

sector of the system, eliminating corruption and ensuring that students, who get access to higher education can successfully complete their studies, India's academic potential, and eventually its economic success, will be jeopardised. This insightful study on the state of higher education in India will be of interest to scholars and practitioners in the field of education as well as policy-makers at every level of administrative reform.

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CHOU Chuing Prudence and Gregory Ching (2012): *Taiwan Education at the Crossroad when Globalization meets Localization*, Palgrave Macmillan, USA, 175, Fifth Avenue, New York, Ny-10010 Pages: 289+vii to xxiii (hardbound), ISBN: 978-0-230-11089-2. Price not stated.

The book, under review, is 14th in the International and Development Series. The preface, running into six pages in addition to two page references, series editors' introduction, opinion of the three professors about the book printed on the back of the flap, and second and third paragraphs of acknowledgements, go to show that the book is a well researched scholarly work.

The book is a detailed case study of the transformation and development of the Taiwanese education system in the wake of globalization, internationalization, and localization from pre-school to higher education. The issues examined and policies implemented to resolve them have wider implications in the sense that education sector in many countries, whether developed or less developed, have faced or are still facing issues similar in nature, by and large. For example, the issue of quality of education is one of the major issues being faced by the USA. It is found that there is no significant improvement in cognitive gains over four years among 36% of college graduates." According to data gathered by the chronicle of higher education and American Public Media's marketplace, half of the employers say "they have trouble finding qualified recent college graduates to hire". (Special Time Report on Higher Education, P. 42, October 7, 2013). Recently, American newspapers reported on the front page such headlines as "Schools in trouble, and the sooner we admit it, the better"; "Teacher evaluation is vital part of improving schools"; and "Teachers must drill students to instill a real desire to learn" (October- November, The Times, Sunday edition. Bay Area News Group).

Taiwan is one of the four Asian Tigers economically and it cannot be called less developed educationally. Taiwan is a small island with a population of a little over 23 million. Taiwan, even after 50 years of independence, is officially known as Republic of China. Its GDP per capita (US\$31,834 in 2009) at Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is ranked 43rd in the world. Rate of access to education at all levels is highest, outnumbering many of its counterparts in Asia. Percentage of graduates admitted to the next level of education in 2010 was more than 90 at primary, junior, and senior high schools. Illiteracy rate is just 2%. Six year compulsory education was raised to nine years in 1968. Life-long learning opportunities are available to people of all ages, especially senior citizens. According to

Taipei News, Taiwan's Human Development Index (HDI) is above that of mainland China. However, in the annual Human Development Reports published by the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), Taiwan's Human Development Index (HDI) has not been mentioned along with the HDIs of other countries of the world. At least five universities of Taiwan have found place in the world universities rankings. (World Universities Rankings-Times Higher Education Report, October, 2013).

Then why is the book titled "Taiwan education at the crossroad when globalization meets localization"? This fascinating title hints at the dilemmas and issues that a country has to face and overcome, when its education system is expected to "strike a balance between enabling institutions to become more international in outlook and honouring local customs and traditions". In case of Taiwan, globalization (also internalization) and localization are not the question of '*either/or*'. In fact, the Taiwanese education system is to be localized and globalized simultaneously.

The answer is found in its chequered political history, featured by Japanese colonization (1895-1945), re-sinization after world war second followed by de-sinization era (1998-2008), diplomatic isolation during 1970s, when it withdrew from the United Nations ,and suspended diplomatic relations with the US and also by the present political climate of polarization between the two main parties (DPP and KMT). The purpose of Taiwan's education during Japanese and later Chinese occupation was respectively to assimilate local people into Japanese culture and to promote mainly Chinese national identity. China still regards Taiwan as a rebel region that must be reunited with the mainland China. As such, it is still a dominant political issue. The loss of identity during conflicts with Japan and China was a major localization issue.

Though Higher Education Excellence Plan aims at making Taiwan look better on the international stage, but the plan has generated dilemma between attaining global competitiveness and meeting local challenges. The Plan was revised somewhat to accommodate local needs and the universities' goals when questions were raised on its benefits to people, its intention to help every Taiwanese student, and stratification and polarization between higher educational institutions.

TAIWAN and, for that matter, any country in the world aiming at transforming and developing its education system, has to take account of changed or changing environment locally and globally. The society in Taiwan began demanding the deregulation, democratization, liberalization, and diversification of education once the political and economic environment had improved. On the other hand, the emergence of the knowledge-based global economy, in the wake of the information, communication, and technology revolution (ICT), has made the educational authorities conscious about the international mobility of university graduates by improving their competence through higher educational standards compatible with the global level. In this context, the authors, who are educationists themselves, have made a sincere effort to narrate insightfully the transformation and development of education in Taiwan from the bottom to the top. According to the authors, all the three levels of education have to face the impact of globalization. Thus, these are some of the global and local issues to be dwelt upon in any policy of transformation of Taiwanese education system. The mission of transforming and developing education system is to make it dynamic and socially responsive locally and competitive globally.

It is categorically stated in the book that Taiwanese education policy aims no longer to focus on quantity but mainly on quality. Of the many questions that have remained unanswered, the most relevant question from the global perspective is: whether the quality of education has improved? At many places in the book the reference to quality reveals that it has declined. It is rather intriguing since Taiwan plans to raise the world ranking of its universities.

Since Taiwan has taken education as one of the important avenues of nation-building and economic development, it is making sincere efforts to make the best of both worlds through its mission of converging local and global forces. In order to comprehend these forces, readers have to go through the first six chapters of the book. In order to understand as far as possible ideological conflicts between globalization and localization in the context of shaping Taiwanese education system for the future, the authors have rightly devoted chapters on the past history of Taiwan's economy, polity, society and education. The reading of these chapters is a good beginning for a deeper insight into the issues and challenges of localization and globalization elaborated in the remaining chapters of the book.

Along with globalization, the Taiwan government has embedded the neo-liberal principles of market and privatization of the education system as a way of relieving government budgetary pressures. Chapter seven not only throws light but simultaneously raises questions on issues such as governance, funding, privatization of education, quality of teaching and research, outcome of differently situated social groups, etc. with regard to all the three levels of education which need to face the impact of globalization and internationalization. Chapter eight, the longest chapter, examines the structure of pre-school education, primary education, and secondary education, while highlighting their relevance and importance in promoting localization and internationalization of the foundation of the education system. The section on recent high school reform needs extra attention. Like the 10+2 none-too-happy education reform in India, in Taiwan the streaming of the three types of high schools—general (academic), vocational (terminal stage, where students are required to join work places related to their training to meet manpower requirements instead of pursuing university education), and comprehensive (academic + vocational) schools has failed to fulfill its original objectives. Instead, schools have prompted their students to pass university entrance exams and then become buffers for reproducing the older type society and its hierarchy.

Chapter 15 on 'Reform Schemes for Students in Need' mostly focuses on the needs of school children. Even when Taiwan faced the pangs of economic turmoil, it did not allow its education system to stall its dynamism and social responsiveness by allocating more funds to help affected students continue their studies. Second, it sought to make young citizens internationally competitive by creating international environment in schools, enhancing competency in foreign languages and promoting e-learning. The micro managerial aspect of education reforms in Taiwan contains policies focusing on the country's heritage and minority populations, such as aboriginal children and children of foreign spouses, in order to achieve the objective of equality of educational opportunities by including widely spoken languages other than the national language of Mandarin.

Chapters nine to 14 focus on university system as "It is the central institution of the knowledge economy both transformed by and transforming our increasingly globalised world". (Carnoy Martin, et. al." *University Expansion in a Changing Global economy-Triumph of the BRICs?*" - electronic resource).

Voicing their concern about the popularity of the *de facto* parallel education system (known as shadow or cram schools) helping students to pass various entrance examinations, with its accent on information and rote memory and virtually implying the total neglect of training in critical thinking and analysis, the authors raise questions about the place of public schools, the fate of the children of poor families not able to afford the costs of sending their wards to shadow schools. "Can public schools provide a high quality competitive education that meets the needs of students from more disadvantaged backgrounds"?

Rapid expansion of higher education in Taiwan characterized by (a) the unprecedented growth of private universities and (b) increased access, irrespective of the students' social background, gender, ethnicity and age, is nothing short of rapid quantitative expansion of higher education, bypassing the oft repeated advice that *selectivity* in admission counts very much at this level of education while also ignoring the impact of low birth rate on demand for admission into universities in the near future. The so-called rapid expansion of higher education was uncalled for as it raised issues of declining quality, mismatch between labour market requirements and credentials and the resultant issue of educated unemployment manifesting in the non-alignment between universities and industry and the corporate world.

Moreover, in the true spirit of neo-liberal ideology, expenditure on education in Taiwan, as a proportion of GDP, declined from 6.37% in 1995 to 5.74% in 2005. Consequently, the share of public expenditure declined from 5.20% in 1995 to 4.24% in 2005 and that of private expenditure increased. Investment in pre-school education and compulsory education suffered in the process. Public-private dichotomy is clearly visible at the kindergarten level where, because of few public kindergartens, 60% of children are forced to attend high-fee charging private kindergartens. These trends in investment in education have reduced the pace of social class mobility relative to the past. This observation made in the book corroborates the research finding that "children's experiences-both positive and adverse-directly influence how their brains develop and whether they grow up healthy, prepared for school and successful later in life". (The Time Sunday, Bay Area News group, November 24, 2013)

To address the issue of quality, the quality assurance policies have been implemented and reinforced since 2005, based on the revised Taiwanese University Act of 2003. The regular evaluation of universities, as a major mechanism for quality assurance, and ranking of universities, on the basis of performance evaluation, has already been implemented. In addition to this, the current seniority and degree-based salary system was replaced by the new system of flexible salary for public universities with the hope that this will result in better teaching and research quality as rewards are linked to faculty performance. What is the final outcome of the Quality Assurance Plan? The simple answer as per the authors' evaluation of the Plan is that "whether university quality has been improved or not and who benefits from these new reform policies remains an open question in Taiwan". Taiwan's higher education entered a new era, once the University law was revised in 1994 and legal restrictions were relaxed and Taiwan joined WTO in 2001 and, with that, began the process of globalization of higher education. The moot question of quality still looms large even after pursuing vigorously the policies of providing incentives to the universities for pursuing excellence to offset the declining quality of universities due to rapid expansion and cuts in public budgets.

Other policy measures like World-class Research University Project (2003), Higher Education Excellence Plan and follow-up evaluation programme throughout the process to control outcomes, despite making significant progress, have created the conflict between attaining goals of competitiveness and local needs. Quality has not improved relative to expectations because of three factors: (1) “prevalence of academic chaos in the absence of professional values and ethics making it impossible for any meaningful evaluation of academic performance”. (2) “Departments concerned responsible for implementation and monitoring of educational policies also cannot easily solve the problems of quality and academic research”. (3) Adherence to the policy of the number (quantity) of research papers published internationally for promotion and reward, “the quality of research and teaching has suffered, thus impacting students’ rights and the goals of academic development”.

Though internationalization effort has still been not integrated into the mainstream of higher education, questions raised and discussed in this regard deserve attention from countries which intend to initiate internationalization process in their educational institutions. Such questions relate to motivation for and goals of internationalization its role in improving and maintaining a competitive edge, barriers to internationalization, costs, benefits, and risks of internationalization, market for international students and the mechanism to evaluate the performance of the process of internationalization.

The three international publication indicators, adopted by the Taiwanese ministry of education, were (1) Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), (2) Science Citation Index (SCI), and (3) Engineering Index (EI). These were adopted with the hope that they would help in enhancing the international competitiveness of higher educational institutions while also raising the status of a research university to a world class research university. This would also be useful in the ranking of each university and college which is the base for funding decisions and for hiring teachers, and for granting their tenure and promotion.

The use of these indices has not found favour with academicians as this method of evaluation supports research in pure sciences, with its focus on global topics, and is written and published in English language journals as opposed to research in social sciences and humanities, with its focus on local issues and written, by and large, in local language. This type of evaluation has created a sort of conflict between their academic standing and in the allocation of resources and while also being responsible for ideological conflict between globalization and localization processes.

The objection against the English language hegemony in education cannot be fully justified as Taiwan wants its higher educational institutions to be globally competitive, and particularly its research universities to be world class. Is this possible without the use of English since English plays a prominent role in ICT revolution? Even Taiwan’s language policy favours the use of English along with other languages (Bilingual language policy) in primary schools. The second-tier label, associated with scholars of social sciences and humanities, may be removed by placing their works on an equal footing with those of pure sciences, written either in English or other languages, at least for the purpose of allocation of resources. This is how the ideological conflict between ongoing processes of globalization and localization as also the issue of unequal allocation of resources between pure sciences and social sciences/humanities can be resolved.

The hue and cry raised against the policy of allocation of funds on the ground of polarization and stratification of educational institutions and society is not well founded in a market-driven higher education system where quality goal enjoys supremacy over other

goals. If stakeholders are motivated by financial profit in the growing international market for students, then the profit so generated can be diverted to second-tier universities and colleges to improve their academic standing.

Chapter 16 on 'cross-strait relationships between Taiwan and China' not only focuses but also stresses on how important it is to normalize once politically troubled relationship with neighbouring countries, particularly with China, by shifting from hard line to liberalized approaches that allow educational, cultural and academic dialogues and debates between citizens, students, teachers and educational institutions of the two nations. Both the countries are trying to share the Confucian belief in the "inclusive and diverse: civilization of co-existence" to further improve their relations.

The last chapter is the highlight of the book where the authors have most competently narrated the issues of globalization and localization of Taiwanese education system in a broader perspective, highlighting reforms' successes and shortfalls and a blueprint for prospective education policies for the next generation. They have also raised some difficult questions about the accomplishing of more than a decade old educational reforms, particularly regarding the quality of education.

Development of Education in Perspective

One thing that should occur to critical thinkers is about the goals set for the expansion and development of education. Most interestingly, the education sector, better termed as the education 'industry', has to face the complex multiplicity of goals such as access, equity, quality (excellence, efficiency), social mobility and also simultaneously sustain traditional values at all the levels of education. One pertinent question raised by the authors in this regard is: "If technology guides a country's values and distribution of resources, should education still take up the heavy responsibility of passing on traditional values"? The fulfillment of multiplicity of goals appears to be unrealistic in societies plagued by in-built economic and social inequalities, and rising income inequalities in the world, wherein students' outcome is positively associated with family background, create barriers to entry in the local and international education systems. It seems, the multiplicity of goals has made a *mess* of the education system as too many crooks spoil the broth.

With reference to the Taiwanese higher education, the dilemma of quality versus quantity is clearly visible on account of the unprecedented growth of private universities where students are admitted by diluting admission criteria. Now, the higher educational institutions face the music of merging or closing down due to the shortage of students in the wake of decline in birth rate. Dichotomies of various sorts have also cropped up in the shape of public- private schools, between top-tier public and private universities, rural/urban areas, between have/have-nots in scholastic ability, and between the high/low ranking educational institutions vis-a-vis the allocation of funds and resources, etc.. For increasing the flow of international students, quality of education has a great impact regardless of price, when education is an internationally traded private good. One of the aims of Taiwanese institutions of higher learning is to further increase the flow of international students by upgrading quality to avert the negative impact of declining birth rate on the very survival of higher education institutions in the near future.

What is the rationale of following multiplicity of goals in an age of global academic revolution, unlike the human capital revolution of the early sixties, where the invisible hand of market dominated? Is not the time ripe for assigning priority to goals at each level? For

instance, at the tertiary education level, it may be only quality goal whereas at the pre-school and primary school levels, a combination of goals may prevail. The creation of the level playing field in a global market for students, teachers and research products seems to be in tune with the philosophy of the survival of the fittest. However, for that, the process of level playing has to be initiated from the very foundation of the education system.

Measures to raise quality of higher education such as particularly competitive funding, flexible salary structure, performance-based reward, ranking of the universities on the basis of research publications and such quality assurance plans have not yielded the desired results. Taiwan's efforts to bring some of its universities from midway or from near bottom to top ranking world-class universities have experienced a real dilemma between globalization and localization as mentioned earlier.

The case of Taiwan as an excellent example of the influence of neo-liberal principles in higher education policy since 1980s, as claimed by the authors, is half-truth, at least in terms of increasing effectiveness and improving educational quality. On the contrary, education has become, by and large, a *non-priority* sector for the government in terms of funding, and its efforts to mobilize resources from non-governmental sources have met with limited success. This uncertainty of funding results from the changing perspective about education as a public good and as a merit good to a private good.

Regardless of the nature of education as a public merit, or a private good, the question arises as to What could be the appropriate model of Public-Private partnership (PPP) nurturing, sustaining, and promoting two sides of the quality coin-research/teaching? The answer demands a fresh thinking on the part of students, teachers, and policy-makers leading to the adoption of a suitable PPP model. The ambition to succeed in a global economy has to focus on this basic question.

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Donald E. HELLER and Claire CALLENDER (editors) (2013): *Student Financing of Higher Education: A Comparative Perspective*, London and New York: Routledge, ISBN: 978-0-415-53596-0 (hard-bound), pp. 257 + index

Globally, there have been significant shifts in financing of higher education. One major shift refers to shift in public funding, from institutional funding to student funding. The shift supports the principle of student choice, a principle that is being increasingly valued for right and not so right reasons. Student funding, instead of institutional funding, will allow students to choose an institution of their choice, and this, it is claimed, will increase competition among the institutions and improve efficiency. It is also widely realized that student funding, when it is not specifically confined to students in public institutions, would mean indirect funding of private institutions, resulting in an increased growth of private higher education. As promotion of private higher education is also becoming an acceptable public policy in most countries, student funding is becoming a highly favoured practice. In