with caste and religion, for matrimonial advertisements. More often than not, the father's status is highlighted in the advertisements, rather than that of the groom or brides (Varma, 2006). Varma also argues that many powerful politicians who do not speak English, '*denigrade the language in public while sending their children to English-medium schools* (Varma, 2006, p23).

India's economy has benefited from its acceptance of the English language as multinational companies employ those who are most proficient in its use. Varma (2006) does, however, voice his concerns about India being the back office to the world and not the creators of any global brands. However, he acknowledges that those without choices will take any job to earn money, *'even if it is speaking with an English accent in a call centre'* (Varma, 2006, p117). This may also be the outcome for those who have studied postgraduate business programmes abroad and who cannot secure employment in any other managerial position.

3.13 Religion

In addition to the complex myriad of languages in India, there are also many religions of which it is estimated that Hindus makes up 80% of the population, Muslims about 13%, and Christians about 3%, there are also a percentage of Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists (CIA World Fact book, 2010).

Hinduism has no one God, or an organised church like Christianity or Islam, '*no paramount religious text, no codified moral laws and no single manual of prescribed ritual*' (Varma, 2007, p130). Within Hinduism there is also a plethora of gods/goddesses, or deities, for example, Brahma, Vishnu, Lord Ganesh, Shiva, Lakshmi. These deities are worshiped by Hindus to bring wealth, good fortune, prosperity and, in some cases, fame, not in the after-life but in the present world. All of the deities may be worshiped depending upon the specific religious ceremonies, for marriages, births, deaths, or particular worldly needs, and for different religious groups.

Donations to the Hindu temples can reach upwards of $100million in some states (Varma, 2007). Varma (2007) also argues that individual Hindus believe in personal salvation, personal spiritual advancement, and the 'self as the focus', rather than the community of those and what is around them; this is why he suggests that deprivation, squalor and inequity are so rife in India, solutions to which are mostly left to the Christian minority to address. He also considers that Hinduism lacks a moral framework to bring order to the actions of individuals. Acts of personal conduct, if questioned by those with a different moral code, could be justified in spiritual redemption due to the requirements to please a particular deity. This he outlines in the following statement:

> *'The glorification of women as goddesses and their unrepentant subjugation in real life; the acceptance of the inexorable hold of*

> *destiny, and the legitimate space conceded for individual action; a concern for purity, and the existence of even temples amidst the greatest filth and squalor. For every assertion Hinduism can provide substance for a counter postulate.'*
> (Varma, 2007, p135)

Although the development of middle class ambitions can be seen in the high rise modern buildings in Delhi, Mumbai and other mega cities, everywhere there is evidence of extreme poverty in the sprawling slums. These slums are linked by polluted alleyways, lacking basic toilet facilities, and stinking from open sewers in the heat of summer. Neither education, nor religion, appear to have had any influence on the development of any corporate or individual social responsibility:

> *'The concern with personal salvation at the spiritual plane had assumed the temporal level a Frankenstein form: the almost complete inability to see or identify with anything beyond the narrowest definition of self-interest. The absence of strong moral imperative for social altruism had resulted, under the tutelage of unethical leaders and opportunistic politics, in a horribly bloated unconcern for society itself. The end product was the acceptance of a certain kind of lifestyle: insular, aggressive, selfish, obsessed with material gain, and socially callous.'*
> (Varma, 2007, p139)

Religion may be considered as a justification for some of the corrupt activities which some individuals partake in order to ensure access to higher education, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Interestingly, Dumont (1980), who wrote one of what Dirks describes as *'one of the most influential scholarly treatises on caste'*, (Dirks, 2001, p4), suggests that *'the West's excessive individualism, was the greatest impediment to the understanding of caste'* (ibid). Perhaps these so called western principles that Dumont referred to, from Tocqueville's idea of individualism, have now rubbed off on modern Indians resulting in what has been described above by Varma (2007). Perhaps religion justifies individualism, but it is, in fact, simply a western trait adopted by emerging economies to ensure success for certain individuals and their families, justified through religious or caste practices, a reinforcement of social capital (Dirks, 2001; Dumont, 1980; Lin, 2001). This effect may have added to the rise in dowry/gift giving, as middle class families seek additional benefits from higher education.

3.14 The Caste/Jati (Birth Group)

In addition to linguistic and religious differences, India is also associated with the hierarchical social system known as the caste system. It is found in Indian culture and, as outlined in a previous section, is considered as a complex form of social stratification, which some suggest is closely linked to India's religious practices. In the sixth century, the Hindu's Vedic religious education, was taught by the priestly higher castes known as the Brahmins, and, later, the next caste levels, the Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas (Alexander, 1998).

There appears to be considerable academic debate and diverse views about the actual origins of the caste system. Some race theorists, e.g. H. H. Risley; and ethnographers, such as Ibbetson and Blunt, suggest that caste was derived from religious roots and then spread across all parts of India (Bayly, 2001; Dirks, 2001). Some sociologists and anthropologists refer to caste as *'the basic form of Indian society'* (Dirks, 2001, p3), a stratification, or hierarchical division, by religion and occupation, as emphasized by the controversial conceptual categories of 'purity and pollution' (Dumont, 1980; Bayly, 2001; Dirks, 2001). Other researchers consider caste's historical roots as a result of the ethnocentric views of British administrators, who recorded the findings of Western missionaries for the British colonisers, and who suggested that '*caste was seen as a form of colonial civil society in India'* (Dirks, 2001, p12). It was, as Dirks points out, a way of '*organising and representing identity'* (ibid), and caste and custom thus became a central ethnographic study for the colonial 1872 census (Dirks, 2001). Dirks also suggests that castes are *'a product of British colonial rule'* (Dirks, 2001, p5), a way of listing communities *'systematizing' India's diverse forms of social identity, community and organization .... achieved through an identifiable (if contested) ideological canon'* (ibid).

In 1891, the results of the British census of India '*reported that one-seventh of the population was literate and belonged to higher castes and sub-castes of society*' (Mathur, 2005, p28). This resulted in various Indian states implementing programmes, with government financial aid, to encourage educational institutions to help those who were illiterate and poor. In Madras, the *government took steps for higher representation of non-Brahmins in Government services* (ibid, p35) to ensure employment for other lower castes. The idea of census was considered by some in the 1930s to be a '*divisive tools of imperialism*' (Bayly, 2001, p244), and people were urged by the socialist movement not to give Varna and Jati caste information. Other groups, however, wanted caste to play a major role in Indian society to ensure their political success (ibid).

3.15 Kaka Kalelkar Commission and Mandal Report

Post-independence, the constitution aimed to be secular and to guarantee basic rights to all citizens, with equal rights to men and women. Any discrimination based on caste, race, sex or religion was legally abolished (Lynch, 1992). With reference to this law and to address inequalities, a backward class commission was established in 1953, to determine the social and educational level of various groups, the '*Kaka Kalelkar Commission*' (ibid p36). This Commission identified '*2399 backward castes or communities for the entire country*' (ibid). A further report was commissioned under the chairmanship of B.P. Mandal, in 1979, to ensure affirmative action in educational provision and land reforms for the less fortunate castes. This report (1980) further extended the criteria for defining caste-based backwardness (ibid).

> *'It placed 3,248 communities in the OBC category that is 350 million people or 54.4% of the population. Reservations in the public sector jobs for quotas of 27% for other backward and an additional 22.5 % for scheduled castes and tribes. This was seen by other high caste groups as punishment.'*
> (Bayly, 2001, p296/297)

It is also worth noting that the recommendations of the Mandal Report were not implemented by either Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi (Bayly, 2001; Varma, 2007). Varma (2007) also argues that, due to political in-fighting, V.P. Singh announced that he would implement the report for social justice in higher education. Interestingly, instead of support for those who were less fortunate, the result was mass student demonstrations and riots, which prompted the demise of VP Singh as Prime Minister (Heitzman and Worden, 1995; Varma, 2007).

3.16 Creamy Layers of the Caste system

Some of the intermediate castes have improved their political and economic status and have become known as “the creamy layers”. These groups want to secure their middle class status still further, by benefiting from the Indian Government’s reservation policies, i.e. government jobs and access to prestigious higher education institutions for particular castes which are deemed as reserved groups or tribes (Varma, 2007).

There is much debate about what is defined as the ‘creamy layer’ within the caste system, but it does appear that those from the scheduled communities, who have already improved their educational and economic status and are helped by the absence of means testing at the caste level, are seen to benefit from their caste category status, a benefit discredited and envied by others who do not fit into these now privileged communities (Bayly, 2001).

Bayly (2001) further suggests, that many modern Indians dismiss caste as a legacy of the past, considering it *‘backward and in egalitarian’* (Bayly, 2001, p7). It is considered by some as a similar system to apartheid as it existed in South Africa. Bayly (2001) also argues that, due to its acknowledgement in the Indian constitution, it is perpetuated and contested by many, as the reservations for political positions, jobs and university places are upheld by government, states, and individuals, on caste grounds (Bayly, 2001). Examples of this relate to the turbulent politics of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s which were linked to caste, where expressions of militancy related to the power of the people through their *‘Jati and Varna’* (Bayly, 2001, p296).

Most Indians will be familiar with the terms 'caste' or 'jati' and 'Varna', from the Hindu Sanskrit scriptures. Bayly (2001) suggests that most Indians are familiar with the concepts of birth group (Jati), but mostly for marriage purposes, of which there are '*thousands of titles associated with specific jatis in different parts of the country; Rajput, Charmar, Jat.*' (Bayly, 2001, p8) and order, class or kind (Varna) (Bayly, 2001). The surnames of Indians are associated with their different Jati.

Lynch (1992) suggests that a society based on caste assumes a natural order, arranged on inequality which is inherited by the child from their parents. This determines among many Indian families who can marry whom.

3.17 Hierarchical Classes of Caste

Wankhede (2010, p590) suggests that there are five main hegemonic hierarchical classes, castes or varnas:

> *'Brahmin – Upper (high) Castes – performing rituals and teaching*
> *Kshatriya – Middle castes – warriors and landlords dominant*
> *Vaishya – Middle castes – traders and money lenders*
> *Shudras – Lower castes (Other Backward Castes) – Artisans and Peasants*
> *Schedule Castes (SCs) (untouchables) – lowest but out of varna system – Menial Occupations. Polluting status*
> *Tribals – (STs) Lowest but out of varna system – Primitive lifestyle. Physical isolation.*
> *Social discrimination is based on caste division. They are referred to in the Constitution of India.'*

Dirks (2001) cites examples of castes and sub-castes in India, with levels of hierarchy between them. He suggests that there are four main *castes* similar to those highlighted by Wankhede above, Brahmans – priests; Kshatriyas – rulers and warriors; Vaishyas – husbandmen and traders; and Shudras – servants. Below them are the chandalas – untouchables, or unclean, also known as the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward castes (Dirks, 2001).

The term 'untouchable' was an English expression used to describe the 'uncleanliness' or rank of '*pollution'* (Lynch, 1992, p68) of the caste system and was seen by Ghandi (1869-1948), *'as an insult to Hinduism' (Bayly, 2001, p249).* Ghandi referred to them as Harijan, which was a term similarly unpopular with everyone. In 1970, the expression '*Dalit ('the oppressed')'* (Bayly, 2001, p249) was used to refer to those who were considered dominated by others (ibid). The untouchables were estimated to number 15.7% of India's population in 1981 (Desai and Kulkarni, 2008), and they were granted protective discrimination, due to the injustice of their circumstances i.e. mandatory reservation of jobs and university places, thus giving privileges in employment and education and often in government careers. This affirmative action through reservation of jobs and 15% of higher education university places for the scheduled castes and 7.5% for the scheduled tribes was criticized by many in Indian society (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008; Economic Times of India, 2009, p6).

The word caste appears to be derived from Spanish and Portuguese languages, '*'casta, properly something not mixed, from the Latin castus, chaste' (Littre's Dictionary)'* (Dumont, 1980, p21). Dumont (1980) also uses Bougle's 1958 definition from:

> ***'Essais sur le regime des castes, p4;***
> *English translation of the Introduction in Contributions to Indian Sociology II, 1958; the caste system divides the whole society into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected together by three different characteristics: separation in matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect (food); division of labour, each group having, in theory or by tradition, a profession from which their members can depart only within certain limits; and finally hierarchy, which ranks the groups superior or inferior to one another.'*
> (ibid, p21)

Caste appears to be a complex and contentious concept equivalent to the various, political, social and academic debates related to class in Britain and race in the USA (Baylay, 2001). Several authors have attempted, without clear definitions, to explain caste from different sociological and ethnocentric perspectives. Dumont (2008, p25) notes Max Muller's view, that caste represents *'forms of distinctions, relating to birth, social situation and degree of education and are known in all societies. The contrast with Europe consists in the religious justification*'.

Bayly (2001, p4) also suggests, as outlined above, *'that caste as we now recognise it, has been engendered, shaped and perpetuated by comparatively recent and political developments'.* Caste, she further suggests, has been generalised across India more so than before, and that British-rule has enhanced caste importance for political reasons. Bayly (2001, p4) also considers that caste has been useful to Indians, to create common interests across *'boundaries of region, language, faith and economic status'*.

Many modern day Indians are dismissive when discussing caste, as experienced personally, yet the constitution highlights the importance of reducing the impact of those, such as the backward and schedule castes, who it appears suffer under the caste system. Castes are, however, fundamental to an understanding of Indian society and although some believe, as previously highlighted, that they are declining in importance, others suggest that this is not the case (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005; Dasgupta, 2005). They represent a complex hierarchical system, seen by some as a religious system and by others as a social system, which still affects all aspects of social life (Dirks, 2001). As previously highlighted, the caste system remains in many parts of India's rural north, as a *'powerful political identity and form of symbolic and social capital'* (Jeffrey, 2001, p 218), and Jeffrey also suggests that Robbins (2000) argues '*that caste serves to nurture social networks amongst dominant groups*' (Jeffrey, 2001, p 218). Although, due to an increase in work opportunities outside the villages, the influence of caste appears to be diminishing, with some inter-caste marriages enabling rich landowners to use their economic capital and social contacts to buy access to elite professional and urban societies (ibid).

There are also many examples of caste power in different regions of India which, according to Jeffrey, highlights how families invest *'in the education of their children thereby, in Bourdieu's terms, 'convert their wealth into forms of cultural capital'* (Jeffrey, 2001, p 221).

Most of the scheduled classes live in rural communities where, even though laws were passed to protect them, they are still persecuted for their status, or, in urban areas, they are similarly persecuted for their privileges in having reserved higher education places, which deprives those of merit, e.g. those with high Cognitive Ability Test (CAT) scores, of places at prestigious institutions (Lynch, 1992). The government's attempts to move away from the caste system, to a class system, by limiting the benefits of those from the hierarchical system, i.e. land ownership, have failed (Lynch, 1992). According to OECD social indicators, 10% of the richest in Indian society still hold over 30% of the country's income (OECD, 2009).

3.18 The Importance of Caste and Marriage

Caste also continues to be an important factor in the most prestigious family ceremony of marriage, and endogamy is often preferred within castes (Dumont, 1980). Dumont also highlights that marriage tends to be strictly codified for each caste, having a Brahman priest to take the ceremony and with the marriage providing the link between *'domain of caste and kinship'* (Dumont, 1980, p110).

In a survey carried out in Kolkata of responses to marriage advertisements, placed mostly by parents, for their sons and daughters, *'74% stated they are opposed to inter-caste marriages*' (Banergee *et al,* 2009, p 3), and in one example, *'parents of a prospective bride would be willing to trade off the difference between no education and a Masters degree to avoid marrying outside their caste'* (ibid).

3.19 Class and Caste

Indian sociologists have tended to separate class and caste, as they suggest that caste unity cuts across class (Jaffrelot, 2011). Caste is seen not only as a division of labour, but as a division of labourers. Caste and class are it appears, closely linked, with more than 60% of the urban upper caste having higher incomes and links with business (ibid).

Some argue that this is no longer the case for the newly emerging Indian entrepreneurs of the middle class, who have emerged from all backgrounds. However, there is still a strong connection with family caste, when reservations act in favour of those who can take advantage of their caste to secure access to Government jobs and university places, and to other government financial benefits (ibid).

There are many studies which have been conducted in the past to describe India's social stratification using the caste system, although there seem to be few recent studies which review the growing urban communities, unless it is to determine income to calculate consumption patterns for commercial benefit (Varma, 2007). One example of this is the study by Mckinsey & Co (2007), entitled *'The Bird of Gold, The Rise of India's Consumer Market'* which highlights the rise in household income in which there is no mention of caste. This was possibly because it was too complex to define caste for their research responses, as was the case for this study when I attempted to collect evidence of caste.

The growth of the 'class system' and, in particular, India's emerging middle class, is difficult to define (Heitzman & Worden, 1995), and is referred to by Varma (2007) as a new culture which *'threatens to convert India into a vastly unethical and insensitive aggregation of wants'* (Varma, 2007, pxiv). Lynch recognised the observations of Heitzman & Worden (1995) when he argued that the hierarchy of class now actually cuts across the hierarchy of caste*: 'in the caste system, economic status, political power, and caste status tended to coincide'* (Lynch, 1992, p78). Several groups e.g. Jats in Haryana, have recently sought to be categorised as an 'Other Backward Caste' (OBC), in order to benefit from reservations like the Jat caste group in

Rajasthan, who are already categorized as OBC (Hooda, 2011). This may be seen as what Bayly (2001, p362) describes as a type of *'caste war'.*

The problem is that the urban groups, who Bayly (2001) suggests favour the use of words such as 'secular', 'modern' and 'egalitarian', prefer to be casteless, but are constantly reminded of feudal India by those who wish to exert political power by retaining the caste system for their benefit (Bayly, 2001). Many criticise caste, due to the fact that, even if they are listed as a Brahman, they may not be wealthy, nor, if they are from a listed lower caste, are they poor. Muslims and other non-Hindus are not on the caste lists at all (Bayly, 2001), and it is suggested that, if these groups were given quotas of reservation for Government jobs and higher education, this would result in resentment and possible demonstrations and more unrest (Beteille, 2009).

To avoid concerns over the previously mentioned 'creamy layer', criteria were defined by Government in 1993 to reduce the benefits to those who did not warrant them. This decision, however, has had little impact as several states either derecognized the directives of the Supreme Court, or redefined the categories to suit their own descriptions. The focus for social justice was, according to Varma (2007), lost.

McKinsey predict, without a single reference to caste, in their 2007 report, *'The Bird of Gold'*, that India is estimated to grow to become the '*5th largest consumer market in 2025'* (Mckinsey, 2007, p10), with a further prediction that:

> *'291 million people will move from desperate poverty to a more sustainable life; providing the country continues to reform and modernise its economy as well as address significant shortfalls in its infrastructure and education system'.*

3.20 The Indian Middle Class

The focus on the Indian middle class is described as the *'most striking feature of contemporary India'* (Mahapatra, 2009, p121), and is a term which is described by Mahapatra as a '*fuzzy category'* (ibid, p123), which is used in common parlance. It is suggested that India's middle class emerged from colonial days, with the British Government's development of Indian administrators, as a mostly homogenous group comprising the Brahmin upper castes, where English education not only resulted in a job but entry to the then middle class (ibid). Mahapatra (2009) also suggests that we should refer not to a singular class, but to *'the Indian middle classes'* (Mahapatra, 2009, p136) as it is now a heterogeneous group comprising:

> *'The old middle class, the new middle class, the metropolitan middle class and the small town and agrarian middle class; the national middle class and the global middle class; the Dalit middle class and the upper-caste middle class.'*

The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) now refers to this class as the *'consuming class instead of the fuzzy middle class'* (Mahapatra, p137), which is now thought to be in excess of 400 million people (Ibid; McKinsey, 2007); the middle class uses its economic power to demand goods and services, and access for its offspring to quality higher education institutions. This is a class group that now cuts across caste, and wishes to improve its academic credentials and skills for further development of its personal desires and aspirations (Fernandez, 2006). This consuming class was identified by the Centre for Developing Societies (CSDS), in 1996, as having five indictors to identify them as middle class:

> *'Education above high school level*
> *Occupation: white-collar jobs*
> *Housing: living in pucca houses i.e. houses built of brick and lime or cement.*
> *Ownership of assets: (at least three of these)*
> *1. car/jeep/tractor 2. Scooter or motorbike, 3.house/flat,*
> *4. Television, or 5. Water pump*
> *Self identification as a member of middle class.*
> (Mahapatra, 2009, p137)

The NCAER's consuming class is defined as those with *'incomes of Rs 45,000 and Rs 215,000 and typically own a TV or colour TV'* (ibid).

This term 'middle class', which is also referred to in other emerging economies, cannot, it seems, be accurately defined, with its fluid boundaries which have to some extent, for some researchers merged India's caste and religious segments. It is considered by some to be the result of India's liberalisation of economic reforms in the 1990s, which has created a segment of approximately 50 million middle class consumers, defined by McKinsey as '*Strivers and Seekers*', a segment of the population defined by their income bracket (Mckinsey, 2007, p57). This growth, and the development of those in this class, may be regarded as a threat by European and American middle classes, as more foreign investment and service sector jobs are transferred to India (Fernandes, 2006; Ganguly-Scrase & Scrase, 2009; Meredith, 2007; World Bank, 2004). The service sector has grown to contribute over 50% of India's GDP (Tradechakra, 2008), driven by this emerging middle class.

Fernandes (2006) argues that access to this middle class group is possible from varying social segments if they *'acquire the kinds of capital, (such as education, credentials, skills and cultural resources)'* (Fernanades, 2006, pxix). The old middle classes, who had jobs in banks or the civil service, are unlike the new liberalised service middle classes, which Fernandes, suggests, have acquired greater *'social and cultural capital'* (Fernandes, 2006, p91). This has resulted in different layers within the middle class group, i.e. upper level to lower levels of employees, with different levels of credentials, ranging from those at the upper levels with MBAs, to others with professional diplomas, and those at lower levels, with certificates. This change in credential acquirement has resulted in growth in business education, with the emergence, as previously outlined, of many private Indian institutions, which enable students to acquire more academic human capital through postgraduate business education so that they can apply for the new jobs that are being offered by MNCs. Fernandes (2006) does, however, note that MBAs from leading educational institutions are preferred for the higher paying jobs (Fernandes, 2006), an example of institutionalised cultural capital espoused by Bourdieu (1986).

Another important issue raised by Fernandes (2006) is the proposition that having academic credentials, which should increase social capital, may, however, result in limited mobility and static job classification without promotion. This is an example of the 'diploma disease', where individuals aim to obtain qualifications in order to improve their opportunities and economic capital (Dore, 1997); however, Fernandes (2006) makes no reference to the value and perceived benefits of foreign postgraduate education, e.g. Masters business programmes from the UK, which is one of the research aims of this study.

As the economy grows, it is predicted that household incomes will also rise, and discretionary spending on higher education will increase, which will, in turn, further improve the economy, assuming that inflation does not increase to reduce consumption patterns and that there is another global economic crisis. This growth also assumes that the Indian government begins to meet the demands of educational needs, and that India's infrastructure, e.g. transport, power, water supply and sewage, is developed to cope with increased urbanisation for a growing economy (McKinsey, 2007, World Bank, 2010).

Varma, again, clearly highlights the contrasts that exist in India's complex and emerging society today:

> *'Delhi, the capital of the country, where so many middle-class ambitions and fantasies are played out every day, one third of the population lives in the slums, and one fourth have no access to latrines'.*
>
> (Varma, 2007, p137)

3.21 Marriage and Dowry in India

Higher educational attainment and employability also appear to be linked to marriage in India, and, in some cases, with dowry/gift giving, a practice which is still found in many castes all over India today. Literature has been included in this review to ensure the reader has a deeper understanding of factors which are integral to this study.

Becker (1973, p814) suggests that:

> *'marriage is practically always voluntary, either by the persons marrying or their parents, the theory of preferences can be readily applied, and persons marrying (or their parents) can be assumed to expect to raise their utility level above what it would be were they to remain single. The second is that, since many men and women compete as they seek mates, a market in marriages can be presumed to exist. Each person tries to find the best mate, subject to the restrictions imposed by market conditions. These two principles easily explain why most adults are married and why sorting of mates by wealth, education, and other characteristics is similar under apparently quite different conditions'.*

The personal columns of Indian newspapers and web sites e.g. the Shaadi.com marriage bureau, promote boys and girls or grooms and brides with higher education qualifications and professional jobs, as a 'good match'; parents it seems, motivate their sons and daughters to seek academic credentials, or cultural capital, to improve their social status and, in many cases, both their own and their family benefits.

Whilst there appears to be a link between higher education and marriage, and a link with dowry/gift levels, there appears to be limited research evidence which relates foreign postgraduate business educational achievement to marriage and, where it exists, to dowry/gift giving.

3.22 Marriage in India

Marriage, according to Heitzman & Warden (1995) is an important event for all Indians and is acknowledged as the point where a child becomes an adult, with the resultant redistribution of family wealth. As Kalmijn (1994) suggests '*when income is shared by the family members, people maximize their income by looking for spouses with the most attractive economic resources*' (Kalmijn, 1994, p425). It is suggested that marriage tends to be based on the selection of mates with similar characteristics e.g. social class; this is known as homogamy. The choice may apply for either mate, but is more often found to occur among females. The practice in India is to marry someone with higher status characteristics, i.e. earnings or social class; this is known as hypergamy (Stevens, Owens, & Schaefer, 1990; Sheel, 1999). This type of marriage alliance enables the bride's family to gain status which reflects favourably on the community/caste (Menski, 1998a). This may be considered as a form of social mobility which is, more often than not, confined to caste.

Marriage is often considered as an '*economic decision*' made by Indian parents (Banerjee, *et al.*, 2009, p1) in which, as Becker (1973) suggests, factors of human capital and income result in positive economic gains in the marriage market, a market which can be presumed to exist when *'many men and women compete as they seek mates'* (Becker, 1973, p814).

Becker's economic studies further suggest that the aim is to find the most suitable partner related to their *'wealth, education and other characteristics'* (ibid). These other characteristics, in the case of Indian partners, may be related to caste and horoscope compatibility (Banerjee, *et al*, 2009). A view investigate in this study to determine if higher education adds to what may be termed 'marriage capital'.

3.23 Arranged Marriages

The idea of a market, as proposed by Becker, appears to be true in India, where most marriages are arranged by parents who endeavour to seek out the best match for their offspring:

> *'Most marriages are arranged by parents, as is the decision about when a girl or a boy will marry. Marriage age is not increasing appreciably in the northern states of India although there is an official minimal age at marriage for both girls (18 years) and boys (21 years)'.*
>
> (Rahman and Daniel, 2010, p3).

In India's religious history of Hinduism, marriage is an important part of traditional sacred teachings to perpetuate the patriarchal family line, in which a father would choose the best match for his daughter, who would after marriage move to the groom's family home; this picture is still true in India today. Netting (2010) also suggests that any marriages which were not arranged by parents were, in Indian culture, considered '*disrespectful and dangerous to society'* (Netting, 2010, p709). It is, however, interesting to note that, despite the effects of Indian independence, globalisation and a modernising economy with its mass media, and new ideas, there are still many young people in India who prefer to have their marriages arranged by their parents, rather than partake in 'love marriages' (Arnett, 2005; Dasgupta, 2006; Netting, 2010). This view was investigated further in this study.

Studies from Uberoi (2006), estimated that over 90% of marriages are still arranged by parents. It is not clear from these research findings how many of these marriages were agreed to by those involved, or were actually performed in respect of the parents' wishes. It does, however, appear from the Netting's (2010) study of 15 men and 15 women, all Indian upper social class youths in their twenties, with higher education backgrounds, some with undergraduate, and some with postgraduate degrees that arranged marriages still exist. Also, the findings suggest that some of these arranged marriages now have more flexibility in the system, allowing young people to get to know each other before an agreement is made, in order to evaluate the chosen suitors, based on parental choice, customs and final approval. The study did, however, leave many questions unanswered as to the level of parental influence among the lower social classes, but findings do seem to indicate that parents still have a great impact on suitable partnerships in the upper social class sample. She suggests that it is not possible to predict if the impact of globalisation on indigenous populations and their traditions will influence future cultural change. The question of whether foreign education influences young people's choice of love or arranged marriage is also unclear from this or any other research.

3.24 Factors Which Influence Marriage

As highlighted in the previous section, the choice of marriage partners in India is related to many social factors, i.e. *'social position, region and characteristics of men and women'* (Banerjee, 1999, p650). Other factors, such as '*beauty, education, light skin and high incomes'* (Banerjee, *et al.*, 2009, p3) are also relevant. It also appears from the literature that marriage within caste, endogamy, is still placed high on the list of importance for marriage partnership characteristics.

However, Gist (1953) highlighted that changes in traditional family systems, due to globalisation, have resulted in parents who sought to arrange their offsprings' marriages, making more use of impersonal mass communication media channels, such as newspapers, to locate suitable matches. This is still in evidence today in the matrimonial personal columns, with the use of additional channels of communication via internet matrimonial websites (Dasgupta, 2006), e.g. Matrimonial.org.in. These web sites offer matrimonial directories highlighting partners' details, related to caste/community/sect, and surnames, which also reflect community/caste background, i.e. Agarwal, Arora, Brahmin, Jat. Country of current residence, is also stated, e.g. UK, USA, and included the name of the city of residence.

Analysis of these matrimonial databases suggests the features which may be sought in a 'good match', providing other important bio-data such as, age, level and type of education, e.g. PGDM, MA, MBA, MSC, CA, BA, together with profession, predicted or existing income, height, weight, skin complexion, religious/social background, language, and horoscope sign, including day of birth. Family details are also listed, which may indicate a parent's social background, i.e. usually a father's occupation and their social level, e.g. upper middle class.

Partner preferences are also listed e.g. lifestyle, career, religion, education. This is one example taken from an Indian English language newspaper:

> *'Match for h'som NM boy from status family Garg FBD Based 28/180 BE, MBA working with MNC Delhi earns 14 Lpa Father Doctr looking for Tall B'ful NM girl from status family Mail CV Photo Caste No Bar Email.....'*
> (Personal Column, Hindustani Times Newspaper, 2009, p15)

A professional business qualification, like the MBA, is seen by some as evidence of cultural capital, and *'as a must on the Indian marriage scene.... a passport to a better job and higher salary. It is a status symbol'* (Sanghera, 2005, p1).
Sanghera (2005, p1) also argues that there is a link between marriage and academic success, stating that '*MBAs and arranged marriages go together like tea and samosas – arranged marriages after all are exercises in commerce, rather than chemistry'.*

There appears, however, to be no evidence to suggest if a foreign qualification, e.g. a UK MBA, or other business postgraduate qualification, improves the chemistry and has a higher attraction value in arranged marriages than an Indian MBA. There is also no evidence to suggest that a foreign qualification attracts greater benefits in a marriage transaction in which there is an exchange of gifts or dowry. This study aimed to develop further insights on this practice, to determine if greater cultural capital resulted in higher marriage and dowry capital.

DiMaggio & Mohr (1985) suggest that a groom's education is seen as an important requirement if families are looking for a prospective spouse. They further suggest that education is the link to the male's employment opportunities and economic potential, and thus offers a secure future for the bride. Dasgupta (2006) also highlights the importance of education and earning capacity, but there is no mention from these studies of the impact of educational attainment from foreign universities.

3.25 Marriage Gifts

As marriage is such an important event, it is often celebrated by a lavish Indian wedding ceremony which gives a bride's family the opportunity to exhibit their level of actual, or perceived wealth, and thus family status (Srinivas, 1984). The family invites as many guests as possible, providing them with food, beverages and hospitality, all of which are generously undertaken, and paid for by the bride's family.

The bride's family, in many cases, is also responsible for the payment of the bride's dowry. This is a practice which, although not observed by all Indian families, is considered by some as an acceptable ancient Hindu custom, known as *'stridhan'* (Kishwar, 1993). This was, in its original sense, a dowry given to the bride to support her in the home of the groom. It was a practice found mainly in the high caste Brahmin families (ibid). Other researchers suggest that dowry, as a modern phenomenon, developed as a possible result of westernisation, after World War II. Dowry giving has now become a practice which has spread throughout all Indian castes (Paul, 1985; Sheel, 1999; Srinivas, 1984). It has now become, in many cases, a payment to the groom's family, not to the bride, and is often given under pressure, in the name of *'gift giving'* rather than dowry (Sheel, 1999, p17).

Agnihotri (2003) suggests that, whilst colonialism enhanced the opportunity for social and economic mobility, social and economic inequalities also emerged, with devaluation of women and son-preference. This is reflected in the prayers that are given for the preference of a son to be the product of a new marriage (ibid).

It appears that, in marriage, whilst different castes and societies have resisted erosion of their identities, the practices of upper caste patriarchal identities, have now been emulated by other castes (Agnihotri, 2003). She also highlights that a study of Indian media by a group of undergraduates produced the following observations:

> *'Education, which plays a role in socialization also perpetuates gender bias. To date, the Life Insurance Corporation, a premier insurance company, advertises its services and schemes under the 'for your son's education' and 'for your daughters marriage' stereotypical formula!'*
> (Agnihotri, 2003, p315)

Agnihotri (2003) further argues that the commercialisation of marriage and dowry, reflects the Marxist view that India's rising capitalist economy results in *'the establishment of material relations and social relations between material objects'* (Agnihotri, 2003, p317). This has resulted in a practice, which was once a cultural tradition of marriage, turning into '*consumerist greed'* by some families (Menski, 1998a, p99).

Agnihotri (2003) highlights some of the findings related to dowry from an extensive study carried out on *'10,000 respondents... in over 18 states in India'* (Agnihotri, 2003, p308):

> *'Marriage without dowry is not possible*
> *Dowry could buy girls marital bliss*
> *Dowry would ensure a status in the family home*
> *It would add an element of security to their married life; and*
> *Matrimonial security through a 'good match' could not be secured without a handsome dowry'.*
> (Agnihotri, 2003, p314)

Menski (1998a) argues that if marriageable women have:

> *'undesirable characteristics' in traditional conceptual terms, i.e. they are too old, too educated, too outspoken, and perhaps also too spoilt by doting parents 'dowry sweeteners' are used to entice a man into marriage.'*
> (Menski, 1998a, p101)

Dowry, which is actually illegal in India, is seen as a '*problem deeply rooted in Indian society'* (Majumdar & Kataria, 2009, pv) which, if accepted or given, may result in a prison sentence; it is often couched in terms such as 'gifts', and can be given in forms of jewellery, clothes cars, household appliances and, in some cases, cash, which, as will be further explained in the next section, is given and sometimes demanded by the groom's family (Majumdar & Kataria, 2009; Menski, 1998b).

Despite all efforts by the government and protest groups, the practice by all sections of society throughout India, but particularly in the north, is ominously expanding (Paul, 1985); a practice which Thakur (1998) suggests '*is a paradox that occurs in one of the oldest civilisations, one which claims to honour and respect women'* (Thakur, 1998, pxiii).

Having given an overview of marriage and some of the characteristics which families regard as significant for a good match for their offsprings, the next section will outline what dowry is and will attempt to explain how researchers have determined dowry calculations which may be linked to educational attainment.

3.26 Dowry

As outlined in the previous section, marriage is important for all families, especially for the family of a female. Marriage transactions in the form of dowry payment, in addition to gifts, may take place through parental choice, or by demand from the groom's family. Dowry giving is still practiced in several countries, including India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and in Africa, and is seen by many as sexist in patriarchal societies (Menski, 1998b; Majumdar & Kataria, 2009).

Despite India's economic growth and development, it does appear from the evidence in this subject area that dowry transactions are increasing in several ways; firstly, in financial costs for the bride's family, and, secondly, and more alarmingly, in dowry related domestic violence acts (Self & Grabowski, 2008).

Menski (1998) suggests that there are other factors, in addition to gender, which explain why dowry continues in disadvantaging women; she suggests that *'status-seeking* and *'status-affirmation'* of the bride's family are associated with weddings rather than with the considerations of the actual bride herself (Menski, 1998b, p102).

There is much controversy over the debates surrounding the concept and practice of dowry in different regions of India, and some suggest that it is linked to Becker's (1973) economic theory of the marriage market. Anderson (2007), suggests that although research does exist, the findings are weak and that there are many unresolved issues: *'solid data in this field have been extremely rare'* (Anderson, 2007, p151).

Banergee (1999) agreed with this view stating that *'there is surprisingly little information regarding how widespread dowry has become in recent years, or on the incidence of dowry in different class/caste strata'* (Banergee, 1999, p6). In a further study by Bangeree *et al.* (2009), they *'found it impossible to collect any data on dowries as they are illegal'* (ibid, p7), yet they still exist. Paul (1985) also highlights the problem that he experienced in gaining data from respondents. He indicates that some of them thought the researcher *'had some ulterior motives'* (Paul, 1985, p47). In order to obtain information, all respondents were guaranteed anonymity, and those that first denied taking dowry later relaxed and admitted that they did take dowry (ibid).

The anthropologist Comaroff (1980) argues in his reviews of Goody (1973) and Tambiah (1973) that marriage payments vary from country to country and even its manifestation within a country varies. He further suggests that, to understand the complexity of marriage payments, there are *'many theoretical paradigms from which they derive'* (Comaroff. 1980, p3).

Whilst comparisons are difficult between cultures, within each culture different generalisations of ontology emerge depending upon which approach is used*; 'structural functionalist, Marxist, and structuralist'* (ibid) approaches have been used to study the practice. Structural functionalism, which observes the structure of customs and traditions, has, he suggests, been used as the major source to build theory behind the understanding and generalisations about dowry, and he suggests that one widely held view is that property is transferred, *pre-mortem,* from the family to the daughter in a normal patrilineal Hindu society at marriage. This is *'generally seen to be related to hypergamy'* (ibid, p12), marrying up in societal terms, which is also related to Hindu inheritance law. These views are further developed by Upadhya (1990), Botticini & Siow, (2002, 2003), and Dalmia & Lawrence, (2005). They argue that marriage payments take different forms in different castes, social classes and marriage systems, with dowry and bride wealth existing on a continuum.

Srinivas (1983) also acknowledges that '*there is little known about inter-caste differences* in *the matter of dowry'* (Srinivas, 1983 p8). Bride wealth, was practiced more in the South of India, where there was an equal amount of payments from bride and groom to the marriage; in the North of India, dowry is more common, which is, or should be, retained by the bride for her future welfare. It is now more often than not, paid to the family of the groom (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005). Dalmia & Lawrence (2005) also argue that inheritance in the form of dowry, which is given to the groom's family, does not constitute an inheritance for the bride, which was its original intention when she left her family.

They also question *'how and with what justification, do the bride's parents spend beyond their capacity, on the marriage of their daughters'* (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005, p73). They, and other researchers in this field, further suggest that there has been a move by more families throughout the whole of India to adopt dowry payments, which has caused the practice to continue, and the amounts paid to the groom's family to increase. It is suggested by some researchers that this may be due to a decline in the availability of grooms of marriageable age, sometimes referred to as the 'marriage squeeze' (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005; Bloch & Rao, 2002).
There may be another issue which could relate to the difference in the ratio of males to females. The ratio of boys to girls is crucial with *'914 girls per 1,000 boys in the last decade'* (Economist, 2010), which is a drop from the previous census figures. The preference for sons over daughters in Indian families and rising incidence of *'gendercide'* (Economist, 2010), may increase market competition, as parents compete for the best grooms in the market by offering bigger dowries, dowries which may be linked to higher education.

Also, Anderson (2003) suggests that dowry payments are rising in India but the findings are difficult to justify fully, due to the lack of evidence on dowry. Dalmia & Lawrence (2005) have attempted an empirical study to calculate dowry based on individual traits of the bride and groom and their households, a difficult study to undertake due to the secretive nature of dowry.

When the bride's family seeks a spouse for their daughter, they base their analysis on various factors, e.g. '*schooling, age, height, wage earned by the* *groom and family background such as wealth, father's occupation and caste'* (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005, p77). Using data from various existing demographic studies, their results suggest that '*education on net dowry is as expected; educated grooms are worth more in the marriage market in India'* (ibid). They also suggest that *'more educated brides compete in a smaller market for grooms, as social norms typically require the groom to be more educated than the bride' (ibid, p89).* It is, however, not clear if this model takes into consideration higher education studies in India or abroad, or if it considers the qualitative aspects of family pride/or status they would like to reflect, which it appears are not directly related to bridal family wealth (Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005). Anderson (2003) suggests that lack of appropriate and accurate data on marriages and dowry has limited the degree of empirical analysis. Social scientists, who Srinivas (1983) has suggested are '*fascinated by it'* (Srinivas, 1983 p1), have also identified significant increases in the amount which is now paid.

Paul (1985), who argues that there has been an intensification of, and an increase in, dowry payments, also suggests that in the assessment of dowry determinants there is '*a significant correlation between levels of education and the quantum of dowry transaction'* (Paul, 1985, p80). He highlights that those with higher status, and higher degrees, and those from more highly rated Indian institutions have an increased level of prestige, and dowry may be above R's 50,000 (ibid). He suggests that, due to the cost of education, many parents 'cash in' when the higher education studies are complete, and he quotes from one of his respondents that *'a boy is an auctionable commodity' in the marriage market'* (ibid, p84).

Sheel (1999) suggests that '*marriage has become a commercial venture... the value of a boy with a B.A. degree is now worth five to six thousand'* (Sheel, 1999, p120). This is a commercial dowry 'venture', which may hit the middle and lower classes harder, but Sheel (1999) suggests these classes also try to *'encash their son's marriage, especially the one with some educational attainment'* (Sheel, 1999, p167). There is no apparent evidence related to the impact on dowry transaction of foreign postgraduate business degrees; this is evidence, which this study aimed to uncover.

One example of the commercial nature associated with possible dowry is taken from a web site from the USA:

> *'The pressure on me to find a husband started very early. A few days after my 1st birthday, within months of my family's arrival in the U.S., I fell out the window of a three-story building in Baltimore. My father recalls my mother's greatest concern, after learning that I hadn't been gravely injured: "What boy will marry her when he finds out?" she cried, begging my father to never mention my broken arm—from which I've enjoyed a full recovery—to prospective suitors out of fear my dowry would be prohibitively higher. (A middle-class family can easily spend $100,000 these days on a dowry in India.) Much savvier in the ways of his new country, my father laughed it off. 'But there is no dowry in America!'*
> (Jain, 2005)

This may be taken as an ironic statement, but it does reflect the issue with dowry costs. Dowry payments have increased dramatically in modern times, and have been described by many as a 'social evil' and the cause of dowry problems for the bride's family (Agnihotri, 2003; Gupta, 2009; Menski, 1998; Paul, 1985; Srinivasan, 2005). Srinivas (1983) also highlights that those from lower castes are emulating those of the wealthy higher castes where large dowries are the norm; this emulation may result in financial hardship for the bride's family.

He quotes Epstein Beregowda '*'what's good enough for Brahmin's is good enough for me!''* (Srinivas, 1983, p27). However, it is not really clear how dowry has become so hyper-inflated or how it is actually calculated by families, or how it has become such a problem for some families as it is today. Chowdhary (1998) also suggests that there is a lack of research on the role of social attitudes related to the practice and need for dowry. What is interesting, however, are the attempts to reduce the problems associated with dowry; those of a) female infanticide, or b) violence associated with inflated dowry requests i.e. demands of cash, property, or other gifts, or c) post-marriage dowry demands for cash, or d) post-marriage violence, i.e. dowry suicides, dowry deaths, and bride burning. These attempts appear to have had little effect, despite government laws; Acts such as, '*The Dowry*

Prohibition Act 1961, and important amendments, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1986 (Menski, 1998b, p107), all of which have been passed in a desperate attempt to try to prevent dowry and its many problems (Thakur, 1998). According to Thakur (1998) reported deaths in Delhi, for example, have increased, despite the fact that many of these crimes go unreported and she suggests that education of families does not appear to end the problems. She offers the view that:

> *'education will eradicate dowry and bride burning is powerfully disproved by the fact that people with lesser education, like tribal communities in various parts of India, do not indulge in such evil practices. Dowry problems are rampant among what one would call educated families, often highly educated, who should know better.'*
> (Thakur, 1998, pxv)

Kishwar (2005) argues that some families feel that they should be compensated for their son's upbringing and education; and compensated, for the son, whose education has improved their status to middle or upper class, and who has increased their earning potential and who is highly sought after by brides. Some families of the bride seek higher status marriages, hypergamy, for their daughters so they can benefit from the groom's family network or social capital, and access to networks:

> *'Marrying a daughter into a well-connected family which demands and accepts dowry, could mean upward mobility for her natal family, especially brothers, who hope to secure benefits through this connection'.*
> (Gupta, 2009, p2)

Parents' investment in their son's education and resultant better job can lead to the improvement in family status. Kishwar (2005), further suggests that dowry is '*shrouded in secrecy and made known only through whisper networks within the kinship social circle*' (Kishwar, 2005, p17). This may be because dowry is an illegal practice and, if it was found out by the police, the family may have to argue a case in court to avoid a prison sentence. If the dowry resulted in financial gain in some way and this was recorded in the family accounts, then tax would be required on the payment. Varma's

(2006) opinion is that few people elect to pay tax on anything in India, even on their earnings if they can avoid it, despite the Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme (VDIS). He further suggests that '*only about two percent of urban India pay tax*' (Varma, 2006, p206). Perhaps, if this situation was rectified by government, then funds would be available to support the poor and improve education provision.

Kishwar (1993) argues that urban middle and upper class families in India, who are critical of dowry, appear to be those who *'escalate the scale of dowry*' (Kishwar, 1993, p8). She further highlights some dowry equations, suggesting that, for a family to secure a police officer for a groom, they will require more dowry than an engineer in a private company. Government job holders, who issue licences, *'invite hefty bribes'* (ibid, p11), which can be of benefit to the groom and thus increase his value. She suggests that this is seen as an investment for the bride's family, as it secures a link with a powerful family with political connections. These connections would not be secured in any other way other than marriage.

3.27 Dowry in the UK

The practice of marriage transactions in the form of dowry between families has also been noted in Indian groups in the UK. The Lohans, a large Hindu community who settled in the UK from East African Uganda, and the Sikh community, engage in lavish weddings and presents in the form of gifts/dowry, for the groom's family (Chowdhary,1998; Jhutti, 1998). There is, however, limited research related to UK dowries in British society other than a study by Bohpal (1997), which highlights that female South Asian respondents, with higher education achievements, consider dowry unimportant and are more opposed to arranged marriages. However, the paper does not address the issue of dowry levels related to the educational levels of grooms (Bohpal, 1997).

3.28 Summary

This chapter have presented the reader with an overview of the complex cultural factors which have and still do influence Indian society, i.e.

language, religion, the caste system, marriage and dowry, factors which many British politicians once thought would prevent India from becoming independent (Hoveyda, 2011; Sagar, 2005).

In addition to the cultural factors, there is also the emergence of a large and growing, yet difficult to define, middle class which appears to cut across languages and castes. This is a growing middle class with economic capital, which may present a threat, or an opportunity, to other Western countries as jobs are taken by these educated and skilled workers.

It has been argued that marriage is an important element in the lives of Indian families who, more often than not, arrange the marriage between the bride and groom. Brides and grooms are evaluated as a good match by parents, from an evaluation of the level of education, profession and other physical attributes. The giving of dowry and or gifts from the bride to the groom's family is still practiced in India and is, according to some researchers, on the increase. This has resulted in evidence of an increase in female infanticide and dowry violence and deaths.

Due to the legal implications of dowry, and the secrecy which surrounds the practice, there appears to be limited evidence on dowry payments and how much is actually exchanged in the marriage transaction. There are also no current research findings to suggest whether, if the groom gains a postgraduate qualification in another country, he gains additional dowry capital, and as such, there is an increase in the level of dowry payment to the groom's family, where such transactions take place. Within the overall context of examining the experiences of Indian postgraduate business students, this study considered the possible association between Masters business graduates and marriage and dowry, and the possible impact of cultural capital in the form of international credentials.

The next chapter presents the literature review which has further informed this study. This includes a review of globalisation and a review of India's economic growth and links to the development of human capital through higher education and what some argue is a rise in credentialism. It also presents a critical review of cultural capital and social capital literature.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

4.11 Introduction

Whilst there is evidence of studies related to various aspects of undergraduate higher education and to some elements of postgraduate business education, and, research highlighting elements of international higher education, there appears to be a lack of published qualitative research related to the outcomes and perceived benefits of postgraduate business education in general, and to Indian business postgraduates in particular.

This critical literature review, which builds on the literature presented in the previous chapters, is what Hart (1998) describes as the *'analytical synthesis, covering all known literature on the problem'* (Hart, 1998, p15). The aim of this review is to demonstrate a *'high level of conceptual linking within and across theories* (ibid), to provide the reader not only with a significant historical and cultural background of higher education and Indian culture (Ridley, 2008), but '*a sufficient level of prior understanding of the topic'* (Hart, 1998, p15), to appreciate fully the rationale for the study.

The literature reviewed for this research study is wide ranging and complex, and there appears to be many complex factors which influence Indian middle class families to invest their economic resources for their children's higher education, and many factors which influence individuals to undertake higher education, and in particular postgraduate study, in India's emerging economy.

Das & Kemp, (1997, p25) argue that Indian's are *'an interdependent group of people whose concerns are not for themselves, but for the family as a whole and the responsibility is to the family before self'.* This perception, if true, may result in children endeavouring to achieve the highest academic and career outcomes to reduce any aspect of failure, which may negatively affect the reputation of the family (Segal, 1991).

The review falls into two main sections the first outlines the impact of globalisation and internationalisation on the growth of India's economy. It also presents an overview of the motivations for higher education and some of the outcomes for individuals which have been found as a result of management education. The second section presents a more detailed review of some of the major theories, which support our understanding of the development and the outcomes of higher education. These comprise human, cultural and social capital theory and these together with elements of section one have been drawn upon to develop the findings for this study.

4.12 Impact of Globalisation and Internationalisation

As previously outlined, this study is closely linked to the effects of globalisation, which, it is suggested, '*has replaced postmodernism as a theory and framework for understanding world development*' (Maringe & Foskett, 2010, p1) and which may affect a country in different ways i.e. the economy, society, and the country's culture (Knight, 1999; Waters, 1995). It may also be defined in many ways, one of which is the economists' definition that suggests that it is '*the integration of commodity, capital and labour markets*' (Guruz, 2008, p1).

It is a phenomenon that has resulted in a growth of world economies and especially so over the last three decades. There has been a growth in International trade and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), which supported by neo-liberal government deregulation, has resulted in a more open and highly interconnected world. This has led to improvements in transport and information technology and has given rise to multinational enterprises (MNEs). Other outcomes and benefits of globalisation have resulted in an increased flow of people and students, finance, goods, services and knowledge across geographical borders (Debrah & Smith, 2002; Peng & Meyer, 2011; McCann, 2008; Reyes, Garcia, & Lattimore, 2008; Wes, 1996).

Wes (1996) also suggests that globalisation is not an isolated event, but the latest phase of international business and world integration. Wes (1996) further argues that there are two other elements associated with globalisation, those of growth of population, and, in developing countries, improvement in education levels. It is also argued that increased educational provision supports the development individuals and of society as a whole (Knight & De Wit, 1997).

The response to globalisation which is regarded by some academics as internationalisation has resulted in benefits for many countries. The UK for example, has strengthened its involvement in the higher education market and Lenton (2007) has estimated that the national international student fee income was £1.89 billion for years 2003-2004. Lenton (2007) also estimates that there were 71,500 non EU students studying postgraduate taught programmes with approximately 10,000 of these being Indian students in 2003/4. This figure increased to 20,000 in 2007/8, with Business and Management Studies ranked first and second highest, in Indian student subject choice, for 2007/8 (HESA/British Council, 2009). The British Council (2010c) further indicated that 1 in 8 of these Indian international students study business at undergraduate level, and 1 in 5, at postgraduate level, which clearly indicates the importance and relevance of the subject area for UK institutions. These figures suggest that Indian nationals are motivated to invest in postgraduate business programmes to improve their human capital i.e. their knowledge and skills (Becker, 1964/1993; Schultz, 1961) and to improve their chances of securing employment in senior management positions for the personal benefit of increased financial capital (Simpson, et al, 2005). The choice of subject by Indian international students appears to reflect the rise in demand for managers in India's growing economy (Bowonder & Rao, 2005).

Altbach (2008, p24), however, argues that internationalisation should be carefully monitored, as the market for higher education is 'largely unregulated' and, whilst there are good universities and good colleges recruiting students from international countries, there are also *'sleazy recruiters, degree packagers, low end private institutions…and even a few respectable universities forced by government funding cutbacks to raise cash elsewhere'*. These institutions may fail to deliver students expected career outcomes leading to disappointment for the individual and a possible lack of family status.

Altbach (2008), further argues that the 'academy' must ensure that the market operates with adequate constraints and regulations to ensure quality and most importantly, to prevent a similar crisis to that experienced in the sub-prime mortgage market. Further research studies are recommended to determine if these predictions will emerge in the higher education market in the future.

It is suggested by Smith et al (2010) that, to ensure that the UK continues to attract international postgraduate students from India for further economic development, the UK should develop a strong UK brand, i.e. *'a name/or symbol used to uniquely identify the goods and services of a seller from those of its competitors, with a view to obtaining wealth in excess of that obtainable without a brand'* (Tollington, 1998, p180). This would ensure that UK higher education would be recognised by overseas employers, and as a high quality product which they could have faith in to deliver graduates with appropriate skills. This would then be a brand which provides added value and which would hopefully result in additional benefits for the holder.

4.13 India's Economy

As highlighted in Chapter 2, India began the liberalisation of its markets in 1991 (CIA, 2011) since which time it has endeavoured to break free of the '*licence raj'* (Wes, 1996, p13). India has benefited from foreign direct investment through Multi National Enterprises (MNE), and through the development of technology, all of which has resulted in increased employment of workers from its large population, many of whom have high levels of English language proficiency as a result of India's heritage (Meredith, 2008).

India's economic growth rate for 2009 was 7.4% (CIA, 2011), compared with the UK's which was -5% (CIA, 2011). India's exports have grown, not so much in manufacturing, as with other developing countries such as China, but more especially in the service sector. This sector offers outsourcing services to domestic and global companies in software and Information Technology (IT) e.g. call centres, software design, and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), which includes accounting activities, and Knowledge and

Legal Process Outsourcing (KPO & LPO). There has also been growth in India's biotechnology sector, banking services, community services, education and health, the hotel sector and distribution services (AGCAS, 2010; Gordon & Gupta, 2004; Hoda, 2008).

India now possesses a service sector, which produces 55.3% of India's GDP (World Bank, 2010), and where significant employment growth has taken place, which has also resulted in a reduction in the national poverty rate (McKinsey, 2007). It has, however, been suggested that, whilst many have benefited from the market for upward mobility, economic inequality prevails and it is suggested that *'for those who are outside the market circle and are disadvantageously located in the traditional structure, it meant more malnutrition, disease and destitution'* (Bhatt, 2009, p181). This view is shared by others one of whom argues that:

> *'while university graduates line up for jobs that can propel them into the newly vibrant middle class, for Indian's rural and urban poor, change has been interminably delayed'*
> (Meredith, 2008, p124).

This is a situation which requires further improvement in India's education policy with more spending and better allocation of subsidies for higher education, to improve human development across the whole country (World Bank, 2000).

4.14 India's Economic Growth and Education

As previously highlighted in Chapter 2, economic growth in India since the 1990s has produced a large and growing middle class, which, although difficult to define, is estimated to be in the region of 300/400 million (Mahapatra, 2009). Many members of this middle class have become, what is regarded as the '*consumer-citizen*' (Foskett & Hemsley-Brown, 2001, p2) with more choice in their decision making (ibid). They have benefited economically and socially from the expansion of the service sector, and the Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) (Mahapatra, 2009).

The results of these changes are, greater economic power for many families to buy consumables, and more freedom to choose, and to fund, their offspring's access to higher education in order to improve their knowledge and skills, either in India, or abroad (Bhatt, 2009; McKinsey, 2007) for economic benefits.

This demand for the development of personal human capital, and the increased skills demanded by Indian employers, will require further improvement in higher education and skills training provision, if India is to continue to develop its supply of human capital to strengthen its managers, entrepreneurs and innovators, and to strengthen its position in the competitive global knowledge economy. Provision of such skills is currently considered by many as inadequate.

India is competing against China as an emerging economy, and has fallen behind in its development due to the need for the Indian government to improve fiscal policy, trade and productivity, and India's infrastructure e.g. higher education provision (Agarwal, 2008; Becker, 1993; Lall, 2005; McKinsey, 2007; McMahon, 2009; OECD, 2007). Lack of government intervention is influencing middle-class Indian parents to send their children abroad for better quality higher education, and those all important, internationally recognised qualifications (Bashir, 2007).

It has also been suggested that there are other influencing factors for foreign education, as India's demand for well skilled managerial human resources exceeds domestic supply, and, as Agarwala (2008), states, the figures from India Today (2007) suggest that more managers are required: *'the total number of entry-level managers needed by corporate India every year stands at 2,735. But the best Business Schools in India produce about 1,740 managers'* (Agarwala, 2008, p362).

Other evidence also suggests that India's human capital skills are in demand within the growing service sectors, but it appears that the quality of supply for these jobs is poor:

> *'There is increasing evidence of the low availability of manpower with relevant skill sets that may lead to erosion of the competitive advantage of Indian industries. A recent survey indicated that over 80% of corporate executives believed that talent would be a significant constraint on the growth of their company over the next five years. Companies are finding that less than a quarter of graduating students have the necessary skills for service occupations. Even among graduates in urban and semi urban locations, where the bulk of hiring typically occurs, less than 30% of graduates have a reasonable command over English.'*
> (Hoda, 2008, p138)

The growth of the service sector, and the lack of suitable and accredited institutions in India to provide the human capital with the appropriate level of knowledge and skills, has as outlined above, resulted in an increase in student demand for accredited programmes in English speaking countries, such as the UK, USA and Australia. This is especially so for postgraduate business study, which enables Indian students to improve their English language proficiency and to develop their skills and competencies for future employment either abroad or in the home labour market. The fees for these courses are linked to the student's destination choice, and national Governments and HEIs have sought to benefit economically from this demand, by branding and marketing their business programmes to individuals and families in India, through such channels as the British Council and Indian agents.

4.15 Effects of Marketisation and Commodification

With the globalisation of economies, the twenty first century has seen a rapid growth in the commodification of the higher education 'industry' (Furedi, 2011; Newman & Jahdi, 2009) with demand increasing in response to developing countries' needs i.e. India:

> *'In global knowledge economies, higher education institutions are more important than ever as mediums for a wide range of cross-*

> *border relationships and continuous global flows of people, information, knowledge, technologies, products and financial capital.'*
> (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2006, p5)

The volume and value of trade in higher education services is difficult to assess, but estimates suggest:

> *'In 2005, the total value of education exports was over $28 billion, with the United States alone accounting for an estimated US $14.1 billion, followed by the United Kingdom (US $6.0 billion) and Australia (US $5.5 billion)'*
> (Bashir, 2007, p18)

Globalisation of higher education is argued by some to be characterised by '*marketisation, competition and management'* (Teichler, 2004, p22), a view also highlighted by Marginson & Van der Wende (2006):

> *'In many nations international mobility; global comparison, bench-marking and ranking; and the internationalisation of institutions and systems; are key policy themes; and governments and university leaders are preoccupied by strategies of cross-border cooperation and competition'.*
> (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2006, p5)

The response to globalisation may as explained earlier in this chapter be termed by some as *'internationalisation'*, and, although the two concepts are different, they are linked (Knight, 1999). '*Globalisation can be thought of as the catalyst while internationalisation is the response'* (ibid, p14). Knight & de Wit (1997), state that, *'Internationalisation of higher education is one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalisation yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation'* (Knight,1999, p14). This response may be seen in various forms within higher education. It may be seen as any, or a combination of the following: 1) The development of students' understanding of international cultures. 2) The mobility of students, or faculty. 3) The delivery of programmes abroad, and/or 4) The direct investment in education abroad, all of which depend upon the institution's development policy, and the country of destination's regulations regarding overseas development (Knight, 2004).

Internationalisation is not a new phenomenon, as many students have been mobile throughout history, travelling around the world to experience new cultures, and to gain knowledge and skills for their personal development (Knight & de Wit, 1995). Today, countries such as Qatar, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates, have developed their internationalisation policies by establishing foreign institutions and campuses as higher education hubs for their regions (Altbach, 2009).

Although many Indian students travel to international destinations such as the UK, foreign universities have made limited direct investment in Higher Education provision in India due to India's legislative restrictions. This situation is currently under review by the Indian Government.
If the law is passed which does permit UK university campuses in India, this may have an impact upon student numbers travelling to the UK, and it may lead to a possible loss of revenue to the UK economy. Further research is recommended to monitor the impact of this position, if and when the Indian government changes these regulations.

4.16 The Knowledge Economy

Agarwala (2008) suggests that, when Indian students make career choices, several factors influence their decision which may include intrinsic factors, e.g. job interest, or extrinsic factors e.g. salary. These and other reasons have fuelled the growth of higher education globally and it has become an education service, which is sought after by many students who wish to develop and improve their career prospects, and a service which is now regarded as a global tradable commodity (Taylor, 2010).

This is a view which many academics argue focuses on the commercial value of education, while *'ignoring the contribution of higher education to the intellectual, social and cultural development of a society'* (Bashir, 2007, p8). Higher education is, however, considered by many as the engine behind a country's economic development and economic success, which has resulted in the emergence of what is termed the 'knowledge economy'. This is '*an economy that creates, disseminates and uses knowledge to enhance its growth and development*' (Dalman & Utz, 2005, p2; de Wit *et al*, 2005; Drucker, 1993).

It has been suggested that the growth of the 'knowledge economy' which has been driven by developments in technology (Guruz, 2008; Wolf, 2002) embraces more than just the high technology industries, information and communication technologies and is a concept which should cover *'how any economy harnesses and uses new and existing knowledge to improve the productivity of agriculture, industry, and services and increase overall welfare'* (Dalman & Utz, 2005, p2).

As a result of this growth in the knowledge economy, Indian government policies have also resulted in the growth of Indian higher education establishments to cater for the growing demands of the economy. The opportunity for greater access has motivated students to improve their earnings and social mobility, by obtaining the intellectual capital in technical skills and management qualifications, to match the demands of the new job markets, and to improve their personal opportunities, and the country's global competitiveness (Brown, 2003; Guruz, 2008; Wolf, 2002*).*

Education may be regarded as a metaphor for social mobility, as *'proposed by 'Sorokin (1927)'* in Kivinen, (1997, p443). Sorokin suggested that *'education was a 'social elevator' running from the bottom to the top of the social building... transferring different numbers of people to different floors'* (Kivinen, 1997, p443) and higher education may result in people reaching, metaphorically speaking, a higher floor.

Students from India who are unable to secure access to Indian higher education institutions choose to travel abroad and pay for UK higher education (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). They hope that foreign education will enable them to improve their personal knowledge and skills and enhance their cultural and symbolic capital, and their social identity/profile (Bourdieu, 1986). This they hope will strengthen their chances of greater career success and the possibility of social mobility, thus using the 'social elevator' as described above.

The development of qualifications is, however, seen by Collins, (1979), merely as a form of credentialism, which was regarded by Dore (1997), as part of the 'Diploma Disease' (Dore, 1997). The award of qualifications is it is argued, being used not in the interests of raising competence, or economic development, but *'as an aid to quick and cheap people processing'* (Goldthorpe, 1997, p668).

Brown (1990, p77/78) presents some of the arguments which suggest that the trends in the global market place for good jobs are resulting in the acquisition of credentials and especially so for the children of middle-class parents:

> *'The acquisition of externally validated qualifications is being used increasingly as a way of insulating managers and company executives against the vagaries of the global market and corporate restructuring. This trend not only helps us to explain the increasing demand for business studies at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels (e.g. the massive expansion of MBA programmes in Britain), but also the increasingly instrumental attitudes of middle-class parents concerning the education of their children.'*

Brown (2003) further argues that this increase in the demand for higher education is tightening the links between credentials, employment and outcomes, and, he further suggests that the implications of gaining credentials suggests that *'the more we learn, the more we earn'* (Brown, 2006, p381). This he proposes is resulting in an ever increasingly congested labour market, and is especially so for *'elite jobs'* (Brown, 2003, p141).

Brown (2003) also argues that if more people gain the qualifications for professional or managerial jobs, and supply of these jobs does not increase, due to changes in the economy or corporate structures e.g. down-sizing, this will result in further credential inflation, and the exchange value of the qualification will fall. The result of this fall in credential value will he suggests, result in disappointment for many graduates as they are unable to find the jobs and thus the wages that they seek. Brown *et al.* (1997, p9) further argue that credential inflation results in individuals investing *'more time in ascending the hierarchy to the scarcest and most valued credential'*. These views may also be true for Indian graduates, an outcome explored in this study.

4.17 Effects of Credentialism

The increase in those taking higher education qualifications has raised concerns and much debate. It has been suggested that higher education for more individuals may simply result in an over educated work force, and Wolf (2002, p5) argues, that several renowned economists contend that '*jobs now 'demand' levels of education from their holders which were not required in the past'*. This increased credentialism may result in disaffection for the *'educated unemployed'* (Dore, 1997, p7).

As organisations demonstrate a preference and pay more for skilled workers, employees demonstrate their motivation, by gaining credentials to add to their employee market value. This phenomenon is called the '*sheep skin effect'* (Jaeger and Page, 1996). Employers now seek candidates with degrees for jobs which previously were given to those without qualifications. This trend has resulted in what Dore (1997, p7) refers to as '*qualification-escalation'* rather than an increase in managerial jobs. This is a situation which has, as Dore predicted, expanded across all employment sectors and countries as graduate numbers have increased (Brown, 2003).

A more recent online survey of human resource directors and senior managers, performed by the UK CIHE in 2009-2010, of 16 UK companies, some of which were global organisations, suggested that seven out of ten employers now sought graduates with specialist knowledge and skills at Masters level, but that they more often than not recruited only from universities they were familiar with, and had previous links with.

Other employers suggest that postgraduates are not regarded as special, and they simply get caught in the recruitment net. Postgraduates are often considered as no different from those with a first degree. The findings from the report also suggest that employers treat and pay postgraduates the same as undergraduates.
Employers do not regard a postgraduate degree as having any additional value for the employee (CIHE, 2010). These are views which may correlate with those of postgraduates in India. An outcome explored in this study.
It also appears, according to Wolf (2002), that there is no correlation between the level of qualifications and motivation, or productivity, and no real analysis of the value for money from the ever increasing levels of education, for a *'whole society'* (ibid, p53) i.e. the social rate of return (Dore, 1997; Wolf, 2002).

The Dearing Report 7 (1997) on UK higher education also indicated that there is a problem of linking higher education to economic growth:

> *'2.32 There is a considerable body of research that has sought to explain the causes of economic growth including the role of (higher) education. While there have been an enormous number of empirical studies of economic growth there is no consensus on its causes. It is very difficult to separate the impact of a greater numbers of graduates from all the other factors that influence economic growth. In particular, while many studies have linked education with economic growth, very few have distinguished between the impact on individual pay – already captured in the rate of return estimates above – and any wider economic benefits.'*

However, Becker's (1993), neo-classical economist human capital theory, more of which is discussed later in this chapter, suggests that higher education raises an individual's earnings. Human capital analysis, assumes that knowledge and skills, raise both earnings and productivity and is a concept most governments appear to acknowledge in their education policies to improve economic output. However, Becker also acknowledges that other academics suggest that degrees and education do not relate to improvements in productivity, only that they convey underlying ability and are simply examples of *'credentialism'* (Becker, 1993, p19).

It is suggested that employers simply use these credentials to screen individuals for jobs. This is a 'screening theory' in which Arrow (1973) and Spence (1973), argue, that higher education does not improve economic output, but merely signals high *'innate ability'* to the employer (Dobbs, Sun, & Roberts, 2008, p792). The result is that academic credentials provide the only form of evidence to support a human resource recruiter's decision to employ someone, particularly when they are unsure of an employee's actual capabilities and skills, and especially if they come from an unknown higher education institution.

The employee's ability may not necessarily be solely due to higher education, but also to other personal attributes. It is suggested that the employer assesses various characteristics/signals of the employee i.e. education achievement and also their past work experience, to determine initial wage levels. Following employment, the employer may then reassess the employee's productivity related to employee characteristics, to determine if their beliefs are actually related to their performance. This review by employers then determines the next decisions on the individuals' wage levels not the qualification (Dore, 1997; Spence, 1973; Weiss, 1995).

Dore (1997) and more recently Brown, Lauder & Ashton, (2011) suggest that evidence of qualification-escalation may be found in developing countries e.g. India. The problem of credential inflation may be one of the problems faced by Indian employees who have gained postgraduate qualifications but have not realised their expectations of becoming a senior manager or a CEO. There appears to be no evidence in current literature which relates this outcome with the actual experiences of Indian business postgraduates a phenomenon explored in this study.

4.18 Benefits of Higher Education

Becker (1993) argues that, while the overall concept of investment in human capital *'is much easier to quantify than the monetary side'* (Becker 1993, p21) in an increase in earnings, he also acknowledges that monetary incentives are no more important than non-monetary or cultural benefits.

Dearing (1997) estimated a return on private investment costs incurred by the person or family in choosing higher education, was between 11% and 14%, (Dearing, 2007), and Blundel *et al* (1997, piii) also stated that *'the wages of men with higher education qualifications were significantly higher at age 33 than those with just A levels'* .

In India, it is suggested that an individual with tertiary education earns *'30% (Rs 14,000), more than a person with secondary education'* (Euromonitor International, 2008, p98). Euromonitor International also highlights that those with '*MBAs, CAs and other Masters Business Degrees are paid salaries on a par with global standards*' (ibid).
It is, however, not clear if these qualifications are gained from the top Indian institutions e.g. an Indian Institute of Management, or top foreign institutions, such as Harvard Business School, or London Business School. The perceptions are that those from top Indian institutions and foreign higher education institutions may also result in additional perceived benefits, which also appear not to have been clearly identified or documented. Becker (1993) further suggests that, in addition to personal financial benefits, other studies show *that 'education promotes health, reduces smoking, raises the propensity to vote, improves birth control knowledge and stimulates the appreciation of classical music'* (Becker, 1993, p21). Other authors suggest that higher education helps society in general, through other macro and micro social capital benefits, such as social cohesion, tolerance and citizenship (Behrman & Stacey, 1997; Bynner *et al*, 2003; Coleman; 1988; Putnam, 2000; Preston and Green, 2003). Further development of the concepts of social capital will be found later in this chapter.

There may also be other non-financial benefits which include *'improved health, reduced incidence of depression and obesity, mental health, reduced crime rates and improvement of social cohesion, civic society and the intergenerational transmission of skills between parents and children*' (Price, Waterhouse, Coopers, 2007, p4).

These arguments which link higher education with societal benefits were further supported and developed by Byner *et al* (2003), who suggest that higher education may also result in social mobility.
Social mobility may be defined as *'any transition of an individual or social object or value, anything that has been created or modified by human activity, from one social position to another'* (Sorokin, 1927, p43, in Karade, 2009, p3). These gains they further argue, may be substantial for those with higher education qualifications, with a greater effect for males and females from the lower classes (this quantitative analysis was based on 1970 US cohorts) Other studies from consultants Price, Waterhouse, Coopers (2007), predict the wide ranging effects of higher education benefits in general, as already highlighted above.

For individuals, Wolf (2002) is, clear in her analysis, arguing that education does matter, and now more than ever before, and that individuals should secure their knowledge and skills and their credentials obtained from their education, for improvement in their employment opportunities (Wolf, 2002). Such employment opportunities appear to be highly significant for Indian nationals not only for wages, but also to influence marriageability and possible dowry/gift payments a perception explored in this study.

However, the concept of employability is widely debated, and is considered by many as more than just improving knowledge and skills. It is also associated with innovation and is outlined as follows: '*Employability is about, having the capability to gain employment, maintain employment, and obtain new employment if required'* (Hillage & Pollard, 1998, in Lees, 2002, p2).

Yorke (2006, p8) regards employability as:

> *'a set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes – that makes graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations, which benefits themselves, the workforce, the community and the economy.'*

Employability is also linked to personal qualities and the state of the labour market (ibid). If there is a downturn in the economy or corporate restructuring occurs, this may, as previously noted in this chapter, have an impact upon the lack of employment for knowledge workers, which may include managers and other executives, and may result in many qualified individuals chasing too few jobs (Brown, 2003).

However, it was suggested, by the Institute of Employment Research (IER, 2000), that some organisations actually have problems with recruitment due to the following issues:

> *'a lack of job applicants with the required skills, qualifications or work experience. Some organisations also suffer from internal skills gaps, which are to be found where a significant proportion of existing staff in a particular occupation lack full proficiency in their current job.'*
>
> (Metcalf & Grey, 2005, p4)

This is a situation previously noted for India's economy and one reason that may result in some Masters graduates from lower quality institutions not securing the jobs, salaries or other benefits that they had expected, even when they hold business credentials e.g. institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

4.19 Role of Higher Education for Stakeholders

Higher education studies are considered to support three sets of stakeholders: 1) Individuals, 2) Employers and 3) Government. This support is intended to improve human capital for individuals, through knowledge and skills development, which, it is suggested, improves productivity for employers and stimulates economic growth in the knowledge economy. In India, there also appears to be an important fourth stakeholder, which is 4) The family of the individual. Each of these will be considered in turn.

Firstly, Individuals as Stakeholders: Indian students, are often motivated and supported by, and also pressurised by, parents to choose high status professions with the potential for high earnings, and especially for those with economic capital to study for their credentials abroad (AGCAS/NASES, 2010; British Council, 2010). The aim of the individual is to improve their competitive advantage, by developing their knowledge, skills and attitudes, so that they are recognised by employers and other members of society (Gambrel & Cianci, 2003; Lees, 2002).

This motivation for improvement in knowledge and skills at undergraduate and postgraduate levels, may correspond to Maslow's Motivational Theory Model, which postulates that people are motivated by '*unconscious goals*' (Maslow, 1943, p372), or by their individual needs to achieve levels of fulfillment. This model was developed by Maslow (1943) in the USA, but may also be applicable to other cultures. Maslow argues that '*individuals will satisfy basic level needs before modifying behaviour to satisfy higher-level needs* (Gambrel & Cianci, 2003, p144).

Figure 4.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Adapted from Gambrel and Cianci, 2003, p145)

Maslow (1943) further argues that, at the level of 'self-esteem' (see figure 4.1), people seek higher levels of success, acknowledgement and prestige for themselves and for their own independence; and, from this success, they seek status and greater respect from others. This is an outcome also suggested by Bourdieu (1989), which he refers to as 'symbolic capital', more of which will be discussed later in this chapter during the review of cultural capital.

Maslow further suggests that, if an individual's needs are not achieved, this can lead to *'feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness'* (Maslow, 1943, p382). Perhaps this is the outcome if qualifications have been gained and recognition has been given by the family or others of this achievement, then the individual does not gain the management career that was expected. This may also result in the loss of self and family respect an outcome which may be true of Indian business postgraduates if they do not achieve their or their family's expectations. This study aimed to explore this phenomenon.

Secondly: Employers as Stakeholders: higher education also supports employers, who require employees to demonstrate their achievements and attributes with appropriate skill sets, competences and capabilities to do the job (Gambrel & Cianci, 2003; Lees, 2002). Employability is often linked to skills, which were outlined in the UK Dearing Report (1997). The Report recommended that the skills of undergraduates should include '*Communication, Numeracy, IT and Learning how to learn*', and should be a central aim of HEIs to ensure new graduates are capable and ready to work (Mason, Williams & Cranmer, 2009, p2). Other core competency skills which are also considered as important for all graduates are for example, critical evaluation, motivation and self-reliance, and knowledge of companies' operations, and languages (Lees, 2002; Smith *et al.*, 2010).

A more recent CIHE (2010) report also suggested the following for postgraduates: '*HEI's and businesses must work together to ensure postgraduates have the skills and knowledge that employers need – particularly leadership skills and work experience'* (CIHE, 2010, p3).

Many universities in the UK have, in fact, embedded these skills in their curriculum to develop skills for employment opportunities (ibid). Other soft skills i.e. *'self-management or customer facing skills'* are also recognised as being important to meet the needs of employers (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2008, p12).

In India, it is suggested that, to ensure that graduates have appropriate skills for employers, '*the Indian curricula must be revised periodically, the method of assessment of students changed so that it encourages the development of analytical and creative skills rather than testing memory*' (Hoda, 2008, p6). From a study by AGCAS/NASES, part of the Prime Minister's Initiative 2 (2010), it was suggested that employment recruiters in India, have little knowledge of the content of UK degrees, other than that they are more practical and less theoretical than Indian degrees (AGCAS/NASES, 2010). It was also suggested that Indian employers identified that US education was closer to the Indian system, which may, result in returners being *'seen more favourably in the job market*' (AGCAS/NASES, 2010, p8/9). The follow on effect may result in less job success for UK Indian postgraduates returning home from UK universities.

It may, however, also be due to the fact that there are more UK postgraduates in the Indian labour market, which has led to a devaluation of the qualification and increased competition for jobs. There is current evidence which suggests that many UK postgraduates end up working in Indian call centres. This may be due to a lack of senior management positions and/or due to their proficiency in English (Sengupta & Gupta, 2011). This would be an interesting area for further research to explore.
It appears that many employers and in many countries, may require higher level business qualifications, work experience and other personal qualities, for elite managerial positions and not just the achievement of holding a postgraduate business degree (Brown, 2003; CIHE, 2010). This may reflect the importance of UK HEIs to forge closer links with Indian employers to determine their employee requirements, and, for the strengthening of the UK HEI 'brand image'.

Thirdly: Government as a Stakeholder: Governments need to ensure that human capital development supports the economy for further growth and global competitiveness (British Council, 2007, Drucker, 1993). The UK has advocated the creation of more highly skilled workers through life-long learning, with an expansion of tertiary education, '*in order to sustain a shift towards more high value-added activities'* (Brown, Lauder, & Ashton, 2008, p4), with the hope that these workers will remain within the UK economy, and thus out-smart other national economies '*whether established or emerging – in the 'knowledge-wars' of the future'* (Brown & Lauder, 2006, cited in Brown, Lauder, & Ashton, 2008, p4).

It is, however, clear that emerging economies, like China, are increasing their supply of highly educated workers to improve innovation and global competitive advantage. In the case of India, however, it appears that they are still limited by lack of government higher education provision (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2008). One problem with increased globalisation and knowledge and skills development, which has been identified in the UK, is what Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2008, p18) refer to as '*Digital Taylorism',* a play on scientific management, where workers are now completing tasks as outlined by management from above, with no requirement for innovation from the individual. This could be detrimental to the UK, and perhaps in time, other economies too e.g. India, as Chakrabortty (2010, np) argues in his Guardian on-line article:

> *'What Brown argues, it's now happening to skilled and graduate jobs: law, finance, software-engineering. From now on, believe Brown and his colleagues, "permission to think" will be "restricted to a relatively small group of knowledge workers in the UK". The rest will be turned into routine and farmed off to regional offices in Eastern Europe or India.'*

Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2008, p18), further suggest that change is faster than we can imagine, and state the following:

> *'the current view of education for creativity and personal fulfillment bears little relationship to the future employment of many university*

> *graduates....the rise of high skilled low waged work force means increasing inequalities and unmet expectations, and challenges our understanding of justice and efficiency via the connection between education, jobs and rewards.....The one dimensional view of education as a preparation for employment is not a reflection of labour market realities'.*

This will be a challenge for future educationalists to address, most notably the kinds of employment and management skills that will be needed for a new digital era both in the UK and in developing countries, i.e. India (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2008).

Interestingly, Lees (2002, p7) suggests, that whilst things are changing for under graduates:

> *'Postgraduates are rarely mentioned in the literature concerning the development of employability skills and attributes. They seem to be a forgotten group who are not explicitly encouraged to think about either their skills or career development'.*

This view was endorsed by Brown & Kneale (2011) on issues in taught postgraduate programmes, and is further emphasised by Rothwell, Jewell & Hardie (2009, p3) who also suggest that there is limited research related to *'employability in other national contexts'* another justification for this research study.

Fourthly: Family as a Stakeholder: As Das & Kemp (1997) indicate at the beginning of this chapter the family is an important factor in Indian society. The literature suggests that many Indian students are often financially supported by, and influenced or motivated by, parents, or by other family members, to achieve higher education qualifications (Agarwala, 2008; Das & Kemp, 1997). The outcomes of the study may in turn, result in the son or daughter achieving greater cultural capital, self-esteem, and respect from their parents. This may also result in greater respect and prestige for the whole family from their friends. Brown (2000, p634) argues in his *'positional conflict theory'* that many middle class families are endeavouring to win *'positional advantage'* (ibid, 2003, p3) for their children in the labour market. Parents encourage higher education study for credentials to prevent their offspring from becoming caught in the *'opportunity trap'* (ibid) for employment. This is a competitive strategy which parents hope will ensure that their children secure employment in the increasingly competitive labour market.

Also, as previously mentioned in chapter three, higher education is an important factor in Indian marriages and Dhesi (2001) argues that as Indian society becomes increasingly competitive, the educational achievements of the bride and groom are of considerable importance in marriage choices. Dhesi (2001) further argues that students have increased expectations of their marriage prospects, after they have completed their higher education.

It also appears that in Indian society where dowry is given, the educational status of the son is, along with other personal and family attributes, related to the size of dowry/gift given by the bride's family to the groom's family (see the section on dowry in Chapter 3).

There is, however, limited research to identify if parents exert a covert influence to 'push' their offspring to study for credentials abroad, so that the cultural capital, and thus the status of the son, improves with the achievement of foreign education, which is then linked to family status, and, more importantly, to the family's receipt of increased dowry/gift payments. This study aimed to provide knowledge of these perceptions from Indian nationals.

4.20 International Student Mobility

Closely linked with the pursuit of education for employability, and one of the facets of internationalisation which has been previously mentioned in this study, is international student mobility. This is a phenomenon which has greatly increased over the last ten years, to reach approximately, *'2.5 million' international students, in higher education, worldwide'* (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2009, pv).

UNESCO's Global Education Digest (2006) defines 'internationally mobile students', as *'individuals who leave their country or territory of origin and travel to another for the purpose of studying'* (Verbik, 2007, p3).

This demand for international education (Bashir, 2007) and qualifications is due to various factors, which have *'traditionally been driven by expectations of its ability to raise the economic and social status of the graduate'* (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p82). This is a way for a student to gain human capital, and additional symbolic capital, from a foreign degree, in the hope that they will improve their overall competitive position in the market place (Ong, 1999; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). This study aimed to explore this phenomenon more closely.

Indian students, like many other international students, appear to choose to study postgraduate business programmes, either in their home market or abroad, for employment advantages (Currie and Knight, 2003), and/or 'for the intellectual challenge, and/or the personal challenge, and/or for improved career prospects, and/or as an essential career requirement, and/or, to enter an academic career' (Foskett & Foskett, 2006, pp4-6), and/or perhaps, the additional benefits which may be gained in other cultural environments.

Waters (2006, p189) highlights that graduates from Hong Kong gain additional benefits in the job market from overseas study, finding their *'credentials had transformed into something far more valuable than the local equivalent',* credentials, which, it appears, have greater cultural capital for the individual. This may also be true of Indian postgraduates, although there does not appear to be any evidence to reflect this at present.

4.21 Motivation Factors for Student Mobility

Other factors have also influenced student mobility, one of which is population growth. In India, it appears that demand for higher education has, as previously argued, outstripped the domestic supply of 'highly regarded quality higher education places' i.e. IIMs. It is also suggested that students wish to have the chance to experience a new country (British Council, 2010) and thus are influenced to study abroad (Agarwal, 2008; Cummings, 1993; De Wit, 2008; McMahon, 1992). These and other factors which influence international student mobility have been categorised and modeled as, *'push and pull factors'* (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p82).

Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) surveyed 152 prospective postgraduate students in 1999 from Indonesia, Taiwan, China and India and listed from the findings the factors which influence host country selection.

Further research was also performed to examine the factors influencing choice of final host institution. Their findings suggested that international students go through various stages i.e. they decide to go, then they decide which host country, then they choose the institution.

Their findings indicate that Indian students rank the '*overseas course better than local'* (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p85), as the highest factor influencing their decision to study abroad. Other push-factors for Indian students were cited as '*difficulty to gain entry at home and courses not available at home, and a better understanding of the west and intention to migrate'* (ibid). The factor of greater knowledge or awareness of the host country was also regarded as an influence to study in that country (ibid). Other factors i.e. *'job opportunities, acceptance of entry qualifications, and established population of overseas students'* (ibid, p86) were also noted. Other important pull-factors highlighted by Mazzarol, in his 1998 study, were '*size of the alumni base, and promotion and marketing efforts'* (ibid, p83).

These and findings from other studies summarise the various push factors as follows:

- The perceived economic benefits of having higher education qualifications;
- The requirement to have higher level qualifications to compete for jobs;
- The demand due to lack of provision in the domestic/home market for the student;
- The lack of quality provision in the domestic/home market;

- More appropriate programme for higher education qualifications;
- The possibility of permanent residency post-graduation;
- The prestige of foreign higher education qualifications;

(Developed by the author from Altbach, 2004; Bashir, 2007; Naidoo, 2007)

It is argued by other researchers, that factors of ‘push and pull’ may be grouped under four main headings: Educational, Political, Social Cultural, and Economic (Agarwal, 2008; De Wit, 2008). It is also worth noting that a British Council survey in India highlighted that the quality of education, career prospects, and the expectation of a highly valued internationally accepted degree were ranked as the three most important decision making factors by Indian students when considering a host country to travel to for study (British Council, 2010, p6).

Other Factors Which Motivate Postgraduate Study

The Graduate Management Admissions Council (GMAC) is an organisation which has developed a skills test for potential students wishing to enroll on business and management courses, known as the, Graduate Management Admissions Test (GMAT). Many of the institutions, who use this entry test scoring system, are among the more highly ranked institutions. GMAC (2008) surveyed prospective Indian students, both male and female, and asked which factors were most likely to motivate them to study postgraduate programmes, and, which if any factors which would cause them to have reservations to study. The prospective students were also asked about their decision making, the programme type, the location of where their application was submitted and their funding choice. The findings from the survey indicated that the most likely motivator, for Indian females, was human capital development, and, for males, career switching and business and social entrepreneurship. The availability of money was ranked as the most important reservation issue for study with loans cited as the most likely possible source of funding.

The MBA was the programme that was considered above all other postgraduate programmes in the 2008 GMAC study and with applications preferred for international destinations. The choice of postgraduate programme and destination appeared to be influenced by parents and friends (GMAC, 2008).

Interestingly, a more recent GMAC report indicates that there has been an increase in non-MBA specialized Masters programmes, in management, finance and accounting (GMAC, 2011), all of which GMAC suggest improve salary predictions for those who gain these qualifications.

All the factors highlighted above have influenced students in different ways and have resulted in a rise in student mobility over the last few decades. Many students are motivated to travel abroad to gain international qualifications, so they can compete in a host or their home job markets, much of which has also been fuelled by '*enhanced marketisation*' (Foskett, 2011, p35) of higher education.

International academic institutions in the USA, UK, and Australia are using competitive and aggressive student recruitment marketing activities, stressing their institutional academic brands, or '*world-class institutions*' and '*quality provision*' (Verbik 2007, p5) to attract as many international students as possible (Chapleo, 2011; Eduworld, 2001). The aims are, however, not only to attract students to improve their career prospects, but, it seems more importantly, to add to the host country's institutional finances and the host country's economy; e.g. English speaking; USA, UK, Australia, and other countries, e.g. France and Germany (Bashir, 2007; Guruz, 2008; Verbik, 2007).

Altbach (2004, p2) supports this view but argues that, '*International students don't just fill seats – they also contribute to the nation's global competitiveness by swelling the numbers of highly trained people in key disciplines*'. Higher education has, as previously noted by Taylor (2010), become a saleable profit making commodity, with additional benefits for the host country (UKCOSA, 2000), and for those domestic students who study there.

Verbik (2007) further suggests that there has been an increase of over 60% in international students in the UK since 1999, and she also supports the view that '*international student mobility has over the past 10-15 years, become an increasingly important part of the global higher education landscape'* (Verbik, 2007, p1). UKCISA (2010), estimated there were 34,000 Indian students in 2008/9 in the UK, and it is predicted that the growth of all overseas students will increase further, to over five and a half million international students by 2020 (Bohm *et al*, 2004). However, despite the following factors:

a) The UK British Council, UK universities and the UK government's recruitment initiatives, which include the Prime Ministers Initiatives (PMI)1 (1999) & PMI2 (2006) (See Appendix 1, 16). The aims of which were to promote and develop UK international education for long-term economic and political benefits (BC, 2009; UKCISA, 2010).
b) The International Graduate Scheme (IGS), which enabled students to have one year of employment in the UK post-graduation.
c) The UK's highly rated qualifications.

The USA hosts the most international students in the world e.g. *'US in 2006, close to 565,000 students, UK 330,000, Australia, 280,000 enrolments'* (Verbik, 2007, p4). Further, it is reported that a degree from the USA is considered by Indian students to be a '*better investment with good financial returns'* (Verbik, 2007, p5). De Wit (2008) reviewed some of the factors adapted from the Bohm *et al* (2004) study, Vision 2020, from which he determined country attractiveness. His rankings suggest that the USA is above the UK and Australia, on '*employment prospects'*, *'quality of education'* and *'education accessibility'* (De Wit, 2008, p26).

In an effort to attract more international students the UK Border Agency replaced the IGS with a Points Based System in 2008; this system enabled international students to work in the UK for two years post-study. A new Border Agency initiative is currently under review (UKBA, 2011), which will reduce the number of UK colleges which can recruit international students, a move seen by many as way to reduce the number of UK diploma mills, and bogus colleges, and is reflected in the views of Altbach (2008).

With demand for higher education in India exceeding supply, and concerns growing over quality of that supply, many Indian nationals travel abroad to secure their human capital development, in the hope of a better career, which will secure a good salary and improve their social, cultural and symbolic capital, and possibly theirs and their family's social mobility. However, research studies which reflect the outcome for Indian's who study postgraduate programmes appear to be few in number. This was a further reason that justifies this present study.

4.22 Business and Management Education - MBA

As highlighted in the GMAC study the MBA is a popular postgraduate programme for Indian nationals (GMAC, 2008). It is an award developed in the USA from the early 1900s, and the 1960s in Europe (Baruch, 1996; Mintzberg, 2005) and is intended to prepare graduates for roles in management (ibid). The aim of the MBA is to *'bring scientific enquiry and an increased professionalism to the practice of management'* (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p 69), and it provides, as previously mentioned, a form of *'social identity'* for managers (ibid).

It has been described as *'the very core of American management education'* (Amdam, 1996), and as '*the golden passport' for many jobs*; *the ticket of entry to prestigious, high profile positions'* (Datar, Garvin & Cullen, 2010, p17). However, the MBA, in particular, has been criticised by many observers over the years for not evolving with the business world, and therefore for not meeting the expectations of employers, or management gurus, who suggest it is excessively analytical, with a focus on business functions. Some critics also argue that it has had no effect on management performance (Binks, Starkey & Mahon 2006; Hay, 2006).
This view may be a worry for graduates of postgraduate programmes if they try to secure employment post-graduation and discover that they do not have the skills necessary to become competent as a manager, or that their qualification is not as highly regarded by employers as they had expected.

There has also been a view expressed that postgraduate business education, and in particular MBA graduates, were part of the problem leading to the collapse of the ‘dot.com market’ in 2000, and the recent financial crisis of 2007-2008. It has also been emphasised that some of the best company directors do not actually have any form of Masters credentials (Mintzberg & Lampel, 2001). This raises questions regarding the relevance of these credentials to the business world. Other academics, however, consider these views to be a weak assessment of the evidence and of the benefits of postgraduate business degrees and believe that some observers use their assessment only to denigrate the qualification (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2008).

Pfeffer and Fong (2002) argue from their study of the value of the MBA, that business schools have offered little in career rewards for graduates, suggesting that the qualification is really only offered to the business school portfolio as a ‘*cash cow*’, or as a *‘me-too, generic product’* (Porter, 1996, p30). Perhaps this is another indication and further evidence of commodification and credentialism that is occurring in higher education.

Pfeffer and Fong (2002) further argue that business schools simply operate as ‘sorting offices’ for postgraduates, providing little evidence of learning, and thus, reduce their chances for employment. Other researchers have suggested that business and management education still needs to change, to bring experience, insight and analysis together to produce managers who really understand business. They further recommend that executives should gain more skills in ethical, moral and in the cultural aspects of business. They also indicate that since the recent financial crisis, graduates are now not always guaranteed a highly paid job simply because they have the Masters qualification.

It is suggested that other masters qualifications e.g. MA or MSc may now be more suitable in the business world than the MBA as they are widely recognised and valued by employers (Bradshaw, 2009; Datar, Garvin & Cullen, 2010; Mintzberg, 2005; Starkey & Tempest, 2005), this could be why the more recent survey from GMAC (2011) as previously mentioned, indicates a rise in these programmes. However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that MBAs are a benefit to the would-be manager as highlighted in the marketing material of many business and management schools for example *‘an MBA at an AACSB Accredited Management School* *can help you develop the higher level leadership skills needed to make a difference to your career, company and community'* (University of Liverpool Management School, 2012). It is also argued that MBAs train people for senior management positions, irrespective of the industry they work in (Hotcourses, 2012).

A recent report, One Step Beyond (2010): *Making the Most of Postgraduate Education*, suggests the following:

> *'Over the last twelve years, the number of people undertaking postgraduate education in the UK has grown 36% – Faster than the growth in the undergraduate sector over the same period. Now, almost a quarter of students in UK Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are studying at postgraduate level and half of international students studying in the UK are taking a postgraduate qualification.'*
> (Smith *et al*, 2010, p4)

The UK Government and UK HEIs recognise that an excellent higher education system supports the development of world-class skills, which it is suggested, will also improve *'economic prosperity, productivity and improve social justice'* (Leitch, 2006, p1). It is also suggested by Leitch's review of world class skills, that postgraduates are important for *'driving innovation, entrepreneurship, management leadership and research and development'* (CIHE, 2010, p3).

However, more detailed findings from the CIHE UK, Talent Fishing Report (2010) indicate that 80% of UK employers consider that Masters graduates have unrealistic expectations and that less than one in ten employers *'agree strongly that the qualification is a guarantor of a high quality candidate'* (CIHE, 2010, p10). The report further indicates that some postgraduate qualifications confuse some employers, which they suggest is a situation which should be addressed by all HEIs (CIHE, 2010). The CIHE report further indicates that employers are divided into various types. There are employers who treat postgraduates in the same way as first degree graduates and those who specifically seek out, and are closely linked to universities for specific talent.

There are also employers who do not value higher level postgraduate qualifications, and do not require them for their employees. This study aims to seek the perceptions from respondents about Indian employers' views.

Wilton, Woodman & Essex (2007) argue that their studies indicate that there is a national UK picture of an under-qualified management workforce compared with other professional occupations and they argue that there are widely recognised benefits of employability, for those individuals who have additional management qualifications. They also suggest that some of the *'intrinsic rewards'* (ibid) which are outlined further in this section, influence people to study postgraduate business qualifications, besides the direct benefits of career prospects, or financial rewards, and these may be assessed by reward theory (ibid).

This theory which is applied in the Wilton, Woodman & Essex (2007, p13) study, considers the motivations that drive individuals to study business programmes. They suggest these may include:

> *'Achievement motivation – for which the reward is success*
> *Anxiety – for which the reward is the avoidance of failure*
> *Approval motivation – for which the reward is the approval of others*
> *Curiosity – for which the reward is to explore the environment and be exposed to new stimuli*
> *Acquisitiveness – for which the reward is something tangible such as money or additional benefits'*

Van, Dick & Haslam (2012, p175a) also argue that individuals gain a *'sense of self from their membership of social groups'* e.g. post graduate alumni of HEIs, or specific academic programmes. This group classification thus enables individuals to classify themselves and locate themselves within the social environment (Turner, 1985). Social identity theory advocates that individuals define their social identity or social class according to the typical characteristics ascribed to the members of the group, which may be regarded by some as stereotypes (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Ashforth & Mael (1989, p24) further argue that social identification statements e.g. 'I am a postgraduate MBA', or 'I am a UK Masters graduate', may be regarded as 'identification of self', and thus acknowledgement of being a member of a group relative to others; and as an example of organizational identification, which they suggest is a *'specific form of social identification'* (ibid, p22), which they further suggest is:

> *(a) 'a perception of oneness with a group of persons'*
> *(b) 'stems from the categorization of individuals, the distinctiveness and prestige of the group, the salience of out groups'.*
> *(c) 'leads to activities that are congruent with the identity, support for institutions that embody the identity, stereotypical perceptions of self and others, and outcomes that traditionally are associated with group formation, and it reinforces the antecedents of identification'.*
> (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p20)

They also argue that social identity theory proposes that individuals appear to associate with organizations e.g. HEIs, that reflect their values, and that they will support those institutions with which they identify most (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Whilst relevant to this study, this argument was reviewed but not fully explored in this study.

Motivation to study postgraduate business education, may lead to qualifications, e.g. MBA, MAIB, MAGM, and may therefore provide its holder with social identity from the institution and/or the programme It may also provide intellectual credibility, and access to alumni networks for added future benefits and may result in greater cultural and possibly further social capital.

Individuals are motivated to study management education e.g. the MBA, as it is *'expected to lead to enhanced managerial success, though this is not universally accepted'* (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p69). It may also provide the holder with an improvement in performance and improved competencies which may lead to further promotion, a better career and increased salary (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000; Wilton, Woodman, & Essex, 2007).

Baruch and Peiperl (2000, p69) argue further, that many *'students are typically concerned with acquiring managerial competencies quickly and efficiently, and, thus, "leapfrogging peers' and improving their career prospects'*. They also suggest that MBAs had higher expectations than non-MBAs (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000). They further suggest that whilst the qualification is regarded as a passport to higher managerial positions, it may, in times of recession when employees have to seek jobs of a non-management role, be regarded by employers as being over qualified, and may result in lack of a job and disappointment for the graduate.

Other motives for higher education, as previously highlighted by other authors, are, it is suggested by Ascher (1984) and Carnell (1992) for salary improvements, for the development of knowledge and skills, e.g. human capital.

Indian MBAs

The Indian government acknowledges that, in their changing environment: *'The education system must be reformed and expanded, and the skill deficit in almost all service sectors, must be eliminated through concerted action'* (Hoda, 2008, p5). Individuals are, therefore, motivated to develop their human capital (Becker, 1993), their competencies, knowledge and skills, in the light of these government initiatives, to seek the benefits that these postgraduate degrees are predicted to bring. Credentials, which Smith *et al.* (2010, p5) suggest, make them *'highly employable'* and also improve their earning potential.

Despite the many criticisms of postgraduate education, the MBA which Agarwala (2008) suggests has *'raised management to a professional status'* (Agarwala, 2008, p364), is still immensely popular and continues to be increasingly sought after for career advancement by Indian students, many of whom are employed by institutions around the world.

Agarwala (2008, p363) further argues that, in India *'more than 100,000 students are studying towards an MBA degree in approximately 1,200 institutions'*. Most of these students he argues are driven by their career choice, which is influenced by *'personal and cultural values, family* *background, and career expectations'* (ibid). Examples of recruitment messages in India reflect those of the UK and clearly express the benefits of employees having a postgraduate degree:

> *'MBA jobs in India enjoy a high status. Master of Business Administration (MBA) refers to a highly acclaimed master's degree in business administration. MBA degree has earned international fame and recognition. The leading management schools and colleges of India are giving birth to brilliant and talented MBA graduates. These graduates have an extensive scope of getting recruited in the various companies and organizations of India.'*
>
> (Naukri Hub-Job Search Site, 2011, np)

Provision of all types of management/business education programmes, at both undergraduate level e.g. Bachelors in Business Administration (BBA), and postgraduate level e.g. MBA & PGDM, have increased rapidly since India's strategies for economic liberalisation in 1991, in order to provide industry with qualified individuals. Phillip (2008) suggests that Indian business schools have also increased in number from '*about 100 in 1988 to about 1,700 in 2008'* (Philip, 2008, p3), to meet the demand for business and management skills. Many of the business schools vary in quality from excellent to poor, and many, '*nearly 200'* (ibid), are outside the control of government regulation of the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE). Many institutions also suffer from a lack of qualified staff who can teach well, or who are able to add to the research output (Philip, 2008). (See Chapter 2)

It was, however, argued by Dr R. A. Yadav, Vice Chairman of the AICTE in 2007, that, in India, *'Business schools are making no significant contribution to the development of skills, in galvanizing people and in creating leaders'* (Yadav, 2007, p8.). He further stated that many of the business schools were producing graduates who were unemployable, which has eroded the view of the quality of both undergraduate and postgraduate business degrees. He further suggested that:

> *'quality, transparency, accountability, quantity and pedagogy are being raised by society. He suggested that institutions should address these questions and undertake their role in a responsible manner.'* (ibid).

Some of the issues mentioned by Yadav, are also apparent from other studies of MBAs from other leading programmes offered in Europe and the USA they also highlight that not only do they not result in management skills development there is also a lack of *'gaining a global perspective and understanding the role, responsibilities, and purpose of business'* (Datar, Garvin, & Cullen, 2010, p9) All of which they argue need to be addressed by changing the pedagogy of the MBA, if, as they suggest, it is to remain a useful programme for graduate management development and employability (ibid).

Yadav (2007, p8) also outlines some of the issues facing Indian higher education and the future policy which the Indian AICTE must adopt, in order to monitor and improve Business Education in India:

> '*a. The objective of our education policy is:*
> *1. Access (quantity).*
> *2. Equity.*
> *3. Better governance.*
> *b. In the current context, the major concerns are:*
> *1. Pervasiveness of poor quality, disparity between institutions.*
> *2. Acute shortage of faculty.*
> *3. Increasing cost of education.*
> *4. Diminishing acceptability by employers.*
>
> *c. Three initiatives taken by AICTE to address the major concerns are:*
> *1. Nurturing a few B-Schools (say 25), which will be top class.*
> *2. Initiatives from AICTE to promote PhD/ fellowship programs in Management.*
> *3. Creating further capacity.'*

Despite the issues outlined above, India produces the largest number of business postgraduates in the world, and there is great competition to gain access to the best institutions, IIMs and IITs. These institutions have been accredited by the National Board of Accreditation (NBA) which was established by the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) to monitor quality standards (Philip, 2008) (See appendix 2).

Indian students who graduate from these high quality business schools, have the greatest opportunities for employment and career success (ibid), and thus may also improve their cultural capital, symbolic capital and social capital, and improve their social mobility (Becker, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986; Cabinet office Strategy Unit, 2008; Putnam, 2000; OECD, 2001).

The MBA is seen by many as a standardised commodity package, *'much like a foreign car with symbolic and exchange values*' (Sturdy & Gabriel, 2000, p979), marketed to bring benefits to consumers (students); and offering the promise of managerial knowledge, which translates into higher wages and career success (ibid). It is also regarded by others as the passport to the senior management ranks for those who gain advanced knowledge and skills (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000). Starkey & Tiratsoo (2007, p35) describe it as *'the 'Yuppie's Union Card'*; and an Indian commentator suggests that it is, *'a passport to a better job and higher salary'* (Sanghera, 2005, p1). It is also regarded by others as a '*status symbol'*, the '*educational equivalent of a BMW'* (ibid). This study wished to explore these views more closely.

The attractive marketing messages in India developed by UK business schools, and the British Council (BC), suggest that students will gain a competitive advantage from a UK one year postgraduate business programme, compared with the two year programmes offered in the USA or Australia. They also emphasise that these longer programmes will incur additional financial costs for the student (British Council, 2010d):

> *'Most masters degrees and MBAs at UK universities last one year compared to two in other countries, including the USA and Australia. Choosing the UK means you only have to pay tuition fees for one year and you'll be back in the workplace before you know it.'*

> *'Get a head start in your career with a UK postgraduate degree. The UK is a world-leader in innovation and many university facilities are state-of-the-art. A UK postgraduate education will give you an edge over the competition.'* (British Council, 2010d)

The BC website reinforced the benefits of postgraduate qualifications in 2008, when background research for this study began, indicating that the resulting qualifications provide postgraduates with the skills and qualities that employers want, greater earning potential, and career success. However, more recent information from the BC (2010) has been moderated in its predictions:

> *'A master's degree, PhD or MBA from a UK university will prove to employers that you're capable of independent thought and self-discipline. They'll know you can conduct and analyse your own research and make a real contribution to their company or organisation'.*
> (British Council, 2010d)

This is one example from a UK HEI:

> *'We've developed many of our courses with employers. So you'll be learning the knowledge and skills they are looking for and have a great chance of getting a job when you graduate'.*
> (University of Derby, 2011)

This may, indeed, all be true, as several of the top ranking global business schools survey their graduates, to determine career success, asking questions about personal salary and job status and job destination. The results of destinations and salaries are published, and reported in the media, perhaps to attract future students to their programmes (FT Global MBA-Rankings, 2010). The results from an earlier GMAC survey also reported that business school rankings were the most influential aspect of student recruitment for top business schools (Khurana, 2007).

The Harvard Business School MBA rankings often cite weighted salaries, which include current and sometimes previous years, of MBA graduates. These salaries were stated as in excess of £160,000 (FT. Global MBA Rankings, 2010). However, the method of calculation requires closer scrutiny by those who aspire to high salaries, and may, as Pfeffer (1977) argues, reflect the salary of the more recently conferred MBAs. This may also indicate a level which correlates to recent higher starting salaries, but actually, in reality, may diminish over time. As a result, these figures may be less likely to be widely promoted in the media and in marketing material (ibid). Diaz & Moll (2002) argue in their survey of UK MBAs that their respondents only met fifty percent of their expectations for a higher salary or a new job. This study aims to explore these views with Indian postgraduates.

4.23 MBA Outcomes

Despite the warnings to would-be business postgraduates regarding salaries and various concerns about academic and career success from some quarters, the following report presents current evidence of media encouragement to study for an MBA:

> *'MBA programs are regarded as one of the most financially rewarding advanced degrees, and for good reason. According to research done by the Graduate Management Admissions Council, students who attend two year, full-time MBA programs earn an average of 64 percent more than they did pre-MBA. For those in part-time programs, salaries increased by about 55 percent post-graduation. Additionally, chief executives, marketing managers, financial managers and sales managers, all jobs that usually require an MBA are consistently among the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS) list of top-25 highest-paying occupations.'*
> (Madden, 2010)

What would be interesting is to compare the actual career and salary outcomes for postgraduates from all institutions. It appears that some UK HEIs endeavour to keep track of the career destinations and the employment data of their international (non-EU) students with voluntary input data collecting software, and/or alumni reporting data. However, the findings and analysis of any data collected are not found on most institutions' internet web sites.

Even the more highly ranked Russell Group institutions, who appear to collect alumni data for their institutional relationship marketing activities (Heckman & Guskey, 1998), which is seen by many as important for university networking success (Binsardi & Ekwulugo, 2003) for alumni networking, career support, or fundraising, require other researchers, to submit a 'data request form', to be completed before information regarding international students' destinations is divulged.

It is not clear if this is because data is not actually collected, or not collected in a structured way, or if what data there is does not reflect the findings that would encourage other students to enroll on masters business programmes at the institution. It could be that the institutions consider that their statistical information is confidential to the institution for their future marketing strategy. However, the approach to sharing destination information of graduates may have to change in the future, to ensure that data is more transparent. That is, of course, if potential postgraduate international students are to have more detailed information regarding the outcomes of previous graduates, i.e. average salary and career destinations, and in order to justify the return on their financial investment. There may also be other perceived social benefits for Indian graduates, but, due to the sensitive nature of these findings, they too are not highlighted on any HEI's web site. These perceived social benefits were investigated in this study of Indian postgraduate business students.

The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) collects data from UK higher education institutions to record the destinations of UK and EU domiciled students. Data is collected for longitudinal studies on students covering several criteria which include; full time, part time employment, further study and salary (HESA, 2009). HESA does not, however, collect career destination data from the thousands of Indian, or other international, students who study in the UK; a spokesperson from HESA indicated on the telephone that '*this may happen in a couple of years' time'* (HESA, 2011). This was the same message that was provided in 2009.

It should also be noted that the findings of Diaz & Moll (2002) suggest that UK institutions did collect data on their alumni and support career and alumni networking activities, but that their respondents considered that the services were of a poor quality. I also wondered if this was true for Indian postgraduates too.

Companies wish to recruit the best work force and individuals wish to improve their skills and competences to become good managers (Baruch, 2009). It is therefore suggested that Masters business students pursue their degrees to ensure the best possible return, *'the enhancement of opportunities for advancement'* (Gannon & Arlow, 1985, p20).

Examples of what MBA candidates consider as 'constituting this advancement' include various tangible and intangible factors, i.e. *'improve job opportunities...change career direction...obtain general business knowledge, experience intellectual stimulation, improve earnings and increase self-confidence'* (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p69; Baruch, 2009), all of which may impact, as previously suggested, upon social identity, and play an important role in managerial status and recognition (ibid), if of course they really deliver there expected outcomes. Gannon & Arlow (1985, p25) concur with the previous views of greater transparency regarding outcomes of postgraduate programmes when they propose that *'business schools must focus on measuring output, for otherwise, the mystique of the MBA degree may well decline'.*

Lawton & Lundsten (1998) contrasted the expected benefits with, those that were delivered from the study of a US Masters programme, at a private Midwestern university, and they suggest that there was a surprising lack of information on the topic when they began their research:

> *'only one study was found that dealt directly with the benefits MBA students expected from an MBA programme (Stolzenburg and Giarusso (1988b) and no information was found regarding whether students who complete an MBA programme perceived that they realized those benefits.'*
> (Lawton & Lundsten, 1998, p16)

The findings from the Lawton & Lundsten (1998) study further indicate that the MBA *'inquirers expectations exceeded the expectations of the alumni on almost all dimensions'* (ibid, p23). These Expectations include an increased salary, new career opportunities. The results however indicate that the respondents achieve greater job stability. They further suggest that:

> *'MBA granting institutions should be cognisant of the gaps between expectations and experiences (and of course should endeavour to reduce the discrepancy)* (ibid, p26).

Three streams of research were employed by Baruch & Peiperl (2000, pp70/85) in order to study the outcomes of Masters business programmes. The first stream was linked to social identity theory as discussed by 'Turner (1975) and Tajfel (1981)', from which they suggest that individuals derive 'personal identity' from their abilities and interests. The second stream was managerial performance and the third stream managerial competencies.

Their findings suggest that the qualification helped to improve an individual's social identity because managers became more 'professional' which, they argue provides:

> *'a better position in the workplace so that others with whom they interact will see them as professionals. In terms of 'recognition and respect', the MBA seems to provide a tangible asset for its holders'.*
> (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p85/86)

Their findings also suggest that the MBA enables graduates to have improved managerial competencies thus gaining an advantage over their peers. They further argue, however, that 'managerial performance' in output terms is difficult to assess. Their findings also indicate that overall, there was no evidence of increased earnings between MBAs and non-MBAs.

There is, however, some positive objective evidence from other studies of an increase in income and mobility for graduates, but only from 'top-schools' (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000; Pfeffer & Fong, 2004; Baruch, 2009)

Another example of 'objective benefits' is as previously mentioned represented by the widely published business school rankings. These give some broad indication of evidence of the outcomes of the salaries of MBA graduates and are linked to the quality of the institution (Hussain, McNally, & Telhaj, 2009) these objective benefits may, however, not turn out to be so rewarding for graduates from less prestigious institutions.

There is also other research evidence which suggests that MBA programmes from various US institutions, at all ranks or levels, do have a 'modest impact' on personal economic capital and career success i.e. better job promotion than non-graduates (Inderrieden, Holtom & Bies, 2006). Seibert, Kraimer & Linden (2001) also indicate that there is evidence of the development of social capital for career development from masters programmes. Hirshman (1984 cited in Kliksberg, 2001, p45) argues that social capital is '*the only capital to increase with use'* and Kliksberg (2001) further argues that social capital is one of the important capitals, together with human capital theory, on the current political scene. A more detailed review of social capital theory is developed in a later section of this chapter.

Baruch & Peiperl (2000, p77) also argue that outcomes from their *'respondents' self-perceptions'*, suggest that the MBA provides an advantage in 'competency'. This was expressed by the respondents as self-efficiency to perform tasks. They further argue that the effect of this competency results in overall better performance, and may also result in career gains. However, it is not clear from this study how the impact of improvement was actually gained (ibid).

Baruch & Peiperl (2000) further argue that their results provide partial support for the benefits of the MBA, benefits which business schools should indicate to potential graduates to ensure awareness of 'actual outcomes' 'rather than their expectations'. This is a marketing strategy which is clearly appropriate, but also one that is unlikely to be adopted by the less successful and the more lowly ranked institutions, or those that are simply regarded as 'diploma mills' (Snart, 2010). Baruch & Peiperl (2000, p84) further argue that:

> *'graduates should also be provided with realistic expectations of their degree to prevent them becoming disillusioned later. In particular, this means publishing statistics of job placements, income differentials and career patterns over the longer term.'*

Other studies have assessed career changes subsequent to the MBA, demonstrating evidence of career progression, with men benefiting more than women (Simpson, 2000).

Another qualitative exploratory UK study of part-time MBA graduates found that most managers considered the MBA beneficial, for broadening personal perspectives of behaviour and thinking, and also for enhancing a positive sense of self. It was also regarded as useful for learning about management techniques, all factors which are of a qualitative value to the practicing manager (Hay, 2005). These findings, however, differ greatly from those espoused by others, who suggest that these career benefits were not found and thus they questioned the *'professional relevance of managerial scholarship'* (Pfeffer, & Fong, 2002, p1).

This is a view which various bodies have attempted to address e.g. the UK Association of Masters in Business Administration (AMBA), and the Graduate Management Admissions Council (GMAC), and the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), and the Certified Masters of Business Administration (CMBA), in the USA. These efforts have increased more recently and been accompanied by several other research studies, as more criticisms and concerns over the value and benefits of the MBA and other Masters business degrees have developed over the years.

Extrinsic and Intrinsic Outcomes

Many theorists, as already noted above, concentrate on the outcomes of objective external/extrinsic career measures, such as salary, management titles and hierarchical positions, status, greater security and marketability, factors which were also found in other studies of part time MBAs (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2005; Simpson, 2000: Simpson *et al*, 2005). However, it is argued, that these extrinsic factors neglect the individual's more dynamic perception of career success or career confidence (Simpson *et al*, 2005), and when career success was identified, the causal nature appeared complex.

Career success or career confidence, are referred to as intrinsic benefits (Simpson, 2005, p238) for example '*job satisfaction, enhanced credibility and the development of interpersonal skills'* or may be referred to as *'the internal career'* (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2005, p110). These are, it is argued, more closely related to measures of, for example, job satisfaction, fulfillment, autonomy, challenge, balance of work and life commitments competence, respect, marketability and employability (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2005; Simpson *et al*, 2005). There may also be the possibility of an improvement in the individual's cultural and social capitals, and, as previously suggested the chances for increased social mobility (Moore, 2008; Simpson *et al*, 2005).

Simpson *et al,* (2005) further argue that, in the UK, age and gender appear to influence the extent to which postgraduates gain intrinsic benefits of management education. They suggest that *'Older MBA's are more likely to focus on intrinsic career factors......and women have greater orientations towards intrinsic career rewards'* (Simpson, *et al*, 2005, p238). They also further recommend, that business schools should be aware not only of, and highlight the extrinsic benefits when they promote their programmes to potential postgraduate students, but also, the more important intrinsic benefits of team working and interpersonal skills, which are regarded as an important requirement by employers (ibid), and identified as such in the UK Government reports of Dearing (1997) and Leitch (2006).

A survey carried out by GMAC in 2008, the 'Global Graduate Survey', which recorded the data from approximately 5,000 students from 149 participating institutions world-wide, indicated that students from business schools offering MBAs, (95% of responses), and other MAs, business programmes, MScs and PhDs, were achieving some benefits from their awards.

It should, however, be noted that the survey was carried out ‘before’ the students actually graduated from their business programmes, so the survey is really related to what their ‘expectations were’, and not the actual reality of their experiences in employment situations. It would be useful to find out what graduates’ experiences are after various time intervals for example after one year, three years and five years.
GMAC (2008) survey:

> *‘Key Findings from GMAC survey:*
> *Schools are meeting the expectations of students and students are learning the skills they had hoped to develop in the program. Thus, the overall value of a graduate business degree remains high and the value proposition for business schools is positive.*
>
> *The main drivers of overall value are the schools ability to meet student expectations and the quality of the curriculum. In addition, quality of the faculty, program management, and student skill development are key drivers of overall value. These intrinsic and systematic values drive overall value while extrinsic values, such as increases in salary and job level, do not play a significant role.’*
> (GMAC, 2008, p2)

Perhaps these ‘extrinsic factors’ become more important when graduation takes place due to the fact that financial concerns are not an issue until they do not meet expectations.

Another survey also performed by GMAC in 2008, the GMAC Alumni Perspective Survey, included Indian alumni results. However, from an analysis of their data, there were only 109 respondents who were actually citizens of India, a low number considering that GMAC also reported that 21,481 Indians had originally taken the test. The test under review does not identify the percentage of test participants, or what number actually passed, or the number who failed from the total 21,481. It is also unclear what numbers of Indian nationals take the test and pass, and then actually go onto a business school to study.

Of those 109 who did respond to the survey, 61% were graduates of a US business school, with 14% from Asia and 14% from Europe. It is also interesting to note that 76% of Indians who took the survey, and who stated that they worked for an employer, actually worked in other countries. Therefore, from this data, it appears that only 24% of the alumni report they are working in India, which implies that only a total of 24 respondents work in India and have responded to the survey. This seems to be a very low response rate from Indian participants.

The survey does, however, highlight some of the external and some internal career success measures, and does consider the concept of managerial experience highlighted by Hay & Hodgkinson (2005). It would be interesting to see the data collected on these 24 Indian respondents to compare with the results of those respondents who were listed as working abroad. Also, it would be interesting to compare current students' views before they graduate, with their views to the same questions, post-graduation.

> *'Key Findings*
> *A majority of alumni feel that pursuing a graduate business degree—as well as their choice of school, program, and area of academic concentration—was the right decision.*
> (GMAC, 2008, p2)

Interestingly, the GMAC survey 2007-2008 also highlights that:

> *'There is only a slight match between the career goal orientation of alumni and their current job. However, there is greater consistency between goal orientation and current job for alumni who have been out of school longer. The match between the two strengthens over the years, as alumni gain greater job experience and time to evaluate career and goals.* (GMAC, 2008, p2)

Baruch, Bell, & Gray (2005, p64) suggest, from evaluations of US alumni, that there is evidence of some positive outcomes from an MBA and specialized masters level business programmes, and in terms of internal and external measures of career success, *'learning, intellectual stimuli,* *knowledge gains, and increased salary'*. They also suggest that these findings:

> *'may be partially due to improved self-development process, which results in higher levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy for handling managerial processes. The impact of these could lead to better job performance and career success.'*
> (Ibid)

It is, however, important to note that the study by Baruch & Peiperl (2000, p83) suggests that the MBA is perceived as follows:

> *'a passport to the managerial ranks in or across companies, or as the means to accomplish a career move, either internal or external. It increases employability and looks good on a CV, as long as one is looking for a managerial career. Otherwise it may make its holder appear overqualified, in particular for non-managerial positions which are sometimes a necessary stage in organisations which draw their managerial cadre from internal labour markets.'*

However, the Baruch & Peiperl (2000) study found that *'there may be an increase in managerial competencies and enhance self-esteem, but... no compelling evidence of higher compensation, or even recovery of one's investment'* (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p83).

The Master's business qualification may, however, have other benefits. It may result in a *'reputation effect'* (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000, p82), which may actually result in better career opportunities (Wilton, Woodman and Essex, 2007) due to the individuals' increased cultural and symbolic capital (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002) It may also result in greater respect from others, e.g. future employers, family, friends. An improvement in social identity and a greater increase in *'reputation effect'* (ibid) may also occur for Indian nationals, if the qualification is awarded from a higher ranked institution, or a foreign institution e.g. from the UK; this particular question is explored in this study.

The MBA and other Masters postgraduate business programmes do have tangible advantages for individuals, employers and the UK economy as a whole, as noted in the UK Leitch review of 2006, which indicated the importance of postgraduate skills for leadership, entrepreneurship and management (Leitch, 2006). However, it is also important to note that postgraduate expectations should be realistic, as the degree may not always live up to its reputation, especially in terms of its financial return on investment (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000). These were views also explored in this study.

4.24 MBA Improvements

To ensure that graduates are not disappointed, and to improve the value of the MBA, it is argued that business schools should redesign their management programmes to deliver the highest level of skills, competences and work experience, to meet the needs of employers in the twenty first century (CIHE, 2010; Jain & Stopford, 2011). Further, they should also provide quantitative statistical data on '*income differentials and career patterns'* (ibid) There should also be qualitative data on perceptions of outcomes from graduates, all of which would help to give all graduates more realistic expectations. This is a view explored in this qualitative research study of Indian business graduates to gain a better understanding of their expectations and outcomes, and of their perceptions of any added benefits from the qualifications.

It is suggested that the benefits of the MBA should be judged by both internal and external factors, and, also, by years of managerial experience (ibid); management experience which was also acknowledged by Mintzberg (2004) as important for generating perceived benefits.

4.25 Section Summary

This section has presented an explanation of some of the effects of globalisation and internationalisation and reviewed the impact that these phenomenon have had on governments both in the UK and India in order to respond to economic and social changes.

Higher education has become a global commodity and is sought after by those wishing to develop their competitive advantage in the labour market. Business education is seen by many individuals as a way of developing their knowledge and skills for credentials, which they are led to believe will result in career and personal benefits. The literature suggests that there is a lack of evidence of the outcomes of postgraduate study.

The material in this section has indicated that the development of human, capital may result in added economic and social benefits and may be result in an increase in cultural and social capitals. Cultural and social capital may also influence the development of human capital. The next section will further review these theoretical propositions.

4.26 Capital

Lin, Cook & Burt, (2001, p5) suggest that, the family of capital theories, human, cultural and social capital arose from Marx's classical theory of social structural analysis, into a neo-capital individual analysis of human capital theories, highlighted by Shultz (1961) and Becker (1964,1993). These were then developed further into the individual and class analysis of cultural capital theories, outlined by Bourdieu (1986); and into the social capital theories for individuals and for groups, highlighted in the works of several academics, such as Bourdieu, Burt, Coleman, Flap, Lin, Nahapiet, Marsden and Putnam, which will be explored further in this section.

Nahapiet (2011, p72) argues that there has been an increase in the use of the economist term "capital", which has more recently been applied *to 'a range of social and psychological phenomena, highlighting their role as potentially valuable intangible assets'* (Nahapiet, 2011, p80), e.g. symbolic, cultural, and social capitals. There are, however, concerns and ongoing debates as to whether intangible assets can be labeled using such economic concepts as 'capital', and it is suggested that *'they fail to meet the criteria that define the concept in neo-classical economics'* (Halpern, 2005; ibid, p73). There is also a query as to whether it is appropriate to view people and social relationships as an investment for economic return (ibid, Lin, 2001). Some suggest that it has resulted in *'metaphorical confusion'*

(Halpern, 2005, p29). It is suggested that authors who consider extending the usage of the term capital, for example, symbolic capital, cultural capital and social capital, are implying that it reinforces the concept of value (ibid); a value which may be invested in, by those who wish to do so through, for example, higher level academic qualifications for personal development and economic returns.

Nahapiet (2011, p75), however, argues that some important considerations may arise from using the *'interpretive power and heuristic value that comes from using the term capital'*, which are, relevant to the development of our understanding when we review social and psychological phenomena: 1) the extension of the term capital highlights tangible and intangible assets and *'the ways in which individual and social factors may act as resources influencing personal, social and economic outcomes' (ibid).* 2) It *'draws attention to the significance of investments in human social and institutional spheres, now widely regarded as central to major policy initiatives, (OECD, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Ahn and Ostrom, 2008)'* (ibid), and 3) *'it provides a common language and perspective that can be applied across multiple levels of analysis-opening up the possibilities for exploring their interrelationships'* (ibid).
It also brings in the fourth concept, the dimension of time:

> *'with capital viewed as the durable result of past activity - a form of accumulated history capable of transforming current and future interactions and outcomes'*
> (Nahapiet, 2011, p75)

Investment in higher education by an individual as outlined previously, i.e. the development of their 'human capital', knowledge and skills, enables them to build *'economic value'* (Nahapiet, 2011, p75), through, for example, postgraduate education, and may also result in an increase in their 'social capital' (Bourdieu 1980; Burt, 1997; Coleman, 1988; Fine, 2001; Lin, 1982/2001; Putnam, 1993/2000). These 'two capitals – human and social', some authors suggest, are inseparable, but subtly linked (Burton-Jones & Spender, 2011; Lewin, 2011).

Exploring these concepts and their relationships is a complex exercise as they may indeed be interrelated, with social capital influencing human capital; and human capital, shaping social capital (Nahapiet, 2011). The OECD (2001b, p13) also suggests that *'human and social capitals are closely related to the way in which institutions and political and social arrangements impact on society'.* They distinguish between the capitals as follows:

> '· *Human capital resides in individuals*
> · *Social Capital resides in social relations*
> · *Political, institutional and legal arrangements describe the rules and institutions in which human and social capital work.' (ibid)*

Bourdieu (1986), however, suggests that human capital, despite its humanistic reference, only identifies the economic relationship between profit and education and ignores the influence of cultural and social capital.

Wong (1998, p1) argues that there are four components of *'family capital'*, all of which are important for children's educational attainment. These are financial/economic capital, human capital, cultural capital and social capital; the next section will review these in more detail.

4.27 Human Capital

As previously noted in this chapter and chapter three, there are a significant number of Indian middle-class parents and *'the growing segment of the upwardly mobile rural and urban poor'* (Dhesi, 2001, p14), with the father influenced by his educational background and his occupation (Agarwala, 2008; Blau & Duncan, 2000; Mazzarol & Souter, 2002), who invest their financial capital in their children's education, to develop their human capital, i.e. knowledge and skills, through masters business programmes, in order to hopefully secure a competitive advantage and thus future employment, and improved salary, for their offspring (Becker, 1993; GMAC, 2008; Shultz, 1961). Altbach (1993) argues that Indian parents consider that foreign education i.e. American higher education may result in even greater career success.

Sociologist, Bourdieu (1977), and economist, Becker (1993, p21), both argue that the family is important for educational achievement; for the development of *'knowledge, skills, values and habits of their children'*. Becker (1993) also argues that families with greater economic capital can support their children through their education, or, as in the case of poorer families, they loan their children money for their education to be paid back later (ibid). Bourdieu (1977) argues that culture and education are also important to influence educational outcomes, and thus financial gain. He further argues that those parents from higher social classes, who often have educational credentials and higher occupational status, often have greater economic capital, and greater cultural capital, all of which enables and influences their children to study higher level qualifications, resulting in a replication of their parents' social status. Other studies also reflect Bourdieu's views i.e. Aschaffenburg & Mass, 1997; Coleman 1988; Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; McDonough, 1997; and Di Maggio (1979, p1461), who argue that Bourdieu's main focus is the '*intimate relationships among culture, power, and stratification'.*

In order to understand the term "capital" it requires defining; Lin's (2001, p3) economic definition states that it is:

> *'investment of resources with expected returns in the marketplace. Capital is resources when these resources are invested and mobilized in pursuit of profit – as a goal in action. Thus capital is resources twice processed. In the first process, resources are being produced or altered as investment; in the second, the produced or altered resources are being offered in the marketplace for a profit'.*

Nahapiet (2011) maintains that in economics, there are different views and definitions about the concept of capital, the detail of which is beyond the scope of this study. This study does, however, review the most significant and relevant concepts which have been used to investigate the topic.

After Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776), *'labour was treated as a homogenous category'* (Brown, Green & Lauder, 2001, p3), disregarding the skills of workers e.g. human capital, with a concentration on the division of labour into tasks which would ensure economic growth. A later theory, the classic theory of "capital" as described by Marx, was conceptualized as *'the surplus value captured by capitalists or the bourgeoisie, who control the means of production…where labourers are paid for their labour*… and… *where surplus is captured by the dominant class'* (Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001, p4); this is a theory based on the *'exploitative nature of social relations between the two classes'* (ibid). This later developed into what Lin (2001, p8) refers to as *'neo-capital theory'*, which is associated more closely with the *'process of labour'*, which rejected the idea of labour as a homogeneous phenomenon and was thus developed into the concept of human capital i.e. the development of knowledge and skills, through education, training or work experience, and which, according to Becker (1964), adds value to an employee which may be exchanged for wages and may result in increased productivity, and economic growth (Brown, Green, & Lauder, 2001; Lin, 2001).

Human capital, according to Jones & Spender (2011, pp1-3) is a heterogeneous and dynamic concept and is the *'lynch-pin of social and other forms of capital …. The ability of combinations of things and ideas to produce value over time'.*

Further, it is argued that human capital, may be invested in, in order to produce greater returns for individuals, and may result in the accumulation, or surplus of capital, which may then also be invested, or used for personal satisfaction; thus, the owners of this capital could also become capitalists themselves (Lin, 2001). Those with *'better human capital'* (ibid p12) are available in the labour market so that employers can *'capture this human capital by hiring these labourers'* (ibid). The value of the human capital embedded in these employees can be calculated by employers, and attractive wages and benefits will attract those with the best human capital.

Lin (2001, p9) further argues that human capital may be regarded as an investment that will result in increased worth, a worth which increases through expenditure on knowledge and skills, by gaining education or training, or by on the job work experience. This is a value which Schultz

(1960, p8, cited in Lin, 2001, p9) suggests should be estimated by its yield not its cost, *'the resulting increase in earnings is the yield on the investment*'. It is an *'investment, with an expected return in the market place'* (Lin, 2001, P19); and a 'market' may regarded as either, *'economic, political, labour, or community'* (ibid). Wages and/or benefits from investment may then be used to attract those with the best human capital in any particular market. It should also be noted, however, that, despite evidence to show that investing in human capital does provide returns to individuals, companies and the economy, calculating the return on the investment in education, and or training presents some problems, as the cause and resultant effect may not be as simple as they seem. Issues of ability, measurement bias, measurement of productivity and returns to the economy also need to be addressed (Blundell, *et al*, 1999).

The concept of human capital theory, which some regard as a *'mechanistic view of the individual worker'* (Brown, Green & Lauder, 2001, p13), was, it is suggested, developed from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* 1776, by Schultz, in the 1950s, and later by Gary Becker, and Jacob Mincer, from Columbia and Chicago universities respectively (Brown, Green & Lauder, 2001; Lewin, 2011; Nahapiet, 2011). Becker (1962), argues that investing in 'human capital' through such activities as education and on the job training, primarily affects earnings, and his original studies were used to evaluate the financial rate of return from college and high school education, and the idea that investment in human capital is tied in with intangible resources and *'may be useful in attempts to understand the inequality in income among people'* (ibid, p9). Becker (1993, p17) still contends that:

> '*high school and college education greatly raises a person's income, even after netting out direct and indirect costs of schooling and after adjusting for the better family backgrounds and greater abilities of more educated people. Similar evidence is now available … from different cultures and economic systems'.*

Becker (1993) also argues that human capital theory assumes that education improves earnings and productivity, whereas alternative views deny that productivity occurs only that credentials are gained. He suggests that employers want evidence of potential employees' abilities and performance, not just certificates.

Nahapiet (2011, p76) suggests that, currently, *'educational credentials are a simple and readily measured proxy for skills and competence'* and that there is now a need to review individuals' *'actual knowledge and skills'* (ibid) and not just the time spent in education, the measures of which should also include *'innate talents and abilities'* (ibid). The OECD (2001, p18) defined human capital as *'the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being'*.

As previously outlined economists regard education, as a form of investment in human capital. This is an investment in knowledge and skills to improve an individual's future prospects and for economic development. This knowledge and skills may also provide an individual with credentials, which may have global appeal and which 'workers own', and can use to determine their employability and levels of income, and to compete in the *'knowledge wars'* (Brown & Lauder, 2006), in the global market place of the twenty first century. Brown, Green, & Lauder (2001, p11) have also suggested that from a *'neo-liberal view, questions of skill formation are limited to 'supply side' policies that place schools, colleges, universities and training organisations on the frontline in the battle for economic competitiveness'*; and that, the state is responsible for providing lifelong learning opportunities for workers to *'gain education and training necessary to develop marketable skills* (ibid); and to learn more and earn more. Moreover, by studying in an elite university it brings even better returns (ibid), in the form of improved social identity.

Brown, Green & Lauder (2001, p28) further argue, that investment in human capital, e.g. postgraduate programmes, can result in a zero-sum game, as some elite groups limit entry to elite educational institutions by excluding those from less privileged backgrounds. As previously highlighted in this thesis, in the section on the Role of Higher Education for Stakeholders, Brown, Green & Lauder (2001, p9) argue that what is facing individuals in the twenty first century may be regarded as a 'global auction', bringing more rewards only for those who have gained *'human capital with global appeal … 'symbolic analysts' (Reich, 1991:177) e.g.… engineers, and management, financial and energy consultants'* i.e. the best top-talent, or the educated elite, from the top global elite universities, thus perpetuating social divisions in different societies, a phenomenon which was also highlighted by the work of Bourdieu (1986), and later by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). Brown, Green and Lauder (2001, pvii) further argue that development of human capital, *'better education, better jobs, and better incomes can no longer deliver the American Dream',* or perhaps, even the Indian dream, a view which is explored in this study.

Waters (2008) highlights that, in addition to human capital, and in order to understand middle-class ambitions, in times of increasingly competitive environments, as in the case of developing economies e.g. China and India, researchers need to understand the importance of the other capitals for social reproduction by middle-class families and she refers to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to review these ideas. Bourdieu (1986) argues that capital can be in a material form e.g. economic, or in immaterial form as cultural or social capital, and he suggests that *'capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form, or its 'incorporated,' embodied form)'* (ibid, p241), to be used for outputs; which, he further argues, comprises three principal forms of capital often employed to maintain social status.
Lin (2001 p14) also references the work of Bourdieu, and of Bourdieu and Passeron, to present a distinctive and alternative neo-capital theoretical explanations of human capital. This Lin (2001) refers to as a *'theory of cultural capital.. with .. culture defined as a system of symbolism and meaning'*. Lin (2001) further suggests that Bourdieu's views were consistent with Marx's in that one class dominates another with those who occupy the top positions in society dominating those of lower class through education.

Lin also noted that education or training, which is regarded by some as human capital, is also regarded by others *'as cultural capital'* (Lin, 2001, p15). Lin further argues that Bourdieu does, however, share similar features to the work of Becker, as he focuses on the *'labourer and on relations between acquired capital and the market'* (Lin, 2001, p16).

Bourdieu considers that cultural capital can exist in three forms, in an objectified state, an embodied state or institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986), and, Brown (1995, p29) argues that these are *'dominant forms of cultural capital associated with middle class',* which may provide, *'access to bureaucratic careers'* are he further argues *'being devalued due to credential inflation',* and that competition for a livelihood in the future will increase class conflict.

4.28 Symbolic Capital and Cultural Capital

Cultural capital which is a widely debated topic has attracted attention due to its relationship with social inequality i.e. differences between people (Robbins, 2005; Savage and Bennett, 2005), and is regarded as a sub-type of 'symbolic capital', which was developed by Bourdieu, drawing upon Marx's views of conflict theory and *'conducted in pursuit of comprehension rather than explanation'* (Robbins, 2005, p16). Grenfell (2008) argues that Bourdieu aimed to move away from a Marxist narrow materialistic view of inequality and power by *'introducing the concepts of cultural, social and symbolic capital'* (ibid, 88), although Lin (2001) differs in his views, suggesting the work is more consistent with Marx's views.

Grenfell (2008, p88) further argues that Bourdieu considered that the concept of *'symbolic capital'* not only captured the *'general signs of social recognition'*, it also depended on *'social recognition'.* Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, pxv) suggest that symbolic capital is:

> *'a form of capital that is not recognized as such, e.g. prestige and a reputation operate as symbolic capital because they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities'.*

Lin (2001, p19) argues that cultural and human capital still require the investment of personal resources e.g. economic capital, for 'profit production', even though they differ in the nature of production; cultural capital through values, norms and credentials; and human capital through skills and knowledge. DiMaggio (1979) suggests that Bourdieu was in fact influenced by the human capital work of Becker and comments on Bourdieu's interest in capital (ibid, p1463):

> *'Every field, for Bourdieu, is an arena of conflict; social life itself is a constant struggle for position, as actors seek (consciously and unconsciously) to weave around the formidable constraints that social structure sets against them. The objective of human activity is the accumulation and monopolization of different kinds of capital. Bourdieu diverges critically from conventional economics in his recognition that capital need not be strictly economic. Capital, defined implicitly as attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person or a position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem, exists in many forms-symbolic, cultural, social, or linguistic, as well as economic'.*

Bourdieu's ideas were developed further with Jean-Claude Passeron (1977) and were used to extend the meaning of the word 'capital', by *'relocating the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges, and valuations, of which economics is only one (although the most fundamental) type'* (Grenfell, 2008, p102). One important consideration, which is expressed by Savage & Bennett (2005, p1), is that these concepts should be deployed *'reflexively in accordance with Bourdieu's later thinking rather than at face value, as they were first developed during the period in which he and Passeron were 'apprentice' researchers'*.

DiMaggio (1979, p1467) also points out that Bourdieu's work is philosophical, complex, sometimes ambiguous, and sometimes *'more useful for generating hypotheses than confirming them'*. It has also been translated from the French vernacular and its interpretation may be subject to the interpreter's perceptions and personal traits. Winkle-Wagner (2010, p6) argues that cultural capital is, according to Bourdieu (1979), acquired in two ways, *'through one's social origin (family), and through education';* although, she further suggests, that it is *'more difficult to acquire cultural capital only through education'* (ibid). Those who are exposed to family cultural capital and also gain cultural capital from education will be more *'privileged in society generally'* (ibid).

Bourdieu's (1986, p244) cultural capital theoretical framework, which has been used to study art, language and educational achievement, and, as previously mentioned, has been identified in three forms, or subtypes, of cultural capital. Firstly, the *'embodied state'*, i.e. *'in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body';* that is the appreciation of cultural items found within a family of particular social classes to which someone is exposed over a long period of time. Secondly an *'objectified state'* as in material goods, for example in the *'form of cultural goods, pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines'* (ibid) which also requires access to economic capital and embodied cultural capital. This form of cultural capital can be used for example by engineers and executives, who can sell their services and thus make a profit from their 'cultural capital' and also compete with others, who also hold this type of objectified cultural capital.
Thirdly, there is the *'institutionalised state'*, *'a form of objectification, which in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee'* (ibid). This may be in the form of academic qualifications e.g. Masters Degrees, and, the system or institution which it came from, both of which may hold symbolic and economic value for the holder, and maybe viewed as a certificate of a level of cultural and even cross-cultural competence. If the credentials are obtained from abroad, they may also bring the holder further added benefits or profits through symbolic, economic (salary) and/or occupational outcomes (Reich & Reich, 2006) a view explored in this study.

Students from higher social backgrounds with access to economic capital may also hold *'embodied and objectified capital'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p246), and thus may achieve even greater benefits and access to elite institutions, for greater institutionalised cultural capital in the form of credentials e.g. a Harvard Masters degree or a degree from one of India's IIMs. Bourdieu refers to this institutionalised cultural capital as *'qualifications which have a legally guaranteed value with respect to culture',* a form of *'social alchemy'* (ibid). This is what Bourdieu describes as the *'performative magic of the power of instituting'.* Thus *'conferring institutional recognition'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p248) on the cultural capital of the qualification, which makes it possible to compare the qualification holders' cultural capital. This then determines an economic value of the qualification and thus the person in the market place i.e. the *'conversion rate between cultural capital and economic capital guarantee the value of academic capital'* (ibid). Bourdieu further argues, that the *'material and symbolic profits, which the academic qualification guarantees, also depends on its scarcity'* (ibid), and changes in the labour market place can make the investments in cultural capital result in less profitable outcomes, than might have been expected e.g. an increase in the number of postgraduates with business degrees reduces the scarcity of the qualification. Institutionalised cultural capital, therefore, brings profits which may result in increased salary or prestige i.e. as symbolic capital, only if the conditions of the labour market allow and the employer is aware of value of the degree.

Cultural capital may therefore, provide *'privileges'* from various educational settings (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, pvii) and may therefore be considered as a form of *'capital'* which can be regarded as a *'currency in the social realm (Bourdieu, 1979a/1984)'* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p5). Bourdieu's work also considers concepts of class differences related to linguistic capital, or what he regards as codes within a class.

Winkle-Wagner (2010, p5) argues, that cultural capital may also be regarded as *'culturally based resources',* and may include, *'cultural awareness, knowledge about educational institutions (schools), educational credentials and aesthetic preferences'*. She further suggests that it may also include, *'skills, abilities, and mannerisms which are primarily habituated and may not be consciously noticed'* (ibid), the embodied cultural capital referred to by Bourdieu. Winkle-Wagner (2010, p5) further argues that Swartz (1997, p75) suggests that *'one's culture can act as a 'power resource' in social settings where cultural knowledge, skills and abilities may be exchanged for social rewards such as acceptance, recognition, inclusion, or even, social* *mobility.'* Those who have higher social positions, and who are considered as the dominant classes, tend to have cultural capital which has most value and provides the best chances of educational success for their offsprings.

Pirani (2008, p17) in his analysis of MBA programme outcomes, suggests that within the broad concept of cultural capital, the following distinctions can also be made between *'functional capital (functional management course related skills); personal capital (perceptions and belief in self); and interpersonal capital (those skills that enhance interactions with others in different contexts)';* this, he suggests, may be considered as cultural competence.

The concept of cultural capital theory has, as previously indicated, been used in many ways by different scholars as a *'theoretical foundation and an analytical tool',* to study the manifestation of social inequality in educational processes and outcomes (ibid, p1). If appropriately used Winkle-Wagner (2010), suggests that it *'provides an excellent theoretic source'* for such research topics as *'class issues, social stratification and equality'* (ibid, p3).

Ozbilgin & Tatli (2005, p856) highlight the views of Grenfell and James (1998) and they suggest that Bourdieu's work is:

> *'both a philosophical perspective and practical methodology, which have attempted to establish an alternative to the extremes of post-modernist subjectivity and positivist objectivity. Bourdieu's ideas offer an epistemological and methodological third way' (Grenfell & James, 1998: 1-2).'*

Cultural capital theory does appear to provide a basis for explaining the way in which students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds may have an edge over others from less privileged backgrounds, as they are exposed to and are aware of higher cultural norms and values, resulting in *'acquisition and perpetuation of privilege and inequality. Cultural capital can be useful in identifying the currency that some students have and others do not'* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p111). This is an approach used in this study.

It is, however, important to note that Bourdieu's work did not overtly refer to race or gender, and it is suggested, that Bourdieu, may have incorporated these and factors of structure and agency, into his concept of 'habitus' e.g. the way in which *'individuals become themselves – develop attitudes and dispositions; and the ways in which those individuals engage in practices'* (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, pxii), their beliefs and values, and the way in which they behave in everyday life (ibid, p79), influenced by their particular social class. DiMaggio (1979) also further contends that an individual's cultural capital is acquired from one's social setting or context e.g. family, or as previously outlined, through education and thus plays a role in maintaining social structure.

This form of social reproduction is *identified by Bourdieu as a 'field', which is class based',* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p7); and where, 'field', DiMaggio (1979), and Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002), argue, is being used by Bourdieu as a critical metaphor, to objectify the reproduction of a social situation or structure and the rules of interaction between them. These concepts appear to be applicable in Indian society and are explored in this study.
The concept of field is used to describe the struggle or conflict for position and accumulation of resources/capital, by the *'actors and organisations in an arena of social or cultural reproduction'* (DiMaggio, 1979, p1463) which is also linked to a '*larger theory of social stratification'* (Winkle-Wagner (2010, p1).

Cultural capital is considered by some authors as *'a synonym for status, or habitus, for socialisation'* (Grenfell, 2008, p102); and DiMaggio, (1979, p1464) further suggests, that Bourdieu sees habitus as a *'product of early childhood experience* and of *unconscious family socialization',* the *'cumulative collection of dispositions, norms and tastes'* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p9). These tastes may relate to lifestyle, where various symbols and signs are used, all of which reflect class type and each class having its own characteristic habitus. Those individuals who attempt to '*acquire linguistic and aesthetic norms of the dominant culture through education alone, will result in subtly imperfect mastery.... which is, always marked by the conditions in which it was formed'* (DiMaggio, 1979, p1464). For example a family, who has won a large amount of money on the lottery, may send their child to a top private school but the child may not have the cultural traits to fit into the new environment and thus may be rejected by those from upper class backgrounds.

Bourdieu argues that members of the less wealthy factions of the dominant class e.g. managers, engineers, civil servants, and teachers, '*are dependent on mastery of academically consecrated culture..;* their *'credentialed cultural capital'* (ibid, p1465), which may then be used for their own and their children's success (ibid). This credentialed cultural capital, which *'supplemented by their social capital of networks and connections, can be converted into a high class position'* (ibid). The economic elite, unable to give their wealth to their children directly, convert their wealth into *'cultural capital by sending their children to universities and business schools'*, who after securing good careers, gain salaries which are transferred into economic dominance reproducing the class structure and further developing their cultural and social capital, which Bourdieu suggests may then be '*misrecognized as talent or accomplishment'* (ibid, p1466).
In educational research, Bourdieu's view of cultural capital, which focused on French institutions, was used to study the *'manifestation of social inequality in educational processes and outcomes (DiMaggio, 1982; Laureau, 2003;* in Winkle-Wagner 2010, p1). It is suggested that background careers of parents can be used to determine students future success (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002); and it may be used to explain the way in which power and privilege are perpetuated (Winkle-Wagner, 2010. It is also a way to explain how society's dominant class engages in pedagogic action through education, *'which internalises the dominant symbols and meanings in the next generation thus reproducing the salience of the dominant culture'* (Lin, 2001, p14). This social reproduction is seen as *'symbolic violence' by the dominant class, on the dominated class….*' This may then be *'misrecognized by the dominant class, as the culture and values of the entire society'* (ibid). Winkle-Wagner (2010) suggests that class location results in craving for signs of that class, which results in a maintenance of that class, and thus maintenance of social stratification.

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, pxvi) also describe symbolic violence as '*violence which is exercised upon individuals in a symbolic not physical way, e.g. people being denied resources, treated as inferior or being limited in* *terms of realistic aspirations'*. The masses are encouraged to invest in their education to internalize the values, symbols and meanings of the dominant class even if they then misrecognize them as their own (Lin, Cook & Burt, 2001):

> *'The inference is that while cultural capital is mostly captured by the dominant class through intergenerational transmissions, even the masses (or at least some of them), may generate returns from such investment and acquisition.'*
> (Lin, 2001b, p6)

'The result is an internalised and durable training, 'habitus', in the reproduction of culture' (Lin, 2001, p15). Education or training may, therefore, as previously mentioned, be perceived as cultural capital by some, or as human capital, by others (ibid).

Winkle-Wagner (2010, p110) argues that the potential pitfalls of using the Bourdieuian framework, or applying the theoretical, or empirical applications of cultural capital, can be reduced, by clearly defining what it means. For example, she suggests that cultural capital is *'knowledge or competence (and sometimes skills and abilities) of the culture that is valued in a particular social setting'* (ibid, 2010, pviii). She further suggests, following her thorough analysis of Bourdieu's work, that cultural capital provides a convincing explanation for the way in which *'cultural status signals (often high status signals), are rewarded'* in higher education settings, *'giving those students who are from higher socioeconomic backgrounds an often imperceptible edge over their peers'* (ibid).

One example of this in India may be reflected in the use of English language in the homes of the middle and upper classes, which may enable further benefits of study abroad:

> *'English was a means to social and economic resources, and now, it is also used to divide the society into the privileged and under-privileged classes..... Over the post-Independence years, English has become the single most important predictor of socio-economic mobility....The*

> *privileged English-knowing-elites (estimated to be less than 2% of the Indian population) seem to have an advantage since, with the positive attitudinal and environmental support for English, their children outperform the new aspirants. With the globalised economy, English education widens the discrepancy between the social classes.'*
> (Mohanty, 2006, p268/269)

This may then result in students who have knowledge of English, studying postgraduate programmes abroad in English speaking universities and thus having additional symbolic capital, giving a perception of an elite identity from their competence in English, when they return to India (Bourdieu, 1996). This may link to what Ashforth & Mael (1989) argue is a *'specific form of social identification'* (ibid, p22) which is further reinforced when it is obtained from a particular UK programme or institution.

Winkle-Wagner (2010, p16) suggests, that Bourdieu (1979/1984) perceives there is a theoretical scaffold or social conditioning formula which comprises '*[(Habitus)(Cultural Capital)] + Field = Practice',* and practice is focused on *'securing resources and classifying lifestyles'* (ibid), which in higher education, 'practice' is '*according to McDonough, Ventresca, and Outcalt (2000) aimed at securing resources* (ibid)*'.*

McDonough, Ventresca, and Outcalt (2000, p374) further argue from their views on Bourdieu (1977) that:

> *'parents with high cultural capital attempt to secure for their children as prestigious a college education as possible because they believe it will pay off in later job success and social status….cultural capital is used to transform aspirations into more valued educational credentials that middle and upper class families transmit to their offspring which substitutes for or supplements the transmission of economic capital as a means of maintaining class status and privilege across generations.'*

They also suggest that, in Bourdieu's terms, individuals do not question the rules, but they exploit them for their own ends, and they suggest that, although individuals pursue their own improvement, their ideas are based on the influences of their social class, knowledge and practices. They suggest this results in what DiMaggio (1988), in McDonough, Ventresca & Outcalt, (2000, p374), suggests *'is optimisers, united by habitus, pursuing parallel strategies towards similar but not collective goals'*.

Goldthorpe (2007, p9) considers that the concepts of Bourdieu, i.e. social reproduction, which may have been appropriate at the time, have now been questioned by some authors, as there does appear to be evidence of educational achievement from individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, although, *'the actual extent and significance of any narrowing in the relative chances of such attainment, according to class origins, remain much debated issues'*. Goldthorpe (2007,p9) also suggests, that Bourdieu (1973) would regard *'upward class mobility from such disadvantaged origins, at least as mediated via education, as being also quite exceptional and in effect limited to specially selected cases, that serve a primarily legitimatory purpose'* (ibid), and those families with greater economic and social capital are always in a better position to exploit their opportunities (ibid). He also suggests that Bourdieu has in some cases been misconceived by other researchers in their studies.

Winkle-Wagner (2010) in her review of the use of cultural capital in educational research, both quantitative and qualitative, has argued that four definitional groups can be identified, and it appears that the one which is most relevant for this study is *'contextually-valued cultural capital'*. This research study, using Winkle-Wagner's definitional group, therefore, aims to:

> *'deduce cultural capital to be knowledge or competence of culture that is valued in a particular social setting. This definition of cultural capital, links the concept to a larger social system, that values or recognizes particular cultural competence, abilities or skills over others'.*
>
> (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p29)

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002) argue, that cultural capital theory, which was developed by Bourdieu's work on social philosophy, linked education to privilege and resulted in the view that cultural capital e.g. *'a university degree, can be exchanged for a job'* (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002, p110).

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002) further argue that *'capital accrued from educational institutions only has value in fields that recognise and share this value'* (ibid, p110). They also suggest that Bourdieu argues that, despite the prestige of a qualification, it may not secure access to economic power (Bourdieu, in Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002). This seems to confirm the recent phenomenon in the labour market, that although some people have qualifications, they are under skilled, and thus cannot secure employment, a manifestation of Dore's (1997), Diploma disease.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, many jobs now require employees to have greater cultural capital, through their ownership of postgraduate qualifications, which some may consider is an example of credentialism. Many employers also appear to prefer these qualifications to come from those higher education institutions and business schools that they are familiar with, and which are rated as high in the university ranking tables; and which may be regarded as having greater cultural capital, and symbolic capital, thus signaling greater evidence to employers of an employee's potential abilities, which may also result in greater economic value for the employee (Waters, 2005).

The *'credentialists'* (Evans and Kelley, 2001, p21) may agree with Webb, Schirato & Danaher, (2002) who suggest that the increase in qualifications has now become a *'vicious circle'* (Ibid, p112), which is further perpetuated by society. However, in order to help those from a *'habitus'* of less privilege' (ibid) e.g. those from a lower social class who do not possess the knowledge from a higher social class environment, to have access to the employment market, they also need access to institutions to gain human capital through education, skills and qualifications, for those 'credentials', and for the development of their cultural capital (ibid). This vicious circle, however, seems to result in employers demanding even higher academic credentials to screen employees, and this pushes many individuals to obtain even more qualifications, far in excess of those needed for the job (Dore, 1997; Evans & Kelley, 2001). Perhaps this is also true for Indian nationals who now require greater institutionalised cultural capital for jobs, marriage and associated Indian cultural practices, a perception explored in this study.

4.29 Social Capital

The concept of 'social capital' has been used by various academics and individuals from different disciplines and backgrounds, e.g. sociologists, economists and politicians, to analyse various social phenomena (Charles, 2012). The concept appears to have multiple definitions, versions and uses, and may not even be considered as a form of capital by some economists, as it is difficult to define or measure (Arrow, 2000; Solow, 2000). Ostrom (2000, p172) reinforces this view, suggesting that whilst the concept may complement other capitals e.g. human, and physical, social capital *'is not easy to observe or measure',* and she further suggests that *'social capital does not wear out with use, but rather with disuse'* (ibid). Fine (2010, p158) argues that *'the range of applications of social capital is so diverse, extensive and voluminous that it defies systematic organisation.'*

Adler & Kwon (2000, pp90/91/92) list seventeen definitions from different authors from 'Baker to Woolcock', and they further argue that there has been limited *'theoretical integration across the disciplines'*. Adler & Kwon (2000, p106) from a critical management perspective, also suggest that, in addition to the many 'benefits' associated with social capital e.g. networks and relationships between individuals, groups, and organisations, there are also 'risks'. Adler and Kwon, (2000, p106) highlight work from other authors e.g. *'Powell and Smith-Doerr (2009, p393)'*, who suggest that *'the ties that bind may also turn into the ties which blind',* and from the work of *'Portes (1998)'* who argues that, in the study of gangs, their strong social capital, with its strong internal ties, may result in insular and xenophobic behavior, and may have a negative impact on communities (Adler and Kwon, 2000). Other authors suggest that the social networks of influence, or support, or membership, or personal links, or ties with others, may also develop from the place of study, i.e. being a member of the alumni of an elite institution, and may, like financial capital, be used for personal future benefits such as networking for further job/career opportunities. Social capital may also provide access to resources and information for possible career development which may not be available outside a particular group (Coleman, 1988; Field, 2008; Putnam, 2000; Seibert, Kraimer and Linden, 2001).

Due to the extensive literature in this area, a limited number of authors will be highlighted in this section that have used and developed concepts and definitions of social capital, for example, Bourdieu, 1977/1986; Burt, 1997; Coleman, 1990; Halpern, 2005; Lin, 2001; Nahapiet, 2011; Putnam, 2001; OECD, 2001b; and Woolcock, 2001. There is also a critical review presented from Ben Fine (2010), who offers an alternative critique of the use of the concept by other authors.

It is suggested in the literature that earlier definitions of social capital focused on the benefits of social networks and interactions for individuals, and the various outcomes for social/public good, and economic performance. Burt's (1997; 2001; 2010) work proposed that social capital was 'the value of social relations' and he studied ways in which social networks affect individuals' careers, organisations and markets. He argues that, whereas human capital is a quality found in individuals, social capital is found 'between' people and individuals e.g. managers. Those individuals who are seen to be doing well tend to be he suggests *'affiliated to well-connected colleagues'* (Burt 2010, p1) and they demonstrate higher levels of competitive advantage, and, they appear to have greater access to information. These individuals may also use their social capital to develop their own careers.

Woolcock (2001, p2) suggests that social capital may be summed up by the saying: *'It's not what you know, it's who you know'*. This is a cliché that Fine (2010) refers to as the *'mantra from the university of life'* (Fine, 2010, p20); and may be regarded by many as the simplest way of perceiving social capital. Woolcock (1998) and Halpern (2005), both refer to the various traditions in the work of early researchers, Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Bentham, Adam Smith, and de Tocqueville, all of which demonstrate the theoretical foundations of social capital; and all of which were followed by other researchers, such as Hanifan, in the early 1900s, who actually used the term 'social capital' to refer to *'those tangible assets, [that] count for most in the daily lives of people, namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among individuals and families who make up a social unit'* (Hanifan, 1920, p78, in Halpern, 2005, p6).

Granovetter (1995) also suggests in his early work that social connections are important in the labour market, as many workers find jobs through personal contacts whom then pass on inside information about their companies. These jobs are often found through what he terms the *'grapevine'* (1995, p33). His journal article, *the Strength of Weak Ties*, highlights that the *'analysis of social networks is suggested as a tool for linking micro and macro levels of sociological theory'* (Granovetter, 1973, p1360), through the concepts of bonding and bridging.

Granovetter (1973) and later Woolcock's (2001) work both refer to the concept of *'weak ties'* as acquaintances (ibid); other authors, e.g. Putnam, refer to these ties as, relationships between groups, or as *'bridging social capital'* (Halpern, 2005, p19. *'Strong ties'* (Halpern, 2005, p20), that is, links between well-defined groups, which relate to *'family and close friends'* (ibid) are referred to by Putnam (2000, p23) as *'bonding social capital'.* Putnam also reflects on how individuals are connected to others '*with more or less power and resources',* and this he refers to as *'linking'* social capital (Halpern, 2005, p26). This concept was developed further by Burt (2001) into the idea of 'structural holes', but without the 'weak and strong' ties (Fine, 2010) which suggests that there are advantages for individuals depending on where they are located in the network and how they are linked to other clusters of individuals.

Other early researchers, for example Bourdieu's views on social theory, regarded social capital as a complement to other capitals, namely economic, cultural and symbolic (Waters, 2008). Bourdieu focuses on the link of social capital to the important issues of class, power, hierarchy, conflict and context, which Fine refers to as the *'radical sociology of Bourdieu'* (Fine, 2010, p7). Bourdieu (1977, p503), in his earlier work, defined social capital as:

> *'capital of social relationships which will provide, if necessary, useful 'supports': a capital of honorability and respectability which is often indispensable if one desires to attract clients in socially important positions, and which may serve as currency, for instance in a political career'.*

The concept of social capital was later developed by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p119) in their text, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, which proposed that:

> *'social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'.*

Field (2008, p19) argues that Bourdieu also emphasises the importance of ties, both in *'density and durability'*, and the volumes of cultural and economic capital possessed by each of the connections; and Bourdieu further argues that social capital *'represented an aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network (Bourdieu 1980:2, 1986:248'* in Field, 2008, p19).

Social capital is, however, seen by Bourdieu (1986, p253) as *'a solid investment, the profits of which will appear in the long run in monetary or other form'*. Field (2008, p19) also suggests that Bourdieu argued that those who rely only on their educational qualifications for 'capital' are *'the most vulnerable in the event of credential deflation',* not only do they lack social connections, they may also have weak cultural capital.
Coleman's views of social capital had its foundations in the *'rational choice, or individualistic foundations'* (Field, 2008, p19) of sociology which suggests that particular actions will have benefits for individuals; which associates family and school connections with educational attainment, but not with a class, or power vision of society, as did Bourdieu (Lin, 2001). Field (2008, p27) suggests that Coleman's view of 'social capital' is *'broadly comparable with and congruent with, the role of the 'invisible hand' of the market in classical economic theory'* and stresses that it is a resource which individuals may use.

Social capital is defined by Coleman (in Field, 2008, p27) as:

> '*the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for*

> *different persons and can constitute an important advantage for children and adolescents in the development of their human capital (Coleman 1994:300)'*

Field (2008, p27) further argues *'that social capital is of value, not only in the acquisition of credentials but also, in both cognitive development and in the evolution of a secure self-identity'.*

Burt's (2001, p32) analysis is also functional, and follows Putnam and Coleman, stressing advantage for individuals and groups, and he summarises Coleman's definitions of social capital as:

> *'(Coleman 1990:303; and from Coleman 1988:S98), as a function of social structure producing advantage……it is not a single entity but a variety of different entities …. Comprising …. a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure…. Making possible, the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence'*.

Fine (2010) argues that social capital is related to the value of social relationships and human abilities i.e. social assets; and it is a concept which Bourdieu (1979/1984), from his 'class perspective', suggests is like cultural capital, relevant only in the 'field' that is, *'the space in which cultural competence, or knowledge of particular tastes, dispositions, or norms, is both produced and given a price'* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p7).

Putnam (2000, p22) also added the concepts of *'norms and networks'* and he reinforced the importance of social networks for *'mutual support, cooperation and institutional effectiveness'* (ibid). He further suggested that the development of his concepts of '*bridging social capital'* or weak ties were *'better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion'* (ibid) as they may offer benefits when seeking jobs. Putnam's '*bonding social capital*' he argued, could be used for *'undergirdling specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity' or 'strong ties'* and offered benefits from links with relatives and close friends (Putnam, 2000, p22-23).

Putnam also references the work of *'De Souza Briggs'* (1998) who proposed that the connections with family and friends e.g. *'bonding social capital is* *good 'for getting by', but bridging social capital is crucial for getting ahead'* (ibid, p23). Putnam (2000) also suggested that social capital is beneficial for individuals and communities e.g. Indian castes, as it brings with it the element of *'trust'* between people, which enables *'society'* to advance more smoothly (ibid). This links to the material on caste in Chapter 3. He further argued that links between families, friends and others, may also result in reduced crime (ibid).

Putnam (2000, p19) further argues, from his American studies, that social capital makes our lives *'more productive through social ties'* and that it is analogous to physical and human capital i.e. *'tools and training that enhance productivity - the core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value'* and *'social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups'* (ibid). Interestingly, he also presents the views of economic sociologists, who he argues, have found that a lack of social capital will, despite high levels of human capital, reduce economic prospects, and that communities without civic interconnections who do not share information will less able or unable to respond to opportunities or threats (Putnam, 2000). Putnam therefore further contends that *'social capital such as trust, norms and networks can improve efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action'* (Putnam, 1993 p167); he also expresses the importance of business networking.
The idea of trust is defined in Lin, (2001, p147), as:

> *'confidence or expectation that an alter will take ego's interests into account in exchanges. It represents faith that an event or action will or will not occur, and such faith is expected to be mutual in repeated exchanges'.*

Putnam (2000) further argues that social capital may be a private and a public good and that social networks are useful for finding jobs, companionship and for support. Putnam (2000, p22/23) also argues that bridging is inclusive e.g. in religious groups, and that bonding is exclusive e.g. for membership of country clubs. He further suggests that '*bridging networks*' or bridging social capital, are a '*type of sociological WD40'* (ibid), and are better for linkages for information diffusion, whereas *'bonding* *social capital'* is a *'type of sociological superglue'*, good for *'reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity'*, found in ethnic enclaves e.g. castes (ibid). Krishna and Shrader (2000, piii) also use the glue analogy, suggesting that social capital is:

> *'the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being. Without social capital, society at large will collapse, and today's world presents some very sad examples of this'*.

Field (2008) suggests that social capital, as conceived by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, does not, in his opinion, distinguish between different types of social capital. Fine (2010, p89) suggests that *'Coleman trumped Bourdieu'*, arguing that Coleman's studies, using his concepts, shared a common terminology and substantive views with *'the social'* as represented by *'social capital'* (Ibid).

Woolcock's analysis (2001, p13-14) provides a useful summary of the differences between the definitions of social capital:

> *a) 'Bonding social capital, which denotes ties between like people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours;*
> *b) Bridging social capital, which encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates and;*
> *c) Linking social capital, which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those, who are entirely outside the community thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community.'*

Burt (2001, p31) as previously mentioned, built upon Coleman and Putnam's work, through the development of a model of social networks, in which he suggests that social capital is a *'metaphor about advantage'*, either for groups or individuals (ibid); and, it is *'created between people'* and *'is the contextual complement to human capital'* (Burt, 2001, p32). He argues that those who are better connected do much better than those who are not (ibid); and the locations of their networks may also produce a competitive advantage, as information which constitutes valuable capital may be gained by players/actors from social links which may not normally be accessible; these links, he refers to as *'structural hole positions'* (Burt, 2001, p22). Burt (1997, p339) argues that managers who are successful and make it to the top of organisations, are *'usually better educated, or more experienced',* but while human capital is still a necessity, it is *'useless without social capital'*. Social capital he suggests, predicts returns to individual human capital dependent upon a person's location in society; it provides access to information which may be advantageous (Burt, 1997). He also suggests in his later work (Burt 2001, p31) that there are, in his opinion, two network structures which create social capital, and which may be brought together in *'a productive way'* (ibid, p52). These are the *'closure argument'*, in which social capital is *'created by a network of strongly interconnected elements'* (Burt, 2001, p31), networks which are *'dense or hierarchical which lower risk associated with transaction and trust'* (Burt, 2001, p52); and the *'structural hole argument'* in which social capital is:

> *'created by a network in which people can broker connections between otherwise disconnected segments. Brokerage across structural holes is the source of value added, but closure can be critical to realizing the value buried in structural holes.'*
> (Burt, 2001, p31)

Fine (2010) suggests, that Lin is a follower of Burt with a more individualistic approach, as Lin suggests that social capital may be considered as both a *'concept and a theory'* (Lin, 2001a, p6) and is, he argues, a *'simple and straightforward: investment in social relations with expected returns in the market place'* (Lin, 2001a, p6). Lin, also argues that there are two perspectives relative *'to the level at which return or profit is conceived'* (Lin, 2001a, p21), for the individual, and the group. Social capital he suggests is similar to human capital; it is how people *'access and use resources embedded in social networks to gain returns in instrumental actions e.g. finding better jobs. Aggregation of individual returns also benefits the collective'* (ibid).

Lin (2001, p29) further argues that social capital should, therefore, be seen as *'the resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions'*. He suggests that the concept has 'three critical components' (ibid):

Component 1) *'it represents 'resources' embedded in social relations'* e.g. investment in interpersonal relationships, which are useful in certain markets. The value assigned to these resources may be achieved by four additional factors: *'influence, persuasion, petition, or coercion'* (ibid), and is determined by the group or community (Lin, 2001, p29).

Component 2) *'Access and use of resources resides with the actors',* (ibid). Lin, (2001) also argues that the 'ego' (self), needs to be cognitively aware of what resources contacts have i.e. ties and networks, and how to access them to capitalize on them. Social capital may come from indirect as well as direct connections, of alters (others) (ibid). Actors may be seen as individuals or as a collective group/community which *'promotes its self-interest by conferring relatively higher statuses on the individual actors who possess more valued resources'* (ibid, p31), thus reinforcing the value of the resource and the individual's standing in the community.

Lin (2001) further suggests that social resources, or social capital, is like personal resources (human capital), they need to be added to and maintained. He also suggests that the possession of, or access to resources, from inheritance, or through caste, or family name, organizational titles, or, through symbolic goods for example academic qualifications; or through exchanges; may he argues *'protect and promote an individual's standing in the social structure'* and provide social recognition, and possibly confer *'identity and reputation'* (ibid, p41).

Lin's third component, Component 3) is the need for action to achieve individual or social goals, and for the mobilization of these resources which may result in structural change, that is where structure comprises the position of those in the society, *'class, authority and status'* (Lin 2001, p56). Those at the top have the power to access and control resources, and have greater social capital which may result in better returns. The more links that individuals have with those higher up the social structure and the better the ties are between these individuals results in what has been termed as *'the prestige principle'* (Laumann, 1966, in Lyn, 2001, p69). These may be weaker ties overall but they may have greater social capital in terms of '*resource heterogeneity',* and higher reach (ibid). These ties, or social relations, may provide useful information to others within the network, regarding the value of the individual, or of the organisation which may not have been previously accessible.

Lin (2001a) further proposes that these social relations, or ties, due to their structural holes, or positions in the organisation, may then give evidence, of added value and increased identity and recognition to individuals, and thus exert influence for jobs or access to other groups:

> *'Social tie resources and their acknowledged relationships to the individual may be conceived by the organisation or its agents as certification of the individual's social credentials, some of which reflect the individuals accessibility to resources through social networks and relations his/her social capital...social relations are expected to reinforce identity and recognition. Being assured of one's worthiness of an individual and member of a social group sharing social interests and resources, provides emotional support and public acknowledgement of claims'*.
> (Lin, 2001a, p7)

The focus of analysis for Lin (2001, p21) is therefore: *'1) how individuals invest in social relations, and 2) how individuals capture the embedded resources in the relations to generate a return'* (ibid). Lin (2001) argues that there are two types of resources which may be owned: *'personal resources'* i.e. *'material and symbolic goods'*, such as diplomas and degrees, and *'social resources'*, an individual's social connections; Lin further argues that an *'individual's social resources, outweigh the benefits of personal resources in their usefulness'* (Lin, 2001, p21), Lin's views of social capital appear to reflect the views of Bourdieu.

Lin (2001), also maintains that internet, cyber-networks for global communication exchanges, carry with them social capital constructed by groups i.e. clubs, news groups, or individuals; and informal and formal organisations. Due to their increase in use, social capital is emerging which will have more significance and effects than personal capital (ibid, p215). Social networking sites, such as Facebook and Linkedin, have indeed blossomed (Ryan, Magro and Sharp, 2011), due to the wider spread of and access to the internet, and, *'Studies show that the internet expands or reduces social capital, with results that can be positive or negative'* (Fine, 2010, p193). The internet may be an approach which may be employed to support the development of postgraduate alumni social capital.

This section has outlined various concepts of social capital as defined by several researchers and reviewers and are, Halpern (2005) argues, dependent upon each of the researchers and reviewers own preoccupations. He further argues that their definitions also include their own interests, but may exclude others. He also points out that there are different levels of analysis which other researchers should be aware of, and it is important to make conceptual distinctions between the layers and to recognise that overall *'they are part of the same 'sociological genus'* (ibid, p19).

Halpern (2005, p39) further argues that, even though there are differing definitions of the concept, the typology of social capital can be identified in his framework, by three different dimensions:

> *'1) Its main components (networks, norms and sanctions);*
> *2) The level of analysis employed (individual, meso- and macro-levels);*
> *3) Its character or function (bonding, bridging and linking).'*

Halpern's framework (2005, p26) highlights that, if we wish to evaluate social capital, we need to take care when judging what we mean by social capital in different contexts, due to its complexity. He suggests that there are *'three cross cutting dimensions'*:

> *'Components – networks, norms and sanctions.*

> *Levels or domain of analysis – individual, group community, nation. (Micro, Meso and Macro levels)*
> *Character or function – bonding, bridging, linking.'*

To assess a person's social capital, we first need to assess the Individual, at the micro-level i.e.:

> *'bonding social capital, networks, whom people have a close relationships with (family networks)'*; *'the norms that operate in these relationships (confiding, caring, supportive)'*; and, *'the sanctions that apply if norms are broken (withdrawal of affection)'.*
> (Halpern, 2005, p26)

Then, he suggests, that we need to consider the more extended aspects, i.e. who the individuals are connected to, and the micro-level i.e. *'friends and acquaintances outside their network'*; their *'bridging social capital;* and *'how they are connected to those with more or less power or resources e.g. linking social capital'* (ibid).

The next stage Halpern (2005, p26) suggests is to understand a person's social networks and their connections with others in the *'community and society'* (ibid) – the meso-level e.g. *'is the person a sociometric star, highly connected and sociable or is everyone in the community like that?'* (ibid).
Halpern's study also poses the following questions, for other researchers to consider; is the bridging, bonding, and linking social capital wide spread across the meso-level? And, what is the national level of bonding, bridging, and linking? And, what are the networks, norms and sanctions, at the meso and macro levels? (Halpern, 2005, p26).

The biggest problem, Halpern argues, as do others, is that social capital unlike economic capital, is difficult to measure (Halpern, 2005), but is, Halpern further argues, as robust as the term, *'human capital … a rough and ready measure with reasonable reliability and validity seems to be 'social trust''* (Halpern, 2005, p39). However, cross cultural studies are, he suggests, difficult to evaluate; and have not been fully addressed in this study.

Halpern also suggests that human, financial and social capitals of an individual's parents influence a child's educational success and failure, and studies in the USA demonstrate that 'family social capital' i.e. relationships between parents and children, has *'a significant impact upon a child's educational achievement'* (Halpern, 2005, p143). Perhaps this is also true for Indian postgraduate students.

Other authors such as Majoribanks and Kwok (1998, p99), also suggest that *'family social capital is generated from the strength of the relationship between parents and children',* and those parents who are more involved with their children, and have higher levels of academic achievement and greater *'economic, human and social capital',* appear to encourage higher educational and occupational aspirations. Desforges & Abouchaar (2003, p2), findings also suggest that:

> *'Parental involvement in children's education from an early age has a significant effect on educational achievement, and continues to do so into adolescence and adulthood';* and *'The attitudes and aspirations of parents and of children themselves predict later educational achievement. .. also, … International evidence suggests that parents with high aspirations are also more involved in their children's education'.*

There is also evidence to suggest that, while the affluent and well-connected build careers on their connections, those from less advantaged backgrounds must concentrate on academic attainment. Halpern (2005) suggests that those individuals who do not have social capital should build their human capital instead. He also suggests that bonding social capital, in the absence of bridging social capital, facilitates the ability of members of that community to pass on their values to their offspring (Halpern, 2005).

Dhesi (2001) suggests from the findings from his qualitative study that, in India, expectations and benefits of higher education are linked to the family social capital and parents' educational achievements:

> *'The informal networks, especially family contacts through ethnic affiliations, provide useful channels for information regarding educational and employment opportunities'*
> (Dhesi, 2001, p16)

Morgan (2002, p66) also argues that, as social networks have value, *'universities can play a key role in the building of social capital' ... acting as ... 'catalysts for networking'.* Perhaps this view also reinforces the benefits of good alumni links for Indian postgraduates. Halpern (2005) also suggests that education within and between nations brings with it global norms and global forms of social capital e.g. Masters students that return to their source countries bring shared understandings that facilitate international business.

Social capital is a complex area of study which Nahapiet (2011, p73) reinforces and which this thesis has alluded to above. There has become a *'plethora of capitals'*, in the social sciences and Nahapiet cites other authors, who question the implications of using such economic concepts as capital to *'interpret wider social phenomena, e.g. Hirsch, et al, 1990; Fine, 2001; Fishman, 2009'* (Nahapiet, 2011, p73). Social capital may also be simply regarded not as a capital *per se*, but as a factor which reduces transaction costs (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000, in Halpern, 2005, p29). Social capital includes the concept that *'social ties'* (Nahapiet 2011, p81), which hold an intangible value are used as a type of resource (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000), to enable *'individuals and social groupings to achieve outcomes they could not otherwise achieve, or could do so, only at extra cost'* (Nahapiet, 2011, p81).

Whilst the term "capital" implies benefit for the individual and society, social capital, Nahapiet (2011) suggests, *'is a public good';* because *'the actor or actors who generate social capital, often capture only a small part of its benefits'* (Nahapiet, 2011, p81). She further suggests that *'if human capital is about the value of people's individual abilities, social capital is about the value of social connections and relationships'* (ibid). She also highlights that human capital like social capital, is a multidimensional construct, and that the two concepts are interrelated. She does, as others also suggest, argue that there is *'no universally accepted definition of social capital'* (ibid, p80), as it has developed from a wide range of theories, as previously highlighted, from those of *'Marx, Weber, Simmel, Durkheim, and Bentham,... from, ... the study of networks, ... and from the study of .... communities'* (ibid).

Nahapiet (2011) proffers the following definition of social capital from Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998, p243):

> *'the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network'.*

The views above highlight some similarities and some differences of opinion and, whilst this is not a complete analysis of the various authors in the field it does highlight some of the definitions and views of the concept, some of which have been used in this study. The following section from Fine (2010) highlights an alternative view of social capital and a critique of some of the authors mentioned in this section.

4.30 Fine's Criticisms of Social Capital

Whilst there are many other researchers using the concepts of social capital and others who criticize the use of the term 'capital' e.g. Arrow (2000), and Solow (2000), Fine's (2001; and 2010, p157) *'obsessive criticism'* of most of the work covered by researchers using these theories of social capital, is most enlightening, yet the most disconcerting, and it may be difficult for the novice researcher to determine whose uses and definitions are most appropriate.

This section presents a critique of social capital theory from Fine (2010), as he suggests that *'almost any form of personal and social interaction has the capacity to be understood as social capital'* (Fine, 2010, p21). This is a concept which, with increasing influence of neo-liberalism on sociology, has become more closely linked with the *'rational choice perspective'* (Fine, 2010, p37) of Coleman (1988, 1990), in that, *'rational choice theory assumes a highly individualistic model of human behavior, each person doing what serves their own interests, regardless of the fate of others'* (Field, 2008, p24). This is also a view more closely linked to Becker's economic human capital theory, a view which suggests that investment in social capital results in an expected return.

Fine (2010) further argues, that there *is 'an impoverished understanding of the individual within the social capital literature'* (ibid, p149), and he argues that movements away from neo-liberalism and postmodernism have resulted in social capital now emerging as a, *'buzzword in social theory linked to globalisation'* (Fine 2010, p37). Fine (2001) argues that the term social capital was an example of *'ecomics-ization'* and he accused *'social capitalist theorists of being complicit with main stream economics'* (Fine, 2001, p193). Fine (2010) further argues that Putnam, with his political science background, focused on associational life, which has been criticized by some due to its positive associations, in which *'social capital suggests that the market needs to be complemented by a healthy civil society'*. It is also noted that Putnam's approach has moved away from rational choice theory and acknowledgment of many important issues in *'social theory (capitalism), i.e. power conflict, class, gender, race, complexity and so on'* (Fine 2010, pp48/49/84). Fine (2010, p159) further strongly criticizes (as others do, e.g. Field, 2008) Putnam's work with its *'differences of methods of measurement in the trends of social capital in the USA and other countries'*, and his *'failure to replicate his results'*; and the omission of variables that *'condition the presence and effects of social capital',* resulting in what he suggests is a lack of analysis and validity (ibid).

Fine (2010) further argues that criticisms of the theory, and the later inclusion, the *'BBI - bringing back in'* (ibid, p61), of these social and different concepts by other writers, and the domestication of use and adoption by the World Bank and the OECD, has resulted in a vast social capital literature. This is what he describes as a *'social capital juggernaut'* (ibid, p49), and he further suggests that there is a, *'McDonaldisation of social theory through social capital'* (ibid, p58); *'social capital is to social science, as McDonalds is to gourmet foods'* (Fine, 2010, p21). Social capital, he argues, is an example of *'hackademia'* (Fine, 2010, p34); and Fine (2010, p159) regards Putnam as a *'benchkin'*. This, Thompson (2007, p4) suggests refers to *'a concept which becomes extremely popular and gives rise to much grand generalisation, but which is later found to be based on false empirical results'.*

Fine (2010) further suggests that as far as social capital and management studies go, researchers *'jump on the bandwagon to become part of the social capital of social capital… to embrace it ….or seek to reform it from within….'* In his summary he suggests that, if *'social theory is to flourish'* (Fine, 2010, p207), then frameworks to study social phenomena, e.g. in this case, social capital, *'should be disregarded'* (ibid). Thompson (2007, p4) highlights that Fine, regards social capital as a *'product of intellectual faddishness and sloppy thinking, a quick-fix solution in an academic climate of publish or perish'.*

These views have resulted in a dilemma; does social capital have a place in any research studies? The answer for this study appears to be, yes, as there does appear to be sufficient evidence, despite some of the negative reviews, to suggest that the concept does have value; and perhaps the best cliché, or as Fine refers to it, *'the mantra from the university of life'* (Fine, 2010, p20), which best summarises what social capital is, and in this particular context is: *'it's not what you know, it's who you know'* (Woolcock, 2001, p2), which may result in benefits for individuals and society. If as Halpern (2005) suggests, social capital /social networks, at the macro, meso, and macro levels have a significant impact on educational outcomes at the individual level, then the concept may be used to assess research findings, but with an appreciation of the comments of Fine and others. This study aims to explore any evidence of social capital for Indian nationals who are currently studying or who have completed their postgraduate business programmes.

4.31 Chapter Summary

As the world has become more globalised, higher education has become a saleable commodity, attracting thousands of students to study in different countries. The literature suggests that many international students are motivated by several factors, i.e. governments, employers, parents, and the media, to develop their human capital, to improve their social identity, to secure employment and achieve a better standard of life.

Human capital theory suggests that improvement in knowledge and skills and resulting credentials, may result in various outcomes of objective external/extrinsic factors i.e. increased salary, career promotion; and, the improvement of subjective internal/intrinsic outcomes e.g. personal achievement and status for the holder (Baruch, Bell, Gray, 2005; Dailey, *et al.*, 2006; Siebert, Kraimer & Linden, 2001).

Many societies place a value on these symbols of achievement, or credentials, which Bourdieu suggests may be termed *'cultural capital'* (1986, p243), and are, he suggests, to *'all intents and purposes a synonym for "status"'* (Moore, 2008, p102). This cultural capital acts as a signal of power and may also act as a facilitator to access certain employment opportunities and social groups, and may result in greater social mobility (Nunn, *et al.*, 2007); such mobility may be achieved by individuals, and within the economy as a whole; this is a phenomenon witnessed in India, with its emerging urban middle class (McKinsey, 2007; Varma, 2007).
However, this transition is difficult to measure and beyond the scope of this study, as it is argued that *'education alone is not sufficient in securing access to a better social class position'* (Themelis, 2008, p434), a view also expressed by Bourdieu, who argues that family background is an important determinant for the reproduction of social positions (Bourdieu, 1977; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002).

Research suggests that, in the UK, social mobility across classes exists, but has declined since the 1980s which *'was mainly due to the occupational restructuring and the concomitant structural mobility'* (ibid). From the 1980s onwards, the UK changed from a manufacturing society to a service society, which required greater skills and human capital development. This phenomenon appears to be happening in India too, with a growing service sector offering more employment opportunities to those with knowledge and skills.

In an attempt to improve social mobility for all sectors of the Indian community, the Indian government has developed policies of affirmative action, to enable groups of individuals, lower castes and tribes, who are less fortunate, to benefit from reserved places in higher education and public sector employment. The aim is to give lower social groups a chance to improve their skills and job prospects, and hopefully to improve their cultural, and their social capital, and thus achieve social mobility (Sethiyand & Somanatha, 2010). This government strategy is not supported by all members of society as many see it as social engineering, which may result in resentment from those who are not favoured groups (please refer to Chapter 3 on caste).

India's growing economy may offer many opportunities for educated and skilled business and management employees in the service sector, but it appears that a lack of Indian higher education institutions and concerns over the academic quality of many existing institutions, are encouraging many middle class Indian students to travel abroad to improve their human capital, which may result in greater cultural capital from their awards and social capital from their academic institutions, and may improve their chances for a good career. However, there appears to be a lack of research findings related to the outcomes and perceived benefits i.e. economic, cultural and social capital that Indian postgraduates acquire as a result of their study from UK and Indian institutions. There are also concerns from many quarters which suggest that, due to increased competition in the labour market, and an increase in the numbers acquiring credentials, elite jobs are becoming more scarce (Brown, 2003), and the true benefits and actual outcomes of postgraduate business programmes should be made more transparent in the light of these trends.

This research study aimed to determine if there was any evidence of social capital which may exist in Indian families to support the career development of their offspring and to explore the level of alumni links that are expected, and that exist, for the development of social capital; and to explore the perceptions of any benefits of social capital, for the groom and the groom's family in Indian marriage arrangements with regard to postgraduates.

This section concludes the literature review for the study. The next chapter will outline the research paradigm, methodology and methods adopted to obtain the qualitative data, to provide further insight into the questions raised from the literature review.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.11 Introduction

There are many choices of research approach available to researchers, e.g. qualitative, quantitative, or indeed both e.g. mixed methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003), which, depending upon your theoretical perspective, can be adopted to complete an investigation (Creswell, 2003). Prasad (2005) also suggests that the number of qualitative options which are available can be overwhelming. She further suggests that qualitative research implies a certain state of mind, for the employment of specific data collection and specific writing conventions, all of which are influenced by ontological and epistemological traditions, which often result in complex *'and frequently bewildering amalgamation of metaphors, paradigms, techniques and procedures'* (Prasad, 2005, p3); and especially so, for the novice researcher.

Prasad (2005) also argues that a substantial body of research in social sciences suffers from various forms of 'positivist anxiety', especially in management and business studies. Such work, she argues, may be described as, '*a form of qualitative positivism'* (ibid, p4), rather than a study developed within the '*craft traditions'*. She further suggests that *'research should be theoretically grounded and methodologically rigorous, even if rigor takes different forms from that which is to be found in positivist research'* (ibid). I aimed to achieve this craft tradition, in this qualitative study. This is an approach, which Denzin & Lincoln (2005) describe as strategy of enquiry; an approach which reflects my personal beliefs, and one which I developed, during the research methods module for
my PhD programme. The academics teaching on the research methods module highlighted a spectrum of qualitative choices, i.e. traditions and crafts (Prasad, 2005), available to me as a novice researcher e.g. basic qualitative, ethnographic, and grounded theory; and the historical philosophies which underpin the development of these qualitative research traditions. These research traditions, which *'Hamilton, (1993) and Jacob (1987)'*, in Prasad (2005, p8), suggest, comprise various assumptions, world views, orientations, practices and procedures, to enable research studies to

become '*theoretically grounded and methodologically rigorous'* (Prasad, 2005, p6). Adoption of these traditions and crafts, it was suggested, would enable researchers like me, to perform meaningful qualitative studies of social phenomena to understand the world of my respondents, attempting to avoid, what Prasad (2005), refers to as the 'anything goes' group.

This research study, was not, as suggested by Sikes (2006, p106) of some other studies, *'on dodgy ground';* nor simply undertaken to satisfy my curiosity, nor indeed, simply to confirm my personal theories, but would have value to increase our understanding of the expectations, outcomes and perceived benefits of Indian postgraduate study for others interested in these phenomenon and without impinging on the lives of those I studied.

I have also addressed the importance of reflexivity i.e. the *'understanding of both the phenomenon under study and the research process itself'* (Watt, 2007, p82), to indicate some of my concerns, so that the reader, has an awareness of my experiences and has *'the opportunity to see how the researcher goes about the process of knowledge construction during a particular study'* (Rivas, 2012, p 499).
Merriam, suggests that this approach adds to the researchers identity, and enables critical reflection (Merriam, 2009) i.e. the opportunity to explain oneself, one's values and attention to ethical issues, and to give an authorial voice, so as not to, as highlighted by one practitioner, '*abandon one's responsibilities as a researcher, or to operate surreptitiously as a ventriloquist'* (Hammersley (personal communication) in Seale, 1999, p16).

However, the researcher should be careful of being radically reflexive to produce a trustworthy credible study, as this Seale argues, requires careful consideration, as *'superhuman self-consciousness'* (Seale, 1999, p168), may, result in such self-criticism about one's study, that it leads to the pursuit of a different research project, or, indeed, retirement from research altogether (ibid).

In this study, I have presented my methodological decisions, and identified and justified my research process and methods in as much detail as possible (Crotty, 1998). I have also used the actual words of my respondents to highlight the perspective of the researched, adding my commentary to indicate my authorial presence, and to present the evidence which has led to my conclusions in order to *'enhance the quality of the research'* (Seale, 1999, p177). This is not, however, in so much detail that it results in self-indulgent waffle, or, as Bourdieu suggests a *'pretext for text'*, (Bourdieu, 2003, p282, in Rivas, 2012, p499), but to provide knowledge about the phenomenon under study, to those who read it.

The interpretivist qualitative framework that I chose to adopt was to ensure a closer association with those who were being researched (Merriam, 2009), in order to provide a much deeper insight and understanding of the actual experiences of individuals i.e. my respondents, which in this study are as previously highlighted, Indian nationals.

This chapter will outline the background and rationale for this study, that led from the research question, research tradition, or, as it is often referred to, the paradigm, to the research design (Creswell, 2007) i.e. the theoretical framework, the methodology, and describe in detail the methods e.g. the focus group interviews, and the face-to-face semi-structured interviews, that have been adopted to obtain the data for further analysis (Silverman, 2005; Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight (2010). The main purpose of this study was to explore and provide a deeper and richer understanding of the expectations, outcomes and perceived benefits of UK postgraduate business education for Indian nationals; and to provide a window on their lived experiences. This chapter will also outline a broad overview of how the data was collected and analysed, and will address the qualitative issues of *'credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability'* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p24), related to this study.

5.12 Background and Rationale for the Choice of Study

This research study is, as previously outlined, a result of my knowledge and experience of the UK and Indian higher education sectors, and the application of my cultural competence, what Pirani (2008, p17) refers to as *'interpersonal capital (those skills that enhance interactions with others in* *different contexts)'*; my communication skills and my marketing and PhD research knowledge. All employed in order to explore and gain a better understanding of Indian nationals (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010). However, because human knowledge is complex, my understanding in this case is more suggestive than conclusive, and the outcomes of this exploratory study are justified by the qualitative methods I have used and are therefore open to evaluation by others (Crotty, 2003).

Following a critical analysis of the literature, I found, as previously mentioned, that there were limited studies, and thus limited evidence, surrounding postgraduates and even less with a focus on Indian nationals (Anderson, 2003; Brown & Kneale, 2011; Diaz and Moll, 2002; Lees, 2002; Pfeffer & Fong, 2002; Rothwell, Jewell & Hardie, 2009). The limited amount of studies that were available comprised mostly quantitative research studies e.g. surveys a lack of evidence that added to my motivation to gain more insight and knowledge into the expectations, outcomes and perceived benefits of those studying these programmes.

5.13 Benefits of the research

If the UK is to remain competitive in the recruitment of Indian international students, more should be known about the expectations and outcomes of Indian postgraduates, and I believe that the benefits of these findings will provide a deeper understanding of Indian students, for those who are involved in the recruitment of Indian nationals and for those who provide careers advice for Indian graduates, either in India or the UK. I also hope that the findings will encourage HEIs to perform additional research and to publish the destinations of their postgraduates, to ensure a fuller picture of what the employment benefits are for Indian students who invest in UK, or Indian postgraduate business education. More generally, I consider that the research will also contribute to the future development of theory and understanding for Indian postgraduate study, especially concerning motivations and expectations and any other perceived benefits of study.

The knowledge from this study should also ensure that academic staff in general, and professional support staff, in particular, are more sensitive to the needs and cultural background of Indian students, which will lead to improved quality and relevance in the support provided, and in the wider student experience.

5.14 Theoretical Framework

The literature review suggests that the development of human capital through higher education may have an influence upon productivity, and on the economy, an individual's employability and the personal benefits of increased finance e.g. salary. It also indicates that higher education undertaken to develop knowledge and skills may also lead to an improvement in an individual's cultural and social capital, which may also lead to an increase in personal status and recognition, and the possibility of upward social mobility. The theoretical framework of this study is influenced by and structured around several key areas of interest, which have been previously reviewed and outlined in the literature chapter (Merriam, 2009). These comprise human, cultural, and social capital theory and elements of management theory.

5.15 Review of Research Approaches

In order to answer research questions and to develop new ideas or knowledge, there are, as previously outlined, various research approaches which can be employed which are influenced by social theory and by the various *'intellectual traditions that shape social sciences'* (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p4).

Social theory can, according to Silverman citing O'Brien, '*be viewed as a sort of kaleidoscope - by shifting theoretical perspectives the world under investigation also changes shape'* (Silverman, 2005, p96). These are summarised by Guba & Lincoln (2005) as alternative paradigms of inquiry, where a 'paradigm' is defined by Khun (1996) as *'beliefs, values, techniques and so on, shared by the members of a given community'* (Khun, 1996, p175). Prasad (2005, p8), however, argues that the term paradigm:

> *'Can be frequently misleading, presenting a false sense of commonality among a group of researchers. In the material world of actual research practice, the tidy abstraction of the paradigm as a hermetic domain of shared assumptions and world-views quickly begins to give way to the messy reality of contested ideas, multiple ongoing influences, and constant experimentation'.*

Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010) suggest that the two most common and often competing, paradigms are referred to as quantitative and qualitative, and there are, they suggest, many academic debates over these and other paradigms. To demonstrate this view Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010, p60) reference Oakley's (1995, p155) comment that:

> *'(Paradigms) are ways of breaking down the complexity of the real world that tell their adherents what to do. Paradigms are essentially cultures, and as such they are fundamentally embedded in the socialisation of their adherents: a way of life rather than simply a set of technical and procedural differences.'*

Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010) also argue that these differing cultures, result in many complex arguments, evoking complex language, related to the benefits of these various paradigms which focus on how social research should be performed and *'what forms of knowledge are perceived to be valid or invalid'* (ibid). Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010, p60) further contend that there are other paradigms used in social research, four of which are highlighted by Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p22), who suggest that there are, *'at the most general level, four major interpretive paradigms'*. These paradigms are *'positivist and postpositivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory), and feminist-poststructural'* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p22).

Positivism, according to Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010, p 60), is an approach for social science to mirror the natural sciences, having more objectivity, *'control and predictability'* (ibid). They further contend that post-positivism is a '*response to the criticisms of positivism … and it … maintains the same set of basic beliefs as positivism'*, which suggests *'we can only* *know social reality imperfectly and probabilistically. While objectivity remains an ideal, there is an increased use of qualitative techniques in order to 'check' the validity of the findings*' (ibid). Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p27) also argue that *'Post-positivism holds that only partially objective accounts of the world can be produced for all methods for examining such accounts are flawed.'* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p 27).

Swan & Pratt (2003, p209) suggest that *'post-positivism does not have a single agreed meaning'* and that *'researchers share a philosophical position regarding the nature of science'* and '*reject positivism'*. They further suggest that interpretivism, which is the paradigm for this study, is the study of *'a social phenomenon… a world that has already been interpreted by the actors within it'* (ibid, p204). This is a view supported by Denzin & Lincoln (2003, p184) who suggest that *'constructivism and interpretivism are orientated to the production of reconstructed understandings of the social world'.* Prasad (2005, p14) also suggests the following:

> *'The goal of all interpretive traditions to understand these processes of subjective reality construction in all walks of social life. This is often referred to as 'the principal of verstehen (Weber, 1949), whereby understanding meaning and intentionality is emphasized over and above causal explanations'.*

Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010, p61) suggest that *'interpretivist approaches to social research see interpretations of the social world as culturally derived and historically situated'* and their work has been outlined by Prasad, who links the paradigm to '*the work of Weber, who suggested that the social sciences are concerned with verstehen (understanding)'* (ibid). In this case, I wished to understand Indian postgraduates within their social world. Creswell (2007, p15) suggests that researchers who choose to undertake qualitative studies also bring with them *'their own world views, paradigms or sets of beliefs and these inform the conduct and writing of the qualitative study'.* Qualitative researchers are, as Barbour (2007, pxiii) suggests:

> *'part of the research process, either in terms of their own personal presence as researchers, or in terms of their experiences in the field and with the reflexivity they bring to the role – as are members of the field under study'.*

There has also emerged, and been accepted and adopted by some researchers, another paradigm known as *'pragmatism'* (Creswell, 2003), which some regard as a '*simplification of complex philosophical issues to 'what works'* (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, px), and may result in what is termed a mixed method study (Creswell, 2003). This study did not adopt a mixed methods approach.

Creswell (2003) also suggests that, whichever research framework is adopted, it needs to be grounded in the literature surrounding these paradigms, and is required by the researcher in order to provide guidance about each element of the study (ibid). Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p5) also suggest that the inquiry paradigm leads to the following:

> *'ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions; these, in turn give rise to methodological considerations; and these in turn, give rise to issues of instrumentation and data collection.'*

In order to obtain the data for this study, I chose to perform a qualitative study which was informed by my interpretivist, or constructivist paradigm (Flick, 2009; Merriam, 2009), which Flick (2009), suggests informs a wide range of qualitative research, *'with the approach that the realities we study are social products of the actors, of interactions, and institutions'* (Ibid, p70). Crotty, (1998, p8), also suggests that constructivists:

> *'reject the view of human knowledge. There is no objective truth… truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of the world… meaning is not discovered but constructed…. Different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon'.*

Denscombe (2002, p18) also argues that:

> *'social reality is something that is constructed and interpreted by people – rather than something that exists objectively 'out there'….it*

is social creation, constructed in the minds of people and reinforced through their interactions.'

The researcher's paradigm, therefore, informs the *'ontological assumption'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p5), or the nature of reality, which is referred to by Guba & Lincoln, (2003, p195) as *'relativism – local and specific constructed realities'.* This, in turn, gives rise to '*epistemological assumptions'* i.e. the philosophical study of the nature of knowledge (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p5), which is a constructivist paradigm, which implies an *'interpretivist'* (Merriam, 2009) or *'subjectivist'* (Guba & Lincoln, 2003, p195) epistemology. This discussion is developed further in the next paragraph. See Figure 5.1 on the next page, which outlines the framework for this qualitative study.

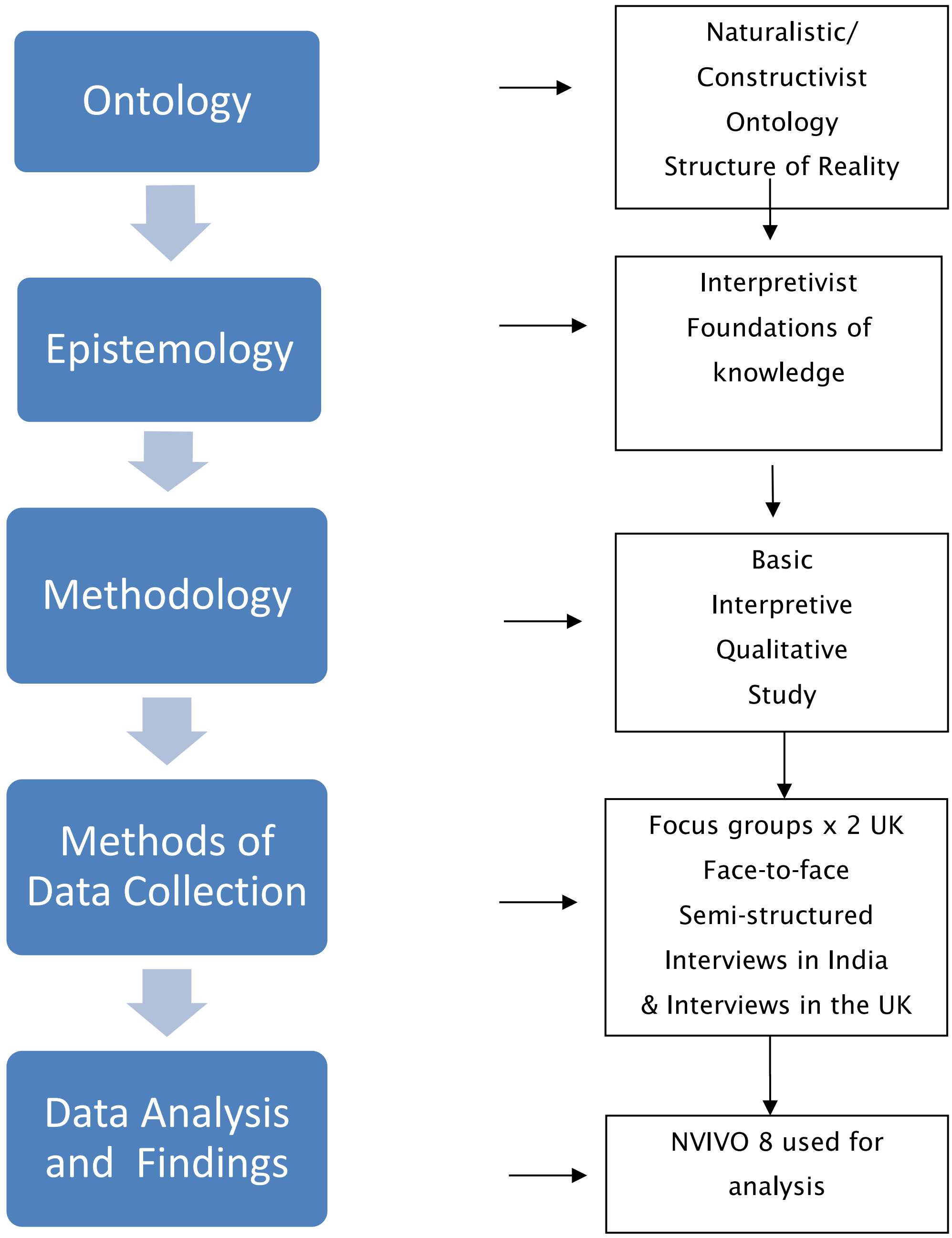

Figure 5.1 The Research Framework
(Source: the author; adapted from Merriam, 2009)

5.16 Research Paradigms

When reviewing the three forms of research as outlined above, quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods, these various forms of research raise philosophical questions which should be asked by all researchers to determine if social reality is created by the mind, or if it is just 'out there'. This forms the debate between realist views, that objects have an independent existence, and a nominalist view, which considers that '*objects of thoughts are merely words and that no independently accessible thing constitutes the meaning of the word'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p7). Realists, i.e. Thomas Kuhn, Richard Rorty and Michel Foucault, (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010) believe that some universals do exist, and they further suggest that, if a realist approach is adopted, then knowledge is objective and is positivist in nature and results in data collection in a deductive scientific and quantifiable way, the approach used in quantitative research studies (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Silverman, 2005). If a nominalist, naturalistic, or a constructivist ontological approach, is adopted, knowledge is considered anti-positivist, and is considered *'personal, subjective and unique'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p7). This approach is then described as '*interpretivism'* (Merriam, 2009, p9).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p8) argue that, historically, a *'subordinate status'* was given to qualitative researchers who were considered *'soft scientists....fiction writers...who had no way of verifying their truth statements'* (ibid). Others suggested that qualitative approaches *'required sophisticated and sensitive skills'* (Chisnall, 1986, p147), based on inductive logic where understanding and patterns or theory emerge from the study (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p14). Whichever approach is adopted, researchers believe there is a scientific positivist, objectivist, deductive approach, offering *'singular or universal truth'* (ibid); or a non-positivist inductive approach with *'multiple relative truths'* (ibid). Multiple truths that form an inter-connected whole picture as in the subjectivist/interpretivist approach; and the approach adopted for this study. A realist uses a pragmatist approach, which is a mixture of the other two approaches (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The qualitative approach adopted for this study enabled me to link more closely to those who are being researched in order to provide a better perspective of the lives of those being researched.

5.17 Qualitative Study

As previously outlined, in order to discover the views of individuals, I performed a qualitative, inductivist study, which, I thought would bring me closer to the experiences of the Indian respondents, and allow me to explore their views and perceptions in more depth. The approach I chose was a non-statistical quantification method, which, as Strauss & Corbin (1998), argue, enables '*research about persons' lives, lived experience, behaviours, emotions......and cultural phenomena'* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p11). Other researchers suggest that *'all qualitative researchers are philosophers in that 'universal sense in which...human beings are guided by highly abstract principles'* (Bateson, 1972, p320, in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p22). Denzin & Lincoln (2005) also suggest that these abstract principles mix ideas about ontology and epistemology and suggest that ontology seeks to understand *'What kind of being is the human being?*' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p22). It is defined by Crotty (2003, p10) as '*the study of being'....* or, *'what is'*...or... as '*the structure of reality'*. Merriam argues that it is '*what one believes is the nature of reality'* (Merriam, 2009, p8). Epistemology determines '*What is the relationship between the enquirer and the known?*' (ibid); that is, the nature or the foundations of knowledge, i.e. *'what it means to know'* (Crotty, 2003, p10).

The framework I have adopted explains how I have interpreted the world i.e. the 'net' that I have used to capture the data and my findings; '*The net that contains the researcher's ontological, epistemological and methodological premises'* Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p22), or, as Creswell (2007, p37) refers to it, the '*theoretical lens'* through which the researcher operates. This is 'my paradigm'.

The '*conceptual framework'* Silverman (2005, p379) argues, informs the way in which I have understood the phenomena I am studying, and how I have performed the research, and, how I have interpreted the results (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The interpretivist paradigm suggests that meanings are developed when people engage with the world (Crotty, 2003), and that this is a paradigm which implies that there are *'multiple local and specific constructed realities to be found'* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p165) in the experiences of the respondents. The paradigm I adopted for this study is, therefore, anti-positivist, and is not a collection of objective knowledge, but is considered, '*personal, subjective and unique'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p7). It is subjectivist, or, as previously highlighted, an interpretivist or constructivist epistemology (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Crotty, 2003; Merriam, 2009).

These views explain how I relate to the world, and how my paradigm has resulted in my choice of qualitative methodology and methods; how the data has been obtained through my choice of questions, and how the data was evaluated and used, which, is focused on the relativistic world of reviewing individual and particular behavior. This type of research may be termed *'emic',* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p12) or *'ideographic'* (Burrell & Morgan, (1979) in Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007, p8) as it gives a specific focus to the '*particular and individual*' (ibid) cases. It provides an inside perspective, which aims to provide *'rich descriptions of the social world',* with attention directed to the specifics of a particular case (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p12). Anthropologists, Ferraro & Andreatta (2010, p86) suggest that postmodernist ethnographers who use an emic approach, relinquish sole authorship and adopt a more collaborative style to their studies to include *'the voice of the research subjects themselves'*, thus allowing '*meaning and interpretation to emerge'* (ibid) from the dialogue. Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p12) also highlight that *'quantitative etic researchers'*, do not produce rich descriptions '*because such detail interrupts the process of developing generalisations.'*

The following section will outline how this study developed from my qualitative paradigm, to provide rich and thick descriptive explanations of the context of those researched, and of the respondents within that context. Data in the form of quotations has been used in a later chapter to support the findings of the study for the reader (Merriam, 2009), and to give the participants a voice in this study. The design of the study may be described as *'emergent and flexible, responsive to changing conditions of the study in progress'* (ibid, p16).

This can be seen in the research process that was adopted, where the study began in the UK with focus groups of Indian postgraduate students, followed by face-to-face semi-structured interviews which were carried out in India, and finally a further set of semi-structured interviews which were carried out in the UK, as a follow up to the findings in India. The next section will outline the qualitative methodology that was adopted from this interpretivist paradigm, or framework, to investigate *'reality'* (Silverman, 2005, p96).

5.18 Qualitative Methodology

The qualitative methodology of this research study, or what Denzin & Lincoln term, the research strategy, that is the *'strategy of enquiry'* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p23), is *'a way of thinking about and studying social reality'* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p4). This *'basic qualitative/interpretive study'* (Merriam, 2009, p22) is, as Merriam suggests, a '*common form of qualitative study'* (ibid), and it is often used in fields, such as education and business, to access experiences and interactions of individuals and groups, (Barbour, 2007); hence, its suitability for this research study. The following quotation from Merriam (2009, p22) highlights the rationale for choosing to adopt this particular methodology:

> *'The most common 'type' of qualitative research is a basic interpretive study. One does a qualitative research study 'not' a phenomenological, grounded theory, narrative analysis, or critical or ethnographic study. Over the years, I have struggled with how to label such a study using such words as 'generic, basic, and 'interpretive'. Since all qualitative research is interpretive, I have come around to proffering labeling this type of study as 'basic qualitative study'.*

Meaning has, as Merriam argues, been constructed from the data to uncover how individuals, as in this case, Indian postgraduates, have made sense of their lives and experiences. This study aims to understand: *'how people interpret their experiences. How they construct their worlds'* and *'What meaning they attribute to their experiences'* (ibid, p23).

These characteristics are what Merriam (2009) considers to be true of all qualitative research e.g. ethnography, phenomenology, and grounded theory. However, she also states, that these particular studies have '*additional dimensions'* (ibid, p23). If, for instance, theory is to be built, or constructed, from the data in addition to understanding the phenomenon being studied, a grounded theory approach may be used (Charmaz, 2006; Merriam, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

In my basic qualitative study, however, I wanted to explore the phenomenon under review by using an inductive approach, to develop an understanding about the topics, but not to build substantive theory. Merriam suggests that the term 'grounded theory' is often used indiscriminately when describing other qualitative approaches (ibid). The approach suggested by Merriam (2009) of a 'basic interpretive study', was, I considered, to be the best choice for this empirical research study.

The data obtained from this 'basic interpretive qualitative study' has been carefully analysed to identify recurring themes or patterns:

> *'Findings are these recurring patterns or themes supported by data from which they were derived. The overall data interpretation will be the researchers understanding of the participants' understanding of the phenomenon of interest'.*
> (ibid, p24)

Dey (1993), who appears to reflect Merriam's views, also argues that the core of qualitative analysis lies in the process of *'describing a phenomenon, classifying it, and seeing how our concepts interconnect'* (Dey, 1993, p30). The inductive approach outlined by Dey (1993) and Merriam (2009) was adopted to analyse and classify the data into different categories, to make it intelligible and meaningful (ibid). However, before the data was analysed, it was collected through different collection methods, which were linked to the methodology. The methods used to collect the data are presented in the next section below and are, as Merriam (2009) argues, linked to the view that the researcher has of the world:

> *'Choosing a qualitative research design presupposes a certain view of the world that in turn defines how a researcher selects a sample, collects data, analyses data, and approaches issues of validity, reliability, and ethics.'*
> (Merriam, 2009, p165)

5.19 Research Design and Methods

A specific, valid and reliable research design determines the different methods and research instruments that are used for data collection (Bryman & Bell, 2003). For this study, there were two phases of data collection which comprised, firstly, of two UK focus groups or, as some authors refer to them, group interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2009), intended for me to listen to my respondents to understand their experiences, their ideas and feelings on my subject area (ibid); and secondly, face-to-face semi-structured interviews in India, the purpose of which was, as outlined by Patton (1990, p290):

> *'The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to understand how the subjects studied see the world, to learn their terminology and judgements, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences.'*

It is suggested that research is a messy and dynamic process, with the researcher moving backwards and forwards in the study and not reduced to set stages (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). To some extent, this was true for this particular research study, as the data I collected took place sequentially over the two main phases. These two phases enabled me to review and reflect on the data I had collected to determine what more was needed to give a clearer picture of my findings. Analysis of the findings from phase one, part one, i.e. the focus groups in the UK, informed the data collection which took place in India. With regard to phase one part two, the face-to-face interviews which took place in India, I considered that after my initial analysis of these findings, they indicated that whilst relevant data had been collected, more data was needed to investigate further the expectations that graduates had of postgraduate programmes; and to explore in more depth any perceived links between postgraduate study, marriageability and dowry.

As I had limited resources i.e. time and money, I, sadly, could not return to India. This therefore resulted in further research having to take place in the UK with Indian nationals, who were, at that time, currently studying postgraduate programmes in London. I took the opportunity to explore further what, or who, had motivated them to study in London and what their views were about the perceived benefits of postgraduate qualifications, and any perceived links they thought there were between higher education and marriageability and dowry.

5.20 The Research Process for this Study

The aim of this research study was, as outlined above, to collect data from Indian nationals to discover meaning in the data from the respondents' own accounts. As Richards (2009, p33) suggests:

> *'making qualitative data is ridiculously easy. The challenge is not so much making data but rather making useful, valuable data, relevant to the question being asked, and reflecting usefully on the process of research'*

In order to answer the research questions, the research process comprised the two phases to collect qualitative data:

<u>Phase One</u> – Part One - Two Focus Groups in the UK (notes were taken, from which, outline ideas/themes were developed)

I used these 'focus groups', or, as they may also be referred to, *'group interview'*, or *'focus group interview'*, or *'focus group discussion'* (Barbour, 2007, p2), as a starting point, to enable me to gain further insight, to become more familiar with the topics under review and to have a better understanding of my Indian respondents. As Morgan (1997) argues, a way to investigate respondents *'thoughts and experiences prior to the first individual interview'* (Morgan, 1997, p23). The focus groups also offered a way to *'illuminate the insiders or emic perspective'* (Barbour, 2007, p33), and they provided me with the opportunity to develop my experience of actually researching Indian nationals. It was also an opportunity to familiarise myself again with Indian dialects and nomenclatures and to explore the respondents views on my research interests. The data from this phase also supported the development of my topic guide for the face-to-face semi-structured individual interviews in India. Bogdan & Biklen (1992) argue that focus groups are useful research methods to gain insight for follow up individual interviews.

Whilst I had cultural competence gained from my experience of teaching Indian students and interviewing Indian students for recruitment purposes in India, I had not performed a research study on Indian nationals, nor had I carried out any research in India before; hence, the added benefit of this focus group interpretive approach, as a preliminary stage to the study.

Phase One - Part Two – face-to-face semi-structured individual interviews in Delhi India using my topic guide. Interviews were recorded, where the respondents agreed, and notes were also taken. The interviews were used to collect data to understand the experiences and views of the respondents. This phase comprised the people who had completed their postgraduate study to determine their expectations, their outcomes and their perceptions of added benefits from postgraduate study.

Phase Two – Further face-to-face semi-structured individual interviews, using a different semi-structured topic guide, were undertaken in the UK to obtain more data on the students' expectations of their study and to explore if there were any perceived links between foreign postgraduate business education, marriageability and dowry. Interviews were recorded, when respondents allowed and notes were taken. These were current students studying a postgraduate programme in London.

The steps in the qualitative research process followed those outlined in Figure 5.2 on the next page.

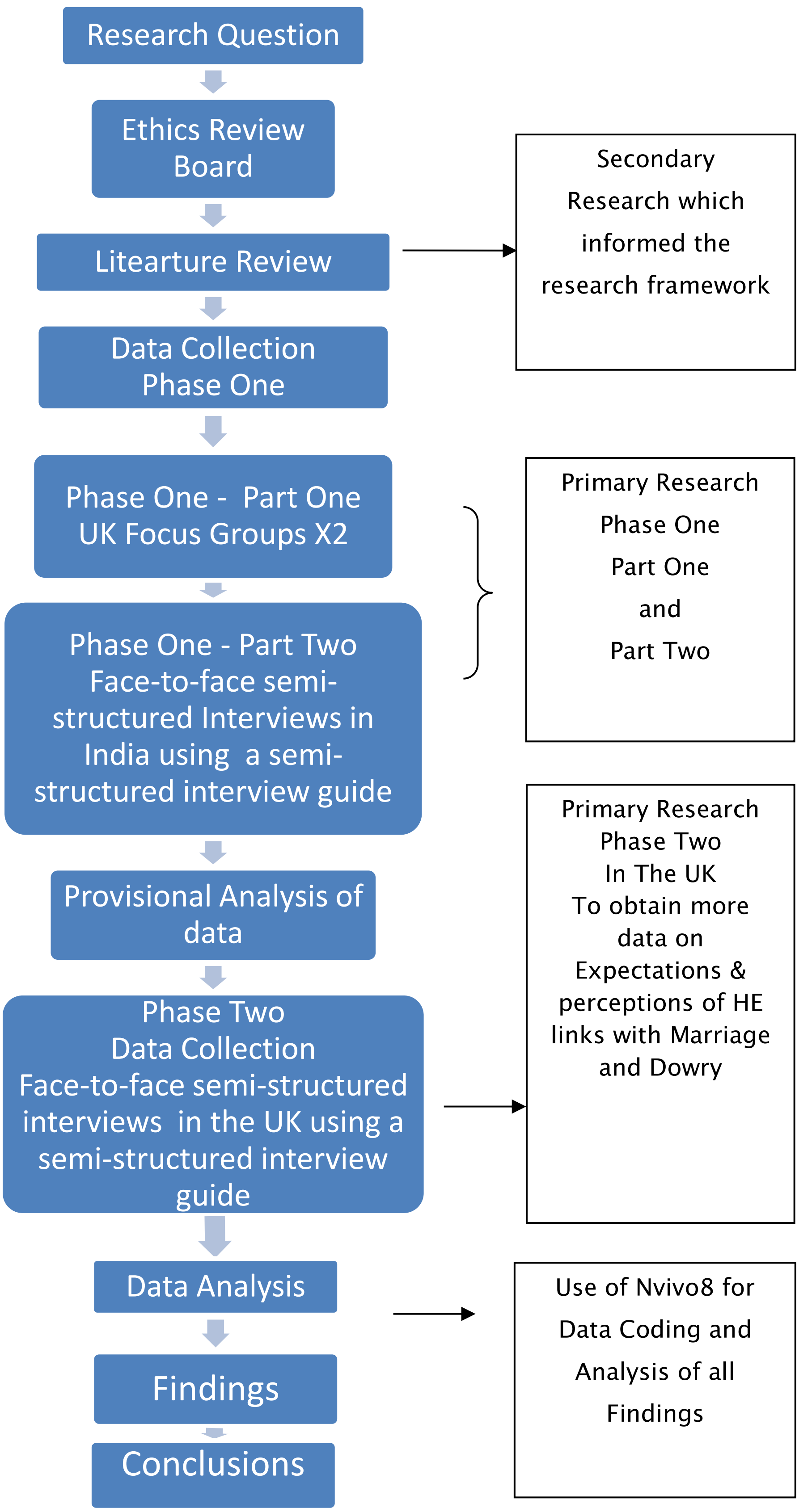

Figure 5.2 The Research Process for this Study. (Source: the author; adapted from Bell, 2005)

5.21 Research Process and Methods of Data Collection

Following a review of secondary sources of literature these were the two phases of primary research which were undertaken.

Phase One – Primary Research Data Collection Methods – two parts to this.
Phase One - Part One - two focus groups in the UK
Phase One – Part Two – face-to-face interviews in Delhi India

Phase One - Part One - two focus groups in the UK
The purpose of the focus groups in my study was, as previously outlined, to elicit responses from a target group of respondents in a relaxed environment, in order to determine how they perceived and understood the various topics I wished to explore. Silverman suggests that '*focus groups prior to interviews can help to clarify the issues you wish to raise*' (Silverman, 2010, p 197). Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, (2005, p903) also suggest that *'focus groups often produce data that are seldom produced through individual interviewing and observation, and that results in especially powerful interpretive insights'.* Kamberelis & Dimitriadis (2005) further suggest, that focus groups enable researchers to observe social interaction between groups of respondents, and from shared cultural backgrounds (Barbour, 2007), which, in this study were Indian business postgraduates. This provides, what Callaghan (2005) suggests are *'valuable insights into the construction of meanings'* (cited in Barbour, 2007, p39), where carefully selected groups can provide the researcher with what Barbour (2007) argues is:

> *'knowledge which embodies the "habitus" of the wider community. The term "habitus" was coined by Bourdieu and refers to "dispositions" or lenses through which individuals view the world, which are "socially constituted" and "acquired" (Bourdieu, 1990)'.*
> (Bourdieu, 1990 in Barbour, 2007, p39)

Historically, it has been suggested that focus groups, or group interviews, were used by social scientists in the 1920s and 1930s (Morgan, 1997; Krueger & Casey, 2009), and, during World War II they were used to investigate the effects of propaganda on the population. Focus groups have been closely linked with marketing research from the 1950s, (Morgan, 1997; Barbour, 2007), the techniques of which I was familiar with, firstly as a marketing student and subsequently as a lecturer in marketing. Chisnall (1986, pp148-149) referred to these focus groups, as *'group depth interviews'* or as a specialist form of *'extended creativity groups (ECGs)'*, which were used for consumer research, product design and advertising campaigns, and to explore values, motives and attitudes (ibid; Krueger and Casey, 2009). The purpose of this type of focus group has also been used in social research to *'promote self-disclosure'* (Krueger and Casey, 2009, p4), and to gather information which highlights *'similarities and differences in the participants opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching any conclusions'* (Morgan, 1997, p10). They offer a chance to explore *'topics about which little is known'* (Krueger 1993, p3), using participants who have *'something in common with each other, or something which the researcher is interested in – for example lifestyle circumstance or condition'* (Parker & Tritter, 2006, p24).

They were also often used by marketers to support the development of questionnaires for large scale quantitative surveys (Chisnall, 1986; Flick, 2009; Morgan, 1997). A qualitative focus group may have been used in marketing research to explore further the target consumer group's perceptions; their words/expressions and views would then be used for further research on larger groups. Morgan (1997) also suggests that, generally, focus groups, when compared with individual interviews, provide *'less depth and detail about opinions and experiences of any given participant'* (ibid, p10). It is suggested that the method has many strengths which stem from the focus of the researcher to concentrate on the main topics of interest, and the interactions within the group, which may provide insight into *'complex behaviors and motivations'* (ibid, p13, p15). A weakness of focus groups, however, may be that the group produces a type of *'group think'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p373), where some members of the group may be influenced by what others say and how they say it, with some members withholding information which they may only divulge in one to one interviews; thus a benefit of further face-to-face individual interviews. Some group members may be highly involved in the discussions and the moderator may have to work hard to control the group interactions (Morgan, 1997). My experience as a lecturer teaching groups of international students has given me the awareness and ability to cope with these situations and with other factors which need to be addressed in the conduct of both class room activities and in focus group discussions. Some of these factors are outlined by Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p374) and are as follows:

- *'How to divide your attention as interviewer and to share out the interviewees responses – giving them all a chance to speak?*
- *How to handle people who are too quiet, too noisy, who monopolise the conversation, who argue or disagree with each other?*
- *How to make people be quiet or stop talking while being polite?*
- *How to handle differences in how talkative people are?*
- *How to arrange turn-taking (if appropriate)?*
- *How to handle a range of very different responses to the same question?*
- *What to do if the more experienced people always answer first in the group interview?*
- *As an interviewer be vigilant to pick up on people who are trying to speak'*

I chose to use focus groups in my research context, as suggested by Bogdan & Biklen (1992) Morgan (1997) and, as this was, in my opinion, a way to strengthen my qualitative research study, by further developing my research skills and knowledge of Indian nationals and in a research situation before going to India.

The focus groups were a form of simultaneous group interviewing/ discussion, where discussions took place between the moderator and the group (Thomas, 2008). They were informal and mostly unstructured, and as previously mentioned, I used them to gather opinions and views at the exploratory stage of my research study (Flick, 2009). These sessions were used to provide a window into Indian society, and to give me a better understanding of the '*language and culture'* of the Indian respondents in a research situation, as highlighted by (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p654, cited in

Silverman, 2006, p110). Thomas (2008) and Shah (2004) also suggest that in interviewing situations i.e. in focus groups, it is important for the interviewer to have an understanding of the *'interviewees' culture',* which has *'great significance for all phases of interviewing including access, conducting interview/s and making meaning'* Shah (2004, p556).

As previously mentioned, my knowledge of India and Indian nationals, and links with Indian postgraduates, was therefore extremely valuable in gaining access and for understanding the participants' culture. I also considered that running two focus groups would enable me to reinforce my findings and become even closer to the culture of the Indian respondents, i.e. to improve further, my cultural competence (Moule, 2012), so that I would be better prepared for my face-to-face interviews in India.

5.22 Focus Group Sample

A purposive sample was used for each of the focus groups i.e. a chosen group of respondents was selected, in which the processes being studied would be most prevalent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In this case, Indian respondents, male and female, who had graduated one year plus, from their postgraduate programmes. The respondents mostly lived in a town close to my home and therefore it was easy for me to travel to meet them by car.
Other respondents lived in London and they could travel by train or by car to the town close to my home within 40 minutes. One of my male respondents who lived in the town, agreed to act as my UK administrator, making the arrangements for the other respondents (who had the characteristics that I required) to become part of my focus groups. He used what Shah (2004, p558) refers to as his *'collective social-network'* in his cultural context i.e. his Indian postgraduate environment, which helped to ensure I had the postgraduate respondents I needed for my focus groups. I chose two or three mutually convenient dates and times, and he made the arrangements for the meetings; these dates changed several times in order to accommodate the respondents' availability.

I made him aware that I needed to run two focus groups, so that I could become more familiar with the respondents views on my areas of interest.

He offered to use the living room in the house that he shared with other Indian graduates for my research sessions. I thought that this was ideal, as this met the requirements of an 'informal venue', as recommended by Kruegar & Casey, (2009). I also thought this would help to reduce any concerns which may have been raised from being in a different social environment e.g. if I had used my family home. I thought that the graduates would feel more at ease and comfortable for these focus group in their own more familiar surroundings. Shah (2004, p560) highlights the views of Basch (1987, p433) who suggests that what is often needed is *'a good setting that will encourage a trusting and comfortable and secure climate'*. This is what I aimed to provide.

My UK administrator, as I will refer to him for confidentiality reasons, helped me not only to 'secure the respondents', but also he could introduce me to those who did not know me; or to remind me of the names of those whom I had recruited one or two years ago, thus re-establishing our relationship, but now me as researcher and the individuals as my respondents. I no longer had what might be regarded as 'power', in the sense that I was no longer interviewing the respondents for a place at the college. Rather, they had finished their study and we were now all on more of an equal footing. I was now the 'research student', studying Indian postgraduates.

In order to understand different cultures, the widely used studies of the psychologist Hofstede (2012) suggest that *'Culture is the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category of people from others',* and he considers that there are four dimensions of national culture which researchers should be aware of. He presents an interesting contrast between studies of the national cultural differences of India and the UK, factors which I consider also helped in the understanding of differences between the two cultures, for this cross cultural research e.g. the focus groups and interviews:

	India	*UK*
'Power Distance Index (PDI)	*77*	*35*
Individualism versus Collectivism (IDV)	*48*	*89*
Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS)	*56*	*66*

Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)	*40*	*35*
Long Term Orientation (LTO)	*61*	*25*

PDI - India

'India scores high on this dimension, 77, indicating an appreciation for hierarchy and a Top–Down Structure in society and Organizations. If one were to encapsulate the Indian attitude, one could use the following words and phrases: dependent on the boss or the power holder for direction, acceptance of un-equal rights between the power-privileged and those who are lesser down in the pecking order.

PDI - UK

'At 35 Britain sits in the lower rankings of PDI – i.e. a society that believes that inequalities amongst people should be minimized. Research shows PD index lower amongst the higher class in Britain than amongst the working classes. The PDI score at first seems incongruent with the well-established and historical British class system and its exposes one of the inherent tensions in the British culture – between the importance of birth rank on the one hand and a deep seated belief that where you are born should not limit how far you can travel in life. A sense of fair play drives a belief that people should be treated in some way as equals.'

IDV - India

'India, with a score of 48 is a society with clear collectivistic traits. This means that there is a high preference for belonging to a larger social framework in which individuals are expected to act in accordance to the greater good of one's defined in-group(s). In such situations, the actions of the individual are influenced by various concepts such as, the opinion of one's family, extended family, neighbours, work group and other such wider social networks that one has some affiliation toward. For a collectivist, to be rejected by one's peers, or to be thought lowly of by one's extended and

> *immediate in-groups, leaves him or her rudderless, and with a sense of intense emptiness.'*
>
> *<u>IDV – UK</u>*
>
> *'At a score of 89 the UK is amongst the highest of the individualistic scores, beaten only by some of the commonwealth countries it spawned i.e. Australia and the USA.*
>
> *The British are a highly individualistic and private people. Children are taught from an early age to think for themselves and to find out what their unique purpose in life is and how they uniquely can contribute to society. The route to happiness is through personal fulfillment'.*

These insights are useful for understanding the different cultures and particularly so in research situations, and as highlighted by Thomas (2008, p83):

> *'the understanding of relationships: 'between human behavior and the cultural contexts in which it has developed and is now displayed' (Georgas, van de Vijver and Berry, 2004, 75). Although, largely quantitative in nature (Georgas, van de Vijver and Berry, 2004), such studies provide useful starting points for exploring focus groups.'*

This information provided an additional interesting insights for me into Indian culture and especially so, as I wanted where possible, to study the graduates in their own environment, both in the UK (focus group interviews) and in India for the face-to-face interviews. I realised, and as highlighted by Shah (2004, p552), *'that there are possible misunderstanding and bias in every interview situation'*, and *'which increase with additional variants such as culture.*' (Examples of Indian Culture, are also outlined in Chapter three of this study, and are related to attitudes, beliefs and values.)

Shah (2004) further suggests *'that the challenge to research is to communicate meaningfully across these divides'* (Shah, 2004, p549), to prevent cultural misunderstandings. This is a challenge which may also be faced by Western researchers, even when studying their own societies, this may also be due to the cultural and social class differences which may exist, and the *'creative and contextually sensitive ways in which people make sense of the world'* (Hammersley, 2008, p23). I considered that, with my knowledge of, and past experience of, Indian nationals, this would help me to cross this divide, to establish a good rapport, to understand their cultural perspectives, and to have greater empathy in understanding their responses.

The data from the focus groups was used to provide a basis for the development of the semi-structured interview guide which I intended to use for the face-to-face interviews in India. The benefit of the guide, as I saw it, would be to help to remind me of the topics that I wished to explore with each respondent but would not constrain me if the conversation moved to a new topic.

5.23 Phase One – Focus Groups in the UK

Two focus groups were carried out in the UK using respondents who had graduated from either my previous UK business school, a lower ranked UK university college or from another lower ranked university, with one respondent from a middle ranked university in London. In each group, the respondents all knew at least one other member (normally more than one), and appeared comfortable and relaxed with each other, even if they had only met one member for the first time. Morgan (1997) suggests that respondents that know each other may be more productive, when using this research method, although care should be taken so that views are not taken for granted within the group.

The focus groups took place about two weeks apart when everyone was free on a particular day (several changes were made) during March and April 2009.

Focus Group One: - 6 male - Masters business graduates most of whom were MBAs; one graduate was from an MA International Business with Finance (MAIB).

Focus Group Two: - 5 male 1 female - Masters business graduates all of whom were MBAs. The administrator allowed me to use his living room but did not take part in the second focus group; he went out and rejoined us later for drinks.

It is worth noting that several female graduates were invited to the focus groups, but, sadly, they did not all turn up for the sessions; this was despite telephone reminders and reassurances by the administrator on my behalf regarding the conduct of the data collection method.

My experience of the Indian community in the past has always suggested that they have a relaxed attitude to meetings and time keeping, so managing to get the respondents in one place at one time was a great bonus especially with further reference to Hofstede's views:

> '*time is not linear, and thus not as important as to western societies …… typically forgive lack of punctuality, a changing game-plan based on changing reality and a general comfort with discovering the fated path as one goes along rather than playing to an exact plan*' (Hofstede, 2011).

After I had explained my research topic to the members of the focus group and outlined my research question, I ensured that everyone signed my consent form. I also introduced some ground rules suggesting that we did not all speak at once, and that they should try to avoid side-chatting to each other in order to keep the discussion going. I also asked if they would refrain, if at all possible, from using their mobiles. I was nervous at the beginning and I hoped the session would go well.

I endeavoured to follow a logical and orderly process, starting each of the group interviews with broad topics which were used for general discussion to establish inter-personal rapport (Zeller, 1993), asking for instance: how they all were? Had they had a good day? Did they have any problems getting to the town that evening? My aim was to explore what the respondents' views were about the following broad topics on my interview guide, probing any areas of interest as I thought necessary:

Broad Topics

1. What/who had motivated them to come to the UK for postgraduate study?
2. What expectations did they have when they applied?
3. What their experiences were in the UK e.g. finding part time jobs?
4. What their career outcomes were now they had finished their course?
5. To discuss if they planned to go back to India for a management job?
6. To discuss if they would get married and if their parents would influence the choice of bride?
7. What their views were about the adverts in the personal columns in Indian newspapers, which stated an individual's higher education qualifications for marriage?
8. What their views were of dowry?

I also wanted to explore any other topics, if they emerged from their discussions.

Morgan (1997, p15) notes that focus groups may be used for less common topics; in this case, dowry. By pre-testing the topic, I hoped to determine if the topic was appropriate for further exploration. I did ask my agent in India by telephone, if he thought my topics were suitable, including questions about dowry, and he thought they would be fine for the graduates to consider.

I could not, as is suggested by Zeller (1993) give my respondents time to mull over my areas of interest, as the administrator invited my respondents whenever he could manage to get hold of them, which was, more often than not, at short notice. However, I did not think this to be a problem, and I thought this actually helped to produce responses which were, more personal and more spontaneous.

5.24 Ethics Related to the Focus Groups

When planning research it is important to consider any ethical concerns, as well as other constraints, such as time and budget (Morgan, 1997). For each member of the focus group, I, as the group moderator, made sure, as previously highlighted, that informed consent was sought to guarantee that all participants understood my research focus, enabling individuals to: *'choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decision'* (Diener & Crandall, 1978, cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p52). Participants were also made aware that they were free to leave at any time they wanted to, and issues concerning invasion of privacy were also addressed. In response to this, the respondents chose not to have their names recorded on my note paper only numbers which related to the various speakers. There was also no sound recording during the sessions and only notes were taken. I also informed the groups that any discussions which might result in any sensitive issues being raised would be protected. These were important issues to discuss if I wanted the respondents to feel relaxed and thus able to share, their knowledge and their experiences with me. I also ensured their anonymity by keeping their signed consent forms in my home filing cabinet (To be destroyed post study). This approach conformed fully with the requirements of my supervisor and the university research procedures. The members of the group were offered a summary of the research findings if they wished to request one at the end of the study. It is, however, important for researchers to note, that when using focus groups, it is *'difficult (if not impossible) to ensure that the participants themselves will adhere to strict stipulations'* (Parker & Tritter, 2006, p33), regarding any agreed ethical issues. I reminded both groups that what was said by individuals would remain confidential and I asked if they would also observe this practice. I said that I would summarise my findings from my notes and these would be used to develop my interview guide for use in India.

5.25 Process of the Focus Groups

In order to illicit responses, I developed a 'focus group interview guide', based on the topics which I previously outlined, and which I used to initiate the views and comments of the group members, or, if the discussions stalled or went in a non-research direction, to help bring the discussions back on track. I endeavoured not to lead the respondents, but, rather, to be relatively unstructured and to let the discussions flow as suggested by Krueger & Casey (2000). Both sessions lasted for nearly an hour and both went very well. The respondents appeared relaxed and added their comments as the discussions developed. Concepts related to dowry were actually raised by the group themselves and before I reached the item on the list of topics. This subject area appeared not to raise the concerns that I thought it might and was not a taboo area for discussion. One respondent even suggested that another respondent's father would demand a bigger dowry, now that his son had got his MBA from the UK. This was found amusing by the other members of the group who continued to tease him in Hindi. Dowry was further discussed suggesting that it did happen, and was then debated by the respondents as to how much it happened in cities or the villages; others argued that it did happen and everywhere in India.

5.26 Findings from the Focus Groups

Normally the findings from the study would be found in the findings chapter. However, I feel that it is important to highlight some of the points which were raised from my notes from the focus groups which were subsequently used in the development of the semi-structured guide for use in India and the UK, the data from which was analysed in this study. It is important to note that these findings tend to capture the majority of the respondents views (Parker & Tritter, 2006), and are a somewhat '*over-simplistic presentation of complex discussions*', which merely highlight the content of the focus groups and not necessarily the values of the individuals who took part in the focus groups (Barbour, 2007, p130). Flick (2009, p205) argues that analysis of focus group data '*is often very pragmatic – statements rather than extensive interpretations*'. He further argues that they are also the focus of the analysis. In this case the findings were used to develop the semi-structured questionnaire/interview guide.

It is interesting to note that data elicited from the discussions was similar from both groups. This may be described as what Krueger & Casey (2009, p21) describe as '*saturation*', as the data from the second group did not really develop any new ideas. I considered that I had gained a great deal of experience and knowledge from the two focus groups and I decided that it would not be useful or indeed easy to obtain more respondents, to perform more focus group sessions. I combined the responses from the two sessions into the following categories/themes which '*reflect what was shared in the* *groups'* (Krueger & Casey, 2009, p115). I attempted to avoid selective perceptions by reviewing my notes and by using my memory recall of the two groups (ibid, p118). The notes were those that I had developed as the discussions advanced. The following provides a summary of my findings:

What Motivated Respondents to study in the UK?

Overview of the patterns/findings on particular themes:

a) Respondents agreed that being in, or close to, London was important.
b) They wanted to move out from home to get 'exposure'. (This appeared to be the cultural experience of being in the UK.)
c) Parents and friends influenced their decision to come to UK for study.
d) The agent influenced their decision to go to their particular institutions.
e) Prior qualifications were accepted by the institution for the Masters degree, which were not good enough for some other UK universities.
f) One respondent referred to the marketing information from the agent and the recruiter about coming to the UK for study. (This was in reference to me! A comment which made everyone laugh.)
g) The Masters Business Programme (MBA) from this UK institution, seemed a good course to get a good job after studying.
h) Good low price from institution so they and their families could afford it.

Note

It should be noted that as the College had few Indian students, my institution had offered a 'low-price MBA opportunity' to attract students to the UK. The lower price was a marketing mix factor, which was noted by (Binsardi, & Ekwulugo, 2003) as an important motivation factor for attracting international students to the UK.

Part time jobs

Respondents were happy that they could get part-time jobs in the area to support their study. (Once again, a factor noted as important in the study by Binsardi & Ekwulugo, (2003)) The respondents also explained that they had expected to get a management job from studying the Masters programme, and had hoped to settle in the UK, earn a high wage and then return to India to get a good job.

Experiences of Studying in UK

Overview of the findings:

a) Respondents said that the UK was expensive and that study was more difficult than they had expected.
b) They said they had found it difficult to find part time jobs to pay their rent and to send money to their family in India.
c) They only secured jobs working in MacDonald's, betting shops, care homes, and supermarkets.
d) They suggested course content was appropriate, but the dissertation was difficult, they suggested they needed more help from lecturers.
e) The College did not seem interested in helping them with jobs, or giving any career advice when students finished their course.
f) They said there were no college alumnus for networking and respondents suggested that they had their college friends as informal social networks.

Postgraduate Outcomes in the UK

Overview of the findings:

a) Respondents said they found it difficult to find the management jobs in the UK that they had hoped for. They suggested that this might have been due to the reluctance of UK employers wanting to become involved in requesting work permits. (This comment resulted in one of the respondents highlighting an area of discussion that I had not expected.)

Unexpected findings

Some of the respondents informed me that some of the Indian students they knew had paid significant sums of money for illegal work permits and the people who had supplied these work permits had since been arrested and had been sent to prison. They also informed me that those who had been involved no longer had their passports as these had been confiscated by the Border Agency. These graduates were waiting for a response from the Home Office regarding their status. It appeared that these graduates were stuck in the UK trying to get a job where ever they could and wanted to go home but could not do so.

b) Most of the respondents found that they could not secure a management job, even if they had a work permit. They suggested that employers thought they were not allowed to work in the UK, or that employers just could not be bothered to fill in the necessary paper work.
c) Respondents appeared disappointed with the outcome of their postgraduate study, and all were still trying to find management jobs.

There was, however, one success story. One of the respondents following graduation from his MA in finance had secured a position in a top London bank and had achieved his expectations thus far.
Lots of graduates the respondents knew had returned home to India, as they were unhappy about being unable to secure any management employment in the UK.

Higher Education Related to Marriage and Dowry

Overview of the findings:

a) Respondents suggested that everyone they knew must have a Masters to get married. Ten years ago an undergraduate degree was required, but, now, a Masters was needed for a good job and for a good marriage.
b) Some of the respondents suggested that the parents of one of the focus group members would find him a good wife now that he was qualified as a Masters graduate.
c) They further suggested that the UK qualification had recognition in India and that it would help them to get them into a better society.
d) Arranged marriages were most common.
e) Some argued that they would be happy if their parents were happy, so they did not mind an arranged marriage.

f) The respondents said that most people want a well-educated groom/bride.

g) The respondents agreed that they did not mind if their 'wife worked', if she wanted to.

h) They also suggested that the MBA is the 'wow factor' for an Indian marriage.

i) A foreign degree they suggested held a bigger 'wow factor', and would secure more dowry for the son and family.

j) Respondents agreed that parents were the ones who would give or arrange the dowry package – if a boy had a UK MBA, it usually meant that he would have a good salary and the bride would not work. As the girls' parents wanted to ensure their daughters were happy, they tended to give a good dowry package to the boy's family to secure a successful marriage.

k) If dowry came, they said 'that would be good, but often it was not asked for'. Dowry they suggested took the form of gifts, or a car, jewelry or money; it depended on the 'society the family is from'. (Society here can mean caste or social group.)

Would Respondents Return to India

Overview of the findings:

Most respondents indicated that eventually, yes, when they had earned some money they wanted to return to India and to get married in India.

Interestingly, many of the respondents stated that they wanted a management job, but there was no mention of the 'skills' that they had gained from the Masters programme. The UK postgraduate degree appeared to me, before the focus groups, to be regarded as a 'commodity product by the students' i.e. UK higher education purchased at the lowest price, to meet the objective of securing a future job and for improving their recognition in India. However, the outcome of securing a better job did not appear to have met their expectations.

Some of the themes from the focus groups were developed into an interview guide for my interviews with other Indian nationals in India.

These were as previously mentioned, respondents who had graduated from postgraduate programmes in India, or from the UK, and had worked, or were seeking work, in India. The aim of the face-to-face interviews was to determine if the outcomes for other graduates in India had met their expectations, and to determine if there were any other perceived benefits of study abroad e.g. for marriage or dowry.

5.27 Problems Encountered with the Focus Groups

The focus groups were overall, in my opinion, very successful and they enabled me to explore Indian graduates' views, in order to develop a better understanding of the motivations, experiences and perceived outcomes of Indian graduates in the UK (Morgan, 1997). They also, enabled me to develop my guide for India. However, there were some difficulties which I encountered, difficulties which Krueger & Casey (2009) indicate that researchers should be aware of, but which, despite my best preparation and experience of Indian nationals were unexpected in an interview situation. These were as follows:

1. In Indian culture, mobile phone calls are taken regardless of the situation, and despite my request for the respondents not to use their mobile phones unless they were urgent calls. All calls, it seemed, were important and had to be taken.
2. Trying to control one member of the group, who was quite vocally dominant, in order to give the others a chance to speak was also difficult at times. (This was in the first focus group.) I had carefully to bring other group members into the discussion with a 'thank you for that, it was very interesting, what view did you have respondent x?'

Krueger & Casey (2009, p100) refer to this type of respondent as the *'self-appointed expert'.*

At times, I had to redirect the discussion to ensure that the participants did not go off track. The focus group guide helped me to keep the respondents talking about my areas of interest and not about the football results, as I suggested we moved onto a new topic.

3. One participant arrived with some Indian food and some drinks after the first focus group had started, so everything paused while they chatted to him and we ate the food. Surprisingly, this actually helped the group to relax more and he joined in the discussions, so, in the end, it was a benefit, but the focus group went on for a longer time than I had expected. I took wine and soft drinks for the second focus group. The administrator said he would also arrange a curry.

The focus groups were only possible to carry out after the respondents' working day had finished, so they were held from 22.00 onwards, when all the respondents had eventually turned up. As Morgan (1997, p33) suggests, focus groups are neither *'quick nor cheap',* and I had to spend a great deal of telephone time to ensure they were arranged by the administrator and ran successfully.

4. I had to remind the group to speak English, as at times they changed to Hindi to tell a joke, which was not possible for me to follow.

Shah (2004) suggests that inter-cultural communications competence in a language is not enough for cross-cultural research and what is required is cultural knowledge to communicate and understand. I did not have the time to learn Hindi, but had endeavoured to research and understand in more depth the history and culture of India through my literature review. These focus groups were used not only to elicit the views of the respondents, but also to add to my existing cultural knowledge of performing research with Indian nationals. I thought that the focus groups would enable me to gain added experience before performing the face-to-face interviews in India and would help to reduce any anxiety and stress which might, as Shah (2004, p564) suggests for some researchers, *'hamper understanding'*.

This part of the research study was therefore very useful. I had the opportunity to explore and observe my respondents' culture and to be more familiar with their accents and their humour, and I felt that the whole experience helped me to prepare my guide for the next phase of my research, the face-to-face interviews in India.

Cross-Cultural Issues

It is very important to be aware of cross-cultural issues, as Shah (2004, p561-562) suggests, that *'interviewers engage with data from a particular positioning and the making of meaning is worked from that subjectivity... assigning meaning'.* I feel that my, all be it, limited shared frame of reference, was sufficient to provide a good presentation of the findings and analysis of the data, especially as the discussions were in English and with postgraduates with a reasonably good command of English. I did not feel that I was seen, as Shah (2004) further suggests, as an *'outsider-researcher …. a social intruder'* (ibid, p565). However, in this instance, possibly my background experience of Indian culture, an appreciation of cultural sensitivity and a *'shared understanding'* (ibid, p568), and my ability to communicate well even across cultures, helped me to achieve a good rapport with my respondents in order to obtain their views and to develop my ability to *'hone criticality'* (ibid, 2004, p569) into their lives.

Maybe I was seen, as Thomas (2008) suggests, more as an insider, as I had knowledge of Indian social interaction and their culture, to help them relax and feel comfortable in my presence. I consider that, however, I am perceived by my respondents, I appreciate in my reflexive process that my findings are still subjective and constructed from my own perspective i.e. a white middle-class, Christian, female, and I wonder whether an Indian national, middle class, female, or indeed male, would perceive the findings from the focus groups and interviews differently. Possibly, but this study is from 'my perspective'. If *'race, gender and class matching'* is the only way to do research projects, Bryne (1998, p213) argues that this would indeed restrict all research activities. Data in this case has gained meaning from my *'presentation and interpretation of the information … from a difference-based perspective',* as highlighted by Shah (2004, p561). Shah's view is that *'the insider/outsider debate and its impact on the research process and outcomes is unresolved'* (Shah, 2004, p569), and I hope that my research helps, at the very least, to bring a *'fresh perspective'* (Dimmock, 2002, p37 cited in Shah, 2004, p569), all be it from what some might consider an outsider non-Indian national perspective, but what others may view as from an informed perspective. It appears that Shah (2004) may be using what Lett (2012) argues as the following referring to emic and etic perspectives:

> *'The neologisms "emic" and "etic," were coined by the linguistic anthropologist Kenneth Pike (1954). He suggests that there are two perspectives that can be employed in the study of a society's cultural system.....In both cases, it is possible to take the point of view of either the insider, or the outsider.....the 'emic' perspective focuses on the intrinsic cultural distinctions that are meaningful to the members of a given society .... the native members of a culture are the sole judges of the validity of an 'emic' description, just as the native speakers of a language are the sole judges of the accuracy of a phonemic identification'.*
>
> (Lett, 2012,np)

This is a view which appears to be slightly different from those presented in Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p12), and mentioned earlier in this chapter:

> *'Qualitative investigators think they can get closer to the actor's perspective through detailed interviewing and observation ....*
> *Qualitative researchers are committed to an emic, ideographic, case-based position that directs attention to the specifics of particular cases.'*

I have attempted to provide an 'emic' qualitative approach, but may still be regarded, in Shah's terms, as an outsider researcher, as I am not from the same ethnic background, and, although I understand her views that e.g. *'the social insider is better positioned as a researcher because of his/her knowledge of the relevant patterns of gaining access and making meaning'* (Shah, 2004, p556). I considered that, despite the higher level of complexity that Shah (2004) suggests may exist in cross cultural studies, I could, due to my age and life experience of travelling and working internationally for over twenty years, and the ease I have of relating to and getting on with others, even cross-culturally, obtain data and construct meaning, from my perspective. I believe this to be true, as long as readers of this research were aware of my background when reviewing my *'interpretations and* *conclusions'* to judge its validity and credibility, as noted by Rivas (2012, p499).

Notes

Before the interview guide that was developed from the focus groups was used in India, it was piloted with one of the Indian students in the UK who had not attended the focus group in order to check its meaning and a copy of it was sent to my PhD supervisor, for a critique to determine its level of understanding and acceptability.

As a thank you to my UK administrator for the organization of the focus groups, I gave him my parents unwanted colour television set for the lounge. He seemed to think this was a real bonus for the other occupants of the house, as their TV had broken and they did not have any spare cash to replace it. A successful outcome for all!

5.28 Phase 1 – Part Two – Face-to-Face Interviews in India

> *'The interview method involves questioning or discussing issues with people. It can be a very useful technique for collecting data which would likely not be accessible using techniques such as observation or questionnaires.'*
> (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 2010, p193)

From my informed position, as I have already reflected upon in this methodology chapter, I began the next phase of the study - Phase 1, Part two, the face–to-face semi-structured interviews in Delhi, India.

India is a vast country, and whilst it would have been useful to travel from city to city to see if there were any differences in graduate outcomes, this was financially prohibitive, a problem faced by many researchers, as noted by Phellas, Bloch & Seale (2012). I chose the capital of India because I had links there and, as I soon discovered, arranging interviews was not as easy as I planned, even in one Indian city.

Kvale (1996, p1) argues that *'if you want to know how people understand their world and their life why not talk to them?'*, and he further suggests that the research interview should make the following:

> *'a move away from seeing human subjects as simply manipulable, and data as somehow external to individuals, and towards regarding knowledge as generated between humans often through conversations'* (Kvale, 1996, p11).

This is a view which further supports my choice of research method.

Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p351) also suggest that the interview is used as a way of *'gathering information having direct bearing on the research objectives'*. It is *'a method for accessing attitudes and values'* (Byrne, 2012, p209), and a way to *'explore voices and experiences'* (ibid). Further, the interview is the qualitative research method most commonly used in cross-cultural studies due to its *'ontological and epistemological relevance to the nature of cross-cultural enquiries'* (Shah, 2004, p550). The interview is regarded by other researchers as a good way of generating greater depth from respondents and is often better than questionnaires in providing meaning in contextual situations (Phellas, Bloch & Seale, 2012), an important component in my study.

I chose to go to India as part of my research plan, so that I could speak directly with Indian nationals who had graduated from UK or Indian postgraduate programmes. The aim of this fieldwork as previously explained, was to explore Indian respondents' views about who motivated them to study, their expectations of achieving the credential, their outcomes and any perceived benefits which may be gained from the credentials in Indian society. I had to choose a time to travel which fitted in with my work and my family commitments. This resulted in a gap in the calendar in June/July 2009 to carry out my interviews.

The advantage of interviews is that they are a flexible method for enabling the researcher to listen to verbal communications and to observe non-verbal communication and to explore any areas of interest that arise from the discussions (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 2006; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). It is, as I have already highlighted, also important for researchers when using this method to be aware of the many factors which may influence the respondents' responses, and the analysis of findings e.g. as highlighted by Shah (2004, p553):

> *'gender, personal experience, age, social status, race, ethnicity, (Burgess, 1991, p105; Mirza, 1995; Stanley & Wise, 1990), shared background (Finch, 1984), shared identity (Mac and Ghaill, 1989; Foster, 1994), shared religion (Bhatti, 1995; Basit, 1997; Modood, 1997, Jacobson, 1982), social class/elite (Marshall & Rossman, 1989), peer group (Ozga & Gewirtz, 1993), and many others'*

Some of these factors may have greater impact in cross cultural studies (Shah, 2004), an issue that I have addressed earlier in this methodology chapter. A total of 24 interviews, including 3 telephone discussions with families, took place in India. The respondents are as follows:

List of Respondents

1 International Student Recruitment Agent (male/based in Australia)

2 Indian Management Trainer/lecturers at the hotel where I was staying (notes were taken from discussions at a meeting arranged in the foyer of the hotel).

11 Indian postgraduates who had studied a Masters business degree e.g. MBA or equivalent in India and at various institutions.
3 male respondents – age 25-30 years, 5 male respondents – age 31-34 years.
1 male respondent – age 35-40 years. 2 female respondents – age 25-30 years.

6 Indian postgraduates who had studied a Masters business degree e.g. MBA or MA, at institutions in the UK and returned to India.
2 male respondents age 25-30 years, 1 male – age 31-34 years, 1 male age 35-40 years, 1 male age 51-54 years, 1 female respondent – age 25-30 years.

3 Families - Whilst I would have liked to interview the families in person, this could not be arranged due to timings, or language issues. I did, however, manage to establish three telephone interviews with families which were

arranged by one of my ex-students whom I had taught in London. He knew the families well and he asked them simple questions that I had developed either in Hindi or English, about the benefits and reasons for UK postgraduate education for their children. The telephone discussions lasted only 5-10 minutes in my presence. My ex-student translated their responses for me into English and these were written down. I placed all three responses into one case node for later analysis. I had confidence in the responses he obtained and felt that they represented a summary of the views that the family member (in this case the father) had expressed.
I did not have any concerns about either interpretation or translation of the family respondent answers, as my ex-student was a good English speaker, mature, honest and aware of my research topic. Trust was important in this situation. Had I not have trusted him I would not have used the data in my study. Byrne (2012) highlights the fact that non-verbal cues will be lost through telephone interviews. I considered that it would have been difficult for me to conduct the interviews over the phone in order to develop a rapport and the family member may not have understood my English dialect.

1 Female Programme Manager – this was a dowry interview only. This was an employee of the agent's organization, who was prepared to discuss the concept and issues of dowry with me in more depth.

Discussions were also held with one employment recruitment agent (by phone from the agent's office in Delhi. This was a brief discussion and limited answers were given which added to my background knowledge).

I also met two Indian company directors in the hotel gym on separate occasions. Both of these informal interviews were undertaken as I walked on the exercise machines for about an hour. They both recruited Indian nationals for their companies based in Delhi and other cities, one of these was the HR director for Taj hotels (sadly, although he offered to see me formally, he did not leave his business card to make the appointment). I made a mental note of their views and put them in my diary when I returned to my hotel room.

I also spoke with a group of 4 academics in a private college which was owned by one of the parents of my ex-student. No tape recording was allowed.

These discussions resulted in respondents expressing their views about the topics that I was interested in. However, none of these responses were used in my data analysis; they were only used as additional material to support the interpretation of my findings from the individual interviews, and as a form of triangulation for my study (Hammersley, 2008).

Whilst the term ‘saturation’ is usually applied to positivist studies (Krueger & Casey, 2009; Richardson & Adams St. Pierre, 2005), I did feel that similar perspectives on expectations and on some outcomes, and perceived benefits of postgraduate education, were being expressed from each of my respondents as the study progressed. I was happy at that time that what data I had collected, was appropriate within my time constraints.

However, on review of my data and on reflection, I considered that to develop, support and strengthen my understandings further, more data was needed from Indian respondents about any perceived links between higher education, marriage and dowry; hence, the development of phase two of the research in the UK. I also asked questions about the students’ expectations of the business programme.

5.29 Obtaining a Purposive Sample for the Interviews in India

In order to perform the research study in India, I needed some help to set up my study. I had already informed my Indian friend and former international student recruitment agent, when he had previously visited the UK the year before, of my plans to perform a research study with Indian nationals in India. So, when I contacted him by phone in his main office in Delhi, he suggested that, whenever I chose to go to India, I should use his office in Delhi for my face-to-face interviews. He also offered the use of his secretary for administrative support, to help me to plan and secure my purposive sample of respondents i.e. a selection of respondents central to a study of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

I had thought it highly inappropriate to invite strangers into my hotel room, and, if I had used an interview room in the hotel, I would have had to pay an expensive daily rate. I also considered that the use of his office would provide a safer environment for me interviewing unknown male and female respondents, and it would also be a better environment for the respondents.

I did not think that the hotel would be the type of environment where respondents would feel comfortable; so, as previously noted by Shah (2004, p560), what is often needed is *'a good setting that will encourage a trusting and comfortable and secure climate'.* The office was a busy and noisy recruitment office on the first floor of a building in a suburb of Delhi. Outside the office, men sat about in the dusty environment and an interesting food vendor in a van was positioned close by. (I was advised by my Indian friend not to eat the food they sold) The traffic was noisy and the heat unbearable and this was a typical Delhi office environment which I had experienced in many parts of Delhi and in other cities in India.

Research Plan

The research plan was, as outlined by Bhatt (2012), used to develop my interview schedule for the weeks I was planning to be in India. A plan with my original aim of interviewing ten (male or female), graduates, who had returned from study in any UK institution; and ten graduates (male or female), who had only studied in India. I realised that the percentage of males who study in the UK is higher than female, and so I decided I would be happy if I could at least secure one or two female respondents for my study. (Byrne, 2012). It is always difficult as Bryne (2012, p216) suggests, to determine how many respondents are needed '*to cover a relevant range of people in relationship to a wider population, but it is not designed to represent it directly'* and, in this qualitative study, the aim was not to generalize to a wider population.

As India has a population of 1.2 billion people, I consider it would be difficult to obtain a representative sample anyway, so, following discussions with my supervisor, this number seemed appropriate for my study. The main aim, however, was to ensure that both groups were to be a representative sample i.e. business postgraduates, who had graduated one or two years plus, to explore with them their expectations and the perceived outcomes of their study. However, as will be highlighted later in the methodology chapter, my interview schedule and number of respondents did not develop quite as I had expected, a situation acknowledged by Bhatt (2012, p168) who suggests that *'despite good planning, some students find it difficult to get interviews, or focus group participants to turn up'*.

5.30 The Semi-Structured Qualitative face-to-face Interviews in India

Fontana & Frey (2005) explain the importance of how researchers present themselves in the research study, in order to obtain the responses they hope for. The initial interviews were interpersonal encounters and did, to some extent, produce what Shah (2004, p561) describes for some researchers as, *'stress and anxiety at the prospect of dealing with the unknown'*, but, not as she also suggests because of *'feelings of helplessness'* (ibid), nor as a *'threat to my self-esteem'* (ibid), but, because I was simply nervous as a first time 'researcher' and especially so in India, endeavouring to obtain data for my study from a technique that I had read and talked about, but had limited practical experience of.

However, both my background reading, knowledge of India and my previous experience in India, and the focus groups which I had undertaken with Indian nationals in the UK, helped to make my approach well organized and ensured that I performed the interviews to the best of my ability. I still had to familiarise myself again with the Indian office environment and sometimes the very strong Indian accents and Indian mannerisms and the Hindi responses e.g. hanji, meaning yes, and achchha, or theek hai, for okay. I was well organized to provide what I considered to be an *'appropriate atmosphere'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p355), to perform my interviews *'carefully and sensitively'* (ibid). I had my consent forms and my tape recorder, and I arranged the room that I was given with the desk and chairs to suit my needs. The approach I adopted was relaxed and friendly, in order to obtain the trust of my respondents and to hopefully *'develop a positive and enriching experience'* for my participants (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p355).

5.31 English Language

As previously mentioned, English is used by many people in India; however, there were times in some of the interviews when there was a breakdown in my understanding of some of their English expressions, often due to a strong Indian accent or a strange sentence construction by the respondent. Questions or responses sometimes had to be restructured and reiterated for clarification. If I still had a difficulty, understanding the respondents comment, I wrote down any terms or words which were unfamiliar and sought clarification from other Indian nationals in the office, after the interview. One word which was often used was the term 'exposure'. The respondents used this term to mean cultural experiences. Similarly, they referred to 'going outside', which meant, in this case, studying abroad. The interviews allowed the respondents to answer in their own words and allowed me to explore any answers in more depth, when I thought this was appropriate (Byrne, 2012).

5.32 Ethical Issues for the Face to Face Interviews

Before the start of any of the interviews, and as I had done in the focus group sessions, I fully explained to the respondents that I was a PhD student and why I was doing the research, and that I would ask them various questions relating to my research question, which I outlined to them. Ethical issues i.e. the right for them to stop the interview whenever they wanted, were addressed and informed consent was sought from each respondent. Participants were made aware that they would be guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality (Bryman, 2008). The tape recorder was used only where consent was agreed. An example of the consent form which was used for all interviews can be found in Appendix 3.

The questions I asked followed a semi-structured approach (Flick, 2009), which would enable the respondent to feel free to answer as they chose, but would enable me to pursue the questions I wished to ask (Bryman & Bell, 2003). These questions had been developed from the findings of the focus groups and covered each of the topics I wished to explore (See Appendix 2). This semi-structured interview approach was, as described by Phellas, Bloch & Seale (2012, p183), a *'non-scheduled though partly standardised'* approach, which he further argues supports *'the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent'* further, *'logical gaps in the data can be anticipated and closed'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p353).

The first few questions I asked in the interview sessions were more structured/closed questions which I used to obtain some basic answers/responses to their age and to their parents' jobs, so that I could determine their class. I also asked about the respondent's parents' level of education to determine their background, and, I asked whether their parents had studied abroad, which I hoped would also help to indicate their levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). These questions were also used to 'get to know the respondents' and to try to establish a rapport with the respondents (Charmaz, 2006; Bell, 2005). When I had interviewed potential Indian students in the past for places at the UK business school, I asked a person their name and age and details about their family, and these were readily answered, and it appeared that this was a common and accepted form of questioning in Indian culture. This was a useful starting point for my research study, and these general questions about family and past education seemed to relax the respondents, and before I asked more probing open questions (Bell, 2005).

Marriage and Dowry Questions

As I highlighted in the literature reviewed in chapter three, other researchers, even Indian nationals, have experienced difficulties in obtaining information about dowry, so, with this in mind, I only asked these questions in the middle of the series of questions. I was fully aware from the literature that dowry is illegal in India, even though current evidence suggests it is still prevalent. I approached these questions with great care so as not to offend, or to cause any discomfort for my respondents. Several respondents said that they would not talk about the topic with the tape recorder on, and would only do so after I had asked any other questions and we had finished. This request was, of course, fully observed. Perhaps this may reflect Shah's (2004, p560) view that *'difference-based situations'* existed and my respondents felt unease about talking to me about culturally based topics. The request for no-recording could also have been a requirement for other researchers, even Indian researchers, due to the nature of the topic.

Questions which were not in my interview guide, but developed from the discussions, were also followed up in the interview e.g. one respondent said he had been to the north of England, and I probed this response asking him where he had been. I wanted to make him feel more comfortable and relaxed with my follow-on questions. The process was flexible, but had structure and, where possible, similar questions were asked from respondent to respondent, to encourage responses in their own words to my specific points of interest (Bryman & Bell, 2007). I considered this approach would enable me to cover each of the points I wished to explore in relation to the theoretical frameworks, but would ensure the interviews remained, as Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p353), suggest *'fairly conversational and situational'.* Each interview took approximately one hour, depending on the respondent; sometimes respondents just wanted to talk and tell me more than I had anticipated.

5.33 Guide to the Closed and Open Questions

As previously mentioned, general closed questions – about the respondent – were used to establish a rapport i.e. their age, where the respondent was born, education levels of parents (to determine their background); these were questions which were, as previously noted, *'easier and less-threatening, non-controversial … and earlier in the interview in order to put the respondents at their ease'* (Paton 1980, p211, in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p363). These were then followed by more open questions e.g. the reason for their choice of foreign education or Indian education. Specific open questions were then asked about who, the respondent thought had motivated them to study and what their and their family's expectations of the postgraduate study were. I tried to avoid ambiguous, offensive or leading questions and hoped that those who had graduated would recall events accurately, despite the time lapse in some cases (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2010).

Respondents were also asked open questions about their experiences and the outcomes regarding their career development since gaining their qualification. These questions were asked to determine if expectations had been met. Questions were also asked about the level of institutional alumni activities, and their alumni contacts from their previous HEIs to determine if there was any evidence of the development of social capital.

Appendix 2 provides an example of the semi-structured interview guide which was used for the respondents who had graduated from UK business programmes. A similar question guide was developed for those who had graduated from Indian programmes. Not all questions on the guide were asked, only if the flow seemed appropriate and the respondent was relaxed enough to answer more personal questions i.e. related to perceived career outcomes or marriage and dowry. Questions were restructured if they were not understood, to avoid any jargon I had introduced, or if there were any misunderstandings that may have arisen from my reference frame (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

5.34 Transcription of the Interviews

> *'Transcribing is a crucial step in interviewing, for there is the potential for massive data loss, distortion and the reduction of complexity'*
> (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p365).

The interviews I carried out were all transcribed with anonymous coding and the transcribed files were imported into NVivo 8 for further analysis when I returned to the UK. There was not enough time to do this whilst I was in

India, nor an environment in which to be quiet enough to do the job effectively. The aim of the transcribing, which is regarded as *'an essential research activity'* (Silverman, 2005, p184), was to preserve the evidence from the interviews. This process of transcribing, although imperative to the recording of interview content, was extremely time consuming and very frustrating to complete. Indian accents were sometimes difficult for me to interpret from the taped interviews, especially when there was increased background noise. I found much more time was needed than I had envisaged, to go over my notes and each respondent's section sometimes again and again, to ensure that the transcribed data was as accurate as possible, and to ensure reliability in my data when I studied and analysed it further. I also considered that any quotations I would use in the findings would reflect not only the respondents' views but also their use of English to provide a stronger 'voice' of the respondents for the reader. Reference to my notes helped me to recall the interviews themselves and any of my respondent's non-verbal cues to their feelings.

When I did not understand a particular word or sentence due to the Indian accent, despite slowing down the tape recorder or turning up the volume, I played the section to an Indian friend over the telephone to see if they could interpret it for me. I also consulted my notes for any other data which was collected to see if I could work out what the word actually was. If not, question marks were added to the transcription notes (this was a rare occurrence). I became used to the inflections in the voices again and I am confident in the accuracy of my interpretations of their responses and the meanings associated with them. I agree with Kvale (1996, p183) that *'interviewees' statements are not simply collected by the interviewer, they are in reality, co-authored'.*

Note

Anecdotally, and yet of great importance to other researchers, my daughter had initially agreed to transcribe the tapes for a fee as I was working full time. However, when I reviewed her transcriptions, which is recommended by other researchers (Hatch, 2002), and I listened to the tape recordings with the transcripts, I found that she had actually 'interpreted the data' on the tapes, and had not transcribed them verbatim. Her interpretation was far from what had actually been said. When I asked her if she had done this, she said that, 'she just wanted to finish it', and where she didn't understand the respondents' accents she made her own interpretation! She implied it was obvious what the respondents were trying to say in answer to my questions. This should act as reminder to other researchers that it is important and in all research projects, and I think particularly so for cross-cultural research studies, to transcribe your own tapes, as others may not be as familiar with the cultural differences, as suggested by Shah (2004) or the context. Otherwise data may indeed be 'lost through transcription'.

5.35 Problems Encountered Doing Research in India

There appeared to be no guides for non-Indian researchers for 'doing qualitative research studies in India', especially for novice researchers like me, who, despite my many skills and experience of the culture, had not performed a qualitative research study in India. Discussions with staff from academic institutions in India, and data obtained from Indian sources in the literature review, suggested that positivist quantitative studies i.e. surveys, are the norm in India, which may account for the lack of availability of qualitative studies from India.

When I was asked about my study by one academic in India, he could not understand why there was no hypothesis testing. In response, I tried to explain that I was exploring the various phenomena and hoping to develop knowledge from the evidence I had obtained in the data related to my theoretical frameworks. Perhaps his views of a UK research study match those expressed by Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p1), who highlight the way in which a qualitative researcher has become a 'dirty word', resulting in a preference for more positivist approaches in India:

> *'Sadly qualitative research in many of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography), serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power and for truth....... Research provides the foundation for reports about the representation of 'the Other'. In the colonial context, research becomes an objective way of representing the dark-skinned Other to the white world. ..... Colonising nations relied on the human disciplines, especially*

> *sociology and anthropology, to produce knowledge about strange and foreign worlds'.*
> (ibid)

5.36 Obtaining a Purposive Sample of Respondents

In order to obtain a sample of respondents, I asked the agent in India to send emails to his recruitment database of postgraduates inviting them for an interview over a three and a half week period during the dates I would be in Delhi. The administrator, who was asked to support me, was to maintain a diary of the interview schedule for those who responded. The office administrator contacted the postgraduates of whom there were many, who had studied programmes in various UK institutions (previously recruited by the agent). Contact was made by email, from which only three respondents agreed to a face-to-face interview, and out of these only two eventually attended after follow up telephone calls from the administrator. I also established a postgraduate web site on Orkut i.e. Google's networking site, requesting respondents who had graduated in India, or from the UK, from postgraduate business programmes to make contact with me, but there were no responses. This could have been due to the perception of me as the outsider-researcher finding it difficult to gain access (Shah, 2004), or perhaps, all researchers, Indian nationals and foreign researchers alike, have problems obtaining access, as respondents just do not see the point of taking part in research studies. (This may be an interesting follow-up study in India.)

I also contacted the British Council and sent emails to various academic institutions in Delhi to ask for help in securing respondents, from which I received no responses. I also asked the agent to place a small advertisement in the local newspaper to request respondents, which he thought would not help. Emails were also sent to alumni from my current UK business school, and other contacts were used to try to secure respondents, all without success.

5.37 Lack of Responses

I spoke with another of my Indian contacts on the telephone, who was not really surprised with the level of responses I had received and he suggested that people in India were reluctant to become involved in any research activities. He also highlighted that most Indians would only be interviewed if there was an incentive for them to do so.

I did think of offering money to attract respondents, but it was suggested by the Indian agent, that due to the culture in India, I would not be able to guarantee that the person who was being interviewed would actually hold the business qualification.

The low level of data from other studies as highlighted in the literature review, may also be a reflection of the same problem, that of attracting Indian respondents. Large survey research projects carried out by heavily resourced companies i.e. McKinsey (2010) and I-graduate, do appear to rely on incentivisation schemes.

5.38 Respondents

Luckily for me, the Indian agent informed me that he was going to recruit a new student recruitment/marketing manager, who needed to have a postgraduate degree and speak English, to work in the Delhi office. He informed me that he would be carrying out the interviews in June and July 2009, and he suggested that he could ask the applicants, if I was there at that time, if they would be willing to partake in the research study, after they had completed the interview for the job, depending upon their time availability.

With this approach and as a result of further networking activities e.g. further contact with alumni from my current institution, the purposive sample of respondents who had studied a masters business programme in the UK or India and had since gained work experience, was tentatively developed for the dates I had arranged to travel to India. As this coincided with the end of term teaching, my current employer offered to pay some of my expenses if, whilst I was in India, I would also interview, several Indian students who had applied to come to the institution for business programmes.

The Indian office administrator was to ask any applicants that came for an interview for the marketing job if they would spend time talking to me about my research. An interview schedule for the research was not actually 'fully structured' in advance, as the request to take part in the study could only be made if the respondents came for a job interview. So, I sat in the office and when applicants came for interview for the management job they either agreed to talk to me, or went home with a promise that, if they were free to come back, they would make an appointment to see me. (Sadly they often did not contact the administrator again) Arrangements were very relaxed and in an Indian style as highlighted by Hofstede (2011, np):

> *'a changing game-plan based on changing reality and a general comfort with discovering the fated path as one goes along rather than playing to an exact plan'.*

My experiences in India and other countries have taught me that you simply have to 'go with the flow'. The problem with this approach is that many of the research text books suggest that you must endeavour to have an interview schedule, and they further imply that good organisation is required in advance of the interviews. Whilst I agree, that this is best practice, this is often not the case if you are trying to make arrangements for respondents from another country and through a third party, and at a time in the year that suits your employer. Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2010, pp149-150) list many things which can go wrong when researching, and they suggest that the golden rule to overcome these difficulties *'is to remember that research is a process of learning…changes in plans are an essential part of research…'.* Indeed so!

5.39 Interview Difficulties

The face-to-face interviews took place from the end of June to mid-July 2009, the height of the summer, with temperatures reaching over 44 degrees. These high temperatures resulted in many breakdowns in electricity supply to the office, which resulted in no air-conditioning and no lighting, when I was conducting some of the interviews. When the electricity was on, the air-conditioning units droned on and on, and could be clearly heard on the first few taped interviews I reviewed when I returned to my hotel. I tried to move the respondent and the tape recorder as far away from the air conditioning unit as possible. These environmental factors were, however, unavoidable as there was nowhere else which would be considered private or quiet enough for the interviews to take place.

Visits were also arranged to talk to members of academic staff at two private colleges through my personal alumni contact. Names of the colleges or the staff were not allowed to be noted down and tape recordings were also not allowed. However, comments that were made by the academics I spoke with did appear to confirm the views presented by the other face-to-face respondents.

As I previously highlighted, I spoke with an employment recruitment consultant on the phone but this proved unhelpful. I was informed that employers choose who ever suited the job profiles, with their past experience and academic qualifications e.g. MBA or equivalent; he was reluctant to help any further. However, the Australian student recruitment agent was very helpful providing some useful views and background information.

I also spoke with two employers in the hotel gym as we walked side by side on the tread mill about the recruitment of Indian graduates. They suggested that they would recruit whoever was most appropriate for the job, either a UK or Indian Masters. If the job was for the Indian market, an Indian Masters would be preferred. If a global focus was needed, then a foreign Masters might be preferred, but it depended on the whole profile of the applicant e.g. their prior work experience and not just the qualification achieved. They did, however, suggest that, if the graduate was from one of the IIMs, they would prefer these Indian graduates over any others.

It is also important to note that the research study took place during a global recessionary period, which I could not have predicted, and which had an impact upon both the UK and Indian job market in 2009:

> *'The world economy collapsed into steep recession in the final quarter of 2008 with global real GDP dropping at a 6 percent annual rate. This was undoubtedly the sharpest decline in world output and especially in world industrial production and world trade of the post war era, with virtually all countries participating in the downturn and many registering record quarterly declines in real GDP...........The Indian economy is feeling the impact of the global recession and financial crisis but is less strongly linked to the rest of the world economy through both trade and finance than most of Asia.'*
> (Mussa, 2009, p1 & p6)

The impact of the recession on Indian economy has been summarized as follows:

> *'5 Lakh jobs lost in the last 3 months (in India)*
> *Five lakh people were rendered jobless between October to December 2008 due to the recession, according to the latest government study (by Labour Bureau of ministry of Labour and Employment – sample size of 2,581 units covering 20 centres across 11 states, and 8 sectors).'*
> (Sinha, 2009, np)

Perhaps this influenced the respondents at the time of the interviews and research done in 2011 onwards might have given a different perspective.

5.40 Other Indian Research Experiences

The first few interviews enabled me to become familiar with the environment, the tape recorder and some of the strong accents and mannerisms of the Indian respondents, e.g. in Indian culture a sideways head wobble is a 'yes' answer and agreement. Perhaps the Indian respondents would also have said they too had to become familiar with the

UK researcher's mannerisms; the nodding up and down, to 'yes' and to acknowledge agreement.

My experience of interviewing in another cultural environment was very interesting and, although I was already familiar with some of the problems e.g. summer temperatures, poor electricity supply, noise from traffic and the air-conditioning unit, I was, however, unprepared for some of the other experiences which I encountered.

These were some of the experiences I encountered during the research interviews in India:

1. The air-conditioning unit, which extended outside the wall, attracted some very noisy birds, which, despite efforts to scare them away, sat inside the unit and tweeted very loudly throughout the interviews. There was also significant traffic e.g. car horns and people noise from the very busy streets below, which also seemed to be transmitted up the building and through the air-conditioning unit. This resulted in the first two interviews being difficult to hear when the recordings were replayed. As a result, the tape recorder had to be moved closer to the respondent, balanced on a coke tin and the air-conditioning unit switched on and off during the interviews. This made the room extremely hot, which was uncomfortable for me and the respondent at times.

2. Due to the extremely high temperatures, there were frequent electricity failures, which resulted in no lights and no air-conditioning, which most of the respondents seemed to accept and tolerate as they were obviously used to it. The respondents and I just waited patiently in the semi darkness of the room, using our mobile phones for illumination, until the lights came back on. Luckily my tape recorder had batteries!

3. The Indian agent asked to sit in with the first interview, but I politely requested that he should not stay. However, he spoke with my respondent who agreed he could stay. I was not happy with this but

regardless of my request, he stayed. When I asked the respondent his name and age and then asked why the respondent had chosen to study in the UK, the agent answered for him, saying ‘it was obvious’ and that he (the agent), had already explained all this to me and on several occasions. I suggested politely that it would be better for the respondent to answer and again asked if he would leave us; he then laughed and reluctantly left the room.

4. The agent wandered into the room on some occasions during the interviews to collect objects that he needed and had a brief discussion with the respondent in Hindi. Despite my efforts to ask him to refrain from interrupting.

5. Other office staff also wandered in to take my lunch order, or to bring in drinks, despite frequent requests for privacy during the interviews.

6. Mobile phones and office phones were a distraction for the respondents. If the mobile went off, the respondents just took the calls indicating to me that it was okay.

7. One of my UK contacts invited me to his home to meet his family who owned several Indian colleges. I was invited to give a presentation at two of his family’s excellent private colleges. The local press and Indian TV were also present. The local newspapers had a full account of my higher education interests and the presentation was recorded at the colleges. There were photographs of my visit to the colleges in the local newspaper and many people in the town of Hisar in the State of Haryana waved when I went out in the family’s car. A real celebrity experience!

8. Visits and open discussions with college staff were not allowed to be taped. However, I used these opportunities to triangulate i.e. to confirm some of the findings from the face to face interviews. Interestingly, when dowry was discussed with one female academic, the person was spoken to in Hindi by a male lecturer and the female lecturer did not continue, but, changed the subject to her research

survey. She passed me her email address but did not respond to my email for a follow up.

5.41 Phase Two of the Qualitative Study

After completing the interviews in Delhi, I reviewed the data and noted that respondents had revealed some interesting views related to expectations of their higher education study, and regarding the outcomes of their study. These will be outlined in the following chapters. There were also findings which suggested that there was a perceived link between higher educational achievement, and the social benefits of marriageability and dowry.

However, I decided that I would like to explore the topics further, but, due to my resource constraints, of time and money, and the difficulties that I had already experienced in organizing the UK focus groups and obtaining respondents in India, I decided that the interviews should take place in the UK, in my own institution, with respondents currently studying on a Masters programme. I decided that, in addition to the questions which related to who motivated them to study and their expectations of postgraduate study, I could also ask more direct questions about any perceived links between higher education, marriage and dowry. I thought that respondents' concerns about these sensitive issues may be lessened in the UK, as I had also previously experienced in the UK focus groups.

5.42 Phase Two – Face-to-Face Interviews in the UK

A purposive sample was again chosen of those students who were currently studying for a postgraduate business degree. Access to respondents was a little easier for this part of the study, as I could approach students directly and invite them to attend an interview in a room at the college at set times during the week, when I was not teaching. I could follow up the invites myself, with email reminders and control the process. However, making appointments was still not without its difficulties. An individual's culture, as previously highlighted for Indian nationals does not appear to change even if in a foreign country. This again tends to confirm Hofstede's views (2011) of Indian culture. This meant that students would not turn up at the set time and then they would send an email to apologise, requesting a further meeting, on another day and time. Eventually, I managed to secure enough interviews which provided me with saturation of views in my findings. In total, thirteen face-to-face interviews were carried out in the UK in one of the class rooms in the college, with Indian students who were studying a UK postgraduate programme. These took place between December 2009 and March 2010. The respondents comprised:

6 female respondents – aged 20-24
7 male respondents – aged 20-24

All respondents were postgraduate Indian students studying for a Masters in Global Management (MAGM). The face-to-face interviews took, on average, one hour each, although this depended on the respondent's level of involvement in the study. Some were keen simply to answer questions quickly without further reflection, whilst others had much more to say about the topics raised.

5.43 Face-to-Face Interviews in the UK

Once again, I developed a semi-structured interview guide building upon the one I used in India, but with a greater focus on marriage and dowry. It was piloted on two Indian students to ensure that it was appropriate and acceptable. In the same way as the interviews progressed in Delhi, general questions were asked to relax the respondent, followed by further probing questions relating to: What had motivated them to choose the particular institution in London? Why they had not remained in India for their studies? What did they expect to achieve from their study?

Once again, the more sensitive questions regarding marriage and dowry were asked when the respondents appeared more relaxed during the interview process. These respondents were much more open than the respondents in India in response to the marriage and dowry questions, although a few of the respondents still asked for the tape recorder to be turned off and answered my questions only when this was done. I did, however, realise that some of the respondents knew me and were used to speaking with me, so maybe in some cases this helped to develop a better rapport, which may have made my interviews easier to carry out.

5.44 Ethics of the Interviews

Once again, before the start of any of the interviews in the UK, ethical issues were addressed and informed consent was sought. Respondents were made aware of the purpose of my study and they were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality at the start of the interview. The tape recorder was used only when consent was agreed. The respondents were offered a summary of the research report findings when the project was completed.

The interviews were all transcribed by me with anonymous names and coding and the transcribed files imported into NVivo 8 as individual cases with attributes e.g. age, for further analysis.

5.45 Analysis of the Data

This section outlines how the data was imported into NVivo 8, reviewed, coded and analysed to enable the final section of the thesis to be written which highlights the findings drawn from the data. The approach adopted can be described as a true reflection of what Dey describes as (1993, p6), *'learning by doing'*.

This section of the chapter will also outline under what criteria the study was performed, in order to ensure its validity and reliability. It will also outline the detail of the participants, their characteristics, the way in which the data was collected, and how it has been produced, managed, and analysed. This is data which Richards describes as '*fluid and messy records*' (Richards, 2009, p33) e.g. observations, field notes and interview transcripts, to interpret, explain and understand the phenomenon being studied. Richards (2009, p33) also highlights that:

> *'material becomes relevant data, evidence for our arguments, when its relationship to a research question is established. The challenge then, is to make the data necessary and appropriate to the task of*

> *answering the research question. The test is to handle these data well'.*

In order to handle the data records e.g. interview transcripts, and to support the analysis of the data, e.g. coding, the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) package, NVivo 8 was used.

NVivo8's powerful database enabled me to review the data from the transcripts and to develop codes, concepts and themes for sorting and storing the data, content from which was used to support the interpretation and reporting of the findings. The package was chosen on the advice of another PhD research student, who was using the software for a similar study, and it was available under licence from the university of registration. I had also had the opportunity to attend a training session for this particular package.

5.46 Analysis of the Interview Data using NVivo 8

The analysis of data for this study, is *'more of a reflexive, reactive interaction between the researcher and the decontextualized data that are already interpretations of a social encounter'* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p368), which has involved various stages, from setting up the project as explained, to working with the data, coding, linking categories and handling the ideas; and then making sense of the data and using memos to record ideas, and to provide evidence in response to the research question. The outcomes from this approach demonstrate my credible claims from the study, which have, I feel, made this project worthwhile (Richards, 2009).

The anonymised interview transcripts were imported into NVivo 8 as separate cases for further data analysis (Bazeley, 2007). Descriptive information/attributes were also recorded for each of the anonymised respondents, the names on the original transcripts had been changed just in case they were found on the computer and seen by anyone else. These attributes, which had descriptors associated with them, were recorded so that my analysis could help to determine if any of the findings were related to particular attributes of respondents e.g. gender, age, parents' background. A summary of some of the findings from the graphs has been presented, but this only suggests the number of views about a particular topic coded at a particular node which demonstrate some broad findings. Please see Appendix 4 for examples of the graphs and my analysis of the findings.

5.47 Coding and Data Analysis

My first attempt at coding using NVivo was very frustrating, despite two training courses. Coding, which I found difficult to master at first, is an important part of the process, as it *'generates new ideas and gathers material by topic'* (Richards, 2009, p93). This coding was used to capture what was going on; what the actual data was saying e.g. the *'richness of the phenomenon'* (Boyatzis, 1998, p31). The purpose of qualitative coding was useful as it helped me to develop ideas from the data (Ibid; Saldana, 2009), e.g. for reflection on the coded segments and the meanings attached to these within the project. The coding also helped me to review what was actually being said under a particular category, or to determine, how the category related to other ideas from the data. In this study, they were used to compare each of my respondents, their experiences or attitudes, and to find patterns in these criteria related to a particular subject that I wished to explore.

I moved the data from the original transcribed interview data to *'data bits'* (Dey, 1993, p129), around a category or node e.g. parents' influence. This resulted in each category, having data bits from each Indian respondent that answered a particular question. From this descriptive coding came more analytical results (Richards, 2009; Saldana, 2009), or, as Flick (2009, p310) refers to it, *'axial coding'*. This is where the data is further refined so that it can be viewed under different tree nodes for closer analysis. The content for each of these nodes is actually what the respondents said about a particular topic. Bazeley (2007), suggests, that this is what qualitative research is all about. Bazeley (2007) also recommends that the data should be included along with the question that was asked, as this helps to prevent the loss of contextual information, which I found really useful. I then used the coding as suggested by Bazeley (2007, p125) as *'a means to an end of pattern* *finding, exploration and reflection'.* Memos were also used to outline my thoughts, or interpretations and reflections about the findings under each tree node and further sub-nodes. The aim was to ask questions of the data e.g. What is going on here? Why? What for? How? Who? (Flick, 2009). This process enables the data to be reviewed much more closely and the context revisited. The review of all the sections of data under one topic helped as suggested by Saldana (2009) to produce a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

The respondent categories are as follows:

A) Respondents - Indian Nationals who had completed their postgraduate programme in India

B) Respondents - Indian Nationals who had completed their postgraduate programme in the UK

C) Respondents - Indian Nationals who were currently studying a postgraduate programme in London, in the UK.

5.48 Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Studies

As suggested by Flick, *'Rapid social change and the resulting diversification of life worlds are increasingly confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives'* (Flick, 2009, p12). The purpose of this research study was to understand the social contexts and perspectives of Indian postgraduate business students in their rapidly changing environment. When I was planning this study and analysing the data, I endeavoured to observe the recommendations of other academics, to ensure the validity and reliability of the study.

Creswell (2007) suggests that there are several perspectives that should be considered when doing this, *'the definition of it, terms to describe it, and procedures for establishing it'* (Creswell, 2007, p202).

5.49 Validity

Validity relates to the basic principles of qualitative research, principles which I have endeavoured to observe for this study by answering the questions which have been supported by thick descriptions to enable inductive analysis of the data. I also endeavoured to present the views expressed by the respondents, giving them a voice (Creswell, 2007), more of which will be found in the findings chapter. The style of approach is highlighted by the following criteria:

> *'The natural setting is the principal source of data*
> *Context-boundedness and thick description are important*
> *Data are socially situated, and socially and culturally saturated*
> *The researcher is part of the researched world.*
> *The data are descriptive*
> *The researcher rather than a research tool is the key instrument of research*
> *There is concern for the processes rather than simply with outcomes*
> *Data are analysed inductively rather than using prior categories*
> *Data are presented in terms of the respondents rather than the researchers. '*
> (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p134)

Maxwell (1992) also argues that, for qualitative studies, there are various kinds of relevant forms of validity. Those outlined below have been observed in this study:

I. *'Descriptive Validity (The factual accuracy of the account, that it is not made up, selective or distorted): in this respect, validity subsumes reliability; it is akin to Blumenfeld-Jones's notion of 'truth' in research – what actually happened. (Objectively factual)*
II. *Interpretive validity (the ability of the research to catch the meaning, interpretations, terms, intentions that situations and events, i.e. data, have for the participants/subjects themselves, their terms): it is akin to Blumfeld-Jones's (1995) notion of 'fidelity' – what it means to the researched person or group. (Subjectively meaningful)*

III. *Theoretical validity (the theoretical constructions that the researcher brings to the research, including those of the researched); theory here is regarded as explanation.*

IV. *Generalisability (the view that the theory generated may be useful in understanding other similar situations); Generalising here refers to generalising within specific groups or communities, situations or circumstances.'*

(Maxwell, 1992, in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p135)

I endeavoured to observe these recommendations in the planning stages, by 1) informing respondents of the relevance and their role in the research, 2) in the execution of the study, by ensuring the respondents felt comfortable about answering questions and 3) accurately recording respondents views without distorting their comments; and 4) in the analysis of the data by accurately reporting the findings from the respondents' own words. However the concept of generalizability, in this study, is not possible as will be explained later.

It is suggested that credibility is dependent upon the '*reliability of data and methods'* and validity of the findings (Silverman, 2006, p289). Also, two other important criteria have been observed in this study *'trustworthiness and authenticity'* (Guba & Lincoln, (1994) in Bryman & Bell, 2007, p 411). Bryman & Bell (2007) also highlight the importance of trustworthiness, which they suggest comprise four criteria for assessment, '*credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability'* (ibid). Bryman & Bell (2007) suggest that to establish their first criteria i.e. credibility of findings, it is important to meet the requirements of good practice, and submit the research findings to members of the social world who were studied. This enables the researcher to confirm that they have understood their social world. I have followed best practice, which has been monitored by my supervisor, and is clearly highlighted in this chapter. I have also discussed my findings with one of the Indian respondents currently studying in the UK, a technique referred to as '*respondent validation*' (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p411) to determine if I had correctly understood the social world which I had investigated.

To explain the second criterion, transferability, Bryman & Bell (2007, p413), argue that qualitative researchers should:

> *'produce what Geertz (1973a), calls thick description – that is rich accounts of a culture. Guba and Lincoln argue, that thick description provides others with what they refer to as a database for making judgments about the transfer of findings to other milieu'*

I have provide the reader with a full account of Indian culture in previous chapters and presented the way in which I have collected the data, together with the quoted views of the respondents. I have also attempted to transfer my findings, which I have found in this study, to other cultural or social settings, e.g. Indians who are now domiciled in the UK. I asked two UK Indian residents (both born in the UK), if they thought that dowry was also prevalent in the UK; the answer was 'yes' in both cases. Other elements of the research findings e.g. reasons for study abroad, expectations and outcomes of study and links with marriageability and dowry, may also be transferable to other nationalities, such as those from Pakistan and Africa, or other areas where students travel abroad for postgraduate study and where dowry practice is found.

Bryman & Bell (2007) third criterion, dependability, is, they suggest, how the research progressed through the various stages e.g. how the problem was formulated, how research participants were selected, and how full transcripts of interviews took place. Each of these stages has been outlined to ensure the reader of its dependability.

The final criterion, confirmability, refers to my ability to act in good faith, without being influenced by personal values. This was of great importance for this study, and every effort was made to record the data as it was presented. It is, however, difficult to say if ethnocentric views, or personal values, can be fully suppressed in all research cases. I can, however, confirm that this study was performed by me and from my perspective.

In addition to the four criteria outlined by Bryman & Bell (2007) cultural validity has also been observed, which Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007), suggest '*involves a degree of sensitivity to the participants, cultures and circumstances being studied*' (ibid, p139). I have, as previously outlined, researched the cultural background of India and have presented some of my findings in earlier chapters. I was also aware that discussing career outcomes is a sensitive subject, as people are generally reluctant to discuss, where it occurred, their lack of progression in life. Care was also taken to ensure that the respondents were relaxed and anonymity was fully guaranteed for all respondents. Respondents' names were changed just in case any of my data sticks went missing or my computer was stolen. Also, dowry in India is illegal, so discussions on this topic were addressed with great sensitivity and the tape recorder was turned off when requested by the respondents.

5.50 Reliability

The study may be considered reliable due to the fact that the fit has been observed to ensure what Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p149) outline is also important:

> *'fit between what the researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural world setting that is being researched, i.e. a degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage.'*

The aim of this qualitative study is to reveal new perspectives and knowledge about various topics, and to achieve this aim, the study has been performed in a natural world setting, with attention to detail to ensure validity and reliability. The study, is, however, a small sample group from a very large nation and, as such, can be said to be reliable for a small sample but not necessarily for a whole nation. It is also important to understand that I have attempted at each stage of the study, to ensure that the data collected was reliable - from the focus groups, and the face-to-face interviews e.g. the piloting of the semi-structured questionnaire before going to India, the initial coding reviewed by a colleague for accuracy and my choice of coding structure during the analysis stage.

5.51 Triangulation

To give greater confidence to the findings of a study, some authors believe that triangulation is a way to ensure that the researcher understands what they are observing and offers a sort of cross checking (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Triangulation is *'multiple renderings and misrepresentations'* (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005, p833), and should not be oversimplified to *'generate a more rounded or complete picture of the social world'* (ibid). I concur with this view and, although I did not use more than one research method i.e. only single or group interviews were used, and I did not adopt a mixed method, or multi-method approach, I reviewed the initial findings with other Indian nationals in India at the time of the study, and my interpretations seemed to be plausible and supportive of each other. The responses were also obtained from different Indian respondents in different locations i.e. India, and then the UK, which resulted in responses that appeared to reflect the same views on the topics under investigation, thus giving what I believe is greater validity to the findings.

5.52 Summary

This chapter has outlined the background and rationale for the study, the theoretical framework, the research paradigm, and the methodology and methods (Silverman, 2005) that have been adopted to elicit the data for analysis. It has also presented an outline of and broad over-view of how the data was collected and analysed to produce graphical representations, and how the issues of validity, reliability and credibility were addressed.

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, p68) highlight that Bourdieu's work uses a *'reflexive sociology'*, an approach all researchers should take, to check their *'personal presumptions'*, and their *'personal circumstances'* (ibid), to correct possible biases that may result from even the best crafted piece of social research, an approach which has been adopted in this study.

The next chapter and Appendix 4 will highlight the findings in more detail and give examples of the cross tabulation that was done to elicit some of the broad findings from the data.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the Findings

6.11 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined how the data was collected and then coded using NVivo 8 and how counts of cases were assigned to nodes to enable the data to be further analysed to support the review of the findings for this study. Appendix 4 outlines some of the graphs which were used to support the findings in this chapter and these have been referenced where appropriate.

To present the findings of the research I have used material gathered during the study, for example, quotations from the respondents and my own observations and other material such as the views of the Indian student recruitment agent and the management trainer. I have also made links to the literature and drawn in particular on the theoretical frameworks of human, cultural and social capital theory and to a limited extent, elements of management theory. This approach has revealed some interesting findings, some of which reflect existing knowledge and others which add to current knowledge about Indian postgraduates. These findings have been presented under the following headings:

Motivations and Expectations
Outcomes
Perceived Benefits

As previously explained, the data was collected from the following Indian respondents and quotations have been used in the findings to reflect the views of each group. The total breakdown of respondents can be seen in Figure 4.1 Appendix 4 - 70% male and 30% female:

A) Respondents = Indian postgraduates interviewed in India who had completed an Indian MBA or other Masters business programmes.
B) Respondents = Indian postgraduates interviewed in India who had completed a UK MBA or as in one case, a Masters in Management.

C) Respondents = Current business students Interviewed in the UK studying an MA Global Management programme.

6.12 Motivations and Expectations

Current literature emphasises that Indian nationals are motivated by various push and pull factors to study higher education. These factors are linked to government policy, the labour market, the media, HEIs, parents, and their own personal desires in order to improve their human capital i.e. their knowledge and skills for extrinsic and intrinsic benefits. The literature highlights the importance of family background and the home environment (habitus), for the development of offspring's cultural capital, i.e. in this case business credentials, that are awarded from study in India or from abroad (Agarwal, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986: Cummings, 1993; De Wit, 2008; DiMaggio, 1985; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p82; Naidoo, 2007). There is also a view that social capital or social networks are important for improved social relations and social benefits (Coleman, 1988). This section will review the findings in relation to these factors.

6.13 Family Motivation Factors

The literature indicates that the socioeconomic status and cultural capital of parents and the individual's career expectations are factors which influence higher education study (Agarawala, 2008, Bourdieu, 1986; Becker, 1993). It is also argued that these factors influence academic success (Bourdieu, 1977). The findings from this study indicate that Indian postgraduate respondents had been influenced by their parent's cultural capital and their socioeconomic status and their own motivations to undertake postgraduate programmes. However, the specific factors which resulted in their academic success were not fully explored in this study.

Bourdieu (1977) and Becker (1993, p21) both argue that the family is an important factor for the development of *'knowledge, skills, values and habits of their children'*. They further suggest that families with greater social capital and economic capital can support their offspring through their educational development, which may result in future benefits.

The findings from this study support the views of Bourdieu and Becker and suggest that not only do parents appear to motivate their offspring to develop their human and cultural capital they also provide the main source of funds for study (Becker, 1993, Bourdieu, 1986).

In some cases, respondents suggest that economic funds were also obtained from close family members by their parents. This appears to reflect the benefits of family social capital. This may be described as the *'strong ties'* (Halpern, 2005, p20) of support which were further defined by Putnam (2000, p23) as *'bonding social capital'*. This form of social capital enabled, in some of the respondent's cases, access to financial capital which supported their studies.

The next sections will outline some of these findings in more detail:
1) Parental Motivation for Postgraduate Study in India and Abroad.
2) Parental Financial Support.

1) Parental Motivation for Postgraduate Study

The findings from this study indicate that the father's job for all of the respondents may be categorised as being at a management level, as many held management positions or were the owners of their own business (See Appendix 4, figure 4.9). I determined, therefore, that the respondents' fathers and thus the family may all be considered as middle class. The respondents' mothers tended not to work in these middle class families, and this is reflected in the data, with 75% of mothers not working, and classed as 'housewives'; or, as my current institution refers to them, 'home-makers'.

Parental Cultural Capital

Analysis of the data also indicates that many of these middle class parents have credentialed cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) having undertaken higher levels of educational study. The data shows that a large proportion of fathers in this study had higher educational qualifications; 66% had undergraduate qualifications and 13% held a Masters degree. (See the Heat Map, Figure 4.12 for a graphical representation of this in Appendix 4.)

Mothers had equal levels of undergraduate study and high school study, but only 6% of mothers had Masters level qualifications.

I argue, that the findings from this study reflect the views in the literature which suggest that the new Indian middle class have acquired economic capital (Fernandes, 2006) and increased levels of *'institutionalised cultural capital'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p248) which in this case may be regarded as parental undergraduate and/or postgraduate qualifications. Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (1986) links parental economic capital, cultural capital and habitus to children's educational development. Habitus, Bourdieu suggests, reflects the family social class and is associated with family lifestyle and their command and use of language. The findings suggest that parental background and habitus have been factors which have influenced the respondents to study postgraduate education. I also suggest that one of the aims of middle class Indian parents which is also found in this study is to maintain their offspring's social position in Indian society through the development of their institutionalised cultural capital. This view is reflected in the comments from this B) respondent:

> K: '*Did your parents want you to study for a Masters degree?*
> *AK: Yes. And also because they have only daughter, no sons. So they wanted their daughter to be settled in a higher class of the society.'*

This view also reflects those in the literature which suggest that Indian middle class parents have academic expectations of their offspring (Fernandes, 2006) and these expectations may result in parents 'pushing' or motivating their children, especially their male offspring, to study masters business programmes. The findings also indicate that in some cases, parents wish to realise their own academic aspirations, to live a parental dream of studying a Masters degree either in India or abroad.

When I asked the respondents if their parents had encouraged them to study for a postgraduate degree either in India or abroad, the answer was in most cases 'yes' and in most cases it was their father who had encouraged them to study. This quotation from an A) Respondent reflects this view for postgraduate study in India:

> VIK K: *'Because my father is also a business man. And he told me if I do anything in life I have to do MBA. They saw the advertisements and lots of people say MBA good, that's what influenced them, they push me.'*
> K: *'Why did you decide to study in India?'*
> Vik K: *'I think mostly it was my father. So my parents influenced me a lot, and also to stay in India.'*

It may have been that despite the family being categorised as middle class, there was not enough family economic capital i.e. the parents' ability or willingness to pay to send their son abroad. This respondent did not confirm this view he only expressed the opinion that he was proud to be Indian and proud to have studied in India. He did, however, inform me that the college was linked to the UK:

> VIK K: *'Known in UK, best in India. Established 1999, it was set in 600 acres In xxxx. The chairman is Mr xxxx. It links with UK.'*

This respondent seemed keen to demonstrate links with the UK despite his view that the college was the best in India. I felt at the time that perhaps he was simply trying to develop a stronger rapport with me.

Study Abroad

The findings revealed that none of the Indian parents of the respondents had studied abroad. I therefore suggest, that this parental factor of not having studied abroad increases the desire for those middle class parents who have access to economic capital to realise their own academic aspirations for 'exposure' to new environments through their offspring.

These middle class parents appear to push their offspring into foreign education to develop their institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This is expressed by the following quotation from one of the Indian families:

> *'We people fulfill our dreams by sending our children to USA, London, and Australia'.*

Several respondents indicated the influence of their father to study abroad in the UK, for exposure, status and to do something that their parents had not done. This is expressed by the following respondents. This C) Respondent:

> Am Kan: *'UK.. better reputation. Better experience, my Dad said'.*

Another male C) Respondent stated the following:

> V1: *'my father forced me...... he just wanted me to have a complete exposure from London'.*

This C) Respondent commented that:

> NIT: '*My dad didn't do U.G. so he didn't want his son to be like this. He wanted me to have status.'*

One female A) Respondent, suggested it was her mother who had encouraged her, and to do the things she had not done:

> A: *'She (my mother), wanted me to go outside and do the things she hadn't done.'*

Further evidence from the literature (Agarwala, 2008; Blau & Duncan, 2000; Das and Kemp, 1997) argues that middle class Indian parents have the greatest influence to motivate their offspring to study either in India or abroad and the findings from this study also indicate that the largest proportion of respondents were influenced by their parents and especially those who were currently studying in the UK e.g. C) Respondents. (See Appendix 4, Figures 4.10 & 4.11.) This quotation from a C) Respondent supports this view:

> VA: *'Dad always wanted to send me abroad because it's a better experience for the person and they never got a chance when they were young so they said if you have a chance you better go'.*

I consider that the findings also suggest, that, parents who push their offspring to study abroad, may be engaging in what I argue is a form of 'parental study by proxy'. The views from this B) Respondent and C) Respondent reflect their middle class parents' aspirations for them to study abroad and to improve their social status:

> AB: *'Because we are a middle class family and it was mainly a high aspiration for their children to study abroad and get some good qualifications'.*
>
> ASH 6: *'They wanted me to study in UK so that I can place myself in a better place in life.'*

2) Parental Financial Support

The findings also suggest that all the respondents have been supported in some way, if not always completely, by their parents for their fees and or/their accommodation, this reflects the findings of the British Council study (2010).

The findings in this study are also indicative of the increased spending power of India's middle class families (Fernandes, 2006) who have economic capital e.g. the funds available, or have access to funds, to support their offspring's higher education. (See Appendix 4, fig 4.3.) This is indicated by this quotation from this A) Respondent male: *'Parents paid, not me.'*

The findings from this study also suggest that a lack of finance was often the factor which resulted in study in India, as expressed by this respondent:

> K: *Did you think about study in U.K?'*
> PRA KUM: '*It was a money problem.'*

As previously outlined, it is argued that economic factors are often linked to academic development and achievement (Coleman, 1988; McDonough, 1997) and I suggest that even though the respondents' parents were, what I determine as middle class, some Indian parents appeared to have more economic capital than others and were thus able to support foreign study for the achievement of foreign institutionalised cultural capital. This could, I suggest, support the view that some respondents' parents were upper middle class or lower middle class and this may reflect the different layers identified within the Indian middle class group as argued by Fernandes (2006).

Whether postgraduate study was taken in India or abroad the findings in this study appear to reflect the views of other authors who argue that Indian middle class families are mobilizing their financial assets and adopting measures to encourage their offspring to study higher education (Fernandez, 2006) i.e. postgraduate education. These findings I further suggest support Browns *'positional conflict theory'* (Brown, 2000, p634) which argues that middle class parents, in this case Indian middle class parents, encourage postgraduate study so that their offspring gain credentials for *'positional advantage'* (ibid). This is a competitive strategy, which Indian parents appear to be adopting, to prevent their offspring becoming caught in the *'opportunity trap'* (Brown, 2006, p381) for jobs. This and other responses clearly expressed this view:

> Am Kam: *'the family will send their kids to UK because he will get a good job and he will not go back.'*

I also argue that the findings from this study reflect what Brown refers to as 'parentocracy', which in this case I suggest is Indian parentocracy: '*where educational selection is increasingly based on the wealth and wishes of parents, rather than the individual abilities and efforts of students'* (Brown, 1995, p44, in Brown 2000, p 643).

Brown further suggests that *'the equation ability + effort = merit, has been reformulated into resources + preferences = choices'* (ibid), a perception that I also gained from the findings in this study. Middle class Indian families with economic capital appear to realise their ambitions and preferences by encouraging and supporting their offspring to study in private colleges in India. They also encourage and support study abroad and especially when their offspring cannot get access to what they perceive are the quality institutions in India.

Where Indian parents have encouraged the study of Masters programmes i.e. the development of their human and cultural capital, either in India or the UK, the expectation, as previously mentioned, appears to be, to secure employment and other personal benefits for their offspring and the family in India's developing economy.

Many Indian middle class parents who motivate their offspring to study abroad possibly, as mentioned in the literature due to the lack of higher educational opportunities or facilities in India (Altbach, 1993), have the expectation that their children will also have greater 'exposure' to cultural experiences. They may also, as highlighted by Mazzarol & Souter (2002), have the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the West or to settle abroad. This view was also expressed by this B) Respondent:

> AB: '*They wanted me to settle abroad, to have a better lifestyle. I don't really know exactly what they thought it would bring. Perhaps to marry into a higher class because this degree might have been more appealing to some. Mainly it was the hope of improving my family's life, quality of life.*'

The findings from this study suggest that parents also acknowledge other benefits of higher education, such as the perception of increased social mobility and symbolic capital from their offspring's institutionalised cultural capital (Winkle-Wagner, 2010). The findings suggest that study abroad may result in both extrinsic/external benefits i.e. titles - UK MBA, status and marketability (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2005; Simpson, 2000) and the intrinsic benefits of enhanced credibility and skills achieved from gaining the credentials (Hay & Hodgkinson, 2005). These were benefits which were also identified in the UK study by Simpson *et al*, (2005). These benefits are exemplified in the following comment from a female C) Respondent:

> AK: '*if you go abroad your prospects and ideas are picked up by people here in India, then if you learn good English and other things,*

> *you can have social benefits from having those things. It brings to you into a better society and better people. And if you choose to study abroad it shows people that you have money and then people treat you better in a higher society, you get more respect because you are better off and in a higher class basically. They know you have more money and are from a better class or society.'*

In addition to these motivations and expectations I also suggest that there is evidence from the findings that habitus may have an influence on the location of study. This cultural capital theoretical concept proposed by Bourdieu (Winkle-Wagner, 2010) will be reviewed in the next section.

Habitus

As previously outlined Bourdieu's theoretical framework of social reproduction indicates that cultural capital and habitus plus field, result in practice, which Bourdieu argues secures resources (Bourdieu, 1986; McDonough, Ventresca and Outcalt, 2000; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). The findings from this study suggest that *'habitus'* (Bourdieu, 1986; Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002) which is provided by the parents, does appear to influence the participants study of higher education, and the development of their innate cultural capital. This is highlighted by this B) Respondent's view of the aspirations of his family:

> *'AB: Because we are a middle class family and it was mainly a high aspiration for their children to study abroad and get some good qualifications. Mainly in Indian culture, education is most important, very important. They also thought it would be good for work experience. I think parents look at these things and especially professions like Doctor or engineer because it is good for the family if the child does well. Make the parents proud, I think this is why they wanted me to do MBA – would open up more doors.'*

Offspring from more privileged Indian middle class backgrounds are exposed to their family's cultural capital norms and values. These factors according to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory may perpetuate privilege and thus inequality (Winkle-Wagner, 2010) in this case in Indian society. These Indian middle class families who speak English at home and whose offspring are exposed to this environment often study in English speaking schools and colleges and thus may gain a competitive advantage in the market place for jobs (Varma, 2007). If families also have access to economic capital this means that their offspring have the opportunity to study programmes abroad in the UK or USA, which may then result in higher levels of English language proficiency, which may result in additional benefits. Those offspring from a habitus of less privilege (Winkle-Wagner 2010) e.g. India's lower classes whose family speak Hindi at home and attend schools and colleges which are also Hindi speaking, will lack English language skills and are thus restricted from study abroad in the UK. These individuals will not meet the foreign institutions language entrance requirements e.g. IELTS. This may then perpetuate social inequality for the offspring as they may not be able to secure such a high paid career with a multinational. Also, the level of English ability appears to be a major attraction in matrimonial advertisements (Varma, 2007). Study abroad which is accessible for those Indians exposed to and familiar with English language and those Indians who are educated in English may increase their 'marriage capital', which may also result in social mobility and economic benefits. Interestingly, when I asked the Indian agent if he spoke Hindi at home, he told me that English was the family language which was used and never Hindi.

The findings above may be considered as Indian examples of the phenomenon highlighted by Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (Winkle-Wagner, 2010). The findings suggest that the conversion of parental wealth i.e. their economic capital, and their cultural capital and their habitus may result in greater institutionalised cultural capital for their offspring (Jeffery, 2001).

6.14 Respondents' Expectations of Postgraduate Study

This section highlights the respondent's expectations which were identified from the findings.

A) and B) Respondents

An analysis of the findings suggests that the majority of respondents, expected their postgraduate study first and foremost, to improve their opportunities for a job/career, secondly to develop their human capital i.e. their knowledge and skills, thirdly to increase their financial capital, fourthly,

Respondents	Rank 1	2	3	4	5
A) Respondents	Improve opportunities	Development of skills	Expectation of increased	Exposure to the market	Career change

to gain exposure to the market and fifthly a change of career. (This is represented graphically in Appendix 4 fig.4.13).

The following table 6.1 presents a summary of the coding count of what respondents expected to achieve from the study of their postgraduate programme.

Indian Programme	for job or career		financial capital		
B) Respondents UK Programme	Improve opportunities for job or career	Development of skills	Expectation of increased financial capital	Exposure to the market	Career change
C) Respondents Current UK programme	Improve opportunities for a job or career	Exposure – Cultural experience	Development of skills	Symbolic capital – Prestige of doing the course	Expectation of increase in financial capital

Table 6.1 Examples of Coding Counts - Students Expectations of study

These following quotations, one from an A) Respondent, and two from B) Respondents express their expectations when they first chose to study postgraduate programmes. These were the expectations of achieving higher level management positions, greater confidence and to improve their social positions:

> VJ: *'A good job, manager level, different working environment. Management job.'*
> *SS: Career development. I wanted to be a Chief Executive Officer in the future. It made me believe in myself a lot.'*
>
> AB: *'I wanted a better salary and I thought it would improve my lifestyle and chances of a better life maybe.'*

The findings from the C) Respondents - Current UK students.

Most of the C) Respondents' expectations were the same as A) and B) Respondents. These were firstly, to improve their opportunities for a job and career. Secondly, however, their expectations were to gain exposure and cultural experience, thirdly to develop their skills, fourthly to gain symbolic capital and prestige from doing the course, and fifthly, the expectation of increased financial capital.

The quotation from this C) Respondent exemplifies these findings:

> Amr Lah: *'My knowledge more diverse and to get a good career and more respect.'*

The findings suggest that students' own expectations of study are similar regardless of the place of study, India or in the UK but current students expectations differ to those respondents who have graduated. This may suggest that graduates have experienced 'exposure' and had forgotten its relevance to their current situations.

Extrinsic and Intrinsic Rewards

As outlined in the literature review, findings from previous studies suggest that respondents are motivated to study postgraduate programmes for employment advantages (Currie and Knight, 2003) and the expectation of extrinsic rewards i.e. economic/financial capital, improved status and marketability; and the intrinsic rewards, of enhanced credibility, (Simpson, 2000). The findings from this study of Indian nationals, appears to concur with Simpson's (2000) UK findings regarding the motivations for extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. The Indian respondents had expectations of developing their human capital, for the extrinsic factors of a 'good job' and 'more money' and 'to become a manager' views which also reflected in the human capital theory of Becker (1993) who argues that investment in education and training primarily effects earnings. The findings also suggest that respondents hope to gain added cultural capital for the intrinsic rewards of improved credibility and personal identity.

This response from one C) Respondent provides an example of what may be regarded as acquisition of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) for the expectation of extrinsic rewards i.e. improved status and recognition, after studying a Masters degree in the UK:

> Pri Tau: '*You are seen as a better person and they probably think you are a knowledgeable person, you get recognition.'*

Another C) Respondent expected that UK study would result in social mobility. He stated the following: Am Kam: *'a better rank, better job, better society'.*
This A) Respondent also suggests the following:

> A U: *'If you have done your MBA from a top institution in India then it definitely adds to your social prestige. Respect from your family, peer group and people you meet in everyday life.'*

Bourdieu (1986) argues that institutionalised cultural capital confers institutional recognition on the holder of the award and this provides symbolic capital and added prestige, a view expressed by several respondents in this study with regard to their expectations. According to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, those who have a lower social status may not be able to gain the advantages that these middle class respondents achieved (Bourdieu, 1977). This is view reflected earlier when habitus and language skills were linked to study abroad.

Some respondents expressed the claim that they had expected to achieve improved social identity from being an MBA from the UK. This view appears to reflect the idea of the *'social alchemy'* proposed by Bourdieu (1986, p246) which he argues comes from institutionalised cultural capital and from some academic institutions. The literature suggests that if a Masters qualification is obtained from a highly regarded institution, this enhances the individual's institutionalised cultural capital, resulting in improved social identity and symbolic capital. These views were expressed by Indian respondents 'about' those Indian nationals who had graduated from the IIMs. Other respondents suggested that UK qualifications had better value than some Indian Masters qualifications in Indian society.

Motivations and Expectations

Wilton, Woodman and Essex (2007) used elements of reward theory to assess their respondents' motivation for management study. Their approach outlined some of the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation factors that drive individuals to learn. For this study, I suggest that rewards are the expectations that Indian respondents envisage they would achieve from their study of postgraduate degrees. According to the Wilton, Woodman & Essex (2007, p13) study, these rewards include the following:

- *'Achievement motivation – for which the reward is success*
- *Anxiety – for which the reward is the avoidance of failure*
- *Approval motivation – for which the reward is the approval of others*
- *Curiosity – for which the reward is to explore the environment and be exposed to new stimuli*
- *Acquisitiveness – for which the reward is something tangible such as money or additional benefits'.*

Using the criteria above, the findings from this study suggest that Indian nationals are also motivated to study by similar factors and for similar rewards or expectations.

The first criterion, achievement motivation, for the reward of a job or career' and thus success was identified in this study and from most respondents.
The second factor, anxiety as a motivator, for which the reward may be *'avoidance of failure'* (Wilton, Woodman & Essex 2007, p13) was also identified.
This factor is reflected in this quotation from this C) Respondent, which I suggest in this study is also linked with parental pressure and parental expectations as previously outlined. This study suggests that offspring agree to study as they are anxious to please and to reward their parents for their support and the parents appear to encourage commitment to study to prevent failure in their offspring:

> Sak Cho: *'It was mainly because of my parents, I was in two minds whether to go or not to live alone and err, but my parents were the*

ones... at times when I got home sick, also, I wanted to come back, the first two months, they were the ones who pushed me you know.'

Das and Kemp (1997) argue that Indian nationals are influenced by family responsibilities to put family before self and to reduce any aspect of failure (Segal, 1991) which may, bring increased demands for Indian children. (The anxiety factor as a motivator is reviewed again later in this chapter under outcomes.)

The literature also suggests that there is pressure from Indian societies/castes to achieve higher levels of study, and this could also be a reason for high levels of parental involvement/motivation to ensure that their children match expected caste norms.

The link between caste with '*its powerful political identity and form of symbolic and social capital'* (Jeffrey, 2001, p218) and higher education was, however, not explored in this study due to the complex nature of this hierarchical system. (See chapter 3 on caste).
The findings also suggest that respondents were motivated by *'Approval Motivation – for which, the reward is the approval of others'* (Wilton, Woodman & Essex 2007, p13). Findings from this study indicate that respondents expected the reward of approval by gaining symbolic capital from their postgraduate award. This C) Respondent indicated that he expected the following: AB: *'A better life, better social status.'*

Exposure to the market was as previously mentioned, important for all respondents. This appears to equate to what Wilton, Woodman & Essex, (2007, p13) suggest is their fourth criterion, *'Curiosity – for which the reward is to explore the environment and be exposed to new stimuli'*. The opportunity for respondents to have 'exposure' to the environment in India or abroad was mentioned by several respondents and especially the C) Respondents. This factor also appears to be one of the motivation factors for parents to encourage their offspring to study abroad.

The last criterion was *'acquisitiveness motivation – for which the reward is something tangible such as money, or additional benefits'* (ibid). In this study, findings indicate that all respondents expected the reward of knowledge and skills, increased financial capital as outlined by human capital theory (Becker, 1993) and a management career. Earlier quotations in this section highlight these motivation factors and this quotation from an A) Respondent expresses his expectation of becoming a manager by studying a postgraduate degree:

> PRA KUM: *'after MBA I think you have so many opportunities in management – I want to be big manager, I want to manage something.'*

The Expectation of Increased Cultural Capital from Foreign Awards

The findings suggest that the outcome from the award/credential i.e. the institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) from a foreign institution appears to increase the respondents' expectations for even greater symbolic and cultural capital through the prestige and recognition they will gain when they return to their home country (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002). This may, as already noted, result in greater acceptance or belonging within the family in particular and recognition by Indian society in general.

This female B) Respondent commented that a UK Masters degree would she expected result in her gaining greater symbolic capital and recognition:

> AK: *'It brings to you into a better society and better people, and if you choose to study abroad it shows people that you have money and then people treat you better in a higher society, you get more respect because you are better off and in a higher class basically.'*

The next section will consider what influenced the respondents to study abroad.

6.15 Factors which Influence Foreign Study

In addition to parental pressure another motivation or 'push-factor' for students to choose study abroad and outlined in the literature, is the lack of quality institutions and/or the opportunity for places for study at India's prestigious institutions (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Naidoo, 2007*)* e.g. the IIMs, or the top Indian Business Schools (Yadav, 2007). The findings from this study suggest that some of those Indian students who do not achieve the required grades to attend the top Indian institutions, choose institutions in the UK or USA as the best alternative for the development of their institutionalised cultural capital.

It is suggested in the literature that there is less competition for Indian nationals in some UK institutions because they accept lower grades (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002) and this is a factor which was also noted in this study and is expressed by this C) Respondent:

> Sak Cho: *'to get into a good college in India for masters is very, very tough, it is very tough, it is very easy over here. (UK). I mean if you score like a decent 65/70 in India then you can easily come here, over there it is neck throat cut, it is too much competition and even if you get a 99 percentile you will not get through'*

The Indian agent informed me that students are now required to achieve 100% in their exams for entry to the most prestigious Indian institutions, and require what Wildavsky suggests is the *'killer instinct'* (Wildavsky, 2010, p2) to 'pass through'. These Indian institutions are, as previously mentioned, held in the highest regard by Indians and by other nationalities and a degree from these institutions appears to result in the highest form of social identity and thus recognition or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, pxv) suggest that symbolic capital is:

> *'a form of capital that is not recognized as such e.g. prestige and a reputation operate as symbolic capital because they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities'.*

This view is expressed by this, male A) Respondent:

> A U: *'If you have done your MBA from a top institution in India then it definitely adds to your social prestige. Respect from your family, peer group and people you meet in everyday life.'*

The respondents' expectations indicate that they hope to gain their academic credentials to add to their and their family's cultural and symbolic capital and to secure a good job (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). This C) respondent a current UK female student outlines this 'pull-factor' from the host country:

> Sak Cho: *'Totally, I think IIMs and all these places are regarded as the best and there are a couple of other good institutions as well, but it's very difficult to get thorough. There are a few private colleges but I don't think they are valued so much. You'd rather come out and study, so.....You are spending that kind of money, maybe in London a little more, but private universities are quiet expensive as well, so you'd rather come out and get exposure and experience.'*

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, p110) suggest that Bourdieu argues that *'capital accrued from educational institutions only has value in fields that recognise and share this value'* i.e. those from similar social spaces (Grenfell, 2008) and in this study I suggest from other Indian middle class families

The findings from this study suggest that Indian respondents appear to appreciate the value of attending these highly regarded Indian institutions, due to their knowledge and cultural background (Bourdieu, 1977). These values are reinforced by the media e.g. Indian newspapers, which reinforce the benefits for those who hold top government Indian jobs from these top Indian institutions, many of whom are from the upper middle social classes (Agarwala, 2008). The British Council and various UK academic institutions who market their programmes in India are thus able to 'pull students' to the UK as identified in the findings from this study and those identified by Mazzarol & Soutar (2002).

6.16 Other Factors Which Influenced Study in the UK

Despite Indian parents being found as the most important factor influencing postgraduate study, one of the reasons why current UK respondents suggested they wanted to study abroad was for 'independence from their parents'. This factor was mentioned by more female C) Respondents than male C) Respondents. This, I suggest, is perhaps because females have less freedom in India than males. One female C) Respondent expressed her view as follows:

> Sak Cho:*'I wanted to study further and why I came to London was because in India you are really protected with your bio parents and all that, freedom is not there, I mean they have no restrictions as such but still you know, they are taking care of you and here it's a different kind of experience, your independence here, doing your own thing and that's why, was for the exposure and from the study part, it does matter, you get like your Masters degree.'*

In addition, there were some negative factors related to the respondents' academic experiences and aspects of Indian higher education related to the quality of supply (Altbach, 2004; Bashir, 2007; Naidoo, 2007; Paltey, 2009). These factors I argue contributed to respondents choosing to study abroad for postgraduate programmes, in effect a further 'push-factor' identified in this study. This was outlined by this B) respondent:

> VB: *'Delhi University was very depressing. So I didn't want to go back for a Masters. It was highly disorganised, there are problems. For the Delhi University or other leading academic institutions in India, the way I see it, the students who go there are highly self-motivated and they have to compete to get there. They are proactive and take initiative to study by themselves. They get good grades and then they graduate. There is no academic environment, inside the university, it's a very laid back approach, that the professors have. Half the professors are taking private tutorial classes outside the campus and not necessarily teaching on campus'.*

It was previously mentioned that the respondents who had studied in India had differing perspectives on their and their families' choice of study destination. The next section will outline some of these factors.

6.17 Factors Which Influence Study In India.

Several respondents argued that there are good institutions in India and that as it was their 'home country' studying in India was a good option. However, findings indicate that lack of economic capital by parents is cited by most respondents as the main reason for them choosing to stay in India for their business programmes and not studying abroad (see Figure 4.20 in Appendix 4). This quotation from an A) Respondent explains the constraints:

> DE MO: *'I would like to have gone abroad, but there were family restrictions – they didn't want me to go alone and there was a budget thing and we couldn't afford it – I would have loved to though'.*

Another aspect, which was highlighted by the business trainer I spoke with in the hotel, which may also influence studying in India rather than abroad, is the fact that foreign credentials are not recognised by the Indian government for jobs. The Indian trainer highlighted the problem as follows:

> *'Grad schools – affiliates to foreign universities, but can't offer degrees in India. They go through process and degree offered from, for example, Wales. MBA certificate is not issued in India. So corporates don't recognise them, so public sector don't recognise them. So these students get MBA but can't work in government sector.'*

This was also confirmed by the Indian student recruitment agent. He suggested that jobs in the government sector are highly sought after, but those graduates who hold UK Masters degrees are disadvantaged. It appears that UK credentials do not possess the same level of cultural capital in the Indian market that families and graduates expect. The student recruitment agent was actually reluctant to explain this in detail to me, as I imagine that this knowledge could damage his turnover.

6.18 Other Factors Which Influence Study In India.

Those who had studied in India suggested that some Indian institutional advertising linked postgraduate business programmes with ‘getting a job’, which in some cases had influenced the respondents’ choice of place to study. Unfortunately, however, these respondents suggest that outcomes of study in these Indian institutions resulted in lack of jobs and thus great disappointment. This will be outlined further in the outcomes section of this chapter.

6.19 The Use and Expectations of Social Capital

The findings in this study also acknowledge the work of Siebert, Kraimer & Linden (2001) who argue that business education has social capital benefits i.e. an individual’s networks that support career development. Several of the Indian respondents suggest the relevance and importance of social capital through links with family, friends and alumni, and reinforce the idea argued by Putnam (2000) that social capital may hold benefits if it is developed.

Use of family social capital

Several respondents who studied in the UK explained that they already had family links in the UK and this was one reason why they had chosen the UK as a study destination. One example from a Male C) Respondent explains his view in this quotation: *‘I was personally having my cousin there’.* This he explained had made it easier for him when he arrived in the UK as he had family links.

This may be regarded as what Putnam (2000, pp22-23) describes as *‘bonding social capital’*. Putnam argues that this is a *‘type of sociological superglue’* good for *‘reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity’* (ibid). This form of social capital was found in this study, firstly from other family members who offer economic support for postgraduate study and secondly from family members who offer support for those who travel to new geographical locations e.g. to the UK.

Expectation of Social Capital

The findings from this study also suggest that respondents are motivated and have the expectation that postgraduate study will increase their personal social capital. This A) Respondent comments that he considered that his course would provide social capital benefits from the alumni:

> AU: '*if you are looking for good networking then this is a great idea; it opens up a lot of contacts and people you meet.'*

This C) Respondent also suggested that his UK institution was important for networking opportunities:

> Nit 5: *'Because I am studying here and people are so polished I could get placed in one of their companies.'*

This Indian respondent uses the term 'polish' which refers to the cultural and social capital of other alumni (Bourdieu, 1986) and which may provide an opportunity for those who attend an institution, to develop their *'linking social capital'* (Woolcock, 2001, pp13-14). This is described as follows:

> *'linking social capital: which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those, who are entirely outside the community thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community'.*
> (ibid)

This suggests that when students have made 'friends' with people in their new community i.e. the academic institution their relationships develop and may then translate into what Woolcock (2001, pp13-14) describes as:

> *'Bridging social capital, which encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates'.*

This *'bridging social capital'* (Putnam, 2000, p23) is an example of social capital which may be made through contact with other students from higher social backgrounds. In this case it is a middle class respondent who has the opportunity to link with a higher middle class or upper class student.

One C) Respondent informed me that another student on his programme was the son of an Indian politician and that links with him would be very useful to himself and other students and their families, if and when, they decide to go back to India to work.
This is an example of *'bridging networks'* which are according to Putnam a *'type of sociological WD40'* (ibid). This form of social capital Putnam argues is better for linkages for information diffusion and possible job opportunities (Putnam, 2000). The literature also suggests that social capital may be regarded as the social networks of influence, support, membership, personal links, or ties with others and may be developed from the place of study i.e. being a member of the alumni. Social capital may like financial capital also be used for personal future benefit i.e. networking for further job/career opportunities and may also provide access to resources and information for possible career development (Coleman, 1988; Field, 2008; Putnam, 2000; Seibert, Kraimer & Linden, 2001) these views were found in this study.

Summary of Motivations and Expectations

In summary, this section has outlined the motivations for and the rewards that are expected by Indian nationals from their postgraduate programmes. The findings suggest that academic study is strongly encouraged by Indian middle class parents. They use their socioeconomic, cultural and social capital to motivate and support their offspring to study either in India or abroad to gain knowledge and skills and institutionalised cultural capital (Becker, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986) for increased symbolic capital and other benefits. The findings also indicate that Indian respondents expected better jobs and increased economic capital from their awards. There was also the expectation from C) Respondents that the academic institution would provide opportunities for them to develop their social capital from other students on their programme (Coleman, 1988).

6.20 Outcomes of Studying Postgraduate Business Programmes

Having reviewed the findings related to motivations and expectations, this section will review the findings related to the Indian graduates' outcomes.

The findings from the literature suggest that MBA *'inquirers expectations exceeded the expectations of the alumni on almost all dimensions'* (Lawton & Lundsten 1998, p23). Baruch and Peiperl (2000) and Pfeffer and Fong (2002) further argue that the Masters business degree may not always live up to its reputation of providing the social identity that students expected, or the expected financial return on their investment.

It is suggested, however, that study may produce other benefits, for example, a reputation effect which may result in better career opportunities due to an increase in symbolic capital for the holder (Baruch and Peiperl, 2000; Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). The UK Leitch Review (2006) also acknowledges the tangible advantages of postgraduate education for individuals, employers and the economy. The findings from this study, however, suggest mixed views regarding the outcomes from obtaining the postgraduate credential.

Findings from the Study of Indian Nationals

Some of the respondents' expectations of gaining their Masters degree have they suggest, been met, for example a quotation from an A) Respondent states: AU: *'Yes, it is worth it'*. The respondent further suggested that he has achieved a better job and career development i.e. intrinsic career benefits, as a result of the credential.
This B) Respondent also made the comment that his expectations have been achieved:

> K: *'Do you think the qualification has met your expectations?*
>
> VB: *Definitely.*
>
> K: *So you have a better job and salary improvement?*
>
> VB: *Yes'.*

This A) Respondent expresses the view that he expected to improve his knowledge and to build his social capital but the expected career outcome was not met:

> K: *'What did you expect to achieve from having a masters?*
> A U: *I think a better understanding of the businesses coming out from a lower role to get a broader perspective and to build a good network*
> K: *When you got a job – was the job what you expected?*
> A U: *No, I think the media hypes it up a bit'.*

However, overall the findings from this study suggest that in most cases improvements in salary, which were referred to in the literature as extrinsic benefits, were not achieved, an outcome also found in the Baruch and Peiperl study (2000). However, intrinsic benefits were found, which reflects the findings of the US study by Baruch, Bell and Gray (2005). This A) Respondent outlines his outcomes:

> AU: *'I mean it didn't meet the salary expectations and all that but I think I definitely got advancement in skills, so that met my expectations. Better job, better career'.*

The findings from this study, I suggest, concur with the findings of Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011, p9), from which they argue that; *'learning and earning is being called into question…with growth of a high-skill, low-wage workforce'* (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2011, p9).

Evidence from other respondents also suggested that the outcomes were not what they had been expecting and I was aware at the time of the interviews in India that there was an atmosphere of disappointment and sometimes expressions of anger in the attitudes of some of the respondents. This is highlighted in the following illuminating and very saddening comments. This is a quotation from an A) Respondent:

> Jit Yad: *'The university pushes the job with only MBA in all their advertisements…..and yeah, my college coordinator and director were saying that there would be a job and he would get me*

> *opportunities by having MBA; but there was nothing. Before MBA, I was thinking more and more, after my MBA because before MBA I was thinking grades, and my expectations were very high with my MBA degree... when I will complete MBA degree, then I would find good job and it would change my life also. Great job and great place, but afterwards, my dreams totally collapsed through these types of policies, jobs and problems. I was unaware of these types of truth.'*

Another A) Respondent stated that it was the people who run the institutions that are the problem:

> *KDSS: 'They take an ample amount from every student and not understanding their social responsibility of guiding the student with a true picture of the industry, only 30 have been placed. The university says 180 placed but only 30 have been placed and those 30, who have been placed are placed either by their father's connections or because they are forced to work to their family conditions, and, they must pay back their loans. When I started with my MBA I had a dream of becoming CEO in 10 years. Students are not given guidance. My parents did guide me. My father is well qualified and he gave me good directions. But he studied in 1970s so he cannot guide me in today's market. So I had very high expectations.'*

The findings from this study suggest that the dream of the 1990s of the MBA as the *'passport for the best jobs in the country'* (Sinha, 2004, p3), or as the status symbol and educational equivalent of the BMW (Sanghera, 2005) may no longer be realistic. These findings I suggest reinforce the argument proposed by Brown, Lauder and Ashton (2011) who suggest that there is the emergence of a high skilled low waged workforce.

Yadav (2007) also suggests that there is a disparity between business schools in India with many not contributing to knowledge and skills development. This has resulted in many graduates who are unemployable as the development of their human capital is not of the standard that results in jobs or financial benefits. These outcomes appear to be reflected in some of the outcomes for some of the graduate respondents in this study. There is also a perception that employers are aware of these Indian business schools and the credentials that are awarded.

Some of the respondent's outcomes in this study, however, may not have been due to qualifications from these poor quality Indian business schools but may have been due to the economic downturn or corporate restructuring which was highlighted in the literature review. These factors may have resulted in the lack of availability of jobs at the time of the study as this A) Respondent comments:

> Jit Yad: *'I would get a job easily but in the market I see now, there are no good opportunities in the market and it is tough because the economy has changed. Now, I don't want to work in India either because there is nothing'.*

However, Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2008, p18) argue that the following scenario is emerging in the global market place:

> *'the current view of education for creativity and personal fulfillment bears little relationship to the future employment of many university graduates....the rise of high skilled low waged work force means increasing inequalities and unmet expectations, and challenges our understanding of justice and efficiency via the connection between education, jobs and rewards'*

This scenario is I suggest also being experienced by 'postgraduates' as outlined by this A) Respondent's comment:

> Jit Yad: *'There are many people with an MBA and no one is getting a job. Too many people have MBA and now there are no offers. Even the best can't get a job. This is the truth, for all over India. I'm only in Delhi and even here in the most popular city in India, you can't get jobs and so in the small places there is nothing. I have written my MBA degree and they won't take a regular MBA, which is when you have gone to a regular college and there is nothing interesting or better about you, they are separated. They see that recruiting new*

> *people is damaging to the company because it costs more. You work really hard, you are promised all these things and you get none of the promises. And the salaries are not good. I want to do corporate management but I don't know if it is coming. Even people who pay big fees for MBA can't get jobs. I have CV without MBA too, it says only graduate level. Regular MBA's still can't get a job.'*

This respondent informed me that he had two CVs, one with a Masters degree and one without, so that he could apply for 'any job' that was available. The respondent also informed me that some Indian employers consider that an MBA is over qualified and many employers will not interview candidates with an MBA. This view was also highlighted in the CIHE (2010) UK survey of employers and the Baruch and Peiperl (2000) study.

The approach by this respondent of having two CVs appears to highlight the existence of Dore's (1997) 'diploma disease' with higher levels of credentials demanded by Indian employers and yet there appear to be fewer jobs available at expected management levels. It appears that individuals take whatever jobs they can and especially in recessionary times. The emerging service companies are I suggest, 'screening' their employees and are now recruiting MBAs and especially from the UK with proficiency in English but not for management jobs, but for call centre jobs. This is I suggest an example of *'credentialism'* (Wolf, 2002, p5, Becker, 1993, p19) i.e. qualification-escalation. The result for many postgraduates appears to be either unemployment and/or disaffection (Dore, 1997) a condition which I was aware of during the focus groups and when I was interviewing the respondents in India.

The findings in this study indicate that there is evidence that credential inflation appears to be devaluing the dominant forms of middle class cultural capital, resulting in increasing competition for the elite managerial jobs as argued by Brown (1995). The outcome of which is disappointment for many individuals who expected their credentials to produce the outcomes of management jobs. This is reflected in the comments by this B) Respondent with a UK MBA:

> AB: *'People in India still perceive MBA as a high class degree, they think it will make you a higher class executive or become higher class but over 1,000 people with MBA are not like this, they are working in call centres and yet they have these qualifications.'*

These respondents' statements seem to confirm that the cultural capital that they had accrued from their credentials is less than expected and Bourdieu (1980) argues that those who rely only on their educational qualifications for 'capital' are, *'the most vulnerable in the event of credential deflation'* (Bourdieu 1980, p2; 1986, p248, in Field, 2008, p19). From this study, it appears that some business postgraduates may have weaker cultural capital than they had expected and due to their family's social position, they may also lack connections e.g. social capital, which links them to friends and family, who have knowledge of jobs.

Other evidence from those who had studied abroad in the UK adds to the findings and further indicates that institutionalised cultural capital outcomes did not meet the respondents' expectations. This B) Respondent returned to India from the UK and his degree has not met his expectations, of the *'reputation effect'* which was highlighted by Baruch and Peiperl (2000, p82). There appears from his comment, to be a lack of the perceived added cultural and symbolic capital that a foreign postgraduate business degree was expected to provide:

> K: *Was it disappointing because you had the UK MBA and then you did not have a job?*
> VT S: *Yes, very disappointing.*
> K: *How long did it take to get a job?*
> VT S: *3 months.*
> K: *Was it the job you expected?*
> VT S: *No, I expected better. Till late I don't get.'*

The respondent also reflects the view that elite institutions e.g. IIMs have the highest cultural capital, compared with the cultural capital accrued from alternative institutions in India or abroad:

> VT S: *'To be honest....Here, we have best institutes, but 800,000 students apply and only 60 get into those places. There is something about those IIMs. So you know... in your mind you think that you are like one of those IIMs, but other person doesn't think that way , so he throws the agency away, he has MBA from somewhere else, but he has same thing, but didn't work that hard.'*

This same respondent suggested that he was influenced to take an MBA in the UK to realise his expectations of a good career and although he states that he is an MBA graduate from the UK his expected outcomes have not been achieved. The levels of cultural capital he expected to accrue from his credentials were he suggested not perceived by employers as equivalent to that obtained from the top Indian institutions. They appear to lack what Bourdieu (1986) would regard as high levels of institutionalised cultural capital and thus they appear to lack the respect and status that was expected in the labour market. The literature suggests that credentials depend upon the belief of others in the status of the institution from which they were obtained (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002) and if the employers are unaware of the status of the Indian or UK institution, career outcomes may not be realised. These were findings identified in this study.

Human capital theorists suggest that the skills of employees should match the requirements of the job (Evans & Kelley, 2001) but it appears that in some cases, employees are over qualified for the jobs that are now available. When jobs are in high demand and supply is limited employers appear to require skills beyond the needs of the role the results of which may lead to postgraduates not achieving their expectations and not meeting the desires and expectations of their middle-class families.

The OECD (2001, p18) defines human capital as *'the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being'*. They also suggest that it improves an individual's chance of social mobility a view which Brown (1995) considers may be changing due to global trends, as individuals compete for fewer top jobs (Brown & Lauder, 2006) and a view reflected in these findings.

Interestingly, only one UK postgraduate respondent from this study had attended what might be regarded as a highly ranked UK business school, and he did express that his outcome had met his expectations:

> K: *'Do you think the qualification has met your expectations?'*
> VB: *'Definitely.'*
> K: *'So you've had a better job and a salary improvement?*
> VB: *Yes.'*

It is also interesting to note, that this respondent reflecting on his UK qualification suggests that even though he had attended a good UK university his institutionalised cultural capital was not equivalent to that of a person from an Indian Institute of Management:

> VB: *'Yes it has, but I wouldn't compare my professional experiences with anyone who had graduated from the Indian Institute of Management.'*

None of the other respondents in this study had attended what might be regarded as a prestigious institution either in the UK or India and, the findings further suggest that they have not gained the recognised and highly valued institutionalised cultural capital that they had expected.

The next section will present the respondents perceptions of employers' views of postgraduate credentials.

6.21 Respondents' Perceptions of Employers Views of Masters Business Qualifications

The findings indicate that respondents have various views of how employers perceive Masters qualifications and their comments suggest that the value of some Indian credentials, other than the IIMs, hold less *'institutionalised cultural capital'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p248) than those from the UK.

This is confirmed by the perception of this A) Respondent, who stated the following:

> A: '*very few come out from good colleges. Many are not recognised and people will not get a job. The employers know about these colleges.*'

Increased credentialism appears to be lowering the perceived levels of cultural capital gained from individuals' postgraduate awards as the quality of Indian institutions falls. Yadev (2007, p8) outlines the issues facing Indian higher education, and the *'diminishing acceptability by employers'* of Indian qualifications and is a view clearly expressed by this A) Respondent:

> AN BL: '*If you live in Delhi more than 500 schools are mushrooming. Their level of the teaching standards, are so poor, the students won't be able to enhance their knowledge.... A manager would know those institutions.*'

Indian institutional reputations are linked to the quality of the human capital skills and abilities of the graduates they produce. Respondents in this study suggest that in many cases, skills and knowledge do not appear to match employers' needs. One of the Indian trainers also indicated that:

> *'Some colleges don't even give an exam or anything they just pay and get their MBA. It has no value and the companies know this.'*

It is argued that the name and reputation of an institution adds to institutionalised cultural capital and social capital for the holder (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986). However, some Indian institutions, as highlighted in Chapter 2, have issues with quality. This is also illustrated by this A) Respondent as follows:

> KDSS: *'My Indian degree will not show my capabilities. Every company has a list of universities that they take from so I can't show my capabilities. Each company has its own list. If the institute is not on the list you don't get in. Employers know the institutes. My institute is*

> *on the B list, so not A list. The A list gives you a visa to sit on the interview list, so if you can't even enter then you can't show your capabilities. If your institute is not on the list in India they won't take you for even interview.'*

The evidence from this study also reflects the view highlighted by Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011) that the expansion of higher education in emerging economies is resulting in increased credentialism, with the real value of academic credentials from higher education falling. An MBA was once regarded as a highly valued qualification by employers but findings from this study suggest that it appears to have less value in the market place. One explanation for this is the growth in popularity and the quality of the institution from which the qualification was obtained. This outcome appears to reflect the argument proposed by DiMaggio (1988) who argues that middle class optimisers follow similar strategies for similar goals, the outcome of which results in more individuals simply taking a Masters degree to hopefully secure a job in an ever increasingly competitive labour market, a view reinforced by Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011). This A) Respondent clearly acknowledges these changes: VIN S: *'now MBA's don't get good offers and they get low salaries'.*

Foreign Awards

The findings indicate that most respondents' perceive that qualifications earned abroad even from lower ranked UK institutions, have more value in the Indian market place than Indian degrees (excluding IIMs.) This A) Respondent made the following comment:

> VIN S: *'Yes, definitely. They know the institutes, they know the rankings, everything*
>
> K: *And what do they think about foreign institutes?*
>
> VIN S: *They think that a foreign MBA is better, of course than Indian,*
>
> K: *Even if it is low ranked foreign institution?*
>
> VIN S: *Yes .....This is because there is more globalisation and so many companies are coming into India so they look for people from abroad, they have a better chance of a job than an Indian MBA. Studying abroad is something different so employers recognise this.*
>
> K: *So you are competing with the foreign MBA?*

> VIN S: *Perhaps sometimes. They would probably choose IIMs over a foreign though – it's the cream of the lot. But they will usually always choose abroad students.*
>
> K: *But if it is from a good university like yours then they will choose you?'*
>
> VIN S: *No, after top rank, always U.S.A then U.K first – After 13/14 top universities in India. I would say that any MBA from abroad is in a category. Even Australia, but the Indian MBA is not always seen as being very good. They always look for abroad.'*

Another A) Respondent commented on the importance of linguistic ability and thus greater symbolic capital which may also be obtained from a foreign degree. This may the respondent suggests also give competitive advantage to the holder in the market place:

> A: *'You can talk better than Indian guy. Better acceptance.'*

Also, there is a perception of the ranking of foreign qualifications by Indian employers, which the respondents suggest come after the top Indian institutions, such as the IIMs and which have the greatest cultural capital. Another respondent stated that qualifications from the USA are more highly ranked than those from the UK. This comment from a B) Respondent highlights the benefits of a UK degree over an Indian degree:

> VTS: *'He has MBA from UK he has little edge but if other guy is from IIMs they won't look at me. Everyone has MBA.'*

This comment also reflects the views of Brown, Lauder & Ashton (2011) who suggest that this form of credentialism is resulting in what may be regarded as a 'global auction', bringing more rewards only for the educated elite. This credentialism they further argue perpetuates social divisions in different societies as the labour market becomes more congested.

Another perception offered by a respondent suggests that UK education may still be an unknown qualification for some Indian employers and may result in more salary. However, those from the higher ranked Indian institutions are the ones who are regarded as the educated elite and thus they demand and achieve the best salaries as noted in this comment from this A) Respondent:

> VB: *'The thing about the foreign education is that it's not well branded in India there might be other factors which get you an interview, for example, they think that if a guy has been to Delhi University Faculty of Management, then he will want high 10 lac, salary someone from Amity Private University may want low say 2.5 lac salary, but maybe he wasn't very bright so that's why he went there anyway. They know exactly where you are coming from if you have an Indian qualification, so they can work out the fit. UK educations somewhat unknown in India so maybe an advantage....'*

The assumption made by this respondent is that the graduate was not bright if he went to a lower ranking college but this may be due to the fact that his parents lacked either the cultural capital to encourage study, or perhaps the economic capital to pay for his study at a higher ranked institution. This may then be regarded an example of the perpetuation of social stratification as argued in the cultural capital theory of Bourdieu (1977).

The views of the respondents appear to reflect the perception of screening practices of employers. The employers assess the respondents and the institution from which they graduated and as more postgraduates are available in the labour market, employers can demand higher qualifications for jobs and choose the candidates which they perceive to be the best.

Becker (1993) argues that human capital theory assumes that education improves earnings and productivity, whereas alternative views deny that productivity occurs only that credentials are gained. Becker (1993) further suggests that employers now want evidence of potential employees' abilities and performance from their previous jobs and not just certificates, a view which is expressed by the comment from this A) Respondent:

> 'VIK: *I expected a higher job but I had to do any job I had no experience so it was difficult at first'.*

This A) Respondent also highlights the importance of experience in addition to the qualifications:

> DE MO: *'I have gained much experience so if I go for a job now I expect. I can be selected for a job, I have experience and MBA. I gave so many interviews for a job.. qualifications are not so good, they need you with experience so they ask you a question about a situation if you have experience, you can answer.'*

Distance Learning

The findings also revealed respondents' perceptions about employers' views of distance learning programmes. They suggest that these programmes were not highly regarded by Indian employers. This again may support Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, which suggests that lack of economic capital may result in lower cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In the case of distance learning programmes, I suggest that those individuals, who have to work to earn an income to pay for their credentials, are not as highly regarded as those of higher social economic status who studied full time in Indian or UK institutions. These findings may also indicate why the enrolments to these Indian programmes are so low; as noted by Narasimharao (2009).

6.22 Recommendations to Study Masters Programmes

Despite the fact that the findings suggest that the outcomes of studying postgraduate programmes did not meet all of the expectations of the respondents, many would still recommend the programmes to others. Interestingly this was especially so for the A) Respondents, (Indian graduates) where in 7 cases out of 11, they would recommend the programme to others. Perhaps this is because in an increasingly congested labour market having higher educational credentials still provides a form of competitive advantage and is evidence of enhanced human capital (Becker, 1993). There may of course be additional benefits which respondents are aware of and which I will reflect on later in this chapter.

6.23 Perceptions of the Benefits of Social Capital

This A) Respondent mentioned that one of the benefits of a postgraduate degree is that it supports the development of social capital and he stated the following:

> AU: *'if you are looking for good networking then this is a great idea; it opens up a lot of contacts and people you meet.'*

Social capital from a place of study may result in the development of links or ties with others i.e. *'bridging social capital'* (Putnam, 2000, p22). These additional benefits are often linked with the more prestigious institutions, which may bestow not only greater symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979) as previously outlined, but also the added benefits of membership in the form of trust and bonding, sometimes referred to as 'the old boy network' (Kearns, 2003, p45; Rand & Bierema, 2009). Burt (1997) suggests that, whilst human capital is found in individuals, social capital is found between people and he further suggests that managers who are doing well tend to be well connected. He also suggests that links could be developed through alumni networks.

It was also noted in this study that respondents expressed the importance of their father's connections for links to jobs, which could be found from bridging social capital through their friendships and bonding social capital through their family ties as exemplified by this A) Respondent:

> KDSS: *'many are placed by their father's connections'.*

This also reflects the view of Dhesi, (2001, p16) who argues that *'the informal networks, especially family contacts through ethnic affiliations, provide useful channels for information regarding educational and employment opportunities'*

Interestingly, the findings from current students studying in the UK, expressed the importance of social capital e.g. networking with fellow students. This was expressed by several respondents. One comment from a C) Respondent highlights this view:

> Nit: *'to network really well. I would like to know people from different places at all times. You never know when someone can be helpful.'*

This is a comment which appears to reflect Bourdieu's assessment that social capital is *'a solid investment, the profits of which will appear in the long run in monetary or other form'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p253). This also reflects the view of Woolcock (2001, p2) who argues that *'it's not what you know, it's who you know'*, which may be as Fine argues a *'mantra from the university of life'* (Fine, 2010, p20) but is in fact reflected in the findings from this study. Respondents appear to recognise the benefits of developing their social capital through university links for future advantages.

The findings from this study suggest however that many of the graduates from Indian and some graduates from UK programmes had a limited opportunity to develop their bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) post-study. This was reinforced by this comment from a B) Respondent:

> Par Kum: *'there were limited networking opportunities, no help to meet people, and I thought there was no good support for jobs for international students to benefit.'*

The findings from this study appear to reflect the findings of Diaz & Moll (2002) who noted that UK institutions did support career and alumni networking activities but their respondent group considered that the services were of a poor quality.

The UK institutions in this study did, however, provide more links with alumni than the Indian institutions, which may also reflect the practice of relationship marketing activities of UK institutions with their alumni (Heckman & Guskey, 1998).

The benefits of the development of what Putnam (2000, p22) refers to as *'bridging social capital'* may provide support for graduates' for future jobs, and, as such, development of these social contacts and networks may have real value. These networks may also help to recognise and reinforce the institutional cultural capital of the alumnus.

Social capital is, in Lin's terms, *'capital captured through social relations'* (Lin, 2001, p21), which should, like human capital, be maintained and added to helping to ensure beneficial outcomes for individuals. Morgan (2002, p66) argues that as social networks have value and *'universities can play a key role in the bridging social capital …acting as catalysts for networking'*. However, this does not appear to be the case for the Indian postgraduates in this study.

The next section will outline the other perceived benefits of postgraduate education which are applicable in Indian society.

6.24 Marriage Capital

As previously identified, postgraduate qualifications may bestow a higher status and hold cultural capital and thus symbolic value for the graduate (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986; Sturdy & Gabriel, 2000). It is also suggested that higher education has a social value and may as Waters (2006) suggests for graduates from Hong Kong, result in the gain of additional benefits for the individual. Waters suggests from her findings that those who have graduated from foreign study, found that their *'credentials had transformed into something far more valuable than the local equivalent'* (Waters, 2006, p189). This also appears to be the perception for some of the respondents in this study of Indian nationals and especially so in Indian marriages.

Cultural capital, which it has been argued provides 'privileges' from various educational settings (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, pvii) may be considered as a form of 'capital' which can be regarded as a *'currency in the social realm'* (Bourdieu, 1979a/1984 in Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p5). The findings from this study suggest that if access to the prestigious Indian Institutes is not possible, offspring are encouraged by their middle class parents, who have, or have access to economic capital to choose what they perceive is the next best academic institution in India. If these are not available, they are encouraged to choose study abroad to increase their institutionalised cultural capital and thus their symbolic capital and job opportunities. This form of cultural capital appears to be linked to what I have termed 'marriage capital', which may result, for some Indian families, in additional benefits of increased economic capital and social capital.

The definition of 'capital' as outlined by Bourdieu and highlighted by DiMaggio (1979, p1463) deviates from the conventional economic definition of human capital and is recognised as follows:

> *'capital need not be strictly economic. Capital, defined implicitly as attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person, or a position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem, exists in many forms-symbolic, cultural, social, or linguistic, as well as economic.*

I further argue that, in Indian society, my suggestion of 'marriage capital', which in this study comprises, cultural capital in the form of credentials, may then be transformed into 'dowry capital' for the groom. This capital may result in economic benefits for the groom and the groom's family.

Evidence from the findings suggests that there are perceived links between the institutionalised cultural capital obtained from Indian and UK postgraduate education, which add to 'marriage capital', for the bride and for the groom. The 'marriage capital' held by the bride may, in addition to cultural capital, comprise her family's economic and social capital e.g. family connections, which may then translate into greater influence, and which, added to dowry level, may attract a suitable groom who has higher status and is more attractive.

In Indian society, parents more often than not, arrange marriages for their children (See chapter 3), and it appears from this study that some Indian middle class parents are aware of the benefits of the investment of their economic capital e.g. personal resources, for postgraduate education for what Lin (2001, p19) argues is *'profit production'.* In Indian society I suggest that this profit production may be regarded as a good career and also as a good marriage. A union of two families which gives access to the social capital of the families involved, and dowry/or gifts where these are given and accepted.

One of the respondent families in this study indicated that the best way to ensure a good marriage e.g. to demonstrate the level of 'marriage capital' in the bride or groom, is to: *'educate your children this is a long term investment'.*

Evidence of the influence of parents in marriage transactions was found in this study, and is expressed by a female C) Respondent, and a male C) Respondent:

> Am Kan: *'I want to do a love marriage but I don't think my parents will let me. It will be 95%.... it will be an arranged marriage like customs, class.'*
>
> V1:*'Yeah it's fine by me. Actually the time for making introductions is gone now and right now I think better is to actually. Because parents know what is actually the right thing for you and their wishes is fine for me.'*

These comments reflect the view that, despite the effects of Indian independence, globalisation and a modernising economy, there are still many young people in India who prefer to have their marriages arranged by their parents, rather than partake in 'love marriages' (Arnett, 2005; Dasgupta, 2006; Netting, 2010).

The findings also indicate that brides and grooms with a Masters degree have greater institutionalised cultural capital as perceived by others in the *'field'* (Bourdieu, 1977) e.g. in this case Indian society and especially so within the Indian marriage market, where there is a struggle for families to secure attributes for their offspring to exchange for benefits. These quotations from these A) Respondents reveal their perceptions:

> PUSH M: *'Yes, because in India especially for the groom, if he is a postgraduate with some professional qualification like MBA, he is much preferred, if you write down groom with BCom, he is not even properly qualified.....It is a type of branding.'*

> DE MO: *'When a boy and girl get married there is a kind of an ego. So when a boy does an MBA he wants to marry a girl with an MBA, there is a kind of an ego. Even if a girl has an MBA she wants to marry more than an MBA, she wants to get married she only goes for a higher person. The boy wants someone equal to him.*

The MBA appears to provide a better image and level of esteem for the graduate, male or female in the marriage market, which some respondents suggest is a type of 'branding'. Some respondents consider that it is better than just any Masters degree, a view shared by Sanghera (2005, p1), who suggests that *'MBAs and arranged marriages go together like tea and samosas'.*

This comment from an A) Respondent explains the perceived benefits of postgraduate awards for females:

> Vin S: *'They just take MBA and have peer pressure because other guys and girls do it, so they do it. See India specifically the girls do MBA for a good match better match for the marriage by showing I am an MBA I will get a good husband.'*

The findings indicate that a postgraduate qualification is perceived to add value to 'marriage capital', and it increases the persons' chances in the marriage market. With this view in mind, I argue that parents encourage postgraduate study in the hope that it will secure these benefits.

Male children, with higher level qualifications, are regarded as being more acceptable for a bride's family to choose in a marriage arrangement. This male A) Respondent made the following comment:

> KDSS: *'should fulfill their responsibilities by marrying their girl to a boy who is earning very good. There is an insecurity feeling that if he is not an MBA or an engineer.'*

This perception was also expressed by this A) Respondent, who argued that a male who is professionally qualified with an MBA or similar degree improves his marriage capital:

> Push M: '*the chances of getting a bride who is socially well off and well educated is more.'*

This also appears to be one of the reasons why Indian families encourage their children to develop their human and cultural capital, and this is confirmed by this A) Respondent:

> AN BL: *'Yes, education gets respect in the matrimonial part you can write BE, MBA then the grooms family will be given an upper edge to you. Reputation in the society is important.'*

The findings also suggest that there is increased marriage capital for those individuals who attended elite Indian institution i.e. increased institutionalised cultural capital, as highlighted by this A) Respondent:

> AU: *'if a guy is coming from an IIM institute, he is placed in a different bracket'*.

There is also the perception from the respondents that more symbolic and cultural capital is obtained from foreign higher education, which also results in additional 'marriage capital', as demonstrated from one of the quotations from one of the Indian families:

> '*Going abroad will increase our children's value (for marriage).'*

When I asked respondents for their views of the advertisements one finds in Indian English language newspapers, related to the link between marriage and a foreign/London postgraduate degrees, this was one of the responses:

> AU: *'One he can afford a London MBA. He has good backing to afford a London MBA. Well supported and you can differentiate his quality education, cultured education, that he has got'.*

This emphasises the symbolic capital of the qualification which is obtained from abroad which reflects the social class of the holder. Another A) Respondent also highlighted the perception that:

> V1: '*if you are qualified and if you are qualified from abroad that's like five stars on your profile.'*

This perception was reinforced by another respondent's view which was noted from one of the UK focus group respondents, when he stated that the UK postgraduate degree has '*a wow factor'.*

This A) Respondent also suggested that one of his expectations from UK postgraduate study was to secure a better marriage:

> MB 2: *'Yes definitely I was studying in London to get a better girl.'*

As can be seen from these quotations, the female and the male perceptions suggest that there are links between postgraduate qualifications i.e. institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and 'marriage capital', and that foreign awards appear to have more value in the marriage market, with foreign degrees perceived as giving added 'marriage capital' to the individual.

I therefore, suggest that the findings from this study indicate that 'marriage capital' increases as cultural capital increases. Also, 'marriage capital' will increase if the bride or groom has UK masters award, because the level of perceived cultural capital will increase. Marriage capital, is I contend, related to the level of institutionalised cultural capital (academic level of credentials + name and/or location of the academic institution where the credentials were obtained)

This I suggest reflects the view of DiMaggio (1979, p1463) who argues that the cultural capital theory of *'Bourdieu tries to develop an economics of symbolic exchange and of the transformations of the different kinds of capital into one another'*.

Cultural capital transforms in this case into marriage capital. It may also be exchanged for a better marriage, where the concept of marriage, in this particular social setting is India, and which may be regarded in Bourdieu's terms as *'field.. the space of objective relations'* (Bourdieu, 1996, pxii).

DiMaggio (1979, 1463), describes this field as the *'totality of actors.. involved in an arena of social or cultural production and the dynamic relationships among them'* which in this case I argue is Indian society.

It is however important to keep in mind, that in Indian society, as pointed out in Chapter 3, in the survey results from Banergee *et al* (2009, p3):

> *'74% stated they are opposed to inter-caste marriages'* and in one example, *'parents of a prospective bride would be willing to trade off the difference between no education and a Masters degree to avoid marrying outside their caste'.*

There may, therefore, be exceptions to this proposition, depending upon the influence of caste. The influence of caste was not as previously mentioned, investigated in this study.

The next section highlights the perceived additional benefits for some families of increased dowry capital, for a son who has a postgraduate qualification.

6.25 Dowry Capital

Sheel (1999, p120) suggests that in India, *'marriage has become a commercial venture'* and middle-class families *'encash their son's marriage, especially the one with some educational attainment'* (Sheel, 1999, p167).

The findings from this study further suggest that there is a perceived link between postgraduate business programmes and, where it exists in India, increased dowry payments. Kishwar (2005) argues that, some families feel that they should be compensated for their son's upbringing and his education and the findings from this study suggest that middle class families are encouraging postgraduate study for a greater return or *'profit production'* (Lin, 2001, p19) on their investment.

Many of the Indian respondents in this study, preferred to use the term 'gifts' instead of dowry when the subject was introduced to them during the interview. Respondents often gave different responses to my questions on dowry. Some suggested it did not take place at all and other respondents said that it did not take place in the cities only in the villages.

Other respondents were more vocal and happy to discuss the practice which they said was very wide spread and existed in the upper classes too. Several respondents also said that they would prefer to speak about the topic after the rest of the questions and without the tape recorder. (These requests were observed.)

Respondents suggested that dowry/gift giving, comprised many things e.g. money or gifts, a share of a bride's family business, jobs in the bride's family business, jewellery, cars, saris and electrical equipment. Many of these items are given to the groom's family, and usually on the wedding day. One of the family comments explains this view:

> *'We have got a daughter from a rich family for our MBA son, we have invested a lot of money on his studies abroad, we at least need 5 times the money invested, and as the girl's father is a business tycoon, we need a share in their family business. We have asked for our demands to the girl's family and we have got a positive response.'*

As outlined in the review on marriage and dowry, in Chapter 3, some respondents suggest that the practice of dowry giving, which, although not observed by all Indian families, is considered by some as an acceptable ancient Hindu custom (Kishwar, 1993) and not simply a commercial transaction. I was, however, reminded by one respondent that dowry was illegal in India and, therefore, did not exist. Although the same respondent explained that 'gift giving' went on.

The amount of dowry, or the type of gifts that are given is arranged between the two families before the marriage, and as it is an illegal practice in India, Kishwar (2005, p9), suggests that dowry is *'shrouded in secrecy and made known only through whisper networks within the kinship social circle'*.

It appears that dowry operates through what Putnam (2000), refers to as *'bonding social capital'* in family ties which may also be found between families in castes which Jeffrey (2001, p218) argues may be found in many parts of India's rural north, and which may act as a *'powerful political identity and form of symbolic and social capital'.* This was not fully investigated in this study, however, it was suggested by one respondent that the practice of dowry was acceptable in her caste. This C) Respondent said:

> Am Kan: *'Because in India, in my caste, girls don't work. They don't work, so they just give the money for the time being. It's very prominent in my caste, before getting married you decide how much are you going to give, how much are you going to put in the marriage, and everything.'*

However, another female C) Respondent suggested that she thought that dowry was not a good idea and she explained why:

> Sak Cho: *'I can be tortured for it. .. the guy might have four options, you know four girls, and whoever pays the highest price the guy marries that girl. And I think, especially the mother in laws, ... she tortures the daughter in law and everything, and it still happens in cities, like in posh areas it still happens, it's just not in villages or small towns. It is everywhere, maybe under cover but everywhere.'*

The media in India often cites examples of torture or death of a bride for dowry payments (Thakur, 1998) and other respondents acknowledged this too. There was, however, contradictory evidence from several respondents when discussing the concept of dowry. First, there was the denial of the existence of dowry, in their family, but then examples were given of what had actually been exchanged at the time of a family marriage. Another respondent suggested that the amount depended on the *'guy's qualifications, what the guy is doing'*; and two male A) Respondents, made the following comments:

> Ash: '*Cashing in on boys goes on too much. Families send their kids to UK to cash in'*

> MB2: *'In the state of Punjabi they send their boys abroad to get married to get citizenship get qualifications get bigger dowry. Some ask the price of the dowry. The girl's father has to put money it's a deal.'*

This male C) Respondent suggests the following about dowry payments:

> MB2: *'today the whole thing has totally changed, they are selling their son, I mean they are getting lots of money, car ,and everything, they are asking 'I want this… won't give this then, I won't marry.'*

These findings suggest that some families deliberately exploit the possibility of dowry payments by sending their son abroad for postgraduate education to benefit from the dowry payments. This reflects the views of Menski (1998a, p99) who argues that there is evidence of *'consumerist greed'* by some families.

The findings from all respondents indicate that that the perception is that the educational achievements of a son have an impact on the amount (where it occurs) of dowry that can be expected from the bride's side of the marriage. These two C) Respondents expressed these views:

> K: '*Do you think that the amount of dowry increases if boys have a Masters or higher level qualification?*

Sak Cho: '*If the girl is not that well educated then it might. If the girl has a Masters degree then yes it might'.*

AB3: *'Yes generally it does yes. 100% increases'*

Another respondent, Am Kam: highlighted that his friend was a lawyer and that he could secure more dowry:

K: *'Do the bride's family look at his qualifications?'*
Am Kam: *'My friend he was a lawyer they demand this much. If he was an IAO officer then they would ask for more... They asked for this.'*

An IAO is an Indian Administrative Officer, and this response supports the views of Kishwar (1993) who suggests that Government job holders are seen as an investment for the bride's family, as it secures greater social capital for the family, i.e. access to networks which they would not normally be able to access. This is what Putnam (2000, p22) refers to as *'bonding social capital'*, those exclusive networks which may link the groom's family with a bride's family, and which may have powerful political connections. These connections would not be secured in any other way, other than marriage.
The findings from the study also appear to reflect the views of Halpern (2005), who proposes that those individuals who do not have social capital should invest in their human capital. This appears to add cultural capital to Indian nationals which then adds to their 'marriage capital'. This may then, where it occurs, result in greater 'dowry capital' and increased economic capital for the family, and the family may secure additional social capital through new family links. This C) Respondent comments on the perceived benefits for grooms linked to their postgraduate awards:

San Goe: *'Yes, he could attract a girl from a better society, and dowry depends on the guy.'*

When respondents were asked if they think that families influence their sons to take postgraduate education for increased dowry, this was the perception of one female C) Respondent:

> Raa Aga: *'Some, if they get a higher qualification they get more dowry. It happens a lot. Even the lower class are crawling up so, a boy who is highly educated along with him attracting a lot of families... er ...to him they probably not only think that he is highly educated they think for the future. They think he is higher educated so he will get a better job, a better job will be better pay. So higher education does help in the lower middle and middle class. The higher education does help in attracting better dowry in a way. Because they.... it's like a viscous circle, if you get a better education you get a better job, if you get a higher pay you have a better status in that class if you get a higher pay.'*

The perception from all of the respondents was that parents appear to invest in their son's education, to improve their son's cultural capital in order to improve their family opportunities for increased dowry. Several comments made 'off the record', also suggested that many Indian families invest their economic capital in their sons education by sending them to the UK or Australia, for the expected outcome of increased dowry benefits. This suggests that parents attempt to increase their son's cultural capital to a higher perceived level within their community, for economic outcomes. This is, I argue, a further demonstration of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory which links educational certificates to economic returns (Bourdieu, 1977) and social reproduction. The following response highlights the respondents' views of the link between foreign postgraduate education and dowry/gift payments:

> K: *'Do you think dowry increases if a boy has a foreign Masters business degree?'*
> Sak Cho: *'You have that tag on your head, then oh, he has studied from abroad, and it is a big deal, so yes there might be a difference, you know, there is more height, there is too much height, he has studied from abroad.'*

This C) Respondent suggests that some parents push their sons to study:

> Pri Tau: '*They make them study even if they are not interested'.*

This respondent stated that some castes encourage study:

> V1: *'There are some communities who basically send their sons for getting a good degree, the better the grade of the degree the better the dowry.'*

This comment from one of the Indian family's suggested that:

> '*Education is directly related to dowry demand, if our son has done* MBA *from abroad, good decent proposals will come where we can demand a high price from the girls side. We invest in rupees for our sons MBA education abroad and we will get return in dollars. So there is no risk in this investment. With money we will also get jewellery, cosmetics, clothes, and a beautiful car.'*

There is also a perception that there is greater cultural capital and thus marriage capital for dowry payments, if the son has obtained a Masters qualification from the US. The quotation from this C) Respondent suggests:

> MB2: *'US gets more, then UK, then Australia.'*

There is also a perception that symbolic capital gained from the qualifications of the son improves the status of the family. This was expressed by these C) Respondents:

> VJ*: 'It helps to maintain status of the boy's family.'*

> V1: *'there are some very good proposals available for these guys who are educated, and educated abroad and they really get the value of their investment and the parents know that. They invest in the education to get the return on that.'*

Despite dowry being illegal, the perceptions from these respondents suggest that dowry or gift giving is practiced, and that the amount the family receives is dependent upon the son's level of educational achievement and the country that it is awarded in, such as the USA, UK or Australia.

I therefore suggest that the findings from this study indicate the following: A groom's 'dowry capital' is related to the level of institutionalised cultural capital (Academic level of the credentials + the name and/or the location of the institution where the credentials were obtained).

6.26 Outcomes Linked to Parental Pressures

This study has highlighted that middle class parents encourage higher academic study and spend their economic capital on their children to develop their human and cultural capital for the anticipated outcomes of career success and added symbolic capital.
These comments from several male A) Respondents, relate to students perceptions of their parents' expectations:

> K: *'So you took the real estate job to gain experience. So were you and your parents expecting something much better?*
> VIK K: *'Yes, much, much better'*

This A) Respondent was very upset about his current career position and during the interview he outlined the problem that he experienced due to credential inflation:

> KDSS: *'That expectation these parents put in the child's mind and once the child enters the market, and are not able to full fill those expectations of the society, that breaks down the morale of that person and inevitably they end up either err.. reducing his level of confidence not able to grab the market opportunities, or he gives up. People usually give up.*
> *Now I take any job that comes my way. Now that family which was giving them a kind of a push when you were starting your MBA, now*

> *has started to criticise you, they think there must be something lacking in you that you are not able to get a good job. Why is that person getting a good job, now comparing your child with someone with a different situation and altogether different circumstances, how can you compare them. There are a lot of gaps still there, the conditions are there.'*

These quotations indicate that outcomes may also result in great anxiety for the respondents due to the expectations and added pressures from their Indian parents, for their children to succeed. These views also appear to reflect the concepts highlighted in the motivational theory proposed by Maslow, who argues that if an individual's needs are not achieved, this can lead to *'feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness'* (Maslow, 1943, p382). They also reflect the views of Hofstede (2012), who argues the following for his dimensions of national culture:

> *'For a collectivist, to be rejected by one's peers, or to be thought lowly of by one's extended and immediate in-groups, leaves him or her rudderless, and with a sense of intense emptiness.'*

The findings from the study also indicate that those with postgraduate qualifications may take any job they can, even in call centres. I suggest that this indicates that respondents wish to reduce any perceived aspect of failure, which may, as noted previously, negatively affect the reputation of the individual and the family (Segal, 1991).

This is implied by the comments from this A) Respondent:

> AB: *'People in India still perceive MBA as a high class degree, they think it will make you a higher class executive, or become higher class, but over 1,000 people with MBA are not like this, they are working in call centres and yet they have these qualifications.'*

Perhaps one aim of the graduates is to meet their parents' expectations and fulfill their dreams and be seen by parents to be working and bringing in a wage, even if it is not at the management level that they had expected. The

parents may have been awarded a qualification when their credential was scarce and thus achieved their ambitions through their institutionalised cultural capital. This reflects the argument proposed by Bourdieu (1986, p248) in his cultural capital theory, that *'material and symbolic profits which academic qualification guarantees, also depends on its scarcity'.* If the offspring does not achieve the same success that the middle class parent did when they studied, due to the now ubiquitous nature of postgraduate degrees, this may then be discerned by them as failure.
This B) Respondent suggests that:

> VB: *'There are more people graduating from Indian universities, and Indian schools now, and they are not getting jobs as easily, not like they used to.'*

As more Masters graduates are entering the market, this may indeed result in less than expected outcomes for them, which suggests that this is also an example of credential inflation (Brown, 2003, Dore, 1979), which linked to lack of job opportunities for elite management jobs, is resulting in disappointment and broken dreams for many Indian nationals. The global auction as highlighted by Brown, Lauder & Ashton, (2011) is it appears resulting in jobs only for those with the best institutionalised cultural capital i.e. those from the top institutions like the IIMs.

6.27 Social Capital and Social Mobility Linked to Postgraduate Business Qualifications

The findings indicate that higher education for Indian nationals may also result in improved social capital, and social mobility, as the symbolic and cultural capital e.g. the prestige and status, acquired from the postgraduate qualification is perceived to add to the individual's 'marriage capital', enabling movement by the individual to a higher social class.
This A) Respondent suggests that when the groom has a postgraduate degree there are added benefits:

> DE MO: '*there is a chance for a higher marriage and social class, society it improves, definitely.'*

This Female B) Respondent, also comments that:

> AB: *'if you have an MBA, a good family will approach you, a lower class family would never approach you. So that is what the higher classes and families are looking for basically.'*

The findings also suggest that there is a perceived link between marriage and increased social capital i.e. the networks which become available through marriage into a higher social class. These may be, in Putnam's (2000, p22) terms, both *'bonding and bridging social capital'*, which may not have been accessible for the groom or the family of the groom, without the marriage.

This A) Respondent considers that many males complete their postgraduate business qualifications to add to their 'marriage capital' specifically for these perceived added benefits:

> KDSS: *'Most of the boys do this in order to enter high class society. They marry a girl from a good society/caste, that class... Now when your son-in-law doesn't have a good job and you have good connections in the industry, because you are from a high class society, you would be pressurised, or your own perception... It is my society, I cannot* stand *in front of ten people saying my son-in-law is working as dealer, seller, or car seller, it becomes my unexpected responsibility to bring him to that society, class, using my connections and bringing him up, getting him a good job. There is a whole class in our society which bids for the boy's qualification.'*

There is also a perception from the findings that the bride's family seeks higher status marriages, hypergamy, for their daughters so that the family can benefit from the groom's family network or social capital. This was also indicated by Gupta, (2009, p2):

> *'Marrying a daughter into a well-connected family which demands and accepts dowry, could mean upward mobility for her natal family,*

> *especially brothers, who hope to secure benefits through his connections'.*

The findings from this study further suggest that Indian middle class parents encourage and pay for UK postgraduate business education in the hope that it will improve their sons' social identity/profile through his internationally recognised foreign qualifications e.g. his institutionalised cultural capital, and that this will enhance their sons' chances of a better career and thus improved marriage success. This reflects the idea of the *'social elevator',* as described by Sorokin (1927, in Kivinen, 1997, p443) as parents invest their economic capital to improve their sons' cultural capital and future prospects this may also result in an improvement in their own social position in Indian society and they will gain more dowry.

6.28 Outcomes for Females with Postgraduate Business Qualifications

When female postgraduate respondents were asked if they will work when they have graduated and when they are married, the findings highlighted that this is not often the case. It appears that the reason for postgraduate study is so that the girl can add to her 'marriage capital' to have a better opportunity for a good marriage. The perception in most cases is that she may not use the qualification when she is married unless, as in some respondents' cases, it is allowed or takes place within the family business: These female C) Respondents highlight their perceptions:

> Am Kan: *'I don't think.. maybe... he will ask me to work in the business, like not go out and work in an office and come. Not outside. Only his business.'*

> Amr Lah*: 'No he won't let me work, that is the main problem and even in India my culture is the most conservative amongst most cultures. I am a Marawadi (caste) it's the most conservative amongst all cultures.'*

One respondent describes the importance of the postgraduate degree for 'marriage capital', but she suggested that her perception was that girls would not work

> A: *'It's been made that way over the years. If you have an MBA you have an edge as a girl, but they don't want you to work in fact when you get married'.*

However, another female C) Respondent's perception was that there are societal changes in India which means more women can work:

> Pri Tau: *'Nowadays it has changed a lot because women are going out and working even if it's part time they are. In the families the elderly people are allowing them to do that. In the middle class society they are changing ....even in the upper society they are.'*

When this male student was asked if he would prefer his wife to have a postgraduate qualification, this was his response, Male C) Respondent:

> MB 2: *'Just a graduate will do, because I don't want her to work. I want her to stay at home. It's okay if she has a higher qualification it's a good thing to study.'*

These findings suggest that females add to their 'marriage capital' through their institutionalised cultural capital but may remain underemployed due to various cultural factors such as attitudes, caste or religion, and thus they will not contribute to India's economic growth.

6.29 Summary

This chapter has outlined the findings from the views and perceptions of the respondents from this qualitative research study drawing on elements of human, cultural and social capital theory and elements of management theory and other literature which has helped to develop the themes within the study. The main themes of motivations and expectations, outcomes and perceived benefits have been identified in relation to these theories.

The findings indicate that the parents of the respondents were middle class and most had *'institutionalised cultural capital'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p248), which, in this case, is regarded as undergraduate and/or postgraduate qualifications but that none of the respondents considered had parents who had themselves studied abroad.

It appears from this study that Indian middle class parents are perceived to be highly influential in the lives of their children, motivating and supporting their postgraduate business studies through their stock of cultural and economic capital. It is also clear that respondents and their families were seeking to further enhance their cultural capital through academic qualifications to improve their occupational positions and status. Findings also demonstrate the expectation by respondents and their families to develop and use social capital e.g. bridging and bonding social capital through their links with their friends and family.

The findings suggest that if children do not secure places in the elite and highly regarded Indian institutions, many Indian middle class parents who can afford it, send their children abroad for postgraduate study, to improve their offspring's competitive advantage through the expected outcome of added cultural and symbolic capital. They also expect their children to secure good careers and economic capital. Middle class parents also hope that this strategy will improve their child's 'marriage capital' for both male and female children; and 'dowry capital' for male children i.e. in those families where dowry or gift payments occur.

Respondents also appear to be self-motivated to develop their credentials for the perceived benefits of the development of their human capital e.g. knowledge and skills, to gain credentials and to improve their career opportunities and thereby increase their economic capital in the labour market.

Opinions regarding the outcomes of postgraduate study resulted in a mix of findings from the respondents. Some expectations were perceived to have been achieved e.g. a better job, but other expectations were not achieved e.g. salary levels. It appears from the findings that, this may possibly be due to the effects of the recession, or changing corporate structures, or credential inflation, and the fact that Indian employers have a greater choice of applicants. It appears that the impact and value of some postgraduate qualifications has been eroded and Indian employers are aware of the quality of many of the Indian institutions and may lack knowledge of UK institutions. There did not appear to be any compelling evidence to suggest that UK postgraduate degrees resulted in any additional benefits in the job market except the suggestion that many postgraduates ended up in call centres perhaps due to their better command of English and to secure 'any' job.

The findings indicate that most respondents appeared to have limited support from their institutions to secure jobs and some UK graduates felt lost when they returned to India. There was also evidence of the limited opportunities available for respondents to develop their social capital, and the activities of Indian and UK institutional alumni organisations were not highly regarded. The next chapter will conclude the study by indicating the contribution to the field and the significance of the findings with recommendations. Limitations of the study will also be outlined with a reflexive account of the research process

Chapter 7: Conclusions, Recommendations, Implications, Limitations of the Study and Reflexive Account.

7.11 Conclusions

Despite the number of Indian students attending UK and Indian HEIs for postgraduate higher education, there appears to be limited knowledge related to the motivations, expectations, the outcomes and the perceived benefits of postgraduate education for Indian nationals

In order to answer the research question, this study has drawn on elements of human capital theory, cultural capital theory, and social capital theory and to a limited extent management theory. The findings from this qualitative study have acknowledged evidence in existing literature and have added new knowledge to the literature.

7.12 Findings - Motivations for and Expectations of Postgraduate Programmes for Indian Nationals

Motivation by Parents

The findings from this study concur with existing literature, which suggests that, Indian nationals are motivated by their middle class parents to study higher education, to develop their human capital for the expectation of employment opportunities and economic benefits.

The findings also complement existing literature by identifying that the father (Agarwala, 2008; Altbach, 1993; Das & Kemp, 1997) is an important motivating factor for higher education and in this case postgraduate education. Brown (2003, p3) argues that parents seek '*positional advantage*' for their offspring in the labour market, and I suggest, that the findings from this study indicate that this is also true for Indian postgraduates.

The findings also indicate that Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, when applied to this study of Indian middle class families, suggests that the following factors encourage children to study postgraduate education in India or abroad:

1) Indian parents' cultural capital and economic capital appears to be a significant influence for their offspring to study postgraduate programmes.

2) Middle class parent's values, preferences and their expectations also appear to encourage and provide financial support for postgraduate education. However, different levels within the Indian middle class i.e. upper middle class (Fernandes, 2006), appear to reflect the different levels of economic capital available to pay and thus choice of location for study.

3) The concept of *'habitus'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p244) which in this case refers to exposure of respondents to family social class, mannerisms and use of English language in the home environment, are factors which appear to influence the ability of children to study abroad.

I suggest that each of the factors listed above motivates Indian students to study postgraduate programmes to increase their institutionalised cultural capital for greater recognition in Indian society, or as Bourdieu refers to it, 'field' (Bourdieu, 1977) which may be described as the *'totality of actors.. involved in an arena of social or cultural production'* (DiMaggio (1979, p1463). The purpose of this parental motivation is to perpetuate social reproduction for the family, which for some respondents, due to higher education provision and economic trends, appears to be under threat (Brown, 1995).

The findings indicate that Indian middle class parents of the respondents actively encourage their children to experience new environments ‘exposure’ through study in India, and, where their socioeconomic status allows, to study abroad. None of the respondents’ parents had studied abroad and there were indications of parental ‘postgraduate study by proxy’.

Respondents Motivations and Expectations

Indian respondents indicated that they are motivated to develop their human and cultural capitals by studying postgraduate business programmes for various expected benefits, both intrinsic and extrinsic, for themselves and their families. The responses suggested that these may be gained from study in India, or abroad, and the findings suggest there are various factors which influenced their choice. These factors may be economic and or social, and, in the case of study abroad, there are also various ‘push and pull factors’, some of which have also been identified in existing literature. The push factors include a lack of quality institutions in India and the high entry requirements required for the top Indian institutions. The pull factors are the perceived UK institutions lower level entry requirements, and, the expectations to be gained from securing a UK credential (Altbach, 2004; British Council, 2010; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Naidoo, 2007).

There is also evidence to suggest that Indian respondents who studied in India or the UK were motivated by their parents, the media and HEIs, to study for various expected benefits and outcomes. Some of these benefits were also identified in other studies of postgraduates which had taken place in the USA Canada and the UK (Baruch & Peiperl, 2000; Inderrieden, Hottom & Bies, 2006; Pfeffer & Fong, 2004; Siebert, Kraimer & Linden, 2001; Simpson, 2000; Wilton, Woodman & Essex, 2007). The expectations identified included increased symbolic capital i.e. greater prestige from societal recognition for the qualification; and several intrinsic benefits i.e. enhanced status and thus credibility with peers and management. Extrinsic benefits were also identified in this study which included the achievement of management titles and the economic benefits of increased earnings. There was also a perception of the possibility of upward social mobility (Becker, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986). There was also the expectation of experiencing greater independence and especially for Indian females.

7.13 Respondents' Outcomes

The findings indicate that some respondents perceived they had achieved some of their expectations and were satisfied with their outcomes. Findings indicated that some respondents had secured a better job, or they believed they had secured a career change, and, in a very few cases, an increase in salary from their qualification, and/or their management experience. However, it was difficult to determine from the findings, if the qualification had resulted in an increase in salary, or if management experience had resulted in an increase in salary. There were indications that whatever outcomes had been achieved it had taken longer than the respondents had expected.

Due to the recession in India in 2009, or through corporate restructuring, some of the graduate respondents did not have a job at all. Some graduate respondents considered that they had not achieved the job they expected, or at the career level, or at the salary level, that they had expected which they also suggested was due to changes in the economic situation in India.

The findings also suggest that the lack of 'elite management jobs', that the Indian respondents had expected to achieve from their credentials, were not found and this knowledge I suggest, supports the arguments proposed by Brown (2003, p3) regarding the *'opportunity trap'*, and Dore's (1997) argument of the *'diploma disease'*, which suggest that having credentials, does not always result in the expected career outcomes, or economic benefits that postgraduate qualifications once achieved.

The findings suggest that credentials from the best Indian institutions i.e. IIMs and Indian Business School, are preferred by Indian employers, and these views appear to support Brown's argument that there is a 'global auction' where the educated elite, which in this case are the Indian educated elite, are able secure the best jobs in India. Respondents suggest that Indian employers may be unaware of the quality of UK institutions and may prefer these graduates rather than those from low quality Indian institutions.

The findings also indicate that the postgraduate credentials possessed by Indian business graduates are no longer as scarce as they were and the impact of the institutionalised cultural capital obtained from these degrees appears to have decreased. This clearly reflects the views of Bourdieu (1986), Brown, *et al* (1979) and Dore (1997), and I suggest that this adds new knowledge related to the outcomes of Indian postgraduate education.

Distance Learning

The findings also indicate that a postgraduate degree achieved through distance learning in India was perceived as holding less cultural capital, and the perception was that credentials obtained through this approach were not respected by Indian employers.

Social Capital

Findings suggest that alumni links, and thus the opportunity to develop Indian respondents' social capital (Putnam, 2000), was perceived as poor by those who had studied at both Indian and UK institutions. These findings add to our knowledge about Indian institutions role in developing social capital. Lin (2001) argues that social capital is like other personal resources which need to be added to and maintained if they are to be useful. This is a view which the findings from this study suggest are not being adopted by many Indian institutions and that those UK institutions which do have alumni activities to develop social capital, these were not highly regarded.

Independence

An interesting finding from the study, which also contributes to existing knowledge, is that Indian women perceive that one significant advantage of studying abroad is greater independence. The findings also suggest that Indian women postgraduates choose to study to improve their prospects for their 'marriage capital', but it appears they are less likely to work in India, even if they have a postgraduate qualification. If they do work, they suggest that this will be at the discretion of the groom's family, and/or the groom, and will probably be within the family business. Despite these apparent less than expected outcomes, there was a majority view from the Indian respondents that they would recommend the study of postgraduate business programmes to other Indian nationals.

7.14 Other Perceived Benefits of Studying Postgraduate Business Programmes

The findings from this study suggest that there is new evidence to support the concepts that I have termed 'marriage capital' and 'dowry capital'. This I argue is the perceived link between the institutionalised cultural capital obtained from postgraduate qualifications and marriageability, and where it exists, dowry or gift giving in India society.

The findings also indicate that there is a perception that institutionalised cultural capital gained from foreign institutions, appears to add to the profile of the individual within Indian society. If the academic award the individual holds is from the USA or UK, it is perceived to add value to the person's symbolic capital, a concept outlined by Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and defined in Webb, Schirato & Danaher (1986, pxv) as:

> *'a form of capital that is not recognised as such, e.g. prestige and a glowing reputation operate as symbolic capital because they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities'.*

The perception from this study is that UK postgraduate business qualifications may result in a better chance of securing a good job, and therefore, may improve the award holder's opportunity to attract a good bride or groom, and where dowry or gifts are taken may result in an increase in the amount received. These phenomena I have defined in this thesis as 'marriage capital', and 'dowry capital'. The term 'capital' in this sense, follows from Bourdieu (1979, 1986) and has *'currency in the social realm'* (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p5) in this case, in Indian society and in particular within Indian families who recognise this capital. I propose that evidence from the findings in this study and evidence from other literature presented in this thesis, suggests the following perceptions exist and thus this appears to add new knowledge to the field:

Marriage Capital

Marriage capital = economic capital + institutionalised cultural capital + other personal attributes (English proficiency, skin colour, height, weight) + family background (caste, fathers occupation) + social capital (political connections).

Dowry Capital

Dowry capital transforms into economic capital for some families where:
Dowry capital = the grooms institutionalised cultural capital + occupation + other personal attributes (English proficiency, skin colour, height, weight) + family background (caste, fathers occupation, wealth) + social capital (political connections).

The findings suggest that there is a perception that the amount of dowry is linked to these factors and where the institutionalised cultural capital is obtained from abroad; or from a prestigious institution in India, or a prestigious institution abroad, the amount increases.

There is also the perception that there is the possibility for increased social mobility for those Indian nationals with greater levels of perceived institutionalised cultural capital. For example, when the groom increases his symbolic capital, i.e. general signs of social recognition, which is recognised by others (Grenfell, 2008), through his cultural capital i.e. his postgraduate award, or a foreign postgraduate award, the findings suggest that it may also enable the groom's parents to attract a bride from a better society/social group. This may, I argue, be reflected in Bourdieu's cultural capital theory of social reproduction. I suggest that development of institutionalised cultural capital is encouraged by Indian parents from middle class backgrounds in order to improve their and their children's symbolic capital and economic capital, and thus their opportunity for access to other higher social class families, and jobs and resources they may otherwise be excluded from in Indian society (Bourdieu, 1986).

The findings also suggest that this may result in an increase in the amount of dowry/gifts received by the family. Thus economic capital invested by parents in their male offspring's human and cultural capital may result in profit production (Di Maggio, 1979) in this case increased dowry payments. Bourdieu (1986, p248) argues that the *'conversion rate between cultural and economic capital guarantee the value of academic capital'*. I suggest that it may be possible to evaluate this value in the labour market in terms of salary, but in the marriage market, where dowry is illegal, and is said to exist through secret agreements, it would be impossible to evaluate the economic value of the post graduate qualification to the family.

The other benefit of increased cultural capital in a marriage agreement may be an improvement in the 'social capital' for the whole family. A marriage arrangement may provide access to the capital of social relationships or networks that would not have been possible before the marriage (Bourdieu, 1977) which again may result in profits *'monetary or other forms'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p253).

7.15 Implications

There are various implications which may be drawn from the study.

1. Individual and Parental Motivation - institutions

It appears that HEIs wish to attract more students by advertising the benefits of study in the form of outcomes. They often focus on the achievement of globally recognised qualifications which they suggest may lead to good careers and higher salaries. Indian parents and individuals who read this communication material and other reports on rankings, which also highlight employment outcomes and high salaries, are I suggest, influenced by these articles.

I further suggest that if the expectations of Indian parents and students are not based on false impressions gained from advertising material, and are, therefore, more realistic, this would reduce the potential disappointment and potential failure factor if career or salary outcomes are not met. A view offered by Baruch & Peiperl (2000, p84), and also expressed by Lawton & Lundsten (1998, p26), who suggest that *'MBA granting institutions should be cognisant of the gaps between expectations and experiences (and of course should endeavour to reduce the discrepancy).*'

Whilst these suggestions appear to be a good idea in theory and ethically correct, it may be difficult to encourage parents and individual students to have lower expectations of higher education. It may also damage an institutions reputation if they report the outcomes of postgraduates who do not achieve their expected career outcomes. HESA have yet to publish destinations statistics for international postgraduate students. Perhaps, some of these findings would in fact result in damage to UK Indian student recruitment.

There is also the problem that Indian postgraduates must choose if they wish to respond to surveys, and, if they do not respond, the data may not provide a realistic picture of the actual outcomes. The current data and my research experiences suggest, that few Indian nationals will participate in research studies, which may be one of the reasons why there is little known about actual career expectations and outcomes for Indian postgraduates.

Some Indian business postgraduates may choose not to participate in research, as lack of knowledge about a particular UK institution may add a 'level of mystique' for families in the Indian market place. This may prevent those who are not aware of the ranking of an institution, making a value judgment about the foreign credential. I suggest that symbolic capital obtained from the postgraduate award may in fact decrease if too much is known about some institutions, and may result in less than expected 'marriage and dowry capital'. Information about graduate outcomes may reduce and possibly even damage an individual and their family's current image/status and thus levels of self-respect (Das & Kemp, 1997; Segal, 1991).

I also suggest that if data was available it may be difficult to apportion blame to lack of expected outcomes, and especially if economic downturns continue or jobs become more scarce as Brown (2003) and others predict, or if credentialism results in high skills and low wages.

2. Social Capital

The findings in this study indicate that some UK and many Indian HEIs appear to have limited alumni opportunities which appear to require attention. These activities have costs attached to them and some institutions are not able or willing to commit resources to services which they consider may not have measurable returns.

3. Symbolic Capital

It may be the case that UK international student recruitment staff, and UK academics, are not aware of the perceived ‘cultural benefits’ of ‘marriage and dowry capitals’, which may be obtained from postgraduate qualifications for some Indian nationals.

I suggest, therefore, that it is important to raise awareness of these perceived ‘added benefits’ of postgraduate study for ‘some’ of the Indian graduates and their families. However, care should be taken to ensure that institutional staff remain objective regarding a social practice from another culture.

7.16 Summary

This study has addressed the following aims and provides the following:

a) A brief overview of the history and the development of higher education and business education in India.
b) An overview of some of the main features of Indian culture i.e. language, religion and caste, and the growth of India’s middle class, and marriage and dowry/gift giving.
c) A critical review of the literature related to the study of higher education, and with particular reference to business and management, human, cultural and social capital literature.
d) An outline of the qualitative methodology and methods which have been used to investigate the topics of interest.

e) An analysis and review of the findings drawing upon elements of human, cultural and social capital theory to reflect upon the motivations, expectations, outcomes and perceived benefits of higher education and in particular UK postgraduate business education for Indian nationals.
f) A summary of the findings which reflects elements of existing knowledge or which contributes new knowledge to the field.
g) A review of the findings, recommendations and implications.

7.17 Limitations of the Research

The aim of this study was to interview respondents in India who had graduated from UK and Indian academic institutions to explore their expectations, outcomes and any perceived benefits of postgraduate study.

Although the focus group findings reflected some views of postgraduates working in the UK, the findings from graduates are limited to Indian's who returned to India and I suggest that face-to-face interviews with other Indian nationals who are now working in the UK may have added to the study.

Due to the difficulties of obtaining Indian respondents and the limited resources of time and money, the research took place only in Delhi, and had to be completed in the UK with current postgraduate students from one small UK College, based in London. The college is a private business school and attracts middle and upper class Indian students, plus other international students who wish to be based in London. This turned out be an advantage in that students clearly met the respondent sample criteria and they were easier to recruit, and were happier to discuss the concepts of marriage and dowry. However, a wider sample of Indian current students may have presented different findings but time and resources were an issue.

The study had to take place when I was free to travel which resulted in it being the hottest time of the year. This led to power cuts and uncomfortable conditions when interviewing respondents.

Another limitation was, I suggest, the difficulty in obtaining employers and recruitment agents to interview in India. There appears to be a great reluctance by Indian nationals to discuss employment issues.

Caste is a difficult area for a non-Indian to fully understand and although I would have liked to investigate the links with caste and higher education to develop the findings this was not feasible.

These limitations may limit the generalisability of the findings beyond the specific research context but this was not the aim of the study. The findings do, however, raise issues that may be of relevance to UK and Indian HEIs and are relevant to other researchers in the field of higher education interested in the motivations, expectations and perceived outcomes for Indian nationals and their families. However, this study stops short of making definitive claims about the issues discussed.

7.18 Reflexive Account of the Research

I have attempted to be self-aware and conscious of my position throughout this study and I have also reflected on the whole research process and outcomes. Blaxter, Huges & Tight (2010, p58) suggest that to reflect one must *'stand back from, and think carefully about what you have done and what you are doing.'* This helps to confirm one's action but also highlights how perhaps you could have approached the study if you did it all over again. Cottrell (2011, p221) also suggests that we should *'think back over our experiences'* and *'understand them at a deeper level'* and *'use that understanding to do things differently in the future'.*

With these suggestions in mind I would have done the following:

1. I would have endeavoured to arrange a better time of year to travel to India as the temperatures were unbearable and resulted in more difficulties than I had expected. The high summer temperatures (45+ degrees) often resulted in power cuts with no lights and no air conditioning. Computers may also fail which may result in a lack of opportunity to work on the data after the interviews. I found that the

interviews were exhausting at times as the level of concentration required is much greater in a foreign environment and in excessive heat even more tiring.

2. Although the interviews were in English, there were sometimes misunderstandings about some of the phrases which were used by the respondents. It took a few interviews for me to familiarise myself with the nuances of the dialect. I feel that it would have been better, if time had allowed, for me to have spent an extra week in India, to become more familiar with the culture and English accents before embarking on the face-to-face interviews.

3. What seemed a simple question about the perceived benefits of postgraduate education for Indian nationals, took me into cultural areas of caste, marriage and dowry which were fascinating, and enlightening, yet highly complex for a non-Indian.

4. Indian respondents were difficult to recruit and those who were interviewed appeared to be somewhat despondent about their career outcome. I was aware of a high level of disappointment and frustration related to the lower levels of management success and salary that the respondents perceived they had achieved, relative to those that they had expected. I found this rather upsetting as I could offer no answers to help them in their difficult situations.

5. If I chose to perform further research in India, I would try to make firmer contacts with fellow academics in Indian institutions as this may enable the recruitment of respondents to be much easier.

6. I had not anticipated how demanding this level of study would be but feel I have learned a great deal from this academic journey.

7.19 Suggestions for Future Research Studies

1. Further research should be carried out to determine the extent of Indian employers' awareness of UK institutions and the type of knowledge and skills which are developed on UK postgraduate programmes. It would also be interesting to determine if employers perceive any differences between UK and Indian postgraduate's knowledge and skills and if Indian employers have any perceptions about foreign educational qualifications e.g. UK versus USA or Australian.

2. Further exploration of the outcomes of postgraduate study may help to explain why so many graduates work in Indian call centres. This research would help to explore if graduates career outcomes have met their expectations, or, if this work simply gives graduates some level of personal recognition, by having 'any job', thus satisfying their parents expectations and avoiding failure.

3. Research should be performed to explore what the expectations and outcomes are for Indian nationals who have studied postgraduate business degrees in other countries, such as the USA and Australia, to determine if the expectations and outcomes are similar to those found in this study.

4. It would be interesting to discover how many Indian institutions, have active alumni associations, and how many offer professional development programmes to support the development of social capital of their postgraduates in India.

5. I became aware through discussions with UK resident Indians that the practice of dowry/gift giving, is also found in those Indian families who have settled in the UK. It would be interesting to determine if marriage capital and dowry/gift capital is prevalent in the Indian community in the UK too, and whether they are linked to levels of institutionalised cultural capital.

6. Research on the effects of higher education and foreign higher education on the 'actual levels of dowry payments' would be very interesting to explore. However, due to the clandestine nature of the practice, as cited by other Indian researchers, I feel that this would be impossible to carry out.

7.20 Final Comments

This thesis has been a challenging and fascinating exploration of many interesting and related topics and has presented me with a unique and rich insight into Indian culture, and, into the impact and importance of postgraduate business education for Indian nationals.

This study clearly reflects and adds to existing knowledge, and presents new perspectives to the expectations, the outcomes and the perceived benefits of postgraduate business programmes for Indian nationals.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Overview of Higher Education and Business Schools and Business Education in the UK

1. Introduction

The aim of this appendix is to present an overview of the historical environment in which this study of higher education and business education is situated and to highlight the factors which have resulted in *'the cultural reality of the participants'* (Delva, Allen-Mears & Momper, 2010, p4). The contents of this appendix may be familiar to some readers, but for those new to the study of UK or Indian higher education, they will find them invaluable for contextualisation.

This chapter presents a brief history and development of higher education in the United Kingdom (UK), and the British colonies of America and India. It highlights the focus on life-long learning, and on the development of human capital i.e. knowledge and skills, for employability, productivity, increased earnings and social mobility (Becker, 2002). It also outlines the development of business and management education which emerged to meet the growing and changing needs of industry (Brown & Scase, 1994). There is also reference to the importance of internationalisation strategies for HEIs, many of which were, and still are, considered agents in the development of the UK economy, to fight the *'knowledge wars of the future'* (Brown & Lauder, 2006, p26).

2. Establishment of Universities in the UK

Perkin (2006), highlights that the university, *'universitas'* (Perkin, 2006, p163), which began its development as a society or guild, '*a community of masters and students*' (Enders, 2006, p6) in Bologna and Paris in the twelfth century, is now accepted as *'the key institution of modern and developing societies everywhere'* (Perkin, 2006, p161).

3. Internationalisation of Higher Education

The University of London in the 1800s began what may be termed the internationalisation of UK higher education, a main stream focus of universities today, and what Knight refers to as, *'the process of integrating an Internationally / intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution'* (Knight, 1994, p1). The University of London, with its federal approach to higher education, exported its academic practices to the British Empire and Commonwealth Countries, supporting University Colleges in India, and other countries (Perkin, 2006).

4. The Development of Colleges in India in the1800s

Perkin (2006) explains that the British development of higher education in India in the 1800s followed that of the Americas, but was initially to establish colleges with a focus on Indian culture only. However, after much debate between the British and Indian Governments, western type colleges were established by the British Raj, to support employment opportunities with British companies, for Indian nationals. This is highlighted in Lord Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 which stated: *'educating the Indians in English language, literature, and science with a view to state employment'* (Perkin, 2006, p187). Further details regarding the development of India's, universities and colleges will be more fully outlined in chapter 2.

5. The Development of Universities and Business Education in North America

In North America, the universities were developed along the lines of the British university models however, with demand for commercial education increasing, the 1820s due to the industrial revolution, there emerged low quality, *'private business schools, also known as business colleges, business academies, or even business universities'* (Daniel, 1998, p20), which were established to support the demand for a skilled management work force.

In 1902, Joseph Wharton established the first graduate school of business, the *'Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance'* (Tuck, 2010). This institution later became known as *'the Tuck Business School of Dartmouth',* the first of the elite American Ivy League business schools (ibid).

In response to America's growing economy, a new programme for postgraduates was also developed, which resulted in the first Masters Degree in Business. This was entitled a Masters of Commercial Science (M.C.S.), the former of the now ubiquitous, Masters in Business Administration (MBA), (Daniel, 1998; Dartmouth, 2010; Khurana, 2007). This was the beginning of the legitimacy for commercial and management studies to be developed within universities (Khurana, 2007). The Tuck School of Business, full time Masters of Business Administration (MBA) programme, is now ranked number one out of a hundred in the world (Economist, 2010a).

During the post war-period, America developed business and management education to strengthen its workforce's human capital, and to support the growth in its economy. It also influenced the establishment of UK Business Schools, linked to UK universities (Daniel, 1998).

6. A Foundation For Management Education - 1960

In the UK the non-political UK Foundation for Management Education (FME), group was established in the 1960s to support UK business education. They believed that regardless of the skepticism about management education, management training was important: *'whether managers were born or made, they can be made better through education and training'* (Nind, 1985, p1; Whitely, Berkeley & Marceau, 1981).

Nind (1985), further highlights that management education covered practical and intellectual activities *'within the field of business and management studies and management sciences'* (Nind, 1985, p 3), from a lower level to a post graduate level.

7. UK Business and Management Education

During the post war period when America was developing business education to develop its human capital in knowledge and skills, to support the growth in its economy, British management education was not in great evidence.

It was not until the 1960s the UK Government implemented policy to develop higher education provision and business and management education, to improve *'human resources, or human capital'* (Whitley *et al*, 1981, p43), to support its economic development (Currie & Newson, 1998; Maringe & Gibbs, 2009; Matheson, 2008; Schofer & Meyer, 2005; Tight, 2009).

Two studies were also carried out at this time, one from the Anderson Committee (1960), and the second from the Robbins Committee (1961), (Tight, 2009). The Robbins Report's aim was thought to be a move to democratise the university model (Anderson, 2009) and was produced following a review of UK, France, the United States and Russia's HE systems. The results of the report led to the *'Robbins Principle'* (Bligh, 2009, p34), and the idea of the following:

> *'instruction in occupational skills (develop the nation's economy)…to promote the general powers of the mind (develop the intellect of the individual) … the advancement of learning (develop knowledge) and the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship (develop society)'*
>
> (ibid, p11)

The Robbins Report also outlined the development of Management and Business Studies education. The report stated the following for Business Studies and Education for Management, and recommendations which Williams (2010) referred to as a '*remarkable phenomenon'* (Williams, 2010, p12).

> *'397 The colleges should be strengthened in the sphere of pure science and we welcome the desire already apparent to extend in the direction of social and humane studies. This will sometimes take the form of special departments devoted to the development of* ***management and business studies on a considerable scale.*** *Examples of what we have in mind are studies of the economic and social problems likely to concern the students in their careers*

and of the social and aesthetic implications of the forms of production in which they may be engaged.'

Business studies and education for management

'405. We now deal with a problem that has been much to the fore in public discussion recently: the place in higher education of ***business studies*** *– in which we include a wide range of studies relating to industrial as well as commercial needs – and of* ***education for management****. It is convenient to deal with the problem here for two reasons. First, some of the disciplines involved stand in much the same relation to abstract social and economic subjects as technology does to pure science. Second, while experiments in these fields have certainly taken place in some universities, they have also taken place in Colleges of Advanced Technology, Central Institutions and in other colleges.*

406. There is an important distinction between the study of a group of subjects relevant to business problems – commercial law, industrial psychology, accounting, statistics and operational analysis are conspicuous examples – and ***education for management*** *as such.*

407. The former subjects are well developed. In each case there is a sizeable body of agreed principles and a readily accessible and intelligible literature. They are eminently suited for study at the first degree level, either in combination with courses in social studies or grouped with technology.

408. ***Education for management*** *as such, however, is a subject of considerable perplexity, and opinion is divided on what methods of* *training are appropriate. Many of our witnesses have complained that the present educational arrangements for management education are deficient. This country, it is urged, does not provide the training for management that is needed if it is to hold its own in the modern age. Education in individual techniques is provided at the undergraduate level, but this is not specifically directed to management.* ***At the postgraduate level, where education of this sort should be chiefly at home, there is nothing comparable to the great business schools of the United States****. The case is energetically argued by various groups of business leaders; and since our sittings began the National Economic Development Council has lent them its weighty support.*

410. Nevertheless we agree that the present situation is not satisfactory. Education of this sort must be properly organised and carried out in a milieu in which fruitful research in the subjects is going on simultaneously. It must therefore be on a large scale. The small department is often at a special disadvantage, especially in a sphere where the positive collaboration of business is an essential condition of success. We therefore recommend that at least ***two major postgraduate schools*** *should be built up, in addition to other developments already probable in universities and other institutions.*

(Robbins, 1963, pp134-136, author's emphasis)

The Robbins report resulted in the expansion and transformation of the HE sector in the UK (Nixon, 1996). Whitely, Berkeley & Marceau (1981) also suggest that there were factors clearly identified in Robbins, such as the link between education spend, and improvements in human capital, which the London School of Economics argued would also result in an improvement in the economy.

8. Franks Report - 1963

Following the Robbins Report, a report from Lord Franks was also commissioned, the main focus of which was again, the importance of the development of business and management education in the UK, in London and Manchester, the report highlighted the following:

- *'That two Business Schools of high quality be established in Britain.*
- *That each is part of a university but enjoying considerable autonomy as a partnership between the university and business.*
- *That these Business Schools are situated within major industrial and commercial conurbations.*
- *That these Business Schools offer courses for both post graduate and post experience students.*
- *That one Business School is associated jointly with the London School of Economics and the Imperial College of the University of London, and the other with Manchester University.*
  (Source- adapted from Lord Franks report 1963) '
  (O'Hare, 2010, p2)

9. London and Manchester Business Schools -1965/1966

Following the work of the Robbins Report, the Franks Report, and the FME, a business school, linked to the University of London was established in 1965, and the first course in business and management offered in 1966 (Nind, 1985). In 1965, the Manchester Business School, which was affiliated to Manchester University, was also opened. Both schools were supported by grants from the UGC and they offered the first UK MBA programmes (Nind, 1985; Whitley, Berkeley & Marceau, 1981a; Williams, 2010).

This was seen as the new partnership between education and business, making management education a more acceptable route for business, or management careers. No longer was on the job experience, the only way for employees to gain knowledge and skills to achieve management positions (Whitley, Berkeley & Marceau, 1981).

Several other business schools developed in the 1960s and were also linked to universities and colleges, a trend that accelerated into the 1990s, possibly influenced by two major reports, one from Constable and McCormick (1987), The Making of British Managers; and the other, Handy (1987), The Making of Managers. Both of these reports clearly identified the problem of the poor quality of UK management education and both argued for further expansion in the provision of management education in the UK.

Schools began offering undergraduate Bachelor Degrees, BA Business and Post Graduate Business and Management programmes, including the Diploma in Management Studies (DMS), Master of Arts (MA), Master of Science (MSc) and MBAs (Williams, 2010). This management training and development of organisations along bureaucratic lines during the 1960s and early 1970s also resulted in the expansion of the middle classes with higher earnings and increased social respect for professional managers (Brown & Scase, 1994).

Interestingly, it was not until 1996, that Cambridge, Judge Business School, and Oxford, Said Business School, established their business schools, as business, was not regarded as an academic subject by many Oxbridge academics (Williams, 2010).

According to Williams (2010) business and management courses, are now the most popular for Indian students and there are approximately 119 UK schools that are members of the Association of Business Schools (ABS), together with hundreds of private colleges accredited by the British Accreditation Council (BAC), or the Accreditation Service for International Colleges (ASIC). It is also important to note that Woodhouse (1999) suggests that this accreditation is important for institutional recognition, as it confirms an institution’s status to the students i.e. *‘fit to be approved’* (Woodhouse, 1999, p32), and thus attracts both UK and international students, who may gain more symbolic capital from their credentials from these institutions.

10. Business School Rankings

As business schools increased in number in the USA, UK and other parts of the world, assessment of their performances were made through various media ranking systems i.e. Business Week, which began its rankings in 1988 and was not based on *'scholarly activity but on the market reaction to the students'* (Zell, 2005, p272) and on salary levels of graduates (Peters, 2007).

The Financial Times, also offered an international business school ranking in 1997 (Peters, 2007) and The Economist highlighted its MBA world rankings in 2001. Peters (2007) proposes that these rankings appear to influence potential students to choose which institution to attend, and give reinforcement to those who have attended the top schools of their superior positions, relative to others from less highly ranked institutions (ibid), thus increasing their symbolic capital, their cultural and social capitals (Bourdieu, 1977; Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002).

11. 1970s – International Students

It was estimated that, in 1973, there were 35,000 fee paying international students in UK HEIs (Universities UK, Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP), 1995). By 1978, there were approximately 59,000; by 1992, 95,000 students (CVCP, 1995). These were concentrated in postgraduate study and it was suggested by the CVCP (1995) report, that this growth was due to increased HE provision, diversification of programmes being offered by HEIs, multilateral initiatives, and the marketing efforts of the British Council and individual UK HEIs (CVCP, 1995).

12. 1990s

In the 1990s, corporate directors recognized that *'the personal qualities previously associated with elite forms of higher education'* (Brown & Scase 1994, p11) also seemed appropriate for middle level and technical managers. This view resulted in HEIs forging stronger links with employers and an increased development of business education with a greater focus on *'interpersonal skills, leadership, and creativity'* (ibid, p12) emerged.

There were also at this time, widening participation initiatives developed to address the issues of middle-class dominance of the education system. These developments which Brown (2006, p5) argues were the tightening bond between *'education, jobs and rewards'*.

The increase in undergraduate qualifications, also resulted in what Tight (2009) argues was '*credential inflation'* (Matheson, 2008; Tight, 2009, p82) and as the need developed for *'a greater proportion of the labour market to gain post graduate qualifications'* (Tight, 2009, p82), for their employment, a new phenomenon emerged which Dore (1997), refers to as '*qualification escalation'*. This phenomenon Dore argued was due to the link between education and the demands of employers and he suggested that *'once one is in the modern-sector qualification range, the higher the educational qualification one gets, the better one's chances of getting some job'* (Dore, 1997, p5). The 1990s also saw the establishment of the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) in 1993, to monitor UK student enrolments and activities of UK HEIs and career destinations of students. However, the agency did not, and still does not record the career destinations of International students.

In 1997, Tony Blair was appointed as Prime Minister, his main focus for the UK was *'education, education, education'*, (Curtis, 2003). He also promoted a policy for the UK to become more of a 'learning society', with a government goal to increase the number of eligible students entering UK higher education. Also, in order to add to the UK economy, Blair recognised the benefits of increasing the number of fee-paying international students. In response to this, there was an increase in scholarships and further development of the British Council and a strengthening of HEIs marketing activities (Binsard & Ekwulugo, 2003; Bohm *et al*, 2004).

13. The Quality Assurance Agency - 1997

With increased pressures on UK institutions and integration of HEIs into one university system, the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), was established in 1997, to monitor the activities of HEIs e.g. academic standards and quality of performance, to improve standards between institutions for comparison (QAA Quality Assurance Agency, 2010). The QAA also monitored the 'skills needs of employers' and provided information for future planning by government and HEIs. As competition grew in the HE global market place the QAA supported UK HEIs to ensure their development and reputation for providing high quality and excellence. This was also a strategy which was developed to ensure the recruitment of international students to the UK (Hazelkorn, 2007; Martin and Stella, 2007; Shiff and Winters, 2003; Smith, Armstrong and Brown, 1999).

The importance of the quality of UK HEIs was highlighted by the findings of the British Council (2010b), report the 'Student Survey - Fresh Thinking', in which potential Indian students, ranked the 'quality of education' as the most important factor when considering a destination for higher education study.

14. The Dearing Report – 1997

In 1997, the Dearing Report; 'Higher Education in the Learning Society' was published (Tight, 2009). The purpose of which was '*to enable individuals to be equipped for work, to contribute effectively to society and achieve personal fulfillment*' (Raisman, 1998). The report resulted in 93 recommendations, *'several of which focused directly on funding'* (Greenaway & Haynes, 2003, pF151), and the development of human capital, through four general key higher level intellectual skills which were valued by employers; '*competence in communication, numeracy and the practical use of information technology'* (Dearing, 1997, Recommendation 17). Recommendation 31, suggested that there should also be a focus on the development of professional skills, self-management and communication skills (ibid), all of which would support employability for the graduate and, in the longer term, productivity in the work place.

15. Prime Ministers Initiative - 1999

Tony Blair's first recruitment initiative was launched in 1999; Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI), the purpose of which was to increase non-EU student numbers by 50,000 in HE and 25,000 in FE by 2005. These targets were exceeded, reaching a total of 93,000 HE students by 2005 (PMI, National Archives, 2010). New rules were also introduced to allow international students to work while they studied, and during the vacations, thus making the UK a more attractive destination choice for international students (UKCISA, 2008).

The 'Education UK' brand was developed in 1999, to provide a consistent image of the quality and value of UK education in UK marketing material (British Council, 2008). It was suggested that this competitive positioning by the UK government, was the development of the commodification and marketisation of HE (Maringe and Gibbs, 2009). A commodity, is defined as, *'goods and services which are produced for exchange; exchanges are monetized and monetary transactions take place for the purpose of profit'* (Maringe and Gibbs, 2009, p10). HE has become a 'commodity service', and is available to anyone who can pay, and was considered by many as, Prime Minister Blair's, 'higher education market' (Cooper, 2007).

16. Leitch Report – 2006

In 2004, in the face of increasing competition from India, China the UK Governments focus was again on qualifications/credentials and skills development for employability; qualifications which it was suggested, acted as the screening signals to employers of the quality of a graduate (Leitch, 2006). The Leitch Report (2006), was entitled: 'Prosperity for all in the Global Economy - World Class Skills', which linked the development of human capital to economic gains:

> *'In the 21st Century, our natural resource is our people – and their potential is both untapped and vast. Skills will unlock that potential. The prize for our country will be enormous – higher productivity, the creation of wealth and social justice…. Becoming a world leader in skills will enable the UK to compete with the best in the world.'*
> (Leitch, 2006, p1)

This focus on education of all, and, the development of human capital, was, however, likened to a form of *'conscription'* (Brown & Lauder, 2006, p27), without which it was suggested, the work force would be unemployable. Brown (2006), also argues, that jobs in the new knowledge economy, have, failed to keep up with the supply of graduates with skills, which may therefore not result in the financial outcomes that graduates had hoped for.

17. 2007 - 2009

In 2008 Gordon Brown, became the UK Prime Minister, and stressed the importance of the development of human capital for global competitiveness and social mobility. He argued that the *'UK had entered a global skills race....the challenge now is to unlock all the talents of all of the people'* (Brown, 2008, in Brown, Lauder & Ashton 2008a, p4), to *'outsmart other national economies - whether established or emerging - in the 'knowledge wars' of the future'* (Brown, Lauder and Ashton, 2008a, p4).

In 2009, the Department for Business and Innovation and Skills Report; Higher Ambitions: The Future of Universities in a Knowledge Economy, was published. This report outlined the framework for higher education highlighting the link between university activities and the needs of the economy; the different modes of higher education delivery; and a greater focus on high level skills for new employment sectors. It also highlighted the importance of continued international student recruitment, which had resulted in the recruitment of '*340,000 foreign students from 239 countries'* (BIS, 2009, p14), and which has '*contributed some £2.2 billion in 2008/2009 to their institutions in tuition fees'* (May, 2010, p1) and £5.5bn to the UK's national income (BIS, 2009, p14).

18. Indian Students in the UK

According to the British Council, Education UK (2010), HESA student records data, there were in 2008/2009 approximately 36,000 Indian students studying in the UK on all courses undergraduate and postgraduate; of these approximately 27,000 were studying post graduate taught degrees, of which there were approximately three times as many male students, as female. The most popular undergraduate and post graduate subjects in 2008/2009, for Indian students were business studies, and management studies (British Council, 2010). The British Council (BC) (2010), suggests that this is due to India's growing economy, and the UK Government's Education UK branding, and UK HEIs marketing activities. The BC also suggests that studies from United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) indicate that it is not due to a shortage of course availability in India, but it reflects Indian students' career interests, a global recognition of UK qualifications, and possible employment opportunities (British Council, 2010d). Others, however, suggest that, due to a lack of employment opportunities for the growing number of new graduate students in India, students are seeking post graduate studies, which they consider will match the needs of the global companies which are now established in India. It is suggested that these global companies recognise foreign qualifications and may also demonstrate a preference for management graduates, who speak English (Dahlman & Utz 2005; Popli, 2005). One aim of this study was to determine if foreign education resulted in increased perceived benefits.

The UK is still a popular choice for Indian students who wish to study abroad to develop their human capital to hopefully secure a return on their investment in the form of better jobs and higher salaries. It is important that the UK Government, UK support agencies, i.e. BC and HEIs continue to market their quality programmes and provide student support to match the needs of their international student customers (Furedi, 2011).

Appendix 2			
Semi Structured Guide for Indian Graduates from UK Masters study:			Date:
QUESTION 1: <u>Personal Details:</u>			
a) Code	Masters Course MBA / MA / MAIB Code Name		
b) Respondents Pseudonym			
c) D.O.B d) Born in India?			
e) Place of residence:	Yes	No	Comments
i) Parents			
ii) Spouse			
f) Age when you went to study			
Question 2:Family Background:			
a) Parents' occupations Father Mother?			
c) Parents' academic achievements/ history?			
d) Did parents study abroad			
e) Parent and family expectations of Masters?			
f) Did they think there were any Social Benefits of studying higher level masters qualifications?			

g) Did they think there were any benefits of Studying abroad?		
QUESTION 3: <u>Motivation/ Expectations:</u>		
a) Why did you choose a Masters programme? Why choose MBA etc?		
b) Why choose location of study?		
c) Did your parents want you to study for Masters?	Yes: (Review previous answer)	No:
d) Why did your parents want you to study for a Masters?		
e) What programme did you study? Any specialisation?		
f) Did your parents want you to study Masters abroad?		
g) Did your parents have any expectations to motivate you to study abroad?	Yes: Discuss?	No:
h) Which job/ job title did you have before the Masters?		
i) Did you have management experience?	Yes: No: What management experience?	
j) Which university did you go to?		
k) What influenced you to choose that university? l) Views about Distance Learning programmes?		

m) Did you look at any Institutional marketing material? n) Media?	
o) Did the marketing material mention any career prospects? p) Media Career prospects?	
q) What did you expect to achieve from having a Masters?	
r) Did you have a particular career in mind before you studied the MBA?	
s) Did the university tell you about alumni with jobs/ careers similar to the one you wanted?	
QUESTION 3: <u>Experiences: Before University:</u>	
a) Did your family support you for Masters?	

Who paid for e.g. MBA?:	Yes / No
b) i) Parents	
ii) Family	
iii) You	
iv) Both	
iv) Other	
Comments:	
Paying for accommodation:	
c) i) Parents	
ii) Family	

iii) You			
iv) Both			
v) Other			
Comments:			
<u>During Time at University:</u>			
a.) Were you happy with the university?	Yes:	No:	Comments
b) Programme?			
c) Teaching?			
d) Did it meet your expectations?			
e) Did you work when you were studying?			
f) Did the university give career advice or have links with employers or help you to get a job?			
g) Did you want to stay and work in the Country?			
h) How long did you stay?			
i) Did you remain in contact with friends you met at the university?			

j) Was there an Alumni Membership? k) Did the University contact you?			
QUESTION 4: Outcomes:			
a) Did you have a job in India before you returned?			
b) How long did it take you to get a job?			
c) Was the job what you had expected?			
d) Have you gained career enhancement in the last 1 to 2 years?			
e) Do you think this was due to the Masters?	Yes:	No:	Comments:
f) Did Masters outcomes meet your expectations?			
g) Did the university U.K marketing promises (if any), meet your expectations?			
h) Have you achieved your ambitions now?	Yes:	No:	Comments:
i) What are your plans for the future?			
j) Would you recommend other students go abroad?			
k) Would you recommend studying a Masters / MBA to others?			
QUESTION 5: Social Changes: Ask about personal columns re: Marriage and Dowry?	Comments?		

a) Have you married since you graduated?	
b) Do you feel that the UK qualification helps to improve marriage opportunities? c) Is there still dowry in India? d) Do you think qualifications influence dowry?	
QUESTION 6:	
Do you think employers prefer UK, US, Australian or Indian qualifications?	
Do You think employers have any expectations of Masters graduates? Any other comments?	
Do you think there are any differences between U.K, U.S.A, Australian and Indian qualifications?	
Any other comments you wish to make?	
Thank You	

Appendix 3

Research Study Consent Form

Title of Project:

The Expectations, Outcomes and Perceived Benefits of Post Graduate Business Programmes for Indian Nationals.

Name of Researcher: Kaye Foskett - University of Liverpool

Please read the following statements and sign your agreement below.

1. "I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study"
2. "I have been given an opportunity to ask questions"
3. "I understand I that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without prejudice"
4. "Any information which might potentially identify me will not be used in published material"
5. "I agree to participate in the study as outlined to me."

Name of respondent (Capitals) ___________________________

Date______________________________

Signature__________________________________

A copy to be retained by the respondent

Thank You

Appendix 4

Data Analysis and Findings

Introduction

This appendix outlines some of the findings which Bazeley (2007) refers to as *'qualitative cross-tabulation'* (Bazeley, 2007, p143). The transcribed interview data of each of the respondents was reviewed and the *'data-bits'* (Dey, 1993, p129) stored under free nodes. Analysis was then undertaken to enable the review of the number of times a particular topic has been referred to by the respondents and the examples presented in this appendix *'highlight associations, groupings and patterns'* (Richards, 2009, p39) in the data. This section presents the reader with a sample of the graphs produced from this cross tabulation to provide a visual understanding of the findings.

1. Breakdown of Males and Females in the study.

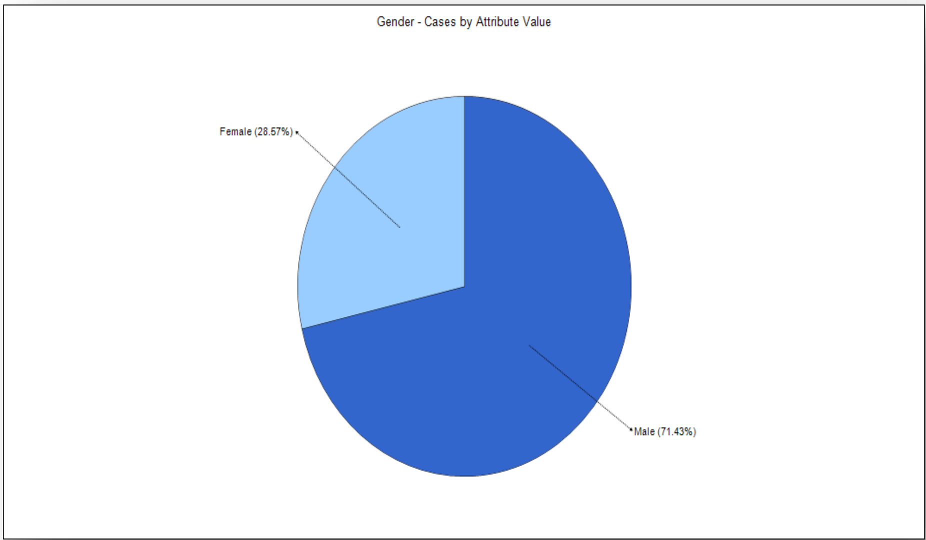

Figure 4.1 Breakdown of Gender of Total Respondents India and UK 70% Male 30% Female

2. Parental Financial Support

The following pie chart presents a visual representation of the attribute of who pays for the programme which clearly suggests that parents are mostly responsible for the payment of the fees and student maintenance.

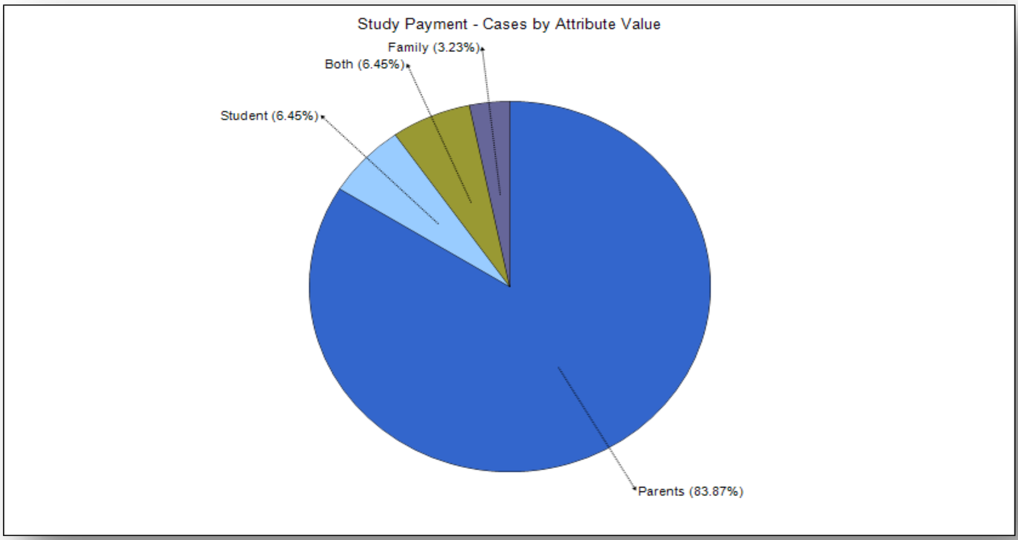

Figure 4.2 Parental Support – Finance –Who paid? Parent

3. The parents' education levels?

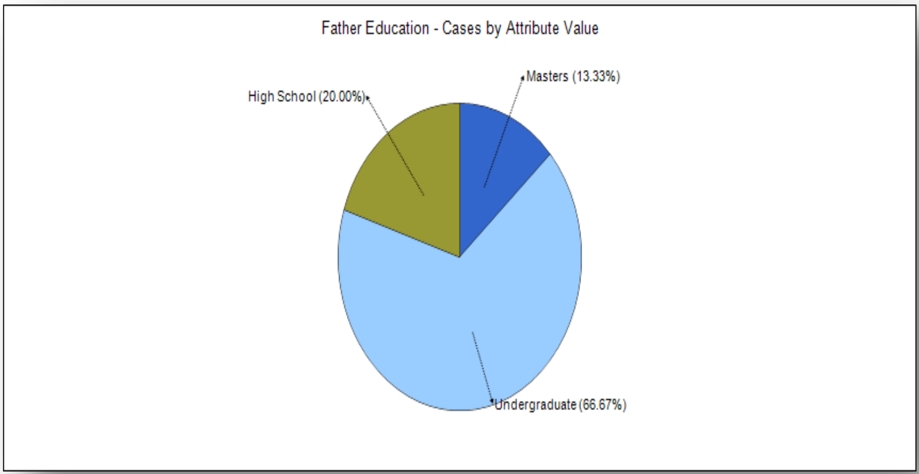

Figure 4.3 – Father's Education

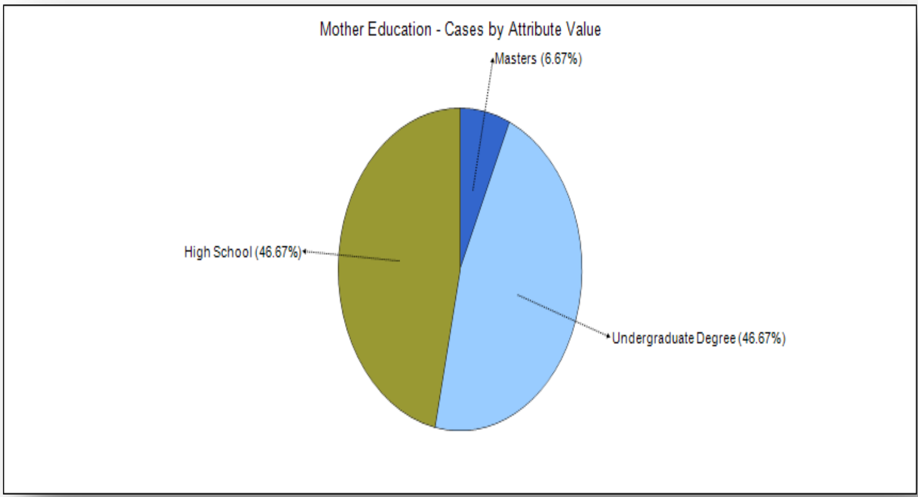

Figure 4.4 Mother's Education

Findings from Figure 4.3 and 4.4:
Father - Previous Studies – Undergraduate has the highest share
Mother - More instances of only high school education than the father.

4. Does Mother Work?

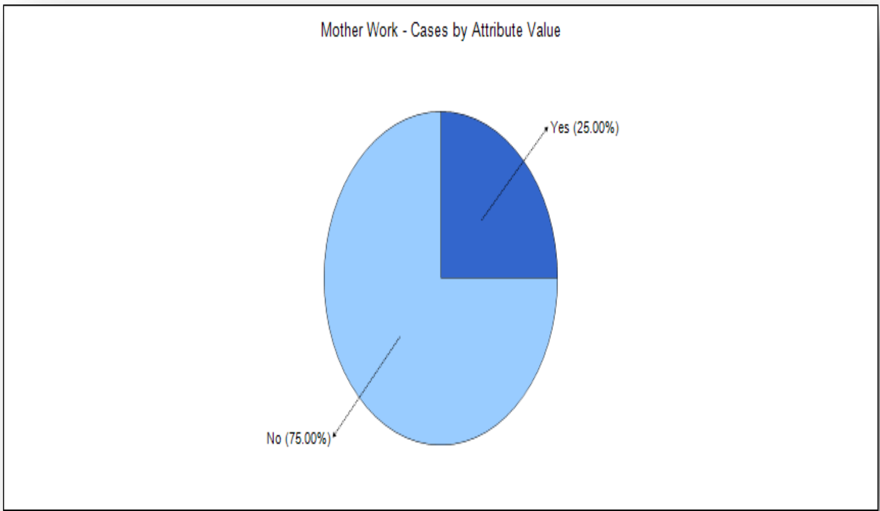

Figure 4.5 Mother Working or Not Working

Findings: – Despite the mother's educational background few work.

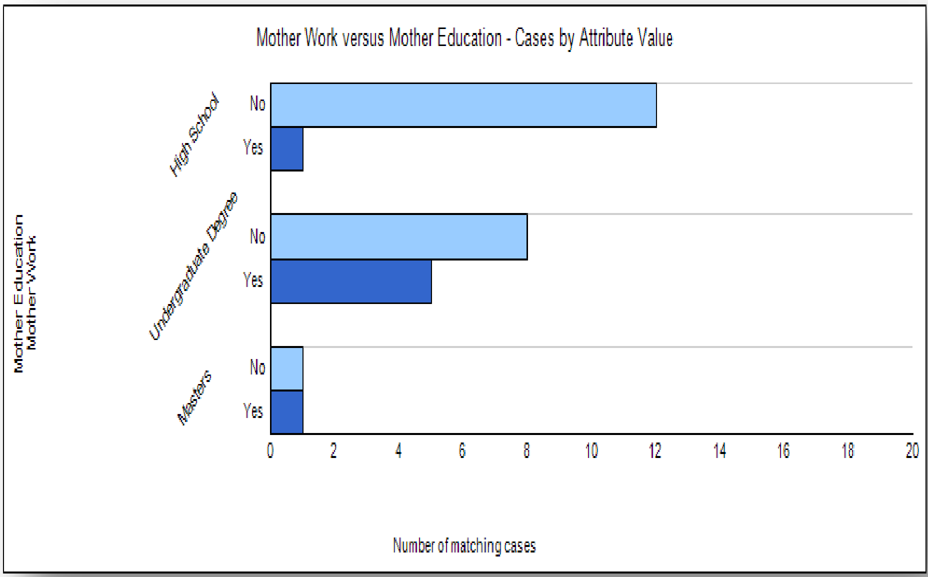

Figure 4.6 Mother's Education - Working or Not Working

Findings Fig 4.6: – A larger proportion of high school graduates do not work and some with undergraduate degrees do not work.

5. Social background of the father?

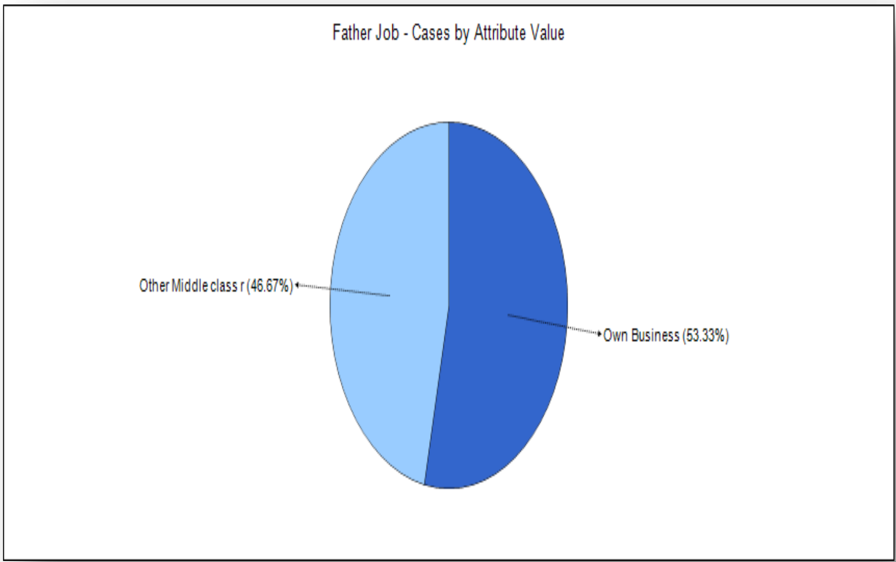

Figure 4.7 Background of Father

Findings: Figure 4.7

Analysis of background suggests that all families are middle class as defined by the researcher, following an analysis of the father's job description; manager or owner of a business.

6. Do parents influence a student to study a Postgraduate Masters Business Programme? (Motivation by proxy?)

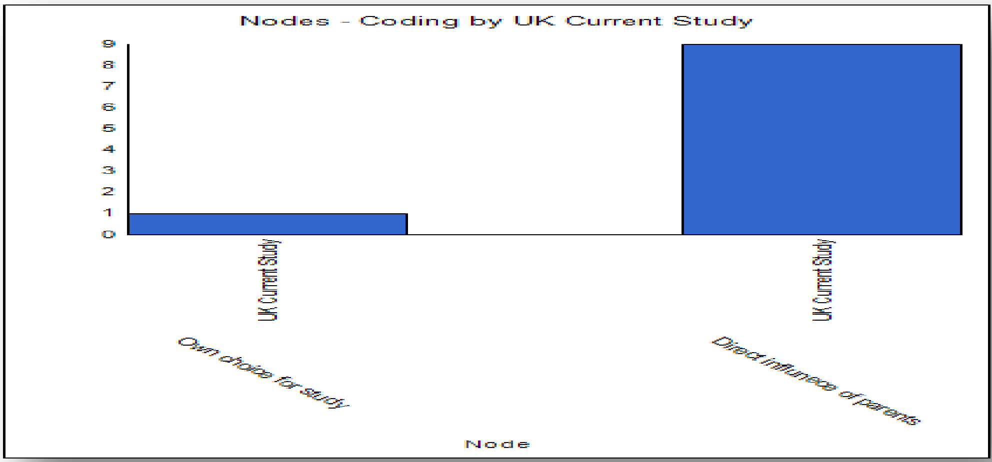

Figure 4.8 Influences of Parents to Study - UK Current Students

Findings from the graph Fig 4.8 indicate: The biggest influence/motivator for current students is the influence of parents.

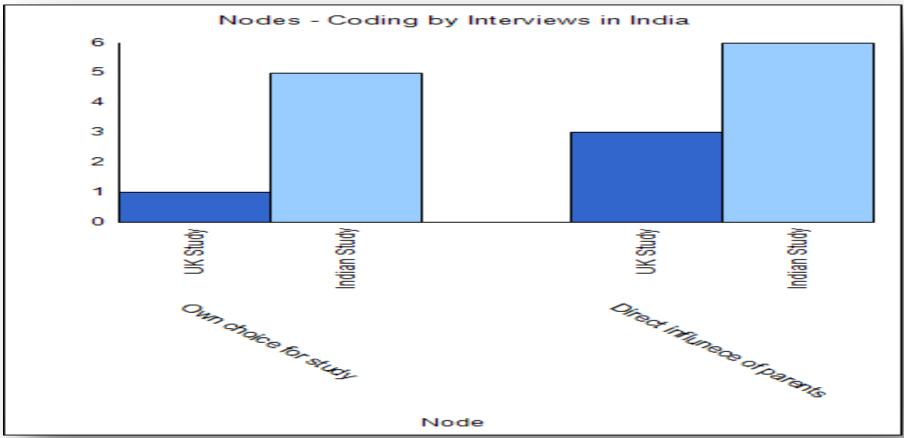

Figure 4.9 Influence of parents for study for Postgraduates, who studied in UK or India.

Findings from graph Fig 4.9 indicate: Parental Influence was high for study in the UK and India of post graduate students.

7. Does the father's level of education have any influence upon study?

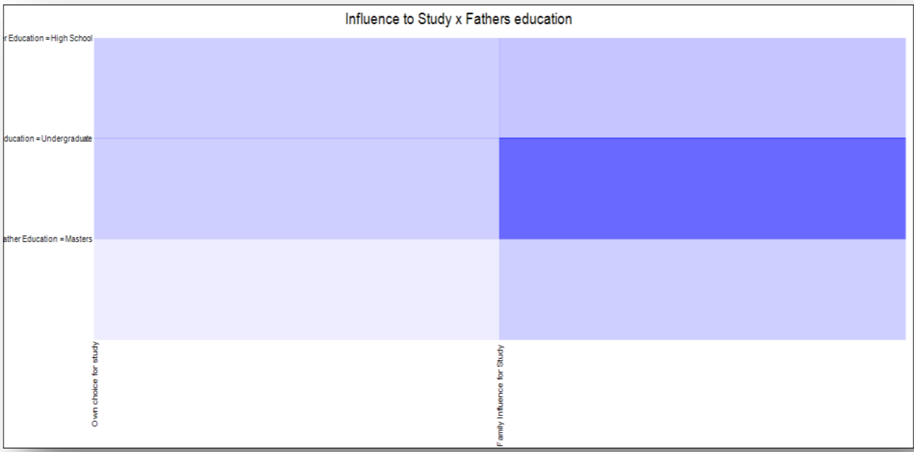

Figure 4.10 Heat Map Influence to Study Masters Programme Vs Educational Achievement of the Father.

Findings from the Heat Map Fig 4.10 indicate:

This highlights that the biggest influence for the study of Masters programmes appears to be from fathers who already have an undergraduate degree. These findings reflect those of found in other research.

8. **Were there other influences which encouraged / motivated post graduate study?** E.g. Marketing advertising material, Media influences - which linked study to outcomes. Agents, Friends Influence, Institutions which link education to good jobs, No links to jobs, Rankings influence, University Advertising.

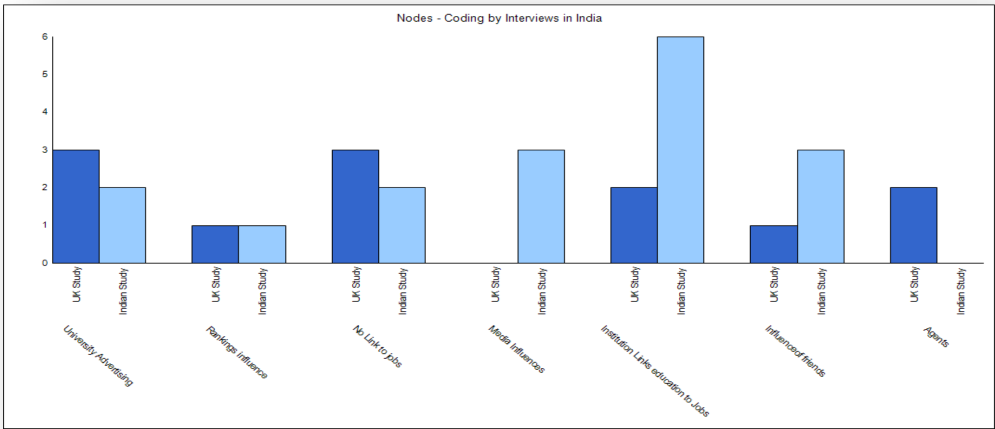

Figure 4.11 Indian A & B Respondents' Views - Other Factors That influenced Study

Findings from the graph Fig 4.11 indicate:

A) **Respondents** - those who studied in India, suggest that Indian marketing material appears to highlight the links of study to securing jobs, and the role of the media is greater in influencing choice.

B) **Respondents** - The evidence from Indian students travelling to the UK for study clearly indicates there are no perceived links between study and the expectation of jobs. Choice of education for this group appears not to have been influenced by the media

9. What were the expectations of respondents to study post graduate business programmes?

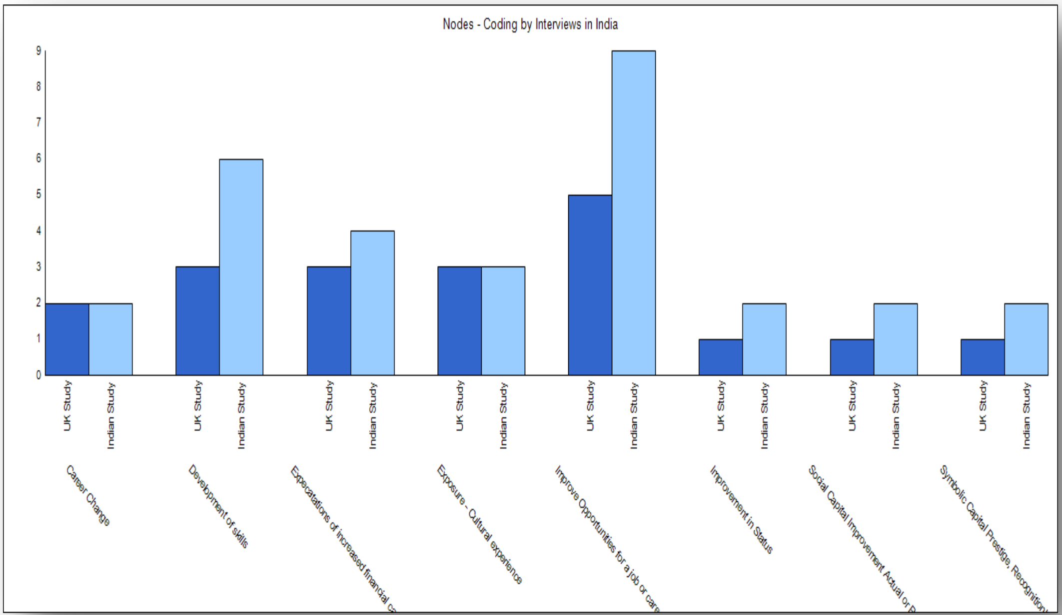

Figure 4.12 Expectations of Indian Respondents who had completed their study in the UK and India. (Respondents A & B)

Findings from the graph Fig 4.12 indicate the following:

The highest number of cases recorded for A) Respondents

Top 5 expectations that were suggested for choosing to study:

1. Improve opportunities for a job or career.
2. Development of skills
3. Expectation of Increased financial capital.
4. Exposure.
5. Career change.

The highest number of cases recorded for B) Respondents

Top 5 Expectations that were suggested for choosing to study:

1. Improve opportunities for job or career.
2. Development of skills.
3. Expectation of Increased financial capital.
4. Exposure.
5. Career change.

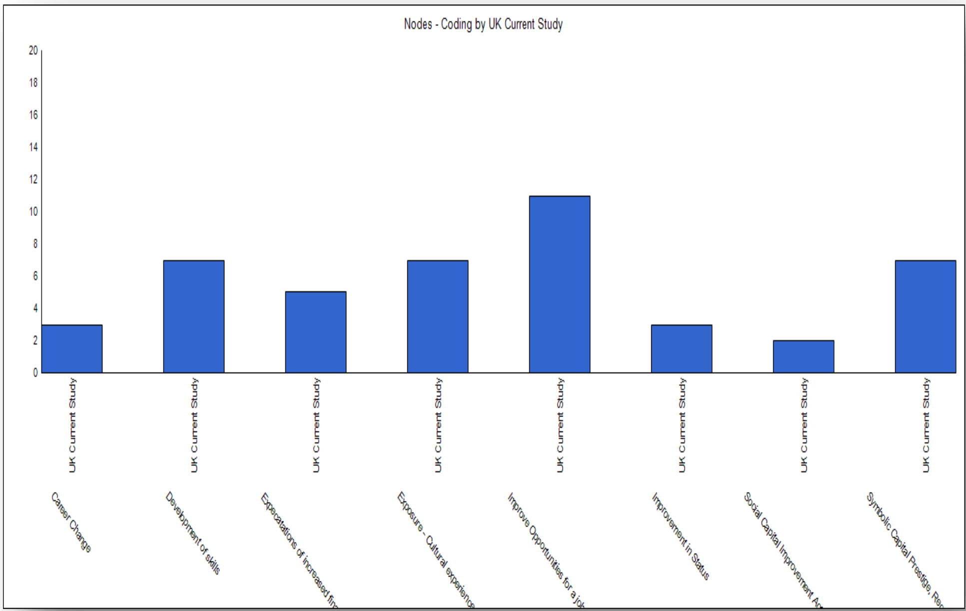

Figure 4.13 Expectations of UK Current Study

Findings from Graph Fig 4.13 - C) Respondents

Top 5 Expectations indicated:

1. Improve Opportunities for a job/career
2. Exposure – Cultural experience
3. Development of skills
4. Symbolic Capital – Prestige of doing the course
5. Expectation of Increase in Financial Capital

Analysis of gender differences for expectations – All Respondents

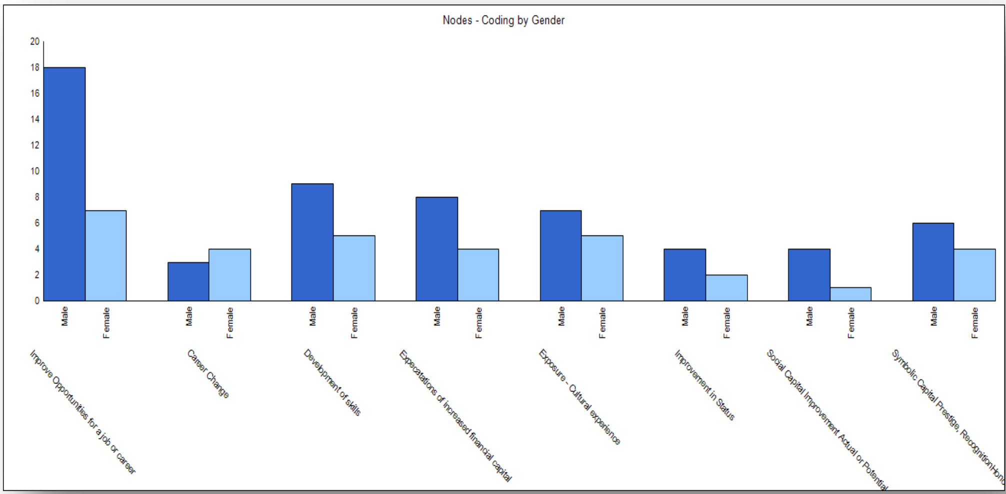

Figure 4.14 Expectations by Gender

Findings from the graph 4.14:

The findings suggest that there are similar expectations between male and females. The greatest expectation for males and females was the improvement in opportunities for a career or job, followed by the development of skills.

10. Why did current students choose UK study?

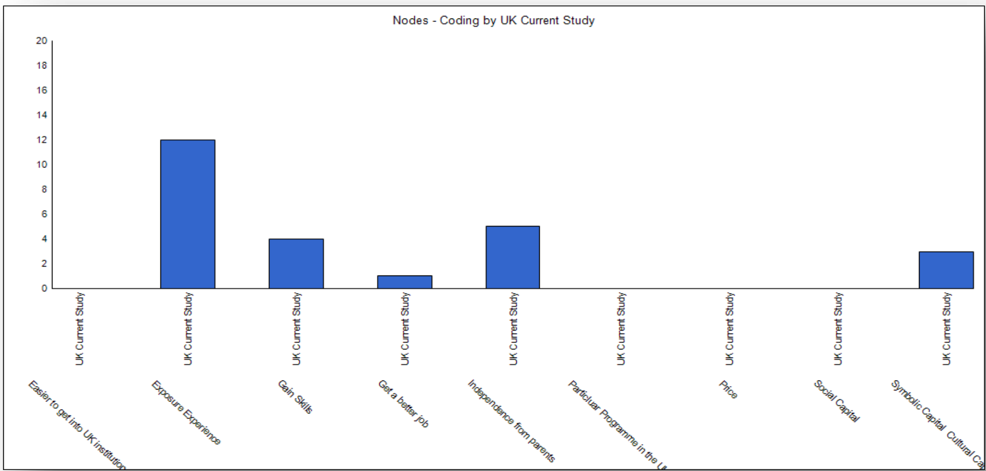

Figure 4.15 C) Respondents: Reasons for Study in the UK

These results suggest that reasons are linked to some of their expectations, e.g. exposure, gain skills, and symbolic or cultural capital.

Findings from the graph 4.15:

Top three number of cases recorded at each node.

1. Exposure
2. Independence from Parents – see further graph below
3. Gain Skills

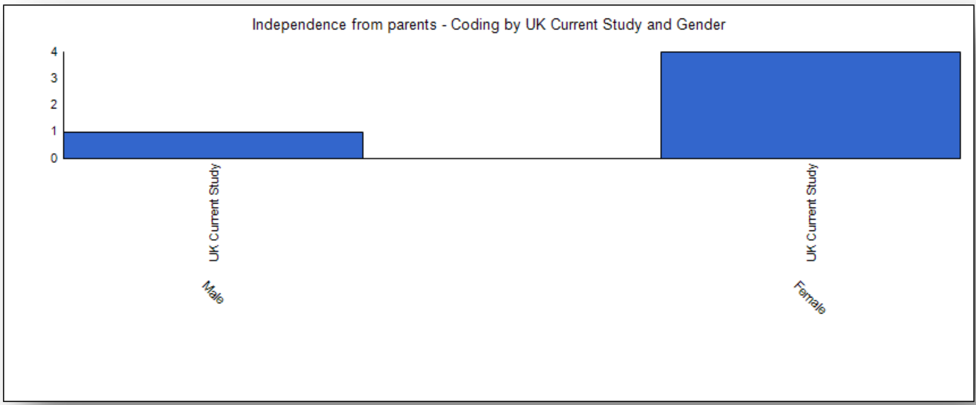

Figure 4.16 Independence from Parents

Findings from the graph 4.16:

It appears from this analysis that more female respondents than males discussed the importance of independence from parents.

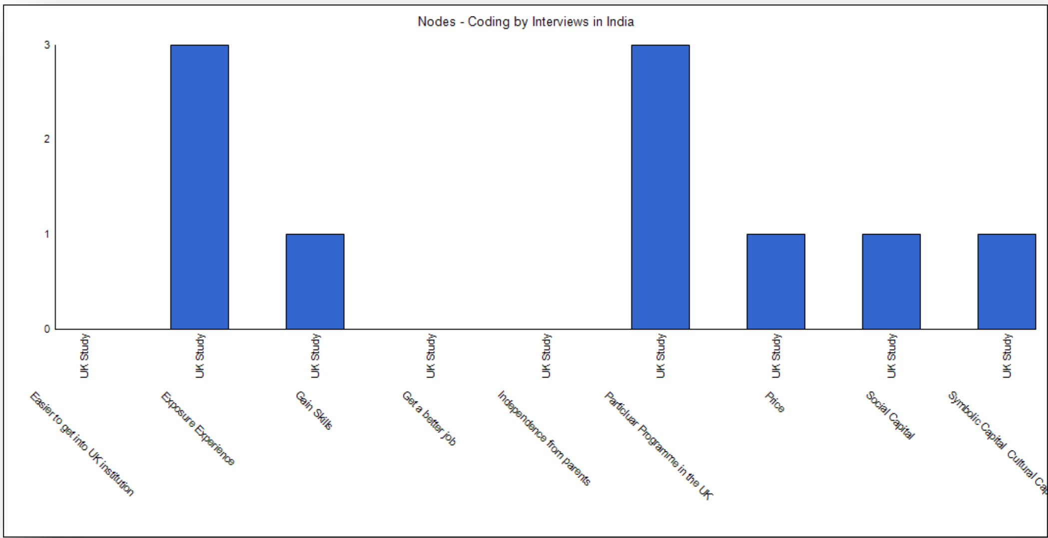

Figure 4.17 Reasons for Choice of Study in the UK B) Respondents:

Analysis of the reasons for graduates to study in the UK appears to demonstrate links to their expectations.

Findings from graph 4.17:
The findings indicate that three out of the six respondents suggested that there was a requirement for a better or more appropriate programme than they could find in India and that exposure to a new culture was also highlighted for their choice.

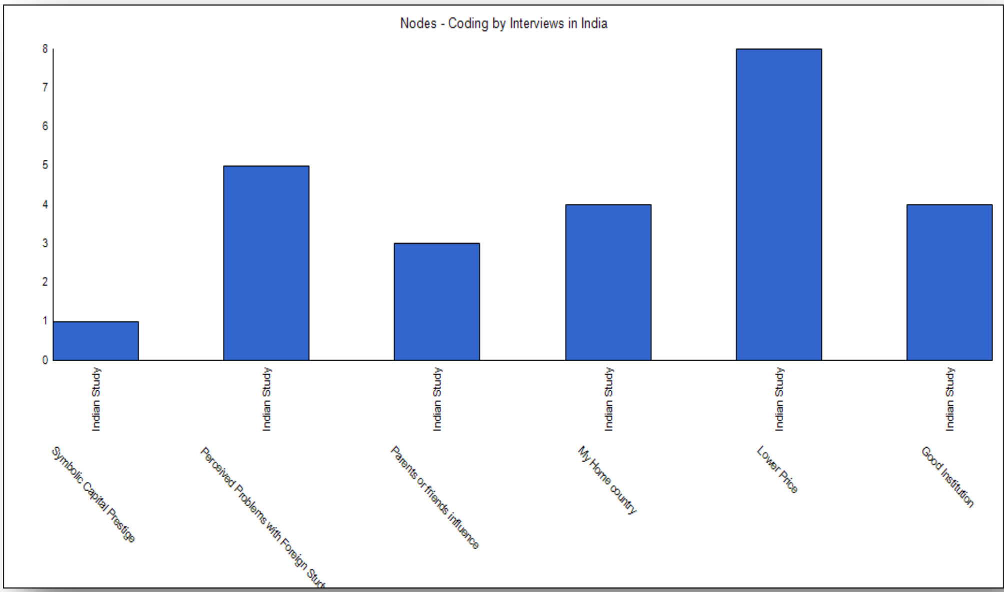

Figure 4.18 Reasons for Choice of study in India – A) Respondents

Findings from the graph 4.18:
The highest number of cases coded, suggests that the main reason or motivator for study in India was the requirement for a lower priced programme.

OUTCOMES

Post Study – A) and B) Respondents Only:
The following questions and answers are related to those respondents who had completed their education not the ones who were currently studying in the UK.

11. Does post graduate higher education, e.g. the MBA or other Masters Business Programmes, from the UK or India, achieve the outcomes that A) and B) Respondents had expected to achieve?

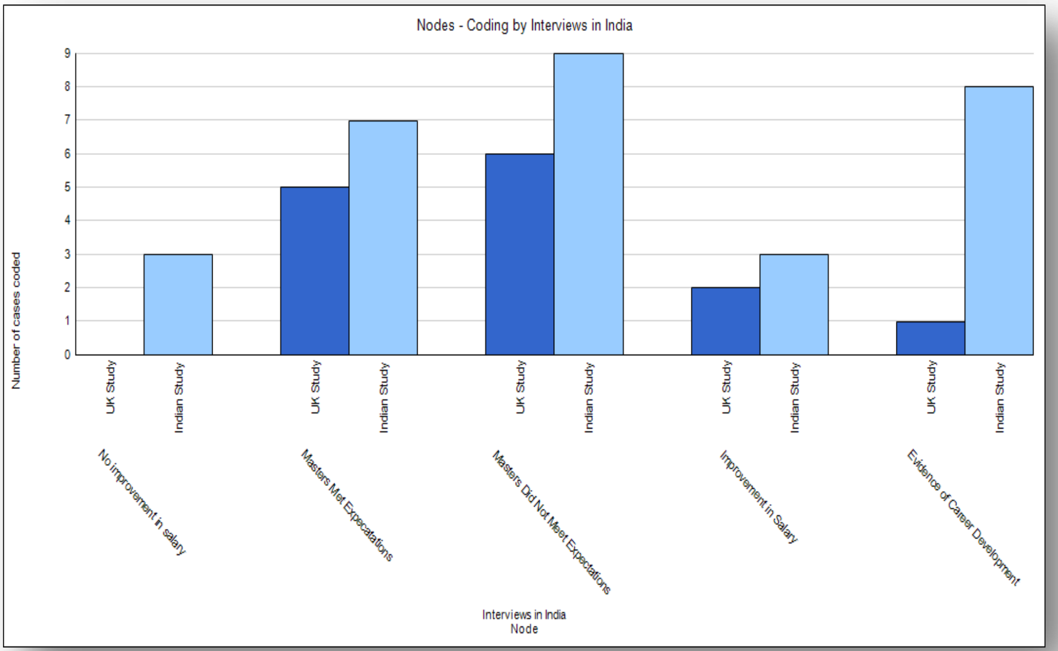

Figure 4.19 Output for Outcomes of Higher Education Programme A) Respondents – Post Graduate Indian Study Outcomes:

The Masters programme did not meet some of the expectations for 9 respondents

7 respondents said it did meet their overall expectations.
Some respondents suggested that, whilst there was no improvement in salary, which had therefore not met their expectations, they did suggest that they had achieved other outcomes of career development e.g. promotion or a better job.

B) Respondents – Post Graduate UK Study Outcomes

There is one more case suggesting that postgraduate study did not meet their expectations. There were only two cases which highlighted an improvement in salary. Only one respondent suggested that any career development had taken place. It is, however, important to note that there were fewer UK educated graduate respondents, than Indian educated graduate respondents.

Overall findings from the graph 4.19:

The highest number of respondents in this graph suggests that Indian Masters programmes (Respondents A), did not meet the respondents' expectations, although there was evidence of some career development for those who had studied in the UK. Other expectations were not met, e.g. a higher salary.

12. Would A) and B) respondents recommend post graduate study to other students?

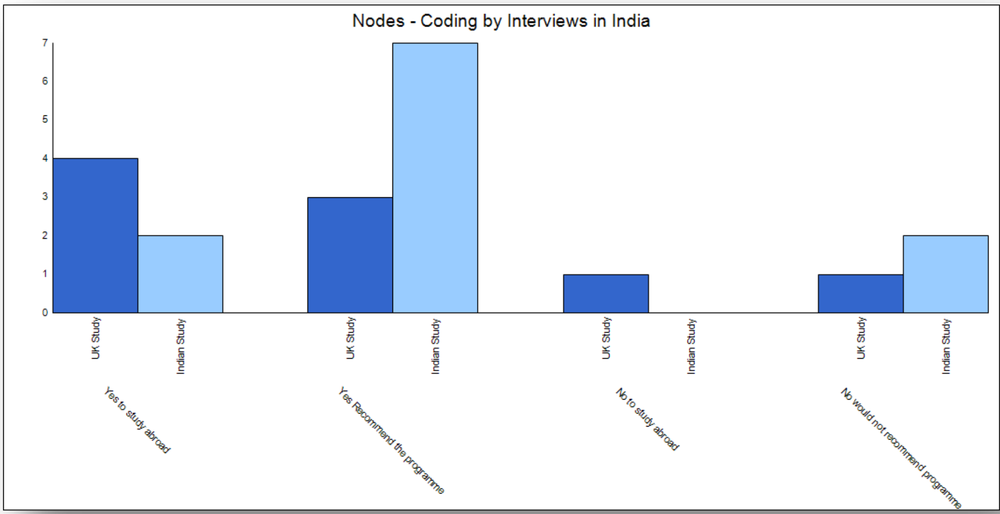

Figure 4.20 Students' Recommendations for Study

Findings from the graph 4.20:

Despite the findings from Figure 4.19 indicating that the programmes generally did not meet all of the respondents expectations, it is clear that respondents would still recommend the programme to others, possibly due to the other expectations that were met, or for other reasons which respondents did not outline.

13. Is there evidence of an alumni association or the use of links with university alumni?

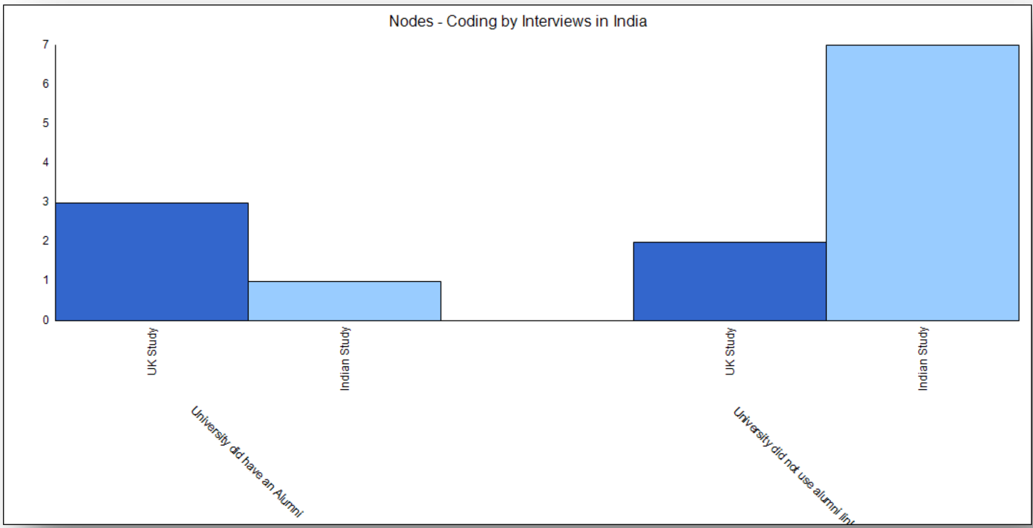

Figure 4.21 Alumni Links

Findings from the graph 4.21:

This evidence suggests that A) Respondents, from Indian institutions had less communication links with the institution or alumni.
B) Respondents, from the UK institutions suggested that some did have alumni communications and these graduates used their alumni links.

Where Indian institutions had any alumni communication, A) Respondents, suggested, that they did not keep in touch with the institutions, or other alumni see next graph.

14. Is there any evidence of the use of alumni for networking (social capital)?

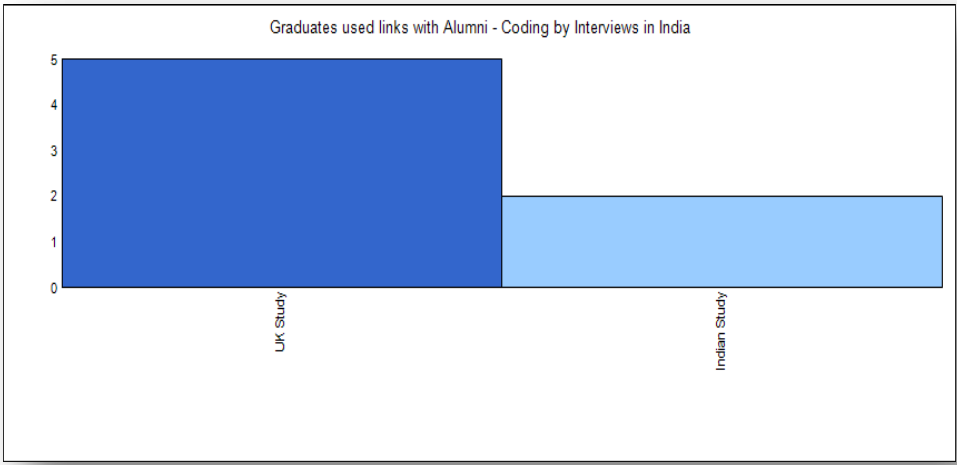

Figure 4.22 Respondents Use of Alumni Services

Findings from the graph Fig. 4.22:

Those respondents who graduated from UK institutions did appear to highlight links with alumni but Indian students who graduated from Indian programmes did not.

Indian institutions were less likely to use alumni links to keep in touch with students. Therefore, opportunities for alumni social capital/networking appear to be limited too.

15. Perception of Additional Benefits of Post Graduate Qualifications?

Is there any evidence of any perceived links between Post Graduate Masters business qualifications and additional benefits e.g. marriage and dowry/gifts?

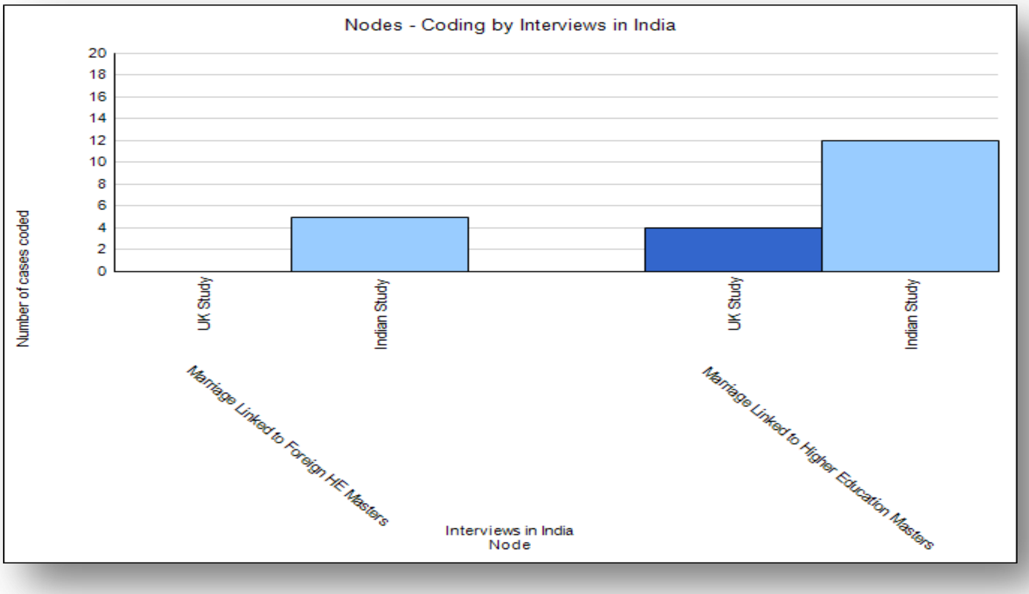

Figure 4.23 – Links Noted between Higher Education and Marriage and Foreign Higher Education and Marriage, (A) B) Respondents).

Findings from the graph figure 4.23:
Respondents A & B, suggested there was a link between marriage and HE, and foreign HE.

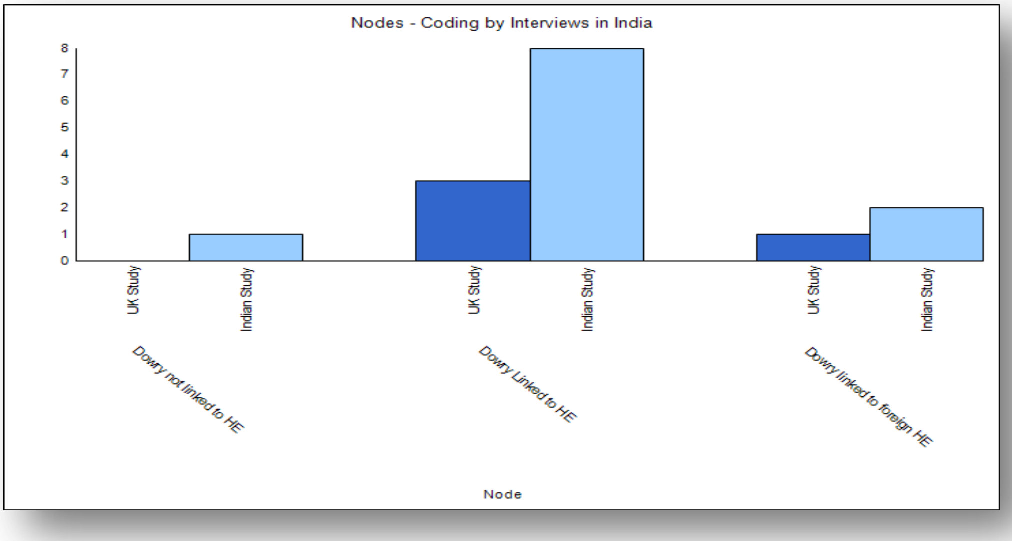

Figure 4.24 Perceived Links Between HE and Dowry/Gifts from A) and B) Respondents.
Findings from the graph figure 4.24:

Most graduate respondents, A & B, suggested there was a link between HE and dowry. There was also a link between dowry and foreign HE.

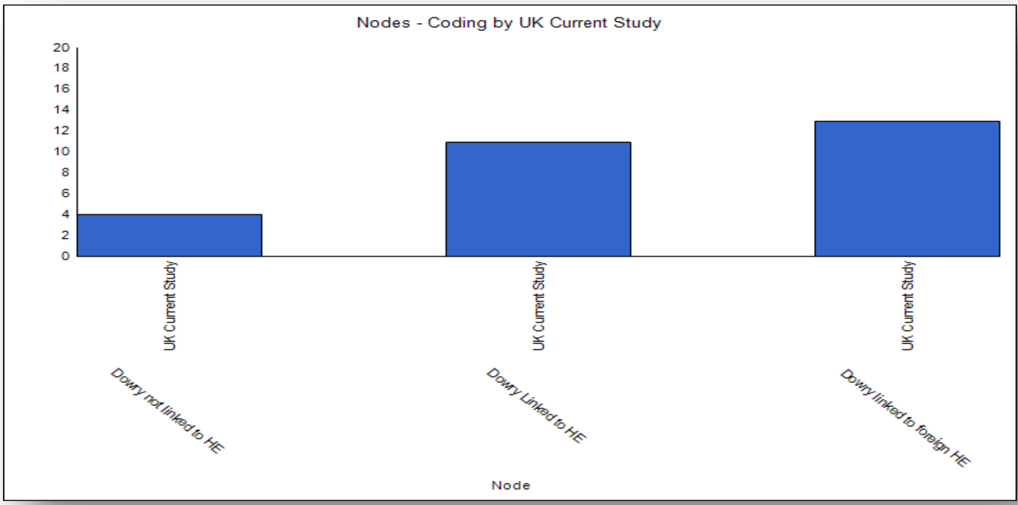

Figure 4.25 Dowry Linked to Higher Education and Dowry Linked to Foreign Education from UK Current Students – Respondents C.

Findings from the graph figure 4.25:

Coding reveals that most UK Current Students – C) Respondents suggested a link to dowry and higher Education. There was also a stronger link between dowry and foreign higher Education.

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