

Institutional Entrepreneurship in Action: Translating Community Colleges Across India

by

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DEDICATION

To my partner, Joel, with whom I enjoy the everyday process of building a full life together.

In honor of all those seeking to dismantle inequitable structures, may this be a squirrel's contribution to the generative, uncertain, and necessary work of transformation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AICTE – All India Council for Technical Education

CVE – Centre for Vocational Education

ICRDCE – Indian Centre for Research and Development of Community Education

IGNOU – Indira Gandhi National Open University

MHRD – Ministry of Human Resource Development

MSDE – Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NSDC –National Skill Development Corporation

NSQF – National Skills Qualification Framework

TNOU – Tamil Nadu Open University

UGC – University Grants Commission

ABSTRACT

Initiated in 1995, community college in India grew from a grassroots movement into a national policy priority. Rather than achieve stability as a cohesive system, three distinct but overlapping community college models developed. To begin to understand the forces shaping this unexpectedly fragmented landscape, I conducted an embedded case study focused on how advocates defined what it means to be a community college in India. Over one year of data collection, I conducted interviews with 99 advocates and practitioners at 35 community colleges, government offices, and higher education facilities in 7 states.

Guided by interwoven concepts from institutional theory – translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and an institutional logics perspective – I find that all three models focus on preparing marginalized students for employment aligned with a national priority on skill development and a global trend of promoting community colleges as a tool for economic and educational justice. Yet, the ultimate form, function, and field position of community colleges remain in flux.

A desire to “make skills aspirational” coupled with a national “degree obsession” led advocates into what I call recognition chasing – a process focused on securing community colleges a formal place within higher education through regulatory support. Guided by a perceived need for government recognition, an interdependent network of advocates initiated each successive model by promoting a globally acceptable yet locally differentiated vision for

the community college. Translation was a continually responsive process at the organizational and system level, which resulted in three distinct but overlapping models championed by new advocates offering new opportunities for recognition.

Strategies to achieve legitimacy were generally top down and based on personal relationships to help overcome challenges associated with the centralized and individual-centric bureaucracy that controlled higher education. Advocates offered desirable frames, mobilized allies, and developed standards and norms, but the ability to influence community college policy was largely concentrated within a small group of people and organizations. What I call coercive cooperation came to define each community college model by providing minimal but controlling oversight through selection processes, the creation of guidelines, and hosting workshops to disseminate information to practitioners. As a result, the role of personal relationships was elevated above the need for collaborative problem solving in the field building stage.

Advocates' actions were both constrained and enabled by a shifting constellation of the community, state, market, professional, and religious logics influencing community college development. Given the complex resource environment with competing demands for action, logic seeking, or aggressively pursuing the influence of multiple logics on community college development, was necessary. For a grassroots movement to gain regulatory backing and desirable market outcomes, in a bureaucratic emerging economy, advocates actively engaged in logic seeking to secure legitimacy for a new organizational arrangement. They doggedly chased government backing, courted relationships with industry partners, and shaped the curriculum to meet specific employer needs based on professional standards. Ultimately, logic seeking was not an attempt to resolve or mitigate complexity; instead it was the active pursuit of complexity.

Findings have broad implications for theory, practice, policy, and research. It is important to understand the interconnected forces shaping the development of community colleges in India, because without careful attention to policy and practice, community colleges in India may serve to reinforce the inequitable social system they are intended to disrupt.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Countries around the world regularly invoke community colleges as a tool for economic and social justice. India is no exception. Educational reformers regularly position the community college as a tool to remedy systemic issues of quality and inequality in India's postsecondary education (Valeau & Raby, 2015). Guided by a mandate for quality educational reform through skill development, community colleges have spread to almost all of the twenty-nine states and seven union territories in India since 1995. Yet, implementation remains fragmented with community colleges operating as non-governmental organizations (NGO) at the periphery of formal education or as small departments embedded in government-funded institutions. Regardless of their position in the system of higher education, community colleges are framed as providing "education for employment" and as a "vehicle" to transform a rigid and inequitable education structure.

Community college global counterparts – postsecondary educational organizations designed to offer marginalized students a low-cost pathway to employment and further education in a local context – exist in some variation in nearly every country (Raby & Valeau, 2009, 2012). Bahr (2013) points out that in the American context, students and community colleges can be classified based on course-taking patterns that may illuminate new ways to understand how students are actually using colleges to achieve diverse educational goals. Although North American, German, Australian, and United Kingdom models are often heralded as the primary

source of the community college concept, emerging economies regularly transform this idea to serve diverse student populations in ways that align with local labor market and postsecondary educational needs (Raby, 2009; Wiseman, Chase-Mayoral, Janis, & Sachdev, 2012). Moreover, numerous emerging economies such as Qatar, China, Vietnam, and Tunisia, which have worked to adopt the model, continue to face significant capacity and sustainability challenges (Hagedorn & Mezghani, 2012; Le, 2013; Postiglione, 2011; Spangler & Tyler, 2011). India is no exception (Valeau, 2013).

Recognizing the looming social and economic crisis foreshadowed by a lack of educational and workforce opportunities available in India, the country is working to provide skills training to 500 million people by 2022 (Ministry of Labour and Employment, 2009).¹ This initiative serves as a culmination of and catalyst for continued attention that a diverse set of educators, policymakers, foundations, non-governmental organizations, and enterprising individuals have been giving to rethinking education and training in India. Although not an entirely new idea, promoting community colleges presents one way that social actors in India are seizing the opportunity to structure the, as yet, “unorganized social space” (Fligstein, 2013, p. 47) illuminated by the massive skilling initiative at the intersection of higher education. Successful implementation requires leadership at local, state, national, and even transnational levels in order to garner the political, financial, and reputational resources necessary to legitimize the community concept. However, that work differs based on the level of action (e.g., local vs. national), role of the leader (e.g., college principal vs. policy maker), and social context (Almandoz, 2014; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012).

¹ The exact target has changed several times and a 2015 updated policy projects the need to skill nearly 400 million people in the next decade. I use the original projection of 500 million set in 2009 as this was a catalyzing policy that shaped the trajectory of the community college movement.

At a system level, community colleges in India are universally designed, promoted, and implemented based on the globally accepted core features of a community college global counterpart with a specific focus on employability (Alphonse & Valeau, 2009; Planning Commission, 2011). However, policy cannot ensure organizational viability because while leaders work at higher levels to legitimize the concept as a postsecondary educational offering, without the reinforcement of local support the concept will wither. The key to the growth of the movement² to date has been the simultaneous activity of local leaders to secure community support along with regional and national policy efforts. Because coordination of the movement has been quite loose, advocates have had vast discretion in the implementation of policy and practice (Røvik, 1996). Therefore, it can be understood that, by nature of being local organizations, they vary widely in terms of founding context and organizational practice yet conform to the “master idea” (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p. 36) of a community college global counterpart (Raby & Valeau, 2009; Wiseman, 2014).

Translation is the process by which “universalistic institutions [are] reproduced with particularistic features” (Spybey, 1996, p. 179). In its simplest definition, translation is an attempt to “solve a field wide problem” (Boxenbaum, 2005, p. 7). The field concept recognizes that organizations and individuals recursively influence their environment within an interdependent social system that operates at multiple levels (DiMaggio, 1991; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott et al., 2000; Scott & Davis, 2008). In India, the community college concept presents a solution for the lack of flexible and relevant postsecondary education understood to be essential to the nation’s economic and social development. In order to implement this solution, I

² A note on language, although community colleges could arguably considered a social movement in India, I am not invoking the theoretical lens of social movement theory. Instead, I use the term “movement” throughout this dissertation because it reflects the authentic language that participants continually used to refer to community college development.

conceptualize the leaders of this movement as institutional entrepreneurs, or “socially skilled actors who work to justify and legitimate new kinds of social arrangements” (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013, p. 358, see also Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; DiMaggio, 1988; Fligstein, 2001, 2013). Some aim to position the community college as a subfield nested in formal higher education,³ while others are promoting the emergence of a new field altogether (Battilana & Lee, 2014; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; DiMaggio, 1988, 1991; Fligstein, 2013). These diverse goals are shaped by institutional logics, or the “belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field” (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 170). Complex environments – fields in which multiple logics coexist (Greenwood et al., 2011) – are infused with competing demands for action, attention, and compliance and organizations do not respond uniformly to these pressures (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Elsbach & Sutton, 1992). Therefore, combining an institutional logics perspective with institutional entrepreneurship and translation has the potential to help explain organizational heterogeneity as a response to the interplay between societal level forces and localized practices (Pache & Santos, 2010).

Despite its increasingly prominent role in global higher education, unfortunately, very little empirical evidence exists examining why and how the community college model is implemented in emerging economies (Boggs, Elsner, & Irwin, 2017; Raby & Valeau, 2013). Furthermore, very little literature in education or other fields effectively explains how individuals and organizations recursively work to contextualize the meaning of a new organizational form (e.g., the community college model in India) and materialize that idea into action through multilevel social mechanisms. Consensus does exist among institutional and

³ India distinguishes between technical education (primarily regulated by the Ministry of Human Resource Development as part of higher education) and vocational/skills training (oversight was until recently provided by the Ministry of Labour and Employment and it now falls under the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship).

higher education scholars who regularly identify the state, market, and professions as having a dominant influence in modern society (Berman, 2012; Brint & Karabel, 1991; Clark, 1983; DiMaggio, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1988; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 2014; Townley, 1997). Subsequently, the literature has converged on the belief that these three “command posts” create the conditions that constrain and enable institutional change at multiple social levels (Brint & Karabel, 1991, p. 355).

In particular, institutional entrepreneurship is assumed to rely heavily on the collective action of professional associations and organizational elites to create social codes (Hannan Pólos, & Carroll, 2007) and develop internal governance units (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) that provide organizational models for replication (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Morrill, 2007; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). Collective action is understood to drive change which is a “field-level property that emerges from interactions among the members of the field” (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006, p. 884).⁴ Hwang and Powell (2005) even suggest that standards associated with professional knowledge are a necessary (but not sufficient) condition in the institutionalization of new organizational practices and structures (see also David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Morrill, 2007; Purdy & Gray, 2009). However, there is no clear professional base in the community college movement to collectively promote organizational interest or standards within the broader social environment. The question remains then, how has the community college concept come to flourish in India without one of the assumed necessary conditions to provide guidelines about what it means to be a community college in India? To begin to solve this puzzle left by a gap in the literature, I weave together three complementary

⁴ Although similar to the “collective action” associated with social movement theory, in this dissertation I use the term collective action as an essential driver of institutional rather than social change as theorized by Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2006.

frameworks from institutional theory – institutional logics, institutional entrepreneurship, and translation – to explore how the strategic actions of multilevel actors dynamically shape the trajectory of the community college movement. In doing so, I aim to “reflect the complex pattern of political moves and countermoves across levels of action” that define the institutionalization process that is “constantly in flux” (Purdy & Gray, 2009, p. 376).

Theoretical Context and Research Questions

Community colleges and other vocational education initiatives,⁵ though largely viewed as “second class” options (Valeau & Raby, 2013; Singh, 2012), are regularly leveraged as a “catchall solution to educational and labor market problems” and therefore an attractive policy tool in India (Tognatta, 2014, p. 11; Valeau & Raby, 2013) and around the world (Boggs, Elsner, & Irwin, 2017; Postiglione, 2009; Raby & Valeau, 2009, 2012; Wiseman et al., 2012). Given the attractiveness of the community college as a model for replication it is important to understand what the community college concept means in the U.S. context and what elements are being prioritized in its ongoing translation across India. Although community college global counterparts operate in most countries around the world (Chase-Mayoral, 2017; Raby & Valeau, 2009, 2012; Wiseman, 2012) I focus on U.S. community colleges here for two reasons. First, my personal framework for understanding what it means to be a community college is deeply rooted in the U.S. context. Second, study participants all referenced the U.S. model as an inspiration for

⁵ In the context of Indian community colleges, vocational education refers to a focus on developing the practical application of skills for a specific job or trade. This is in juxtaposition to general education or the more traditionally academic and theory based approaches the predominate across higher education.

the Indian community college movement and the first community colleges in India were explicitly linked to interactions with U.S. community college educators.⁶

In the United States, the community college is firmly embedded in the higher education landscape yet, like its global counterparts, is plagued by perceptions of inferiority and structural barriers that impede its ability to provide much-needed and often-promised educational equity. Community colleges were formed to respond to the needs of their local communities while simultaneously meeting the demands of broader society (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). With over 1,100 individual community colleges across the country, this sector educates approximately 45% of all undergraduate students annually (AACC, 2014). Further, community colleges are “knit together by” five interrelated principles: open access, comprehensive curricula, lifelong learning, community responsiveness, and teaching focus (Bahr & Gross, 2016, p. 471)

Open Access means that anyone that demonstrates an ability to benefit, should, in theory be allowed access to the community college for further education. Because of the varied needs of these diverse learners and their primary focus on offering sub-baccalaureate credentials, community college faculty spend the majority of their time in the classroom engaged in teaching and learning activities, as opposed to the research focus of many other college and university faculty. In response to this complex web of demands, community colleges have adopted multiple curricular missions. While there is no universal consensus on the best way to delineate these missions, a commonly accepted approach divides the functions of the college into the following four areas: academic, occupational, remedial, and community or continuing/non-credit education (Bahr & Gross, 2016; Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Brint, 2003; Dougherty and Townsend, 2006). A commitment to lifelong learning assumes that students may continue their education off and on

⁶ Early connections with U.S. educators are discussed in depth in Chapter 4. Indian community college advocates also engaged with educational leaders from around the world (e.g., U.K., Germany, Australia) to explore approaches to skill development education.

throughout their lives engaging in multiple entries and exits. The ways in which individual CCs enact these missions vary widely (Hagedorn, 2010; Dougherty & Townsend, 2006; Gumport 2003). Through the implementation of curricular missions, Beach (2011) conjectures that CCs are “responsive to the needs of local residents, local businesses, state systems of secondary and postsecondary education, and state and regional economies, [and] the myriad needs of many different types of students” (p. 1). Indeed, the ways in which individual community colleges enact and succeed at these missions vary widely (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006; Gumport 2003; Hagedorn, 2010).⁷ As a result, among the only consensus that scholars reach about community colleges is that they are ever changing, pluralistic, and a tenacious organizational form that are “relentlessly local institutions” (Grubb, 1999, p. 352).

While the community college has been developing for over one hundred years in the United States, the movement is just over twenty years old in India. Moreover, the genesis of each movement is important to keep in mind when assessing the similarities and differences between each. In the United States, At the turn of the century, as the effect of new tides of immigration and compulsory secondary education resulted in increased numbers of high school graduates seeking further education and the promise of upward mobility through education, the community college was born (Cohen, 1985; Ratcliff, 1994). A brain trust of University leaders developed a plan for the community (then junior) college to offer the first two years of baccalaureate education focusing on liberal arts education and the transfer function (Deiner, 1986). Colleges offered both academic and occupational coursework from the outset and “remediation was as much a function of the early colleges as it was during later periods of great growth” (Tillery & Deegan, 1985, p. 7). In contrast, Indian community college development began post-

⁷ Bahr and Gross (2016) further point out that “the expectation to be all things to all people is a vexing challenge that has resulted simultaneously in harsh criticism and ebullient praise for community colleges” (p. 483).

industrialization in an era dominated by globalization and firmly rooted in the “education gospel” – or the belief that educational credentials are the key to economic prosperity in a globalized knowledge economy (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005, p. 1). The curriculum has a vocational focus, or the practical application of skills for a specific job or trade. This is in juxtaposition to general education or the more traditionally academic and theory based approaches that have largely predominated and been considered the most prestigious pathways through postsecondary education in both countries. A comparison of the founding context of the U.S. and Indian community colleges is outlined in Table 1.1. While there are similarities in terms of enrollment, the demographic, structural, and socio-political contexts were so dramatically different that comparison is difficult.

Table 1.1: *Founding Contexts for Community Colleges in India and the USA*

Founding Context	USA	India
Population	Low – moderate population density	High population density
Governance	Local & State Government control	Central and State government control
Primary Curricular Focus	Academic + Vocational	Vocational + Life Skills
Higher Education Enrollment	Elite moving toward mass	Elite moving toward mass
Vertical Mobility	Transfer as a primary function	Transfer virtually non-existent
Secondary Education Policy	New standards for compulsory education developing	Universal Compulsory (through 10 th standard)
Interdependence	Pre-Globalization	Post-Globalization
Function	University overflow	Skill Development

With many early implementation experiments, consensus coalesced around the notion that community colleges in India should serve marginalized students with access to foundational and technical skills as an avenue toward meaningful employment, personal development, and access to further education. The curriculum focused on “life skills” (e.g., developmental English, interpersonal communication, and basic computer applications), “works skills” (i.e., job specific technical skills), and an internship (Alphonse, 2010, p. 81-2). Faculty tended to be closely

connected with the students and programs were deeply rooted in the community. In this way, Indian community colleges embraced the five guiding principles that define the spirit of the community college in the United States (and its global counterparts). It is in the specificity of implementation that the similarities seem to end. What is assumed to be a well-defined and formal organization in the U.S. context, when translated to India does not necessarily maintain such clear boundaries given the negotiation of institutional complexity by institutional entrepreneurs.

Among Indian community colleges, there has been little focus on academic curricula, which is synonymous with the foundational courses in U.S. degree programs that require “distribution” or “general education” requirements as the foundation for more specialized majors. Furthermore, community colleges in the U.S. spread through the formal educational system, whereas in India even when housed in a college or university, community colleges were generally treated as an extension or continuing education program rather than a formal program with options for vertical mobility into a degree program. Furthermore, the smallest community colleges in the United States have hundreds of students whereas the same is true for only the largest community college in India. In fact, the majority of India’s community colleges enroll well under fifty students per year. Because of their size and scope, curricula at Indian community colleges are limited to one or two programs with a specifically vocational focus while largely forgoing more traditional academic curricula.⁸ Furthermore, the credentials offered at Indian community colleges may be local to the individual college or more formally established by the parent college or University, but none are as widely known or, arguably, accepted as the associated degree in the United States. For that matter, most community colleges in India have

⁸ The exception to this rule is in the new government funded community colleges that often incorporate traditional academic or “general education” subjects like math, science, English, the humanities, and social studies.

no formal “campus” but instead operate out of a few rooms in a community center, a privately owned building,⁹ or an existing educational facility.¹⁰

As Bahr and Gross (2016) point out about community colleges in the United States, “developing an understanding of community colleges must begin with an acknowledgement of the great diversity of these institutions” (p. 462). This holds true in India as much as it does in the United States, and it is an understanding of the contours of such variation that this dissertation explores.

India’s changing expectations regarding the role of education in social and economic development have created a space where a new organizational form has the potential to gain legitimacy as a solution to address these challenges (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Fligstein, 2013). Because, “the loosening up of an institutional order creates room for maneuver, experimentation and creativity” (Czarniawska, 1997, p. 491), institutional entrepreneurs with differential power, interests, values, and access to resources have positioned themselves as strategic actors in this effort (Fligstein, 2013). Unlike the institutional research in other public sector fields such as health care (e.g., Waldorff, Goodrick & Reay, 2013; Scott, Rueff, & Carona, 2000; Waldorff, 2010) and higher education (Bastedo, 2005, 2009; Townley, 1997) that highlight the role of legislation and policy as a catalyst for change (Hwang & Powell, 2005), legislation has done little to intentionally curb or regulate the growth of community colleges. It was only in 2013, after almost twenty years of activity, that a national level policy was backed with funding to pilot the establishment of a small cadre of community colleges within formal higher education organizations. This policy did not, however, incorporate hundreds of already

⁹ Either a non-profit or for-profit organization.

¹⁰ Many of the government-funded community colleges operate courses at night or in the early morning, when the building is otherwise not in use. Some have begun to build a separate space for the community college on the larger campus.

operational community colleges. Hence, the model continues to be translated into various contexts with efforts lead by diverse actors in both locally regulated and unregulated settings. This ecosystem of tiny organizations in an emerging economy, operating in a loosely coordinated environment, makes the context quite unique in the literature.

To date, Indian community colleges have developed three overlapping models: first, an NGO model operating on the periphery of formal education; second, national expansion through the open education system; and third, incorporation in formal higher and technical education institutions. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), which oversees the Department of Higher Education, has supported each of these phases of development over the years, but with differences in financial and political resources. All three models share the professed goal of disrupting an inequitable educational system and conform to the globalized concept of a community college by offering flexible postsecondary education to underserved students in a local context (Raby & Valeau, 2012). In total, community colleges in India now incorporate multiple pan-India networks, and numerous independent colleges. Currently, there are 236 NGO community colleges associated with the Jesuit organization, Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE¹¹) lead by Dr. Fr. Xavier Alphonse,^{12, 13} and another 295 funded by a central government initiative that operate in colleges, universities, and polytechnics across the country. Additionally, there is a nearly impossible to count, but not insignificant number of community colleges that were once registered with the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) that continue their operations autonomously,

¹¹ ICRDCE was originally the Madras Center for Research and Development on Community Education, but was “upgraded” in 2008 to ICRDCE.

¹²An additional 204 NGO community colleges operate under the Tamil Nadu Open University. Almost all have some association with ICRDCE so they are considered to be included in the 236 count.

¹³ Despite his Anglicized name, Alphonse is a man of Indian origin.

without official recognition for their programs. Still others, unconnected to the coordinated efforts depicted in Table 1.2, exist and continue to be founded across the country.¹⁴

Table 1.2: *Three Models of Community College Development in India*

Community College Model	Primary Advocates	Higher Education Affiliation	Recognition	Founding Dates	Number
NGO	Alphonse & ICRDCE; MHRD	Informal Community Outreach	Local &/or State Open University	1995 - present	~240 (ICRDCE)
IGNOU	IGNOU Administrators; MHRD	Open/Distance Education	Local &/or National Open University	2009 - 2013	>600 at zenith with an unknown number continuing operations without registration
Government-Funded	MHRD Officials & the Wadhvani Foundation	Colleges, Universities, Polytechnics (formal)	Department of Higher Education under MHRD	2013 - 2016	223 (University Grants Commission) 72 (All India Council for Technical Education)

In light of these diverse founding contexts (i.e., variable values, beliefs, goals, and resources), the action of leaders can dramatically influence policy and practice at multiple levels affecting what it means to be a community college in India. Given this pluralistic and decentralized environment, it is unsurprising that community colleges have met with varying levels of success. Yet, policy makers and practitioners increasingly view this organizational form as an ideal “alternative educational system” (Alphonse & Valeau, 2009, p. 84) to help address issues of quality and relevancy that plague the current postsecondary education landscape. Yet, Indian community colleges vary widely in form and function within and between phases.

While the community college concept as an organizational arrangement appears to be well-established globally (Raby & Valeau, 2009; Wiseman et al., 2012) what is not yet known is a theoretically informed understanding of the nature of that form and its ultimate field position in the Indian context. Empirical research describing the intra and inter organizational dynamics of

¹⁴ This handful of autonomous community colleges efforts operating across the country are not included in this study because they are not associated with the ongoing effort to gain national recognition as part of the higher education system.

this emerging, and increasingly valorized, organizational form is almost non-existent (Raby, 2013; Valeau and Raby, 2009, 2013). Yet, the community college is regularly positioned as a “game changer” in India’s postsecondary education system (e.g., Agnew & Gross, 2013; Ramadorai, 2012; Valeau & Raby, 2013). Additionally, the bulk of institutional literature does not test the applicability of theory in emerging economies (Marquis & Raynard, 2015; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2011) and most institutional and translation literature focuses on large or highly visible organizations. Furthermore, a multilevel approach to the consequences (intended and unintended) of institutional entrepreneurs’ effortful work in the translation process is increasingly acknowledged as an essential yet understudied phenomenon (Bartley, 2007; Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Boxenbaum, 2005; Greenwood et al., 2011; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Smets et al., 2012; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Tracey, Philips, & Jarvis, 2011; Waldorff, 2010). Against this backdrop, the community college system in India presents itself as an ideal research setting in which to explore the conditions and processes required to legitimize a new organizational form in an emerging and complex field.

To begin to solve this theoretical puzzle, I conceptualize community college advocates as institutional entrepreneurs that drive institutional change by embracing skill development curricula and challenging the status quo of a rigid, theory-based higher education system. Particularly in non-Western contexts, the primary legitimation project of institutional entrepreneurs is translation – the creation of local meaning from global concepts (Boxenbaum, 2005; Spiby 1996). How these leaders translate ideas into action can be understood as a response to the interplay between social forces and localized practices (Pache & Santos, 2010). Institutional entrepreneurs’ success relies on a unique combination of strategic actions and

collaborative efforts leveraging power, interests, common values, and access to resources. Yet even without leaders collectively promoting organizational standards, Indian community colleges conform to the globalized concept of a community college (Raby & Valeau, 2012). Therefore, I use theoretical frameworks from institutional theory to explore the guiding research question for my dissertation:

How do institutional entrepreneurs shape the translation of a globalized organizational form into a complex institutional environment? Complementary sub questions that I explore include:

- How was the community college concept introduced into India and why has it developed into a national phenomenon?
- How has the translation process of the community college concept into the Indian context been shaped by the interdependent work of actors across organizational, field/system, national, and international levels over time?
- How does founding context modulate the influence of pluralistic institutional forces on organizational expectations?

To date, most research attempts to partition the effects of actors' work at each level and does not foreground the interconnected relationship in the legitimation work of translating an organizational form into a new context. Yet, the underlying assumption of recent research is that legitimacy and institutionalization require a recursive feedback loop between levels (for a thorough review see Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012). This study assumes that the context in which the community college concept is being translated cannot be neatly excised from the institutional environment or local context in which it operates. Instead multiple logics

operating across levels of analysis interact with environmental conditions to influence the translation process over time. Institutional entrepreneurs, (individuals and organizations), who are ultimately responsible for realizing the model, are both constrained and enabled by this iterative activity. It is how actors understand the meaning of their interdependent role in the translation process that is of primary interest because, based on the analytic level of action, actors have the potential to differentially assert influence on the community college movement.

Significance

By exploring how institutional entrepreneurs engage in the work of navigating “*institutional complexity in practice*” (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013, p. 39), this research will heed calls for real-time investigations into the micro-foundations of institutional logics (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). To date, very little research has connected institutional work (e.g., organizational practice and institutional entrepreneurial effort) to logics (Hallet & Ventresca, 2006; Smets et al., 2012). This study will be able to shed light on the nature of how actors’ embedded agency shapes action and interaction across levels of analysis over time (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; van Gestl, 2011). Furthermore, there is little information about institutional phenomena and their influence on translation in emerging economies (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) beyond conformity to global norms, prototypes, and templates (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; Drori, 2008; Meyer et al., 1997; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Spybey, 1996; Vaira, 2004, Wiseman, 2014).

Because institutional theory has largely ignored developments in emerging economies, how institutional mechanisms function outside Western contexts, if at all, remains a relative

mystery (Marquis & Raynard, 2015; Tracey & Phillips, 2011). As India's community college movement contradicts existing assumptions regarding the necessity of collective action, it provides an ideal site to begin to re-align institutional theory with the complex reality that non-Western actors must navigate to catalyze and quell institutional change. Beyond the theoretical contributions of this study, I hope to illustrate the challenges one community has faced in translating an organizational prototype into a national phenomenon. This is a worthwhile practical contribution as my research will explore some of the basic questions that should be understood in order to inform future implementation efforts in India and other emerging economies (Chase-Mayoral, 2017; McCrink & Whitford, 2017; Tyndorf & Glass, 2017). In doing so, it is my aim to illuminate potential avenues that can be pursued to support the continued expansion of a growing system while ensuring a quality educational opportunity in local communities.

Therefore, this study is also intended to help inform the policy process. It looks at the development of community colleges from multiple perspectives (individual, organizational, societal) and how that might influence the trajectory of an organizational solution that is being lauded as a panacea at a time when social political, and economic change dominates the institutional environment. Understanding this phenomenon could prove useful to educational reformers in comparable emerging economies that are interested in translating the community college concept into a new local context. Descriptive statistics compiled by ICRDCE and IGNOU along with anecdotal accounts of the movement constitute the body of knowledge from which major policy initiatives are being extracted and new colleges opened with little oversight. Hence, policy and practice decisions are being made almost exclusively on anecdotal evidence and political rhetoric. As, for example, the ICRDCE has already begun to work with actors in

Papua New Guinea and South Africa, a better understanding of how institutional entrepreneurs shape translation could be particularly useful.

Plan for the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters including this introduction that offers a statement of the problem, contextualizes the study, and highlights the significance of the research. In the second chapter, I provide an overview of the theoretical literature in which this study is grounded. The review begins with an overview of the literature on higher education in India before taking a theoretical turn. I then explore the roots of institutional theory and the framing concepts of organizations and fields. Following this brief history of theoretical development, I review literature on the concept of institutional logics with a focus on pluralistic environments in which multiple logics operate in cooperation and competition to both constrain and enable action. With institutional logics providing the building blocks for the beliefs and values of community college advocates, I turn to the relevant literature on institutional entrepreneurship. This body of literature helps frame the actions of community college advocates in terms of their strategic approach to institutionalizing a new organizational arrangement in an emerging field. I then turn to the literature on translation that explores how an idea moves through space and time to be materialized in a new context. I integrate these three frameworks from institutional theory to provide the guiding conceptual framework for this study. In chapter three I outline the methods used to design and implement the study including data collection, management, and analysis.

Collectively, Chapters 4 through 7 present the findings of the study. In Chapter 4, I describe how the idea of the community college “traveled” to India (Czarniawaska & Joerges,

1996). This prequel is followed by a brief history of community colleges in India including an overview of the key advocates, efforts for recognition, and policy achievements along the way. Chapter 5 concentrates on the origin stories and iterative process of translation that resulted in not one but three community college models developing in India over the course of twenty years. Chapter 6 explores the mechanisms of institutional entrepreneurship that advocates used to secure legitimacy for the community college concept during the translation process. Chapter 7 analyzes the constellation of logics that influenced the process of translation among institutional entrepreneurs and how actions were constrained and enabled by such complexity. Finally Chapter 8 synthesizes the findings with respect to my research questions and suggests implications for theory, research, and practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Conceptual Framework

Postsecondary Education in India

Postsecondary education in India is a tripartite system designed by the British during colonial rule that includes higher, technical, and vocational education. The MHRD primarily oversees higher and technical education, which is accessible to students after passing 12th standard and a high stakes national entrance exam. Technical education refers to programs in engineering, technology, management, architecture, town planning, pharmacy, applied arts & crafts, hotel management and catering technology whereas higher education includes programs in the arts, sciences, and humanities, along with a select number of professional programs (Agarwal, 2007; MHRD, 2016). On the vocational education front, until 2015 the Ministry of Labor and Employment (MoLE) was primarily responsible for the oversight of the nation's Industrial Training Institutes focused on 115 trades and craftsmen/apprenticeship training programs available to students after 8th to 10th standard with less stringent exam requirements. In 2015, responsibility for ITIs was transferred to the newly established Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE). Whereas ITIs provide semi-formal postsecondary education, craftsmen and apprenticeship programs are small and informal systems (Sharma, 2010). Although the terms higher, technical, and vocational are treated as discrete areas education and training at the policy level, the lines blur considerably at the implementation level.

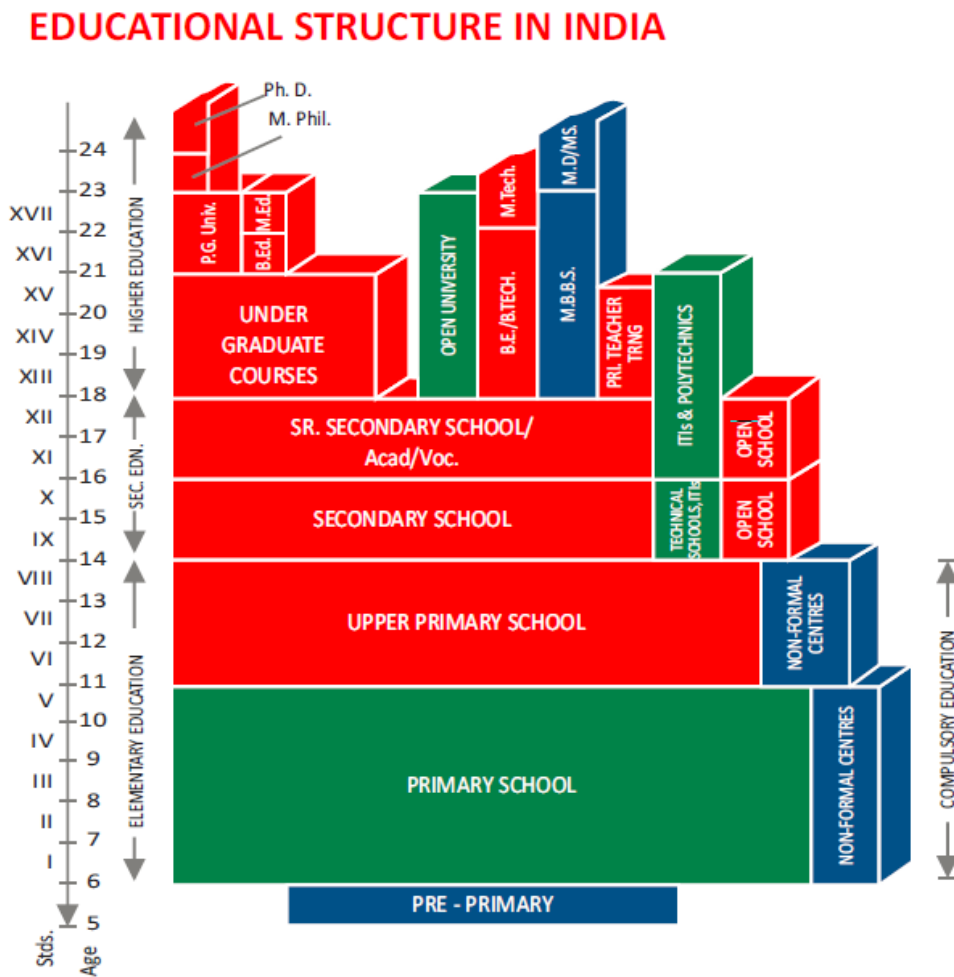
There are also numerous informal and unregulated vocational training programs available throughout the country. Additionally, while the MHRD and MSDE share primary responsibility for education and training, an additional fifteen Ministries play a role in oversight, funding, and implementation for specific programs and disciplines (Singh, 2012) resulting in a fragmented yet moderately centralized postsecondary education structure.

Overall, the country's formal system of postsecondary education includes 700 Universities and degree granting institutions, 35,539 affiliated colleges, 11,144 technical institutions including 3,586 Polytechnics, and 11,964 Industrial Training Institutes constituted by 2,284 Government and 9,680 Private institutes (All India Council for Technical Education; Directorate General of Training, University Grants Commission). Typically, colleges and universities offer 3-year baccalaureate, masters, and doctoral degrees while Polytechnics offer diplomas and Industrial Training Institutes offer certificates. In the hierarchy of credentials, only diplomas and above are considered part of the higher education system in India. However, many of the diplomas offered at polytechnics and the certificates associated with vocational education are viewed as second-class by students, parents, teachers, and employers alike (King, 2012; Singh, 2012; Valeau & Raby, 2013). In general, the vocational trades are considered "low status" employment (Aggarwal, Kapur, & Tognatta, 2012). Although this view of technical and vocational education is not unique to India, it is a perception that is heightened by its roots in the pervasive caste system that was organized around occupations.

Despite having the largest educational system in the world based on raw number of organizations, only 24% of 15-29 year olds are enrolled in higher and technical education (MHRD, 2016) and only one percent of all postsecondary students are enrolled in diploma and certificate programs (Joshi, 2013). In large part this is attributable to the stark reality that only

12% of students in India pass 12th standard and there is a 50% attrition rate at each year of secondary education (MHRD, 2014). Persistent challenges vexing the system, then, include high drop out rates, inequality of opportunity based on geography, gender, caste/tribe, socio-economic status, and religion, and overall quality of education (Tilak, 2013) that leaves only 15% of postsecondary graduates employable (Singh, 2012).

Figure 1: *Education in India*



Source: University Grants Commission. (2012). *Higher Education in India at a Glance: Statewise Higher Education Institutions*. New Delhi, India; p. 2.

Because education and training are “concurrent subjects” in the Indian constitution, the Central Government and States share responsibility for their oversight, implementation, and

reform. Primarily the Central Government sets broad policy directives, standards, and criteria for evaluation while the states oversee day-to-day administration and implementation of progressive affirmative action policies; funding comes through both bodies (Carnoy & Dossani, 2013). These conflicting goals intertwined with the pressures of democratization, globalization, and a rapidly changing economic landscape have resulted in increased concern over the quality and relevance of higher education in India (Carnoy & Dossani, 2013; Tilak, 2013). Similar concerns plague the skill development and vocational training sectors. As Singh (2012) suggests, “the vertical or horizontal integration of vocation training to higher professional/technical education could make vocational training more popular and prestigious” (p. 205). Such a shift is perceived as essential for the economic and social health of the country because vocational education and training predominately serves socially marginalized and economically disadvantaged students but is regularly criticized for providing outdated, low quality education that rarely leads to sustainable employment (King, 2012; Singh, 2012; Tognatta, 2014).

In order to begin to address these challenges, the central government started to prioritize postsecondary education in the country’s Five Year Plans, which are holistic strategic plans that started in 1950 after independence.¹⁵ The 12th and most recent Five Year Plan (2012-2017) shifted the focus from mere expansion of postsecondary education to quality, efficiency, employability, prestige, evaluation, and employability. Using the term *inclusive growth* to convey a stated commitment to social equity through economic development, the section on higher education in the 12th Five Year plan concludes:

¹⁵ “The Planning Commission was charged with the responsibility of making assessment of all resources of the country, augmenting deficient resources, formulating plans for the most effective and balanced utilisation of resources and determining priorities. Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Chairman of the Planning Commission.” (Planning Commission Website – retrieved from <http://planningcommission.gov.in/aboutus/history/index.php?about=aboutbdy.htm>)

In sum, with new regulatory arrangements and focused action in key areas, particularly expansion and quality improvement, we hope to build a robust higher education system that would sustain rapid economic growth, promote international competitiveness, while at the same time meet the rising expectations of the young enterprising Indians (Planning Commission, 2011, p. 103).

Despite good intent, implementation of policies proposed in the five year plans have often gone un- and under-realized.

As a result of the Five Year plans, an almost singular focus on privatization gained traction (Agarwal, 2009; Azam, 2008; Joshi, 2013; Tilak, 2008) but the results have been dismal. Generally, private postsecondary organizations, though abundant – constituting the majority in number of organizations and student enrollment – are regarded as providing high cost, low quality education (Altbach, 2011; Choudaha, 2013; Singh, 2012; Tilak, 2013). Despite this, a major policy initiative across postsecondary education includes a near obsession with Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). Such arrangements are often regarded as a panacea to address relevance, quality, and funding concerns. The privatization of education is being pushed through with “speedy reforms” that exacerbate the tensions between the many stakeholders in the postsecondary education arena with little, if any, quality improvement (Carnoy & Dossani, 2013; Tilak, 2013). All told, pressure for reform coming from international, national, and local actors and the rapid pace of change (e.g., privatization, massive growth, explicitly linking education to economic development) creates receptive conditions for postsecondary education transformation. At a time when national media and policy makers are scrutinizing the educational and training systems across the country, new solutions to vexing social problems are actively being sought (King, 2012).

Concurrent with education and training reform, in 2009 the *National Skill Development Policy* that was established in response to the “demographic dividend,” or the recognition that

the working age population in India was growing while relevant opportunities for education and employment were not keeping pace. The government therefore set an ambitious goal to “skill” 500 million people by 2020 with distributed responsibility for meeting these targets coordinated by a newly developed National Skill Development Association (NSDA). However, responsibility for implementation was distributed among multiple ministries, including MHRD and MoLE that oversee formal education and training efforts across India. Recently, the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship was established to coordinate efforts across ministries. Skill development, as a national priority, is intended to “bridge the social, regional, gender, and economic divide” (NSDA, 2014) by ensuring both vertical and horizontal mobility within and between education, training, and the labor market. Mobility in the system has been restricted to a vertical trajectory with no options for horizontal movement. Furthermore, because the system has not been credit-based, “stopping out” or taking time away from studies was not a particularly viable option for students.¹⁶ To remedy this, higher education officials are in the process of establishing a choice based credit system across higher and technical education, however the process has met with resistance and implementation is slow to pick up.¹⁷ Entering postsecondary education remains, in general, an all or nothing endeavor.

In an attempt to coordinate the integration of largely disparate education and training systems, ensure quality, and provide flexibility, a competency-based *National Skills Qualification Framework* (NSQF) is in the early stages of implementation (NSDA, 2013). The quality assurance framework, modeled on international templates for outcomes based learning,

¹⁶ The Minister of HRD recently announced a plan to launch a credit transfer system from 9th standard through PhD studies to “enable migration of labour across the country” (Smriti Irani as quoted in Indian Education Review, 5 November 2014).

¹⁷ For example Delhi University colleges rejected the new system (Indian Education Review, 2015). As of late 2016 UGC was requesting feedback from the field about successful implementation in recognition that some colleges enthusiastically implemented the new system while others did not (UGC, 2016, internal document)

was an impressive collaboration between MHRD and MoLE, but is now under the auspices of the MSDE. The NSQF set the groundwork for creating integrated educational and employment pathways. Intended to align competencies with education levels, the NSQF attempts to clarify pathways for mobility between education, training, and the labor market. Situated at the intersection of higher education and skill development, the National Skill Development Agency, a precursor to the MSDE, heavily promoted the community college concept as a critical bridging organization in the newly imagined pathways. Within formal postsecondary education institutions, motivated by substantial funding opportunities, began offering new courses aligned with the framework. Higher education officials have even inaugurated modular pathways from an advanced diploma (offered at government-funded community colleges) through a PhD under the framework; but it is too early to assess how well these programs fulfill the promise of flexibility, mobility, and improved employment prospects.

Community Colleges in India

The community college was being promoted as an endeavor to expand the infrastructure of postsecondary education and promote economic development through the up-skilling of the largely unorganized, undereducated workforce (Committee of State Education Ministers, 2012; Ramadorai, 2012). This effort reflects the influence of globalization on national educational policy as it adheres to expectations for reform promoted by international organizations such as UNESCO, OECD, and the World Bank (Boyum, 2014, Hwang & Powell, 2005; Wiseman, 2014). Framed in this way, Indian Community colleges reflect how the concept is justified in terms of

rationalized global themes such as justice and progress (Drori, 2008) while adapting to local context (Raby & Valeau, 2012; Wiseman et al. 2012; Wiseman, 2014).

Until recently, community colleges have functioned largely as part of India's informal network of education and training providers composed of NGOs, corporate training facilities, adult education centers, and family-based apprenticeships. As Tognatta (2014) pointed out, "the absence of any systematic documentation or research on [education and training] provisions outside of the formal offerings makes the informal network somewhat of a black box" (pp. 8-9). Because coordination and regulation is in its infancy and many colleges continue to operate on the margins of the formal system, Indian community colleges certainly fits in the "black box" of education and training in India. Tilak (2013) argues that "the massive program [i.e., skilling 500 million by 2020] is being planned not as a part of secondary or higher education, but effectively as another tier in the education system that can facilitate segregation of the students into vocational education and higher education" (p. 42). Conversely, the 12th Five Year plan argues exactly the opposite promising "the emergence of this sector would ensure vertical mobility for the pass-outs from the vocational sector and integrate them with the mainstream higher education" (Planning Commission, 2011, p. 102). The differing values, goals, and beliefs of community college advocates who have been charged by passion or duty to bring this concept to life will ultimately determine the organizational fate of community colleges and the life chances of the student who attend. Without systematic attention, reconciling these competing perspectives on skill development in higher education and understanding the true impact of these efforts is likely to remain a mystery.

Currently, 236 NGO community colleges associated with ICRDCE operate throughout the country. As an outgrowth of the NGO community colleges, a second model focused on

widespread expansion through the nation's open and distance education system developed. Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU) began recognizing NGO community colleges in 2004 and now has 204 community colleges operating in the state, most of which are associated with ICRDCE.

¹⁸ Between 2009 and 2012 the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) expanded registration to approximately 600 community colleges across the country, many overlapping with ICRDCE and TNOU. This increased community college awareness dramatically, but due to the speed of implementation compounded by a lack of oversight or accountability, the IGNOU program was discontinued in 2013. As IGNOU was closing, the Ministry of Human Resource Development, taking advantage of the new wave of popularity for the community college concept and building on years of internal policy discussions, initiated a plan to embed community colleges in government-funded higher education institutions replete with formal recognition and pathways to a series of stackable credentials. This third government-funded model was met with great excitement and as of late 2015, almost 300 government-funded community colleges housed in colleges and universities (223), and polytechnics (72) had been approved. An additional 25 approved community colleges were upgraded to offer both Master's and Bachelor's degrees in 2015 under a new DDU-KAUSHAL Kendra¹⁹ scheme. A more detailed overview of community college development will be covered in Chapter 4.

The NGO model has been on a twenty-year roller coaster advocating for government recognition while building legitimacy through practice in local communities. The IGNOU scheme was a short lived policy achievement that might have kept community colleges in the national spotlight, but also called into question their effectiveness. More recently, the

¹⁸ Although regulated by the University, TNOU community colleges are modeled on ICRDCE's NGO community college and are therefore grouped with NGO community colleges for the purpose of this study.

¹⁹ DDU-KAUSHAL Kendra is short for Deen Dayal Upadhyay Knowledge Acquisition and Upgradation of Human Abilities and Livelihood Kendra

Department of Higher Education created policy to implement a new system of government-funded community colleges that leveraged the legitimacy of the NGO model, but did not extend formal recognition to existing community colleges. With formal inclusion in higher education, regulations required community colleges to establish enrollment criteria that diverged from the historic open-access of NGO community colleges. This left NGO community colleges excluded from recognition despite serving as the “proof of concept” for the new government scheme. Thus, two community college models – NGO and government-funded – continue to operate interdependently and in parallel across India. Government-funded community colleges enjoy formal recognition but must start with no local credibility related to practice or student outcomes. This leaves both types of community colleges in the tenuous position of fighting for their own survival in the face of overlapping sustainability challenges.

Theoretical Framework

The current effort to develop a field wide infrastructure for community colleges seems to promote a linear trajectory toward a single community college housed within higher education. However this does not account for the layered strategic action of institutional entrepreneurs in intersecting fields who are able to promote the coexistence of numerous organizational forms. This creativity – in tension and cooperation - persists because the community field is still being structured (Boxenbaum, 2004; DiMaggio, 1991; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002). While all colleges adhere to high-level framing related to employability and educational reform, how this is translated into practice (e.g., college level curriculum, enrollment practices, student services) depends on the college’s position in and interaction with the broader network, founding

conditions, and leaders' backgrounds and motivations. Unfortunately, understanding of the strategies institutional entrepreneurs use, how those differ based on level of activity, and the consequences (intended or otherwise) on field structure and organizational practice, relies on anecdotal evidence at best. What is known is that community colleges are being designed to offer a model for relevant education avidly sought by actors in overlapping fields. What is at risk is that the potential of this new arrangement could be squandered if attention is only paid to national policy initiatives and ignores the complementary solutions pursued by institutional entrepreneurs in wide ranging social contexts. Because the community college is an emerging field it is an ideal site to study institutional entrepreneurship in action and understand the changing context of translation as a dynamic multilevel process.

The Roots of the Institutional Theory

Institutional theory is the attempt to understand the socially constructed ways that individuals bring order to their interactions with the world around them, and dates back as early as the 1850s (Scott, 2014).²⁰ In 1991, Friedland and Alford define institutions as, “both supraorganizational patterns of activity through which humans conduct their material life in time and space, and symbolic systems through which they categorize that activity and infuse it with meaning” (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Hoffman (1999) suggests that institutions are “rules, norms, and beliefs that describe reality for the organization, explaining what is and what is not, what can be acted upon and what cannot” (p. 351) because they provide the values infused “rules of the game” for individual and organizational life (Kraatz & Block, 2008, p. 2).

²⁰ Early institutional accounts are indebted to both economic and sociological research in the work of Carl Marx, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, and Talcott Parsons among others.

In the 1940s when theorists sought to understand the interaction between organizations and institutions, their focus was on the power and politics of how individuals' goals and interests shape organizational response to the environment (e.g., Selznick 1949, 1957). In this vein, institutional research on the American community college highlights the agency of organizational leaders in shaping the trajectory of the movement in a hierarchical system (Brint & Karabel, 1991; Clark, 1960; Dougherty, 1994). Beginning in the 1970s, scholars focused more on the conformity of organizations to institutional expectations and downplayed the role of strategic action (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Both views focus on competition and legitimacy, but the former (old institutionalism) requires conflict resolution for organizational stability while the latter (new institutionalism) suggests that organizations can symbolically conform to social expectations without having to change technical activities (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). For example, Brint and Karabel (1989, 1991) suggest that the power relations of old institutionalism are apt explanations for the origins and transformation of a field while isomorphism is more applicable to understanding organizational form and function. Studying the U.S. community college system, the authors concluded that leaders' actions were limited because the state, market, and professional forces, combined with the colleges' structural subordination, constrained technical and institutional solutions. On the other hand, community college transformation – the switch from a predominately academic to a more vocational focus – was made possible by the strategic action of internal actors. Moving forward, many scholars called for integration of these theories (e.g., Brint & Karabel, 1991; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Selznick, 1996) because, when combined, “new” and “old” institutionalism illuminate how as socially constructed realities, institutions both constrain and enable behavior in an organizational field (Scott, 2014; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Organizations and Fields

In this respect, the concepts of organization and field are at the heart of institutional theory. Organizations are understood as the “*social structures created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals*” (Scott & Davis, 2007, emphasis in original). Rather than being a static creation, organizations are open systems (Scott, 1994) shaped simultaneously by external, internal, and intra-organizational forces interdependent with the broader social context (DiMaggio, 1991; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Consequently, organizations and their myriad forms are embedded in both technical and institutional environments with requirements that shift over time (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The specific form that an organization takes on is generally highly rationalized (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), yet a fluid construction reflecting the way in which organizations distinguish themselves from other organizations based on values, beliefs, and practices and what social actors collectively believe about themselves as members of the organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Organizational form, then, is intimately interwoven with the complex social fabric and field within which it operates.

While there is no universal definition of “field” in organizational and institutional theory (c.f., Brint & Karabel, 1991; DiMaggio, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), I Organizational fields are “the context within which meaning-making activities... are embedded” (Snow, 2008 quoted in Scott, 2014). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) describe fields as the collection of organizations that, “constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and produce consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services

and products” (p. 148). With a different take, Brint and Karabel (1991) view fields simply as hierarchical “*arenas of power relations*” (p. 355, emphasis in original) with control of symbolic and material resources providing the predominant source of power to actors.

In essence, individuals and organizations vying for reputational, financial, and political resources in a socially constructed network is the heart of field theory (Fligstein, 2013). Specifically, Fligstein (2013) defines an emerging field as “an arena occupied by two or more groups whose actions are oriented to each other, but who have yet to develop a conception of control to stabilize field relations” (p. 44). Actors engage in field construction, which often preempts convergence on organizational form (DiMaggio, 1991), in an attempt to create stability and garner legitimacy and resources for a new form (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Fligstein, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009).

As an emerging field the community college’s fate is far from sealed. Because it is in the throes of the conflict ridden institutionalization process – becoming a taken for granted solution (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hinings et al., 2004; Meyer & Strang, 1993; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Tolbert & Zucker, 1996) – community college field configuration remains in flux. Rather than moving toward stability or sameness, as much institutional theory would predict (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977, c.f., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Hwang & Powell, 2005), the field shows signs of remaining fragmented, maintaining multiple organizational forms simultaneously adhering to multiple logics as a result of diverse founding contexts and competing demands (Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Purdy & Gray, 2009; van Gestel, 2011). Institutional logics, then, provide an approach for analyzing the interactions and relationships that occur between individuals, organizations, and institutions situated in a field over time (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004).

Institutional Logics

An institutional logics perspective developed because, according to Friedland and Alford (1991) even when old and new institutional theories were merged, scholars were moving toward equating individuals to rationalized market-based decision makers, and assuming that organizational behavior could be separated from its social and environmental context. In response, this perspective assumes that reality is subjective and meaning is created through the constant (re-)interpretation of material and symbolic practice in relationship to the changing environment. Friedland and Alford consider institutions as, “supraorganizational patterns” with logics being the, “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). These “patterns” form the basis of a cultural understanding of how society is shaped by a constellation of logics (Goodrick & Reay, 2011) interpreted and mobilized through cross level interactions between individuals, organizations, and institutions (Friedland & Alford, 1991). As such, logics help explain the rhythms of creation, stability, and change in social life because they provide the organizing principles for a field (Thornton, 2004).

In an attempt to universalize²¹ and elaborate the interinstitutional framework, Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) suggest that the primary institutional orders in social life are family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and the corporation. The authors delineate an ideal type²² for each logic that co-exists in tension and cooperation with each other order at

²¹ Critics view institutional theory as assuming a “western” bias (Thornton, Ocasio, Lounsbury, 2012)

²² Ideal types help identify the essential symbols and practices of cultural meaning into elemental categories (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) that can be used to empirically measure the distance between abstract

the societal level (see Table 2.1). However, as theorists point out, these orders also provide the cultural elements, which organizations and individuals interpret, adopt, and adapt through their interaction in a complex environment (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta & Lounsbury, 2011; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Table 2.1: *Interinstitutional System Ideal Types*

Categories	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Root Metaphor	Family as firm	Common Boundary	Temple as bank	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as relational work	Corporation as hierachy
Sources of Legitimacy	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will, belief in trust & reciprocity	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values & ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors, top management
Sources of Identify	Family reputation	Emotional connection, ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft, personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms	Membership in household	Group membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild & association	Employment in firm
Basis of Attention	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of Strategy	Increase family honor	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size & diversification of firm
Informal Control Mechanism	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organizations culture
Economic System	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

Source: Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73

conceptualizations and reality (Doty & Glick, 1994).

Given this context, organizations and individuals must choose (consciously and unconsciously) which logic(s) to privilege in a situation and how to satisfy competing expectations for belief and action (Thornton, 2004). Choice is accomplished by combining and reconfiguring societal level logics into local interpretations at the field, organizational, and individual levels (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Greenwood et al. (2011) suggest that institutional complexity, the existence of multiple logics in a field, shifts over time as logics push through and recede and organizations respond in different ways as the environment changes. Response depends on what logics shape the organizational environment and how those logics are filtered through field structure, individual actors, and intra-organizational dynamics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2012). Through this recursive process of interaction, individuals and organizations socially construct and change institutions over time because individuals and organizations are both embedded in and partially autonomous from the different orders of the interinstitutional system. Conceptually, embedded agency acknowledges that individuals' actions are constrained and enabled by the institutional environment and that those same actions recursively shape the institutions by which they are conditioned (Holm, 1995). As a result, actors have differing levels of exposure and adherence to institutional logics and their actions differentially impact organizational form, practice, goals, and identity (Pache & Santos, 2013). Actors will leverage these orders to the best of their ability (Battilana, Leca, Boxenbaum, 2009; Friedland & Alford, 1991) in ways appropriate to current environmental conditions.

Institutional Logics Perspective in Higher Education

Because public sector organizations function in an environment of competing demands that must simultaneously satisfy the expectations of diverse stakeholders imposing multiple logics, higher education is often used as an exemplar of institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005; Scott, 2014). Yet, scholars have only begun applying an institutional logics framework to higher education broadly (e.g., Bastedo, 2009; Berman 2011; Dodds, 2011; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Gumpert, 2000; Morh & Lee, 2000; Rojas, 2010; Townley, 1997) and community colleges specifically (Gumpert, 2003). Much of the higher education literature examines the ascendancy of a market logic in the field (Berman, 2012; Dodds, 2011; Kraatz & Ventresca; 2007; Kraatz, Ventresca, & Deng, 2010; Kraatz & Zajac, 1996; Townley, 1997), a notion that mirrors the prominence of a market logic across fields (Lounsbury, 2007; Scott, 2014; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Still other studies explore the role of logics in policy and curriculum planning (Bastedo, 2009; Gumpert, 2003).

Examining the multiple logics employed by the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education (MBHE), Bastedo (2009) suggests that convergence²³ around a field level logic of rationalization legitimizes theories of action for higher education stakeholders, which helps explain the underlying mechanisms of policymaking in the field. Bastedo concluded, “the interdependence of the logics created a situation where the whole is more than the sum of its parts, because together they represented a coherent vision...for higher education that aligns closely with the values of MA policymakers” (p. 217) even when resulting in seemingly

²³ Convergence occurs when multiple field-level stakeholders confer legitimacy on a logic while divergence reflects incompatibility.

incongruent policies and practice. Staff played a critical facilitating role in the institutionalization of new policies under an activist leader (Bastedo, 2005).

In a study directly linking logics and the community college, Gumpert (2003) explored the interplay of logics that community college presidents seek to balance while developing, what amounts to, an academic plan in context (Lattuca & Stark, 2011). The author suggested that although an industry logic currently dominates the field, presidents invoke a social institution logic when strategies and structures begin to deviate too far from the values associated with democracy and opportunity. Rather than simply reacting, Gumpert highlighted the cross level interaction between individual interest and field level structures that presidents use to balance demands and develop strategies that maximize discretion and the ability to maintain legitimacy among multiple actors (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Oliver, 1991; Pache & Santos, 2010).²⁴ Because the actions that individuals and organizations take are nested in the broader social structures, the responses colleges make to institutional complexity have the potential to reshape their very institutional environment. Such shifts are buoyed by the facilitative relationship between the state and the market logics vividly described in the research (e.g., Dougherty, 2003; Gumpert, 2003; Levin, 2001).

Building on the growing body of research on institutional logics in higher education has the potential to illuminate how nested interactions, in a complex institutional environment results in the heterogeneity that currently defines the community college movement. A common theme in this literature, based primarily in the United States and other countries of the global north, suggests that leaders within the movement, at the college, field, or national level, have the potential to significantly shape the trajectory of development. Framing their decisions and

²⁴ Baldwin (2013) comes to similar conclusions in his dissertation using an in depth case study to analyze Ohio community college presidents' negotiation of the shift from an access to a success logic.

actions in a way that maintains legitimacy among diverse stakeholders even when promoting new ideas that diverge from traditional ways of providing education will be the key. These leaders can be conceptualized as institutional entrepreneurs and research is just beginning to explore the mechanisms of how their actions shape field and organizational emergence in a complex social environment.

Institutional Entrepreneurship

Because seeking, achieving, and sustaining legitimacy is at the heart of institutional theory (Boxenbaum & Jonsoon, 2008), institutional entrepreneurs are essentially “agents of legitimacy” (Dacin et al. 2002, p. 47) that actively participate in facilitating divergent institutional change (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009). In order to influence change, institutional entrepreneurs require social skill (Fligstein, 2013) that is often rooted in professional knowledge (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Purdy & Gray, 2009). Research in various fields suggests that individuals and organizations can serve as institutional entrepreneurs engaging in the “effortful” work of navigating institutional complexity (Hills, Voronov, Hinings, 2013, p. 100). Institutional work, or “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215), includes political, technical, and cultural projects (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007). Although this conception often gives the impression of “heroic entrepreneurs” (Fligstein, 2013; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) it is essential to reiterate that actors’ work is an “interplay of entrepreneurial actions and institutional forces” (Purdy &

Gray, 2009, p. 375) with both intended (purposeful) and unintended consequences (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Hwang & Powell, 2005).

Emerging economies, like India, are by nature in a state of ‘institutional transition’ where institutional change is swift and widespread (Jain and Sharma, 2013; Jolly & Raven, 2016; Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016; Marquis & Raynard, 2015; Peng, 2003). India’s changing expectations regarding the role of education in social and economic development have created a space where a new organizational form, like the community college, has been able to gain legitimacy as a solution to address mounting critiques of its higher education system (David, Sine, and Haveman, 2013; Fligstein, 2013). Enabled by these environmental conditions and leveraging their own social positions, institutional entrepreneurs, or advocates, as I refer to them in this dissertation, are able to actively drive divergent change (Battilana, Leca, and Boxembaum, 2009).

Institutional entrepreneurs’ primary strategies include theorization, affiliation, and collective action among professionals. Theorization refers to the way in which advocates frame and promote solutions to the social problems that they are trying to address (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Strang and Meyer 1993; Tolbert and Zucker 1996), in other words how they create a “vision for divergent change” (Battilana, Leca, and Boxembaum, 2009, p. 79). Mobilizing allies and resources to build legitimacy that supports divergent change is the core activity of affiliation strategies, while collective action refers to the collaborative efforts to combat the “the inevitable resistance from those who value the status quo” (David, Sine, David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013, p. 360; see also, Greenwood et al., 2002; Rao et al., 2000).

Despite often-heroic portrayals in the literature (Fligstein, 2013, Tracey & Phillips, 2011), “the number of key actors in strategizing increases with the complexity of the task” (Frølich et

al., 2013, p. 91). Imagining, materializing, and sustaining a new organizational arrangement, such as the community college, is nothing if not complex. Hence, advocates do not and could not achieve institutional change in isolation (Aldrich, 2011; Fligstein, 2013). Instead, they engage in collective institutional entrepreneurship, or a communal process of creating and sustaining new organizational arrangements (Aldrich, 2011; Dorado, 2005; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Jolly & Raven, 2016). This collective understanding of institutional entrepreneurship emphasizes that “institutional transformation is accomplished through distributed and uncoordinated actions of dispersed actors with different resources, justification principles, conflicting world views, and abilities to collaborate, compete and contest with each other” (Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016, p. 103-4). In this way, the efforts of individual institutional entrepreneurs constantly overlap creating a net of action and interaction that undergirds the community college movement. Institutional entrepreneurs’ success relies on a unique combination of strategic actions and collaborative efforts leveraging power, interests, common values, and access to resources (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Tracey & Phillips, 2011).

Institutional entrepreneurship is enabled by an actor’s social position and field conditions (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009). Subsequently, the actions that institutional entrepreneurs take are not uniform because they are differentially influenced by environmental conditions (Dacin et al., 2002; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Fligstein 2001; Tracey et al. 2011) and founding contexts interacting with logics (Almandoz, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Pache & Santos, 2010, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) that change over time (Boxenbaum, Leca, Battilana, 2009; Rao Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Consensus in the literature suggests that institutional entrepreneurship in emerging fields requires a unique combination of strategic action related to framing or theorization, affiliation or

partnerships, and collective action (Bartley, 2007; DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Greenwood & Suddaby 2006; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Rao Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Strang & Meyer, 1993; Tolbert and Zucker 1996; Tracey, Philips, & Jarvis, 2011). Moreover, these strategies differ based on whom and at what level institutional entrepreneurs are targeting as the source of legitimacy (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; DiMaggio, 1991; Powell, et al., 2005; Purdy & Gray, 2009). However, the nuanced mechanisms of these strategies (i.e., what institutional entrepreneurs actually *do*) and how they differ based on the requirements of the environment and institutional context are not yet well understood (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Quinn, Tompkins-Stange, & Meyerson, 2013). This is even less well understood in the context of emerging economies (Dorado & Ventresca, 2012; Jain & Sharma, 2013; Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven 2016; Jolly & Raven, 2016; Marquis & Raynard, 2015; Tracey & Phillips, 2011).

When institutional entrepreneurs engage in strategic action they are attempting to reconfigure the meaning of and relationship between institutions and fields. In this way, institutional entrepreneurs can be considered “field-builders” (Bartley, 2007, p. 249) striving to develop new culture based rules (Fligstein, 2013) that provide templates for action, focus the attention of other actors, and influence organizational responses (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2012; Swidler, 1986; Thornton, Ocasio, Lounsbury, 2012). In the context of higher education research on governance (e.g., Bastedo, 2005; Berdahl, 1971; Richardson, 1999), institutional entrepreneurs were able to leverage political, social, and financial resources in complex social environments coupled with leadership skills to disproportionately influence policy and practice through strategic action (Bastedo, 2005, 2008).

While much of the institutional entrepreneurship literature relies on a highly agentive depiction of actors, many of the institutional and practice level consequences of their actions may be the result of indirect or unintentional influence (Hwang & Powell, 2005; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002; Smets et al., 2012). Therefore, the legitimization efforts of institutional entrepreneurs should be contextualized as part of a wider action net that includes participation by “original innovators, proselytizers, and proselytes” (Hwang & Powell, 2005, p. 187) situated in a layered social environment. In this light, actors may become de facto institutional entrepreneurs through the unintended consequences of their daily practice without having set out to purposefully initiate institutional change (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Smets et al., 2012). However, partitioning the intentionality and level of influence of institutional entrepreneurs’ work across levels of analysis is largely ignored in the literature (Smets et al., 2012) though arguably of critical importance (Waldorff, 2010; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013).

Scholars are only beginning to understand how the multilevel interaction of logics shape institutional entrepreneurship resulting in organizational heterogeneity at the local level that simultaneously conforms to societal norms (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Recent research to connect micro foundations with field activity is now underway (e.g., Smets et al., 2012; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Waldorf, Goodrick, & Reay, 2013). Most focuses on field level process predominately shaped by state, market, and professional demands while largely ignoring the dynamic interaction between intra and inter organizational conflict and cooperation (Greenwood et al., 2012; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Taking an “institutional logics in action” approach will provide insight into the micro dynamics necessary to understand how the action

and interaction of institutional entrepreneurs across levels of analysis cope with such institutional complexity (Jarzabkowski, et al., 2013).

This assumes that actors may actively engage at multiple levels and that engaging in this way may recursively influence outcomes at each of those levels regardless of intention. To use a construction metaphor, policy serves as a blueprint for a new building project, in other words an ideal plan. But as any builder knows, houses are never constructed strictly according to plan; instead they produce a second set of “as-built” plans to reflect reality. How to meaningfully connect the two is an ever-present, and increasingly critical challenge for policymakers and practitioners. Focusing on one level of analysis to the exclusion of others, therefore, will result in an oversimplified understanding of the field-building phenomenon (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Shajahan, 2012; Thornton, Ocasio, & lounsbury, 2012) that could have detrimental ramifications for students, faculty, communities, and postsecondary education as a whole. Studying community college development in India provides a rare opportunity to explore the messy process of emergence through translation *as it happens* rather than in retrospect alone.

Translation

Translation, or the creation of local meaning, is a legitimation project. Success or failure is dependent on the alignment of logics shaping the values, belief, and behaviors of multilevel social actors in a specific context. Latour (1986), describes translation as a process in which “the spread in time or space of anything – claims, orders, artifacts, goods – is in the hands of people; each of these people may act in many different ways, letting the token drop or modifying it, or

deflecting it, or betraying it, or adding to it, or appropriating it” (p. 267). Advanced by Scandinavian institutionalists, the notion of translation focuses on how humans interact with ideas and objects (material and symbolic elements) to maintain and change the social environment (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). Because of this focus on social activity, translation is better able to account for agency and transformation leading to heterogeneity in the diffusion process (Callon & Latour, 1981). Therefore, translation provides a natural theoretical complement to understanding the work and influence of institutional entrepreneurs in complexity.

Early attempts at understanding the spread of ideas relied on models that assumed isomorphic pressures resulting in institutional homogeneity (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer et al. year; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Rogers, 1995). Globalization and diffusion models suggest that worldwide models for human, social, and economic development create templates for action at the local level while conforming to increasingly standardized expectations on a global scale (Meyer et al., 1997). Therefore, local concerns have to be framed as universal principles (e.g., rationalization, progress, justice) in order to garner widespread support. Meyer et al. (1997) point out that imitation of such ideas is an important part of modernization, particularly in economically peripheral countries and there are “well worn routes” that serve as the source for ideas to be translated (Czarniawska & Sevon 1996). Within the field of higher education, international organizations regularly promote Anglophone models for emulation with little regard for how they are translated locally and the subsequent implications for sustainability or quality (Altbach, 2011; Boyum, 2014; King, 2012; Meyer & Ramirez, 1992; Powell & Solga, 2010).

However, translation demonstrates that the isomorphic pressures for consistency with global norms are not nearly as strong as previously conceived in the globalization and world

society literature (e.g., Drori, 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer et al., 1997) particularly at the local level (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). Sahlin and Wedlin (2008) point out that “to imitate, then, is not just to copy, but also to change and innovate” (p. 219), in other words translate. As policies, practices, and structures move between time and place, they are transformed to fit a specific context in a way that renders the global and the local “mutually constituted parts of contradictory social wholes” (McLaren, 1999, p. 10). Translation occurs when a prototype – or common idea – like the community college, is drawn from one social context to be legitimized in a new context (e.g., India) as a problem solution set (Czarniawska & Jeorges, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008) through social activity (Meyer, 1996). In this way, localization provides opportunities for institutional entrepreneurs to resist convergent global patterns (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) and satisfy the demands of multiple stakeholders (Powell et al., 2005). While translation is not the sole domain of institutional entrepreneurs, these actors arguably play a lynchpin role in the framing of a new organizational form that must simultaneously adhere to universal models and conform to local contexts in order to gain the necessary legitimacy for survival (Rao, 2000).

Translation processes are modulated by local context because logics provide the “editing” rules that differentially shape the behavior of institutional entrepreneurs depending on the level and influence of action (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Boxenbaum (2005) notes, “logics became the invisible object of negotiation” at the heart of the “quest” of institutional entrepreneurs, or “translators” (p. 24) as they attempt to materialize logics into practice (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Smets et al., 2012). In order to accomplish this, institutional entrepreneurs must engage in a multilevel translation process that requires “effortful” work on the part of social actors (Hills, Voronov, & Hinings, 2013, p. 126; Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005). However, because logics

operate at multiple levels and institutional entrepreneurs engage with them differently based on their own role and socialization, logics have a heterogeneous impact on the translation process. Institutional entrepreneurs edit (i.e., frame) the object (material or symbolic) being translated to conform to acceptable logics situated in the local context of the organization, field, or nation (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

Therefore, it is important to consider the partitioned effects of individual discretion and environmental influence when considering how the “internal representation of logics translates into practice” (Almandoz, 2014, p. 444; Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010, 2013). The constellation of logics to which organizational members adhere and how that shifts overtime can significantly influence practice and structure (Almandoz, 2014; Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Greenwood et al., 2012; Pache & Santos, 2012) because organizations are manifestations of logics and require legitimacy to survive (Greenwood et al., 2010). Recently, researchers turned to an exploration of the specific ways in which constellations influence action. Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick (2013) outlined five mechanisms that support both stability and change in relationship to the influence of multiple logics. In describing these mechanisms, the authors suggested the existence of a strong logic (1) as well as an additive relationship between multiple logics (2) tend to constrain action. Additive relations between logics imply that institutional arrangements reflect the values, beliefs, and practices of more than one logic” (p. 122) while an influential logic sets maximum boundaries for acceptable action. In both cases, only alternatives that satisfy either the influential logic or multiple logics simultaneously are considered appropriate choices. Alternatively, their model suggests that action is enabled by mechanisms that strengthen an alternative logic (3), segment competing logics (4), and facilitate the mutual

strengthening of two alternative logics (5). These latter three configurations of constellations open space for maneuvering creatively at the intersections of multiple logics.

A multilevel approach to the consequences (intended and unintended) of institutional entrepreneurs' effortful work in the translation process is increasingly acknowledged as an essential yet understudied phenomenon that will help explain the rhythms of the institutional and organizational life (Bartley, 2007; Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Boxenbaum, 2005; Greenwood et al., 2011; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Smets et al., 2012; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011; Waldorff, 2010). However, most of the research to date relies on retrospective analyses that portray these processes as linear and planned, rather than crafted and emergent (Boxenbaum & Battilana 2005; Fligstein, 2013; Tracey & Phillips, 2011).

Conceptual Framework

Long before community colleges came to India, the groundwork was being laid to open the door to implementing this novel idea, one that had become a “consecrated exemplar” in American education (Jones & Massa, 2013). Exemplars are organizational arrangements that have “established features that can be combined or contended over” (Jones & Massa, 2013, p. 1524). In the context of community colleges, Raby (2009b) acknowledges that “globalization affects two trajectories: one in which community college models share common qualities that illustrate a universality of experience, and the other in which applications are inextricably tied to local communities which endows their uniqueness” (p. 21). The broad idea of the community college as an organizational form offers a legitimate prototype that conforms to world society

norms such as economic development and justice, (Drori, 2008), as well as the “vocalization” of education (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005). In this sense, vocational is not being used in its formal definition within Indian postsecondary education. As Tognatta (2016) points out, “the shift has been from a view of vocational education quite narrowly in terms of preparing individuals for a particular job or occupation to a vision of it as a strategy for addressing various educational, economic, and social objectives” (p. 13). This notion of vocational education connects with the globalized interest in gearing education, at all levels, toward the practical application of skills outside of an educational setting in preparation for living and working in the modern economy. This is in juxtaposition to general education or the more traditionally academic and theory based approaches that have largely predominated and been considered the most prestigious pathways through postsecondary education in both countries. Yet, arguments abound that this tradition is shifting and that the need to fill the “skill gap” is essential to the future of national and global economies (e.g., McCarthy (2014) on the skills gap in the United States; Ernst & Young & FICCI (2012) and Wheebox (2017) in India).

Therefore, the community college is an attractive model, associated primarily with “advanced” countries, that offers a technical solution to vexing social challenges at the intersection of unsettled fields (Raby, 2009; Powell & Solga, 2010). Community colleges reflect this pattern as, at the macro level, individual colleges within the largely disconnected field all conform to the basic tenets of providing disadvantaged students with access to postsecondary education for employment. Notions of economic and social mobility guide these actions. Simultaneously, community college and their global counterparts are tenaciously local institutions that are explicitly designed to be embedded in and responsive to local educational and labor market needs (Valeau & Raby, 2013). Therefore, it will be important to attend to how

community colleges conform to global norms along with sources of heterogeneity across the fragmented network.

Distilled from the literature and drawing from the interinstitutional system elaborated by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), I have identified the societal level logics of the state, market, professions, and community as the primary building block of institutional pluralism for community colleges. Building on the use of ideal types in institutional logics literature, I elaborate an ideal type of how community colleges would be organized under each societal level logic in Table 2.2 below. Institutional and higher education scholars regularly identify the state, market, and professions as having dominant influences in modern society (Berman, 2012; Brint & Karabel, 1991; Clark, 1983; DiMaggio & Powell, 1988; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 2013; Townley, 1997, Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Specific to community colleges, Brint and Karabel (1991) identify university elites controlling the professional training markets (i.e., the professions), business and industry (i.e., market), and government (i.e., state) through accreditation and other regulatory measures as the primary “power centers” shaping the curriculum (p. 345). More recently, the rise in influence of a market logic in convergence with a re-oriented state logic due to the forces of globalization, dominates the higher education discourse (e.g., Levin, 2001; Gumport, 2003). In addition to these three societal level logics, community colleges were established with a core commitment of community responsiveness (Morest, 2013; Raby & Valeau, 2009). Therefore, the community logic is particularly influential for community colleges. While research has primarily focused on U.S. community colleges, the growing body of literature exploring the development of community college global counterparts supports the depiction of these logics (e.g., Hagedorn & Mezghani, 2012; Le, 2013; Postiglione, 2011; Raby & Valeau, 2009; Spangler & Tyler, 2011;

Valeau, 2013; Wiseman et al., 2012). Additionally, given the origins of the Indian Community College in the order of the Jesuits, the religious logic plays a pivotal role in India. Together, these five societal level logics, provide the cultural elements shaping structure and action within and among community college models.

Table 2.2: *Indian Community Colleges Constellation of Logics*

Categories	Professions	Religion	State	Community	Market
Credentialing Authority	Professional association	Religious Organization	Government Officials	Community organizations	Industry
Primary Interest	Theoretical Knowledge	Religious observance	Public good	Transformation	Employee training
Performance Standards	Content Mastery	Contribution to the church	Enrollment and credential attainment	Public benefit through individuals	Job placement and salary
Core Curriculum	Abstract Knowledge	Religious doctrine	Citizenship education	Needs and desires of community	Labor market demands
Concept of Student	Learner	Congregant	Citizen	Member	Consumer and product
Source of Legitimacy	Number of students mastering	Number of students saved	Number of students enrolled	Number of lives changed	Number of students employed
Strategy	Student learning outcomes	Religious adherence	Nationally cohesive	Localization	Employment sector specific
Informal Control	University or College	Doctrine	Politics	Grassroots	Industry experts
Source of Power	Academic Elites	Higher Power or Priesthood	Regulations and Legislation	Community Acceptance	Business and industry
Source of Authority	Expertise	Church leadership	Bureaucracy	Commitment and Passion	Control over employment opportunities
Rhetorical Strategy	Educational Attainment	Spiritual development	National development	Collective benefit	Economic development

Overall, community colleges are being established without a coherent or comprehensive plan for field structure, which leaves the field open to strategic action by skilled social actors. To date, colleges have been left to their own accord to set standards and regulations or have been handed down guidelines from centralized authorities. What has not happened is that practitioners have not turned to the entrepreneurial development of professional associations, considered a key criteria in institutional and organizational change (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). Given the dynamic and unconventional landscape in which they operate, assuming a trajectory toward stability in field and organizational structure of the movement is shortsighted. Instead, ongoing community college development could result in 1) *Convergence* - institutionalization as a new hybrid field or legitimization as an organizational form within a single field; 2) *Parallelism* - legitimization of a single organizational form embedded within multiple fields; 3) *Divergence* - legitimization of multiple organizational forms embedded within multiple fields; or 4) *Disappearance* - the community college organizational form atrophies or is folded into a preexisting form. Borrowing from Goodrick and Reay (2011), “it is the combination of institutional logics and the relationship between them that provides important information about the nature of professional work,” or in this case, the nature of the Indian community college (p. 406).

Only an examination of the strategies and outcomes of institutional entrepreneurs’ translation of the community college into the complex and diverse social context of India will begin to illuminate the true nature of this organizational arrangement in the process of becoming (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009). To frame this exploration, I merge the theories of

translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and institutional logics to shed light on how community college advocates respond differently to environmental pressures shaping the translation of this concept. Facing extreme complexity from five influential logics left advocates no clear blue print for action. As a result, community college leaders had discretion to develop creative responses to institutional demands by engaging in collective institutional entrepreneurship. The specific manifestation of this collective work, played out in the translation of the community college concept into three distinct yet overlapping models during the last few decades. This conceptualization attends to unique organizational dynamics nested within broader social structures, and offers a systematic way to analyze the implementation of community college development with flexible generalizability. Before exploring an application of these intertwined elements of institutional theory to the community college movement in India, it is important to understand the methods employed in this study.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

To address gaps in both the higher education and institutional theory literature and begin to understand the puzzle of community college development in India, I conducted an embedded case study situated in historical context to explore the translation of a globalized organizational form in a pluralistic environment. I collected data at multiple levels of analysis and focused on how the interaction between actors within and across organizations influences the diverse instantiation of community colleges at the organizational, field, and national levels. Because the community college system is emergent and the research questions guiding this study are complex and interrelated, this site and approach are an appealing match (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994).

Case Study Methodology

Case study is intended to explore the “deeper causes behind a given problem” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229), in this study the “problem” is the multilevel influence of actors shaping the concept of the community college in India through implementation in local contexts. In essence, a case is the study of a phenomenon contextualized in its broader environment (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994). As such, case study methodology aims for depth rather than breadth in understanding the particulars of a given concept or principle (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014). To achieve this, the data collection and analysis must be purposefully designed

to yield fine-grained, “close” descriptive data about the experiences of individuals and organizations (Emerson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995, p. 94; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Yin, 2014). Approaching the case in this way is intended to support development of working hypotheses (Cronbach, 1975) that can be applied to the study of the translation of the community college concept in other emerging economies.

During the summer of 2013, I conducted preliminary qualitative research in order to identify pressing research questions related to the community college movement in India. Among the most salient findings, I sensed a deep yearning for clarity about the definition of “community college” in India and the desire to develop a coherent system that integrates the various approaches that co-exist across the country. Despite this pluralistic environment, community colleges universally express a commitment to creating pathways to employment for underserved students, but have met with varying levels of success when measured by students’ educational persistence and job placement. Given these conditions, a consistent definition of “community college” in the Indian context outlining who should be taught, what should be taught, and how it should be taught, remains elusive. Yet, many colleges were achieving impressive results, and policy makers and practitioners increasingly view community colleges as an ideal solution for ensuring flexibility, accessibility, and employability in the system. Specifically, relevant curricula, industrial partnerships, experiential learning, and inclusivity continue to be hailed as the defining features of community colleges, but very little is known about the mechanisms that ensure success in these areas. These preliminary findings informed the guiding research questions for this study.

Because research questions should inform the choice of methodology, an embedded case study approach that incorporates a historical perspective is most appropriate in this situation. How and why questions are best assessed through naturalistic inquiry that attends to complex social processes (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014). Furthermore, the lack of prior research on the role of individual actors in the social construction of the Indian community college movement at both macro and micro levels warrants inductive research. Using qualitative methods to explore the practice of community college actors in real time and historically is likely to illuminate the intra and inter organizational dynamics that shape community college advocates' responses to institutional complexity (Lawrence, Leca, and Zilber, 2013; Lounsbury & Boxebnbaum, 2013). Because actors, like Russian Matryoshka dolls, are nested within a larger social structure (Fligstein, 2013), understanding their actions requires multilevel analysis (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Wiseman, 2013). An embedded case study design provides an ideal avenue to explore just such cross level interactions (Smets et al., 2012; Yin, 2014) because it allows for more than one unit of analysis (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014).

Founding context for each model included criteria such as the values, interests, power, and (access to) resources of individual advocates and organizational leaders; ties between practitioners, policymakers, and external advocates; geographic and jurisdictional conditions; and field position. I was able to combine multiple data points that account for the nested nature of how individuals in organizations interact within an open system (Stake, 1995). Furthermore, an embedded case study design is warranted because the community college system in India is *revelatory* in nature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2003). In practical terms, the movement is a revelatory case because the social and economic dynamics of Indian educational reform are unprecedented and no empirical research beyond basic descriptive statistics exists related to the

nature of community colleges despite it being used as a prominent political and educational reform strategy. In theoretical terms, exploring community colleges in India allowed for assessment of real time practice of institutional entrepreneurs rooted in historical context to understand recursive affects of actors conducting translational work simultaneously across multiple social levels. This is a phenomenon that has been largely ignored in the literature and when taken up tends to focus on a small set of actors operating at multiple levels (e.g., Lok, 2010; Tracey, Philips, & Jarvis, 2011; van Gestl, 2011), or a wider array of actors functioning at one level (e.g., Dunn & Jones, 2010; Haveman & Rao, 1997; Reay & Hinings, 2005, 2009; Goodrick & Reay, 2012). Most take a field level perspective without incorporating the individual or organizational levels (c.f., Bastedo, 2005; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Smets et al., 2012; Waldorff, 2010).

Rather than testing hypotheses, my research on the role of institutional entrepreneurs in translation focuses on building mid-range theory (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Fligstein, 2013). My goal, then, is to “create more robust theory because the propositions are more deeply grounded in varied empirical evidence” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Mid range theory building is an important aim of exploratory research because future scholars can use it to engage in comparative discussions across empirical contexts (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Fligstein, 2013). In total, available research is almost exclusively retrospective and limited to a finite group of actors rather than the complex web of strategic and social actors associated with the translation process.

The Nested Cases

In this study, the concept I explored was the socially constructed translation process of the community college model and the case I identified is the Indian community college system. I bound this case at the system level while noting the potential for cross case comparison using the embedded cases of each community college model. I also bound the case temporally by the first instantiation of a (sustained) community college in 1995 and followed the progression of the translation process including complementary introductions of the concept through various founding contexts. That being said, I explored the origins of how the community college concept materialized in the Indian context because such an understanding is critical to the translation process. This historical perspective is covered in Chapter 4.

Because the community college system is vast, I focused on institutional entrepreneurs who served as the nodes of networks whose actions must be understood in relation to other actors. For example, at the organizational level, an individual may be an institutional entrepreneur but then when looking through a field level lens that same actor might be less actively engaged in translation. Furthermore, depending on the intended site of action, the institutional entrepreneur may activate and prioritize different logics based on the environmental context. Although it is difficult to capture these complex interactions, focusing on multilevel and multivocal institutional entrepreneurship helps ward off the impoverished under and over socialized portraits of actors that dominate the literature (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Marginson & Rhoades 2002). By attending to historical and contemporary activity across levels of analysis, I aim to detail actors' perception of their role in the dynamic development of community colleges in India. To accomplish this I focus on the transformation of

the community college concept over time, actions and practices that materialize the idea, and the differential influence of institutional forces depending on the vantage point of individual and organizational actors.

Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an approach that focuses on choosing cases and sub-units of analysis based on their potential contribution to theory building as they are “suitable for illuminating and extending relationships and logic among constructs” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 27). Based on prior research, I identified numerous key informants that have influenced, directly and indirectly, the translation of the community college concept in India. During a pilot study in the summer of 2013, I started to build rapport with a critical mass of these key institutional entrepreneurs. I leveraged my relationships by launching my 2015 data collection with a fresh round of interviews with these individuals. After initial interviews and field visits, I used a slow but steady snowball sampling process to identify key informants at the local, state, national, and international level. To supplement interviews, I built a strong personal network and gained access to observations at relevant meetings, events and trainings, and obtained pertinent organizational and policy documents for analysis.

In total, I interviewed 33 system-level advocates involved with all three types of community colleges. Table 3.1 below provides a detailed breakdown of research participants. This included three Maharashtra State education officials, three Wadhvani Foundation representatives, four ICRDCE representatives, eight IGNOU representatives, nine central government officials, two Indian academics associated closely with educational policy, and four

U.S. community college practitioners involved with the early movement. The gender breakdown was not balanced as I interviewed nine women and twenty-four men in this group, but it was reflective of the population of possible participants. Among these participants I conducted multiple interviews (maximum of five) with eight individuals.

At the organizational level, I focused attention on the state of Maharashtra, which has a total of nine government polytechnics and 38 colleges and universities approved to operate government-funded community colleges. In addition, at the height of the IGNOU scheme there were 36 community colleges registered in the state; many are now defunct while others continue operating without the IGNOU designation. There are also seven NGO community colleges listed on the ICRDCE website, although at least two are no longer operational. Finally, there was at least one autonomous community college independent of the three primary models operating as a partnership between the University of Mumbai and Hindustan Coca Cola Beverages Ltd. Maharashtra provided an ideal site for this research because it is regularly regarded as being at the forefront of educational reform (Azam, 2008). For example, it was one of the first states to initiate a Higher Educational Council and has many more institutions offering formal postsecondary education than any other state (AICTE, 2013; Directorate General of Education & Training, 2014). Given these characteristics, it is not surprising that Maharashtra has actively engaged in the community college movement at each stage of development. Furthermore, having been based in Mumbai for my pilot study, I had already started to build the necessary relationships that were the crux of my extensive data collection process.

Table 3.1: *System Level Participants by Community College Model, Affiliation, and Gender*

Participant	Model	Gender	Number of Interviews	Affiliation
1	NGO	M	1	ICRDCE
2	NGO	M	3	ICRDCE
3	NGO	M	1	ICRDCE
4	NGO	M	1	ICRDCE
5	NGO	F	1	U.S. Community Colleges
6	NGO	M	1	U.S. Community Colleges
7	NGO	M	1	U.S. Community Colleges
8	IGNOU	M	2	IGNOU
9	IGNOU	M	2	IGNOU
10	IGNOU	M	1	IGNOU
11	IGNOU	M	1	IGNOU
12	IGNOU	M	1	IGNOU
13	IGNOU	F	1	IGNOU
14	IGNOU	M	1	IGNOU
15	IGNOU	F	1	IGNOU
16	IGNOU	F	1	U.S. Community Colleges
17	G-F & IGNOU	M	1	Academic
18	G-F	F	1	Academic
19	G-F	M	3	Academic
20	G-F	M	2	All India Council for Technical Education
21	G-F	M	1	All India Council for Technical Education
22	G-F	M	1	Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship
23	G-F	F	1	Ministry of Human Resource Development
24	G-F	M	1	National Skill Development Corporation
25	G-F	F	2	National Skill Development Corporation
26	G-F	F	1	Maharashtra State Board of Technical Education
27	G-F	M	1	Maharashtra State Board of Technical Education
28	G-F	M	1	Maharashtra Department of Higher & Technical Education
29	G-F	M	1	University Grants Commission
30	G-F	M	1	University Grants Commission
31	G-F	F	1	Wadhvani Foundation
32	G-F	M	5	Wadhvani Foundation
33	G-F	M	1	Wadhvani Foundation

* G-F = government funded

I used theoretical sampling to identify fourteen community colleges within the state of Maharashtra representing at least three community colleges from each currently operating alternative structure/founding context as well as one alternative community college. I was also able to visit a University Skill Development Center that coordinates all NSQF aligned programs (including community colleges) conducted at its affiliated college. The sample varied on form, function, field position, and leadership role among other organizational and institutional factors. This allowed for maximum variation among embedded cases (Seidman, 1998; Maxwell, 2004) while controlling for jurisdictional context (i.e., operating within the policy context of one state). Table 3.2 provides more information about each community college.

Table 3.2: *Participating Community Colleges and Interview Participants*

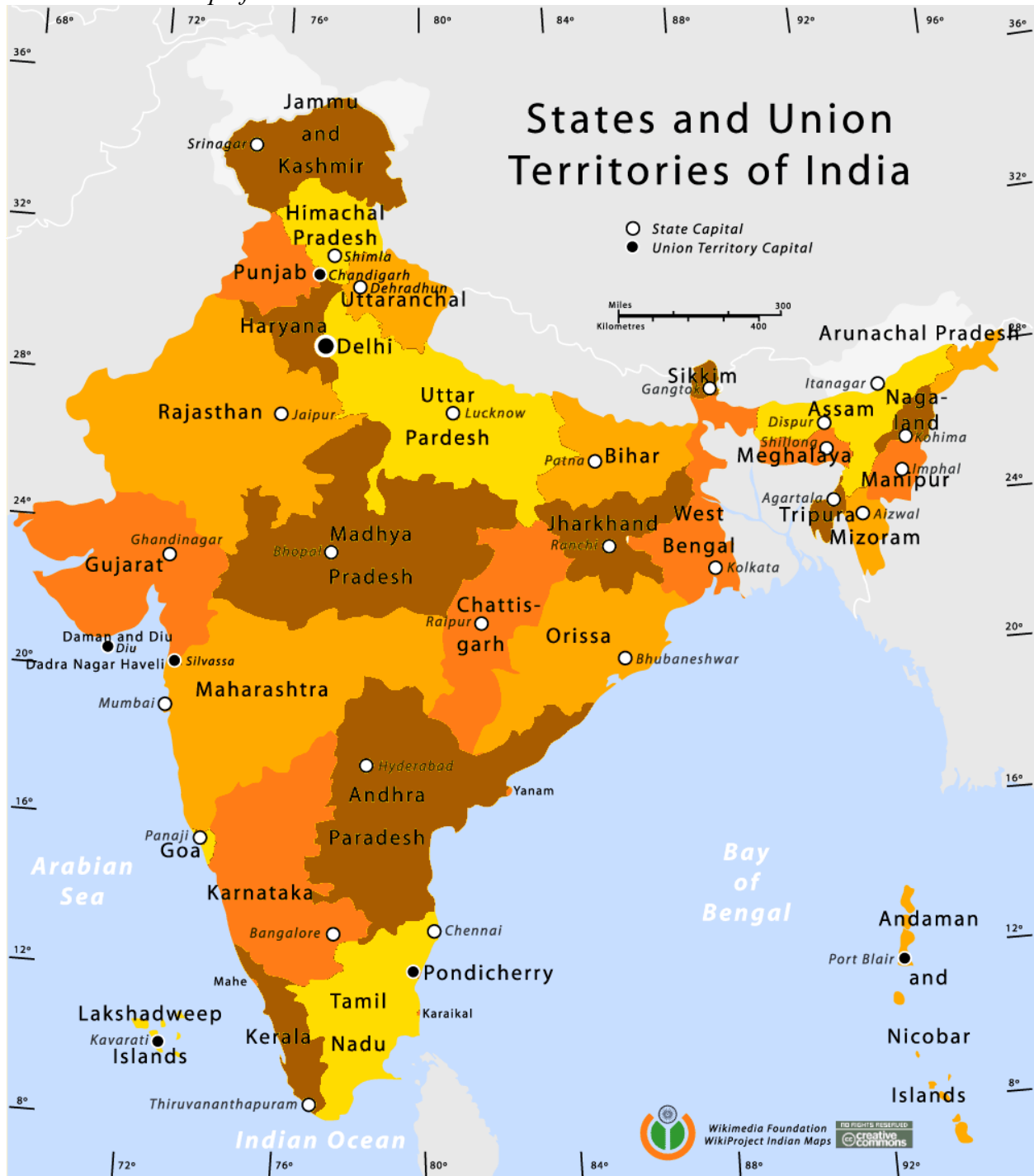
Community College Name	Location	Model	Interview Participants
Maharashtra			
Alternative Community College*	Mumbai	Alternative	3
Government Polytechnic 1 Community College	Mumbai	GF - AICTE	1
Government Polytechnic 2 Community College*	Aurangabad	GF - AICTE	1
Government Polytechnic 3 Community College*	Jalna	GF - AICTE	2
UGC 1 Community College	Mumbai	GF - UGC	2
UGC 2 Community College	Wagholi	GF - UGC	3
UGC 3 Community College	Aurangabad	GF - UGC	2
UGC 4 Community College	Aurangabad	GF - UGC	2
IGNOU 1 Community College	Mumbai	IGNOU	6
IGNOU 2 Community College	Mumbai	IGNOU	1
IGNOU/NGO 3 Community College	Pune	IGNOU/NGO	5
NGO 1 Community College	Chakan	NGO	1
NGO 2 Community College	Lullunagar	NGO	2
NGO 3 Community College	Ahmednagar	NGO	2
University Skill Development Center (coordinating organization)	Pune	GF - UGC	6
State/Union Territory			
Bihar 1 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	1
Bihar 2 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	4
Bihar 3 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	1
Bihar 4 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	1

Bihar 5 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	2
Bihar 6 Community College	Bihar	GF - UGC	1
University 1 (coordinating organization)	Bihar	GF - UGC	2
Alternative 2 Community College Headquarters	Delhi	Alternative	1
Bangalore 1 Community College	Karnataka	NGO	2
Bangalore 2 Community College	Karnataka	NGO	1
Pondicherry 1 Community College	Pondicherry	GF - UGC	3
Pondicherry 2 Community College	Pondicherry	NGO	0
Alternative 3 Community Colleges Headquarters	Tamil Nadu	Alternative	1
Tamil Nadu 1 Community College	Tamil Nadu	GF - UGC	2
Tamil Nadu 2 Community College	Tamil Nadu	NGO	0
Tamil Nadu 4 Community College	Tamil Nadu	NGO	2
Tamil Nadu 5 Community College	Tamil Nadu	NGO	0
Tamil Nadu 6 Community College	Tamil Nadu	NGO	1
Tamil Nadu 7 & 8 Community Colleges (shared space)	Tamil Nadu	NGO & GF	3
Tamil Nadu 9 Community College (and Headquarters)	Tamil Nadu	NGO	1
Total	6 States	35 Community Colleges	65 participants

* denotes additional focus group

My research with system level advocates often took me outside of the state of Maharashtra, which allowed me to visit an additional 21 community colleges across the states of Bihar, Karnataka, Pondicherry, and Tamil Nadu. I also visited the operational headquarters of two alternative community college systems in Delhi and Tamil Nadu. As these community colleges spanned founding contexts, the additional visits provided me an excellent comparison to the functioning of community colleges in the state of Maharashtra. Illustration 3.1 provides a map of India depicting all of the states I visited during my field work.

Illustration 3.1: *Map of India*



Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=509133>

At each community college, I interviewed the principal, faculty, and other key informants as available. Because most community colleges are quite small, the number of informants at each

college was less than five except for two polytechnics in Maharashtra where I was able to meet with larger focus groups of faculty and leaders. Given the nature of this study and the regular turnover among students at community colleges, I did not include students as participants. In total I visited 35 community colleges across the country, included in Table 3.2, and interviewed 66 practitioners. Among these practitioners, I conducted multiple interviews (maximum of eight) with six participants.

Data Collection

Traveling back and forth across India between March and December 2015, I conducted approximately 100 hours of recorded interviews with policy makers, non-governmental actors, and practitioners while visiting seven government offices, the IGNOU headquarters, and thirty-five community colleges in five states. This exhausting but ever-exciting adventure was part of a comprehensive qualitative data collection strategy guided by an embedded case study design (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). To ensure triangulation, I collected data from multiple sources (Patton, 2002; Yin 2014). Triangulating data helps identify when evidence assessing the phenomenon from different perspectives converges on the same findings (Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005), and is considered a “corroboratory strategy” to enhance trustworthiness of the case study (Yin, 2014, p. 121). Therefore, my data collection efforts included: 1) conducting interviews with community college actors, 2) observing relevant meetings and college activities, and 3) analyzing pertinent documents and artifacts. Whenever possible, I cross-referenced data from interviews with observations and documents as well as popular media accounts and other

interviews. This helped me create a comprehensive timeline of people, places, and events (see Appendix A²⁵) while validating the authenticity of participants' accounts.

A note on language - the predominant language used in the policy and education arenas in India is English, which was the language I used for interviewing. Although English was not the first language of most participants, based on the experience of my pilot study I was able to successfully conduct all interviews in English with community college leaders at multiple levels. Furthermore, I worked with an in-country transcription company to mitigate the difficulty of transcribing various regional accents. Overall, I was pleased with the accuracy when I verified transcripts.

I sought formal approval from the Institutional Review Board to conduct this research, and my study was deemed to have the status of "not regulated." Although I was exempt from IRB regulations, I maintained qualitative research best practices throughout data collection. This included informing participants about the voluntary nature of the study, being open and honest about the purpose of the research, and choosing times and locations that were convenient to participants. I obtained verbal consent for audio recordings, and all but four participants agreed. The four participants who declined to be recorded agreed to participate and allowed me to take extensive notes while we spoke. This also held true for the two interviews that I conducted in locations that were not conducive to recording. Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and three hours.

²⁵ Appendix A covers the history of the community college movement in India from 1972 through 2016. Events and activities are organized by primary affiliation (e.g., ICRDCE, IGNOU, MHRD, Wadhvani Foundation) and are cross listed when multiple advocates are involved in the same activity. This helps identify the overlap in participation among advocates as well as the swells and troughs in activity shaping the development of community colleges.

Interviews

As interviews are well suited to illuminate how individuals understand and interpret their environment, they provide an important source of data for this study. I conducted interviews while visiting community college campuses, government offices, and the headquarters of ICRDCE, IGNOU, the Wadhvani Foundation, and three autonomous community college offices. Additionally, I attended a teacher-training program facilitated by ICRDCE (in 2013 and 2015) where I was able to conduct several interviews. With each participant I conducted a semi-structured, open-ended interview (Merriam, 2009) based on a tailored protocol included in Appendix B.²⁶ Questions were intended to “elicit the overall experiences and understandings” of participants (Rubin and Rubin, 2009, p. 152-153) in ways that would illuminate the primary themes identified in the literature review. I also used follow up questions to elicit deeper descriptions, clarify responses, and inform a more comprehensive narrative (Spradley, 1979; Weiss, 1994). I developed the protocol based on the results of my exploratory pilot study in 2013 that highlighted aspects like the disconnect between policy and practice, the distinction between the development of each community college model rather than seeing the narrative as a linear whole, and the shift from grassroots to centralized support of community college policy. With this inductive knowledge at hand, I turned to the literature on translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and institutional logics to form a robust protocol combining both inductive and deductive approaches. I provide a crosswalk in Appendix D demonstrating the link between each protocol question with key theoretical concepts as well as the relationship to my overarching research questions.

²⁶ Three of the interviews that I used in the data analysis stage for this dissertation were conducted in 2013 with a less theoretically grounded, yet still richly informative, framework for questions. This is included in Appendix C.

In addition to formal interviews, I was able to conduct a number of un-recorded informal interviews during which, or immediately after, I took detailed notes to more fully document the experience of community college advocates and practitioners. Overall, interviews were used to investigate individuals' perception of their role and influence on community college development at multiple levels and in relationship with other actors. As soon after each interview as possible, I wrote a memo capturing my initial thoughts about the interview experience (Kvale, 2007). The intention of the memo was to attend to points of interest, engage in preliminary cross-interview comparisons, and reflect on my process as an interviewer (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). This commitment helped me remain mindful of my own reflexivity as the primary instrument of research (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Moreover, I used these memos as an initial step in my analysis process concurrent with collection to inform refinements to my data collection protocols (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Observations

Because observation occurs in a naturalistic setting (Emerson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995), including observations in my data collection allowed me to view what might otherwise go unseen to insider participants (Merriam, 2009; Van Maanen 1979). In order to understand how leaders' strategic actions contributed to the translation process of the community college concept, I observed meetings in which the design and implementation of the community college was discussed. Despite my best efforts, I was unable to attend any government-initiated meetings but I was able to attend a Teacher Training Programs hosted by ICRDCE in June 2013 and June 2015. At the organizational level I was able to attend staff meetings, a state level meeting of

community colleges in Bihar, celebratory functions at individual community colleges, and class meetings.

I approached my role as an “observer as participant” (Gold, 1958). In this way, I did not participate in the discussion or decision-making at meetings I attended, but the group was aware of the purpose of my research. During observations, I oscillated between a wide and narrow angle of observation (Merriam, 2009) in order to assess the interaction among institutional entrepreneurs and other actors holistically as well as attend to the meaning making of particular actors and how that influences the trajectory of the community college movement. During each observation I took detailed field notes and wrote reflections and a comprehensive memo as soon after the observation as possible (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 1995).

Documents and Artifacts

Another critical data source for this study was documents and artifacts depicting the emergence of the community movement, because they provided “a particularly rich source of information” about each case (Patton, 2002, p. 293). At the system level I gathered policy documents, training and implementation manuals, curriculum guides, historical accounts of the community college, popular media, and websites for individual colleges as well system level organizations and agencies (e.g., ICRDCE, IGNOU, UGC, AICTE, Wadhvani Foundation). At the college level I reviewed annual reports, brochures, websites, local newspaper articles, and founding documents, as available. It is imperative to note that the ICRDCE has a prolific archive of community college history in India that fills multiple rooms with binders documenting (on paper) every aspect of community college development through the government-funded scheme. I was able to spend nearly a week exploring these archives. These documents proved invaluable

to my research because they provided a first hand accounts of historical events, personal correspondence between advocates, and countless reports and other summary artifacts documenting the development of community colleges. In addition to this physical archive, ICRDCE published twenty-six books about community college development, not including textbooks. Predominately, these books collate government reports, meeting minutes, conference proceedings, descriptive research, and popular media accounts of community colleges in India, along with commentary from the ICRDCE team. Although biased toward the ICRDCE perspective, the documents external to ICRDCE are presented in their original format without editing. This is an invaluable and unparalleled resource to those interested in Indian community colleges.

Together, the plethora of documents helped me better understand the political, economic, and social context for each individual community and the system as a whole. These data sources played a critical role in understanding the historical development of the movement and its current multi-path trajectory. While I used these documents primarily to understand the historical and social context for the emergence of the community college movement, this process also resides in the living memory of participants. Therefore, I was able to triangulate historical data by verifying accounts with members and through observation.

Data Management

Each interview was recorded using a digital recorder. I personally transcribed approximately five percent of the interviews. A reliable company in India transcribed the rest verbatim and I verified each for accuracy. Specifically, I verified the entire transcription of about

fifty percent of interviews verbatim. For the remaining fifty percent, I listened to the first fifteen minutes of audio to check for accuracy of the transcription. As a secondary measure, while I was coding, if I noticed any inconsistencies in the transcription, I would return to the audiofile and make corrections as necessary. Both audio recordings and transcriptions of the interviews were saved on my personal computer in password protected folders with web-based and external hard drive back ups. Throughout the process, I used HyperResearch as a tool to aid in the management, coding, and analysis of data collected and organized in the case record.

I maintained a case database (or case record) to organize and track the voluminous data that case studies are notorious for producing (Merriam, 2009). In accordance with Yin's (2014) recommendation to increase the reliability of my case study, I purposefully organized and tracked the sources of field and interview files, documents and artifacts, and narratives that I developed over the course of my research. Maintaining an organized case record was critical enabler of my data analysis process that I describe in the next section.

Data Analysis

Case study analysis often begins by “playing” with the data (Yin, 2014, p. 135). This includes the manipulation of evidence to reveal themes, insights, and patterns (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and by writing memos to explore initial interpretations (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In order to productively “play” and strengthen the connections that emerged, I iterated between theory and data (Eisenhart & Graebner, 2007). Because case study research does not dictate one analytical strategy, I combined inductive and deductive approaches that informed a close narrative description of the case (Emerson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995; Yin, 2014) and allowed me

to explore the possibility of rival explanations (Patton, 2002). Approaching the data in this way, I have been able to use explanation building techniques to not only describe the how and the why of the community college movement in India but also to generate propositions for future study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Because this approach deals in causal links, it required an iterative process of theory elaboration (Vaughn, 1992). Throughout the process, I continually returned to existing literature, conducted peer debriefings, and wrote reflective and analytical memos to further develop my understanding, challenge my assumptions, and pursue promising directions (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Eisenhart & Graebner, 2007). With the use of these interwoven strategies, I aim to illuminate the mechanisms institutional entrepreneurs employ to facilitate community college translation in India and how a constellation of logics constrained and enabled their actions (Reay & Jones, 2016).

Participant's interviews served as the primary data for this study and observations and document analysis were used as corroboratory evidence. Before interviewing a participant I would review available documents to understand more fully that participants role and position in the community college landscape. In this way, document analysis often preceded interview. Also, having met participants at a meeting or training program often meant that I had conducted observations with the individual before the formal interview as follow up. I therefore used concurrent data collection and analysis to develop familiarity with each participant and organizational context (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2014). I did not systematically code field notes or documents and artifacts. Instead, I used this information to supplement the robust case description painted by the personal narratives of individuals.²⁷

²⁷ While I did not code documents, particularly archival material published or collected by ICRDCE, I did use illustrative quotes from these documents in the findings chapters of this dissertation only when they corroborated interview statements or if they could be triangulated by multiple sources. Additionally, I used the documents to create the comprehensive timeline of events in Appendix A that tracked events, people, and time. I rectified any

Ultimately, I used observations and documents to compare, contrast, and clarify the interview data (Glesne, 2006; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002).

At the outset, I intended the Indian community college system to be the primary unit of analysis while individual colleges from each category of founding context (NGO, IGNOU, and Government-Funded) would serve as the embedded cases. I collected data sufficient to approach embedded case study design this way. However, when I began the coding process, I realized that I needed to systematically categorize participants to create order out of the chaos of the far-ranging data I collected. This took many attempts before I settled on an approach that prioritized participants who were involved with community college development at the system level. At first I tried coding the interviews of practitioners, then I narrowed that to interviews related to a single community college model. But I felt I was missing something. Although I had rich and engaging data from individual colleges, I realized that there was an incredible story to tell about the process of translating the community college across the country at the policy level rather than from the practice perspective. The data on the system level actors were ample enough to warrant refocusing my dissertation on this subpopulation.

Perhaps this reveals my own bias as a researcher, I tend to strive to understand the system perspective before I delve into the details of organizational life. I must acknowledge that the stories from the daily life of community colleges in India will be equally rich, and I am still eager and humbled by the idea of sharing the passion and commitment of the many practitioners who allowed me a glimpse into their vibrant organizations. Yet, this dissertation can only have so many chapters, and the community college advocates who worked tirelessly at the national policy level are featured in this first of many stories I will tell about the community college

contradictions I found by checking across sources including popular media, interviews, and alternative accounts of events.

movement in India. Therefore, the embedded cases within the system concentrate on the advocates who promoted each of the three models as opposed to organizational practitioners.

Drawing from, but not limited by, the techniques of grounded theory's "constant comparative method of analysis" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 22) I conducted multiple phases of coding. I began analysis with an inductive "open" coding process to identify relevant themes, creating categories, and comparing the current data to the emergent ideas suggested by other data (Corbin & Strauss, 1988). In addition to the inductive codes, I also used a set of deductive codes to inform robust case descriptions (Yin, 2014). Using complementary inductive and deductive codes that I organized into categories and subcategories using HyperReserach, patterns in the data became readily apparent. As an example, the influence of the bureaucratic process – separate from the involvement of individual bureaucrats – was not a theme I explored in my initial protocol but quickly revealed itself as a critical issue when I began coding. Patterns highlighting recognition chasing, turnover, and patronage politics became apparent as properties of the relationship with government officials that were barriers to collective action among community college advocates. After open coding, I moved to a second phase of analysis that paid close attention to how the categories and sub-categories of codes connected to each other.

Theorizing relationships between codes and categories followed the initial phase of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this way I attempted to move from data points to a deeper understanding of what was happening within and between community college models. During this stage, I shifted from a computer-based process to one of conducting analysis by hand. To accomplish this I iterated between code reports and transcripts to contextualize codes. I highlighted, wrote marginal notes, and identified connections in the data within the categories and between the codes. I chose to conduct this stage by hand as the Hyper Research interface did

not prove to be particularly user friendly. Engaging in the tactile process of coding by hand allowed me to more thoughtfully interact with the data.²⁸ This also provided me the opportunity more mindfully compare and contrast data and understand the richness and nuance of the relationships between codes focused on a particular category (Strauss, 1987).

The third phase was used to weave together a rich narrative that provided a description of the data-driven theory building generated during the second phase of coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During this stage, I selected the most poignant and thoroughly supported themes and identified how these puzzle pieces fit together in a conceptual framework explaining the “complex web” of translation that defined, and continually redefined, the community college movement (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, p. 228). As part of this process, I returned to the literature and sought to connect the analytic process back to the guiding research questions. For example, while I was initially focused on the constellation of nested logics activated by institutional entrepreneurs along with the primacy of each in a given situation, in the selective coding phase I was able to take this analysis one step further and identify how these logics constrained and enabled the action of community college advocates (Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). As a result, the inductive theme and theoretical contribution of a hybrid mechanism of *logic seeking* arose from the deductive theme of logic constellations differing between community college models.

During this process I related categories and sub categories to core categories, effectively winnowing the number of themes to be addressed. In this way the relationship between examples and categories was intensified and emergent themes were identified. It became clear that participants’ responses corresponded well to the theoretical framework and guiding concepts

²⁸ I appreciate the guidance of Dr. Lara Kovacheff-Badke to help me understand this tactile benefit and how to put it into words.

outlined in Chapter 2. Table 3.3 depicts the framework that I derived from institutional theory (i.e., elements related to translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and institutional logics) and how those deductive elements related to the emergent or inductive themes identified through the coding process.

Table 3.3: *Conceptual Framework and Emergent Themes from the Data*

Primary Theory	Guiding Concepts	Emergent Themes	Etic Codes	Emic Codes
Translation Chapter 5	Translation is an iterative process that resulted in multiple (unstable) community college models rather than converging on a single form and function in India.	<p>Advocates viewed translation as an evolutionary process</p> <p>Development of each community college model relied on a unique origin story</p> <p>Ongoing translation occurred in reaction to the introduction of new community college models</p>	<p>Phases</p> <p>Vision</p> <p>Adaptation</p> <p>Forms</p>	<p>Localization</p> <p>Origins & History</p> <p>Community College</p> <p>Awareness</p> <p>Inspiration</p> <p>Success</p> <p>Failure</p> <p>Foreign Collaborations</p> <p>Fleeting</p> <p>Priorities</p> <p>International Comparison</p> <p>Study Tour</p>
Institutional Entrepreneurship Chapter 6	Institutional entrepreneurs will vary in their engagement with the action strategies of theorization, affiliation, and collective action in the pursuit of legitimacy for the community college concept in India.	<p>Recognition chasing to combat public perception challenges defined the collective institutional entrepreneurship process at the national level.</p> <p>Advocates universally framed community colleges as "education for employment" and "educational reform"</p> <p>Advocates relied on an interdependent web of personal and institutional relationships to advance the community college concept; and leveraged these networks to secure regulatory support</p> <p>Constrained by a top down policy process, advocates turned to coercive cooperation strategies that stifled collective action</p>	<p>Action Strategies</p> <p>Theorization</p> <p>Affiliation</p> <p>Collective Action</p>	<p>Social acceptability</p> <p>Workshop & Training Committee</p> <p>Recognition</p> <p>Top Down Transformation</p> <p>Personal Connection</p> <p>Oversight & Regulation</p> <p>Bureaucracy</p> <p>Guidelines</p> <p>Embedded Committee</p> <p>Membership</p> <p>Disconnect: Policy & Practice</p> <p>Duty</p> <p>Striving</p> <p>Turnover</p> <p>Educational reform</p> <p>Feedback</p>

Primary Theory	Guiding Concepts	Emergent Themes	Etic Codes	Emic Codes
Institutional Logics Chapter 7	Advocates must respond to the constellation of institutional logics shaping the (constantly changing) community college environment.	In addition to state, market, professional, and community logics that shape higher education globally, community colleges in India were also deeply influenced by a religious logic The constellation of logics constrained and enabled action of community college advocates, but this effect varied based on model Advocates engaged in logic seeking behavior that voluntarily increased rather than decreased complexity	State Market Religion Professions Community	Need of the hour Localization Standardization Industry Partners Quantity vs. quality

Table 3.3 also provides an outline for the findings chapter that follow. For example, Chapter 6 examines the action strategies of institutional entrepreneurs related to theorization, affiliation, and collective action (Bartley, 2007; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013). This chapter is rooted in the notion that institutional entrepreneurs have differential influence on the process of community college development based on their interests, access to resources, and relationships in the field of higher education (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Tracey & Phillips, 2011). The themes in this chapter reflected the frequent comments by participants about the goals of community colleges, how community colleges spread, and the challenges of and need for recognition in a highly bureaucratic environment. There were additional, less prominent, themes that I extracted from the data, but those presented in the chapter represent the most salient findings among community college advocates. The analysis and organization for Chapters 5 and 7 were similar.

It is important to note that when transcribed, the interviews would sometimes feel choppy and full of incomplete sentences. In other words, the written transcription did not always clearly

convey the meaning of the participants' statements. Given that English was not the first language of the vast majority of my research participants, this is not unexpected. Whenever this occurred, I would go back into the audio recording and verify the words said as well as the meaning that was conveyed through the cadence of the speech. Whenever possible, I also cross-referenced memos about the interviews to verify my interpretation. As I began to move into the writing stage, I realized that I would need to treat these interview quotes with special care. For ease of reading I would remove typical verbal ticks such as excessive uses of the word "okay?" or "isn't it" that are reflections of how the Hindi language is spoken. To honor the participants' meaning, I also corrected grammar and filled in missing words as necessary for clarity. For transparency, in Appendix E I include a few examples of this process juxtaposing the original verbatim quote with the version I included in the findings chapters. I worked diligently to maintain the integrity of the quote while also attending to the readability of this dissertation.

Validity and Reliability

In order to increase the validity and reliability of my findings, I attended to a number of practices throughout the research design, data collection, and analysis phases of this study. These include extended involvement, employing member checking, writing reflexive researcher memos, triangulating across multiple sources of evidence, seeking out alternative explanations, and comparing within and between embedded cases (Maxwell, 2005). I describe many of these strategies in detail throughout this chapter, so in this section I want to call specific attention to the first three, which I do not discuss elsewhere. In combination, these practices helped me mindfully attend to specific threats to the validity of this study throughout the research process

and thereby improve the trustworthiness of this study's findings.

A three month pilot study in the summer of 2013 helped me quickly understand that the community college in India is an incredibly complex phenomenon interconnected with many of the social, economic, and political issues shaping modern society while rooted in ancient history. A naive researcher when I began, I quickly came to understand the complicated history of a richly diverse country. Understanding the broad scope of community college development let alone the nuances in interpretation among advocates simply would not have been possible without an extended stay in India. Therefore, I engaged in nine months of fieldwork that allowed me to immerse myself in the culture of India and the translation of community colleges. I traveled across the country and spent extended periods of time at individual community colleges, built relationships that gave me access to government and educational officials, and conducted multiple interviews with key advocates. These repeated observations and sustained contact afforded me the opportunity to rely on direct experience with participants in multiple situations until I reached the point of "saturation," where data collection was no longer revealing new information (Merriam 2009). Furthermore, extended engagement with various aspects of community colleges in India helped me "rule out spurious associations and premature theories" because I was able to test alternative theories and discard those that were not confirmed by the mounting evidence (Maxwell, 2005, p. 110).

Member checking, or consulting with research participants to verify the accuracy of the findings, is a key strategy I used to test alternative theories. While this process can take many forms, I chose to solicit the feedback of participants during the interview process. Through ongoing interpretation, an impression of the role of advocates in the Indian community college movement "derived directly from their experience" emerged (Merriam, 2009, p. 217). As my

interpretation took shape, I would test it by asking participants if my understanding reflected their experience. Their responses helped me to clarify misperceptions and develop a more precise account of community college development. For example, through member checking, participants of all three models confirmed that community colleges faced a public perception and social acceptability challenge. On the other hand, member checking allowed me to distinguish the subtle differences among advocates related to how participants perceived the commitment to employment-oriented curricula within the three community college models.

Toward the end of my analysis, I sought out disconfirming evidence to strengthen the rigor and trustworthiness of my research (Lareau, 2010). For example, as I was completing my analysis about the absence of collective action in the community college movement, there was something nagging at the back of my brain. I remembered reading about a nascent collective action strategy by community college practitioners in the late 1990s. I dug back into the documents to find that there was the early beginnings of a community college professional association in Tamil Nadu (this is detailed in Chapter 6). However, as I examined the data carefully, I came to understand that the formation of the ICRDCE quickly subsumed the role of the budding professionals association and thereby funneled the power of this collective action into the hands of a few. This is one example of how actively looking for contradictory evidence improved the argumentation in my dissertation.

Maxwell (2005) points out, “validity is a goal rather than a product: it is never something that can be proven or taken for granted” (p. 105). However, by intentionally and consistently engaging in these two practices along with triangulation, reflexive memo writing, searching for disconfirming evidence, and conducting comparative analysis, I attempted to minimize the threats and promote the validity and reliability of this study.

Research Paradigm

Before concluding this chapter about my chosen methods of inquiry, it is important to explore the epistemological grounding of this study. I approached this research with an interpretive paradigm that assumes reality is a socially constructed phenomenon and the researcher's aim is to accurately reflect how the subjects understand their own experience (Kuhn, 1960). Identifying this as my epistemological paradigm is intended to distinguish my approach from that of a functionalist paradigm. Much educational research has relied on a functionalist approach (Peterson, 1985) and it has been the dominant paradigm used in institutional research to date (Schneiberg, 2006; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009). A functionalist paradigm assumes that there is an objective, knowable reality (Kuhn, 1960; Morgan, 1980) that can be tested with "value-free" scientific methods focused on the validity and reliability of data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Conversely, an interpretive paradigm focuses on the subjective elements of reality (Gephart, 2004), highlights emergent processes in the complex web of interaction that constitute social reality, and generally relies on qualitative methods of research (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009). Interpretivism is a belief that "true knowledge comes from knowing in context" (Willis, 2007, p. 55). Distinguishing between these two paradigms and framing my research with an interpretive perspective informed my methods for data collection and analysis.

In laying out a future agenda for research on institutional change, Suddaby and Greenwood (2009) point out that a historical reliance on a functionalist approach has tended to mask the nuances necessary to understand the phenomena of individuals living in organizations

shaped by and shaping institutions. Therefore, they suggest that combining interpretive and historical methods in institutional research will help researchers understand the simultaneity of stability and change. In essence, they argue that a functionalist approach renders the causal relationships and mechanisms of multilevel social interactions a “black box” (p. 180) because it focuses exclusively on outcomes rather than motivations, processes, or practices. Case based research is often heralded as a way to explore the inner workings of just such a “black box” (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Given the undeniably diverse population and unclear future of the community college movement, these methods were particularly appropriate. In the context of this research setting, it is still unknown if community colleges will sustain their development as a new (nested) field or if these efforts will dissolve into unorganized social space (Fligstein, 2013). Because the translation through mechanisms of institutional entrepreneurship are occurring in real time, it is possible to examine how the actors respond materially and symbolically (Jarzabowski et al., 2013).

Applying an interpretivist paradigm to qualitative methods highlights the subjectivity of the researcher because “interpretations of reality are accessed directly through their observations and interviews” (Merriam, 2009, p. 214). Corbin and Strauss (2008) remind scholars that “it is easy to be blinded by the researcher’s own perspective without even being aware of it” (p. 112). As the primary researcher, I served as an interpreter of the interpretations individuals made about their social reality (Rorty, 1982; van Maanen 1979). In this way I was called to “listen to actors’ accounts,” in order to identify their “action –induced simplifications” and complement those understandings with the “*systematic reflection*” at the heart of interpretive research (emphasis in original, Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p. 15-16). To achieve this balance, I was vigilant about assessing the affects of my own values, interests, and beliefs on data collection and analysis

while doing the analytical work of uncovering the underlying assumptions of participants. I wrote memos, sought out new literature to challenge my thinking, and discussed my interpretations with both academic and non-academic peers to ensure multiple perspectives in my interpretation. Rather than attempt to reduce my influence on the research, it was my responsibility to be reflexive about my own positionality. Peshkin (1988) reminds us that subjectivities can be “virtuous” when authors are aware of what they bring to their research and use it mindfully to craft the story they tell.

Researcher’s Role – Positionality

To help scholars attend to their own subjectivity and reflexivity Maxwell (2004) encourages scholars to begin with a “research identity memo” (p. 28). As part of this exercise, I must acknowledge that as an educator I have had experience as a secondary-school teacher, college instructor, my own emergence as a scholar of higher education with a focus on community colleges, curriculum development, coaching, a plethora of tutoring and mentoring opportunities, and training volunteers for leadership roles in formal and informal settings. Because I self-identify as an educator, I am familiar with the “language” of teaching, curriculum, and student support. Therefore, conducting research in an educational setting felt like home in many ways. While this was an advantage at times, once in a while I found myself making assumptions about how educational strategies were being conceptualized and implemented that blocked me from experiencing the actual meaning in context. To combat this, I relied on a vigorous commitment to asking clarifying questions and triangulating data.

Furthermore, I have intimate knowledge through practical and research experience of the American community college model that I must compartmentalize during my experience in India.

Much of the language that is being used describes Indian community colleges as “American-style” (ICRDCE, 2014) or based on the “North American Model” (Planning Commission, 2011). However, through my pilot study experience living and researching in India during the summer of 2013, I came to realize that the translation of the model into the Indian context adheres to Raby and Valeau’s (2009) globalized definition of a community college global counterpart but in many other ways was almost unrecognizable as a “community college” when compared with the U.S. model. This is particularly true among NGO community colleges that operate outside of formal higher education. More recently, government-funded community colleges embedded in colleges, universities, and polytechnics have begun to *feel* more like the U.S. community colleges, yet their practices are nearly identical to that of the NGO community colleges. To remain open to seeing what the community college in India *is* rather than focusing on what it *is not*, I regularly examined my interpretations and actively sought out rival explanations that relied on the participants’ definition of community college rather than my own preconceived notions.

I benefited immensely from the opportunity to live, research, and build relationships in India. I realize that my understanding of community colleges only began to scratch the surface before I had the opportunity to immerse myself in the daily life of the vibrant, dynamic, striving community college movement. More importantly, this experience gave me the opportunity to begin to know the people who make community colleges possible and understand – through experience – the obstacles and facilitators that students, teachers, principals, and national level educational reformers confront everyday. While some of these issues easily connected to my own experience, my eyes, heart, and mind were opened to other challenges and opportunities in ways I never imagined. My fieldwork experience was an incredible time of learning, growth, and reflection. I often felt like I was collecting data for two dissertations – one exploring theoretical

and academic questions and the second exploring what it means to be a privileged researcher asking questions about inequality, education, and changing national priorities in a country that I love but could never fully understand.

During initial investigations into community colleges during the summer of 2013, I quickly realized that being a researcher from an internationally well-regarded university influenced how individuals interacted with me. Continuing with my data collection throughout 2015, at the field and state levels, my credentials often provided entrée into high-level meetings and resulted in introductions to influential community college stakeholders. At the local college level, principals universally agreed to meet with me, but I found that many college leaders made assumptions about my expertise and often asked me to “solve” challenges they faced. While, I would like my research to make a positive difference in the community college movement, I was very careful to eschew assumptions of expertise and my ability (or perceived responsibility) to dictate solutions to the challenges community college leaders and advocates faced. I approached these moments as an opportunity to help participants clarify their understanding, share the collective wisdom of their peers that I was in a privileged position as a researcher to have collated, and connect individuals and organizations with other leaders to collaborate on solutions. In short, I did try to help participants identify action strategies based on the endogenous experience of community college practitioners and advocates across the country without being intrusive.

Intertwined with my identity as a researcher from an international university, I must acknowledge that I was a tall, white, female conducting social science research in a country that is not my place of origin. Regardless of how I dress or try to minimize my status as an outsider, my physical attributes will always set me apart. During my time in country although I attracted

quite a bit of attention, particularly in rural areas, as long as I remained open to experiencing and learning from the community rather than judging it, many doors opened for me. Furthermore, I achieved a basic level of proficiency in conversational Hindi in preparation for my research. I was able to conduct all of my interviews in English, but beginning to learn Hindi helped demonstrate my commitment toward cultural flexibility. Engaging in conversation by speaking rudimentary Hindi and asking for help allowed me to build trust and credibility as a foreign researcher. As relationships are at the heart of qualitative research, speaking Hindi greatly enhanced my ability to develop meaningful relationships with participants in my research and in the broader community.

An anecdote about my experience that I often shared provides a glimpse into the challenge of life in India that was the jumping off point from which I started my dissertation research each day. I was taking the Mumbai local train to a research site one sultry afternoon and I had just squeezed myself into the mass of humanity crowding the train. Bodies were pressed firmly against each other with little to no room to move, maneuvering on and off the train like a magic trick with women²⁹ squeezing through previously nonexistent spaces. I had navigated/been pushed into the middle of the car and I was holding onto an overhead brace with my head above the general crowd. I looked down and a woman was tucked snugly into the crook of my armpit. At that moment she looked up at me, smiled, and asked, “How are you managing?” with the incredulity I often received from locals riding the train. I looked down at her with the same incredulity of knowing this was her daily, likely unchosen, reality while I was in this crush by choice, and said, “How are *you* managing?” This window into a cross section of my dissertation

²⁹ To be clear, I was traveling in the women’s car having faced enough incidents in mixed gender cars that I found comfort in the press of bodies crammed into these few and far between train cars.

life is indicative of the complexities I faced every day living, working, and researching in the awe-inspiring and ever-surprising country of India.

Overall, conducting qualitative research in India was an unparalleled challenge for me. One day, a study participant asked me if I like India. I told her it is challenging and sometimes I love it and sometimes I hate it. But I keep coming back, and that's a choice. She told me that was a "lovely honest answer." It was and still is the only answer I have to that question. India is a place that I am drawn to because it makes me question who I am as a human being every day. Daily, I grappled with issues of power, privilege, structural inequality, racialized violence, and systems of oppression in ways that my eyes were closed to seeing in the United States. Each new day challenged me to try to understand what it means to do my part in a world of such economic, social, and educational inequalities. While I am far from fully understanding how to address these concerns, I hope to never stop asking the question. I had to renew my commitment to approaching this messy, difficult, redemptive work with empathy and a willingness to challenge my assumptions before leaving the house each day or I would risk becoming overwhelmed and paralyzed by the effort it took to simply walk down the street.³⁰

I remain deeply passionate about the possibility of community colleges in India, but through the course of my research I grew increasingly skeptical of the ability of an intentionally lower-status educational reform effort to make positive changes in such a status-conscious society. Many would echo the sentiment that "given the realities of contemporary Indian higher education, it is not possible to be optimistic about a breakthrough in quality" (Altbach, 2012, p. 583). While I have not yet reached such pessimism, I do understand the uphill climb of the work that it will take to bridge the disconnect between the rhetoric around community colleges and the

³⁰ I regularly joked that the minute I walked outside the door of my apartment I had to start working. Just walking down the street included the very real hazards that I might step in a pile of feces, fall in a hole, or get hit by a car, among other constantly pressing challenges.

lived experience of those who implement, attend, and ostensibly benefit from it. I have tried to approach this work with a sense of humility so that the voices of the research participants guide my analysis while recognizing that any insight into this deeply fraught struggle for educational justice in India's complex society is, and can only be, partial.

Chapter 4: Background and Current Context

The idea of developing a junior college system in India dates back to the 1930s (Odgers, 1933), but these were envisioned to serve as a bridge between lower secondary school and university in the years before compulsory secondary school. Post-Independence efforts continued to promote junior colleges as a way to achieve increased access – a deeply felt need in a transitioning social and economic landscape (Joshi, 1972). Simultaneously, there was a global push toward vocationalizing education as evidenced by the drastic shift in American community college curricula (Beach, 2012; Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994). UNESCO's 1972 report on the development of education furthered the importance of lifelong learning and aligning education with mobility and preparation for work (Faure et al.). However, it was not until a delegate from the new College of Vocational Studies at the University of Delhi attended the Wingspread Conference on International Education and the Community College in 1978 that education reformers began strategically considering the adaptation of the U.S. community college model in India (Malhotra, 1978; Yarrington, 1978). Even with this impetus, it was not until the 1990s that the community college concept, conforming to global expectations, began to flourish (Valeau, 2013).

Because the state alone controls educational certification in India, the primary legitimization project of among community college advocates was what I call *recognition chasing*. This was the collective effort to secure a formal place for community colleges within the system

of higher education. Only formal recognition would offer community colleges the legitimacy needed to overcome the public perception hurdle in a nation that historically resisted vocational training. As a result of recognition chasing, Indian community colleges have been established in three overlapping phases. Implementation was preceded by years of increasing interest and awareness about community colleges through international channels. When community colleges were first founded in India, an NGO model operating on the periphery of formal education took root, followed by a second round of national expansion through the open education system. Finally, the third phase of government-funded community colleges were incorporated into formal higher and technical education institutions. A timeline of key events in the development of Indian community colleges is included in Table 4.1 with a more comprehensive timeline in Appendix A. Each of the events in the following table will be discussed in more detail throughout this dissertation.

Table 4.1: *Timeline of Key Events in the Indian Community College Movement*

Year	Event
1991	Center for Vocational Education is established in a partnership between Sinclair Community College, Eastern Iowa Community College District, and Adrian Almeida in India with the support of the Archdiocese
1995	Pondicherry University community college is established (first continuously operating)
1996	First NGO community college is established in Madras
1999	Indian Centre for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE) is established to coordinate NGO community colleges under the leadership of Alphonse
2005	Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) establishes a National Committee on Community Colleges
2007	University Grants Commission appoints Alphonse as a member and chair of its own National Committee on Community Colleges
2008	Tamil Nadu State Department of Higher Education issues an order to recognize a Community College System under Tamil Nadu Open University
2009	Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) inaugurates a Community College Scheme
2009	First National Skill Development Policy released
2010	Wadhvani Foundation begins advocacy effort to promote Community College concept with the MHRD

- 2012 Conference of State Ministers unanimously endorses Community College concept and forms a committee to lead implementation under MHRD
- 2013 First round of government-funded Community Colleges are established at Polytechnics (72), Colleges (57), and Universities (7) across India - NGO Community Colleges are not eligible for approval under this plan
- 2013 UGC establishes committee to write Community College guidelines with representatives from ICRDCE and the Wadhvani Foundation
- 2013 IGNOU formally discontinues the Community College Scheme
- 2013 National Skills Qualification Framework is established
- 2014 UGC approves a second round of community colleges at colleges (92) and universities (10)
- 2014 Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship is established
- 2015 UGC approves a third round of community colleges at colleges (95) and universities (11) and ICRDCE was not represented on the selection committee for the first time.
- 2016 UGC approves no new community colleges while 16 additional NGO community Colleges are to be established
- 2016 Major staff turnovers at ICRDCE, Wadhvani Foundation, UGC, and MHRD

Regardless of founding context, all community colleges adhere to the definition of a community college global counterpart offering further education to marginalized and underserved students in a local context with a keen eye toward employability (Raby & Valeau, 2009). In addition to conforming to globalized norms, this adherence can be attributed to the consistent and persistent advocacy of Alphonse, the ICRDCE founder. Alphonse was a key actor in each iteration of community college development including serving as the chair of the committee established to write the national guidelines for government-funded community colleges. Representatives from IGNOU collaborated with Alphonse to, unsuccessfully, continue this work. As the MHRD began a concerted effort to give community colleges a formal place in the higher education system another NGO, the Wadhvani Foundation, began playing an increasingly influential role in community college policy. With its successful support of a government-funded community college scheme, the Wadhvani Foundation's role in community college development has come to rival that of Alphonse and ICRDCE. These institutional

entrepreneurs, including key government officials, have shaped what it means to be a community college in India.

Public Perception & Recognition Chasing

An important framing concept for community colleges centers on the challenges associated with a generally negative perception of skilled work in India and the unique legitimacy offered by a government issued credential. This mirrors challenges that community college global counterparts face around the world (Raby & Valeau, 2012; Wiseman et al., 2012; Wolf, 2009). When community colleges in India were just an inkling in the imagination of U.S. and Indian educators, a USAID representative described this predicament succinctly:

One problem is that a family desires education for its offspring not just for employment, but for social status. Students thus enter more prestigious but less marketable degree programs. The India linkage's preferred approach to this situation is to create a new branch of the education system rather than to try to reform the system's existing components... Another problematic issue is training certification. In developing training programs relevant to the employment market, one may be able to get more accomplished more quickly outside the governmental system. However, to ensure that the training diploma is accepted by employers and students, certification is often necessary. Eventually one will have to turn to the government for certification (University Development Linkages Program, 1994, p. 33).

This was not just the swift judgment of a foreign educator assessing what she saw as the shortcomings of an education system based on rote learning. Instead, it was a widely circulated belief among educators in India – one that catalyzed the eventual framing of community colleges as based on educational reform and the importance of education for employment. A Vice Chancellor that was a member of the 1994 UGC study tour to U.S. community colleges shared that there was “resistance to vocationalization in India as it was perceived to be intended for those who could not excel academically. People opted even for arts degrees, which had little

value in the job market, but shunned vocational courses" (quoted in Alphonse, 1999, p. 80). To remedy this resistance Reddy suggested "structural change of the curriculum" and ensuring that "acceptability of the courses to prospective employers should be ascertained before they were offered." Countless similar assessments of the challenge and opportunity for community colleges exist in popular media and in the records of the development of the community college movement.³¹

As community college development ebbed and flowed over twenty years, the power of public perception cannot be underestimated. As one government official shared, "social acceptability was not very high in the beginning" because the general perception is that vocational courses are "second rate" and that "only the poor students should go there" but we are "overcoming this thinking every day."³² Explaining the basis for this "mindset," one academic stated, "the biggest drawback in this country for any developmental aspect comes from the psychological aspect of attitude change... we don't establish dignity of labor. The caste thing is a big hindrance." While most participants did not explicitly refer to caste, universally participants expressed concerns over the lack of "dignity" related to skilled trades. One public intellectual suggested that, "given the stigma that my son has to be a doctor, a teacher, a professor, a medical professional, an engineer – there are a whole lot of sectors which are equally important but we don't have takers for it because of the social stigma." In recognition of this obvious public perception predicament, the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) has engaged in a

³¹ These records are mainly available through the publications of the ICRDCE and in the organization's archives.

³² Throughout this dissertation, quotes from interviews will be referenced in a similar fashion to this quote. I identify the primary affiliation of the participant (e.g., U.S. administrator, IGNOU official, Wadhvani Foundation staff member, ICRDCE representative). To maintain relative anonymity, except for Alphonse, I do not attribute quotes to a specific individual within an organizational affiliation. I made this choice because relationships are at the heart of policy decision making in India, including funding decisions, and I did not want to jeopardize the livelihood of any individual or sustainability of any community college or supporting organization by providing easily identifiable information for participants. If a quote is taken from a source other than an interview in conjunction with this study (e.g., book, magazine article, government report), I identify the source explicitly.

two-year media onslaught positively portraying skills, to “make skill development aspirational” (Ministry of Skill Development & Entrepreneurship, 2015, p. 16).

Although this type of hierarchy among degrees and careers – demarcated by salary and required education – is a global phenomenon, the perceived rigidity of that hierarchy is exacerbated in India by the ancient practice of dividing castes based on profession. Within this division, the educated knowledge work in society was assigned to the “higher” castes while service-oriented, manual labor, and less desirable jobs were relegated to the lower castes. In modern society the correlation between caste and career is more fluid, but its imprint, socially reproduced over generations, remains today. This results in the overrepresentation of lower caste, Dalit, and tribal people working in lower skilled jobs outside of the formal economy. Furthermore, Indian youth are likely to take a deterministic view of their future believing that their socioeconomic status largely dictates their future employment (Mourshed, Farrell, Barton, 2012, p. 28). In other words, young people question the return on investment for their time and resources necessary to pursue skilling.

Research confirms that “low uptake of vocational training is an issue not only of awareness, but also that vocational education in India is perceived to be a low quality ‘option of last resort’ by both students and parents” (Aggarwal, Kapur, Tognatta, 2012, p. 26). The lack of quality, consistency, and link to desirable employment opportunities diminishes the perceived value and relevance of skilling opportunities among Indian youth. Moreover, the majority of Indian youth indicate that academic pathways are more highly valued than vocational routes, an opinion reinforced by the perceptions of youth regarding specific jobs (Mourshed, Farrell, Barton, 2012). Traditional “white-collar” jobs requiring a bachelor’s degree or higher generally have the highest prestige while students view more vocational pursuits as less attractive. While there is a

long tradition of familial apprenticeship in India most students are uninterested in pursuing the same profession of their parents (e.g. Aggarwal, Kapur, Tognatta, 2012; Mehta, Chakraborty, Thomas, 2012; Mourshed, Farrell, Barton, 2012). When probed further, students indicated that students had different goals or reasons including a desire for higher income potential, a more interesting job opportunity, or that the job was too labor intensive or socially unacceptable.

Against this backdrop and because skill development had never been a core tenet of formal higher education, a lack of “social acceptability” for skill development programs – even when offered by colleges and universities – presented one of the greatest hurdles the community college movement faced. Hence, the impetus for twenty years of recognition chasing by community colleges advocates can be summed up precisely by a technical education official who said, “in my country people don’t learn skills if they are not shown the bait of a degree or a diploma.” Another participant quipped “[most parents] would probably sell off everything to send their children to an engineering college,” implying that parents would also tend to discourage attendance at an ITI or even Polytechnic. Underlying all discussions of the community colleges was a “degree obsession” that permeated educational expectations. In large part this was earning a degree was the basic requirement to securing a high paying job in almost all professions and specifically it was the key to becoming eligible to sit for the Civil Servants Exam that provides access to much sought after and almost permanent government jobs.³³ Compounded by low awareness of the existence of community colleges, public perception made

³³ Individuals interested in sitting for the national Civil Service Exam are required to have a postsecondary degree or equivalent. Therefore, part of the recognition chasing process was the desire to secure a pathway into a formal degree program for community college students. This would require equivalencies that were almost non-existent for NGO community colleges and a largely unfulfilled promise among IGNOU community colleges. With government-funded community colleges, vertical mobility was built into the system for community college students to be able to continue their 3rd year of studies, after earning a 2-year “advanced diploma,” to complete a newly minted bachelors of vocational education degree. This degree has been approved for eligibility with the Civil Servants Exam.

student mobilization – recruitment, enrollment, retention – exceedingly difficult even when community college practitioners enthusiastically embraced the concept.

Community college advocates faced an uphill battle to legitimize the community college concept in a nation that historically resisted vocational training. Indian community colleges were seen as a way to boost enrollment in postsecondary education through skill development curricula and attract students that were leaving existing seats vacant. From the outset, the primary battlefield of this war was government recognition. In the words of Alphonse, “the need for recognition from an official Governmental or quasi governmental agency was felt right from the beginning of the movement. The administrators, faculty members, students and their parents expressed their need for such recognition time and again” (Alphonse, 2005, p. 5). In response, the ICRDCE “took up this challenge right from the beginning.” Without recognition, it was assumed that community colleges would not be able to sustain growth or gain wide acceptance, because, as a Wadhvani Foundation representative pointed out “if you want to scale it up you need to have government and institutionalization.”

Recognition of this sort would require coordination and evaluation. Understanding this necessity, an IGNOU administrator remarked that, “our argument was that the community colleges in the country do not have a parenting system in the country. Who are the parents? There's nobody to recognize and accredit them.” Although the IGNOU scheme ultimately failed, understanding the need for community college recognition as a source of legitimacy was at the heart of the scheme. This reflected ICRDCE’s “efforts at recognition” that date back to 1997 when Madras Community College first petitioned the state of Tamil Nadu for recognition (Alphonse, 2010, p. 162). Beginning a nearly twenty-year pursuit, an ICRDCE representative lamented that with the current state of community colleges, “UGC, they have their own set of

ideas and they have their system online because government is there. Whereas for NGOs we don't have any recognition, we are sheep without a shepherd." Government recognition was the shepherd that community college advocates sought through every iteration.

Advocates from all three models expressed the necessity of recognition, often blaming a lack of regulation for challenges and even outright failure. A technical education official shared that "these projects were not very successful in the initial years because they were not able to get the regular recognition from the affiliating bodies." Advocates across models understood this. Hence, ICRDCE encouraged community colleges to seek recognition from Open Universities even when they were concerned about the quality of the education:

We wanted to link all our NGO community colleges with IGNOU just because of the National certification. Otherwise, personally, we didn't want it, especially because most of the colleges, other than those in Tamil Nadu, they still didn't have any recognition from any university.

This same representative also remarked, "at the Government level, TNOU has played a substantial role in Tamil Nadu State. We should give credit to them. I'm not saying whatever they have done is right, but they played a role in promoting this concept at the Government level." Recognition at the state and national level outweighed the importance of quality oversight because of the legitimacy it offered to the programs. Underscoring the importance of a recognized credential, Alphonse remarked that there are "so many problems with Open University, but at least we were getting recognition for the diploma students." The recognition that Alphonse sought for ICRDCE was both "industrial and social recognition."

It is important to note that although recognition chasing focused primarily on formal inclusion in the higher education system, local recognition and acceptability was an additional concern for all community colleges. This type of acceptability was measured in terms of the sustained partnership of local employers, community financial support, and word of mouth

advertising of community college graduates. Those NGO community colleges that had been successfully operating for a number of years enjoyed this type of legitimacy for the informal credential offered by the organization rather than a government agency. At these colleges, local employers would seek out students for internships on a yearly basis, students recruited their friends and siblings to attend, and individual, community and corporate sponsors made sustaining financial commitments.³⁴ Government-funded community colleges, on the other hand, that were initiated in response to a new policy, had little local credibility because they had no track record of success in the community. Rather than rely on the reputation that they had built for themselves, government-funded community colleges had to trade on the name of their institution in the community and the promise of a formal credential. IGNOU community colleges also capitalized on the lure of a credential, but as the Open University is regarded as less prestigious, the draw for government-funded community colleges might have been stronger. A thorough consideration of the difference between local and national recognition is outside the scope of this study as it can only be understood at the level of the individual community college in context. Yet it is an important factor to keep in mind when considering the complex nature and drive for recognition and social acceptability

Therefore, ICRDCE, IGNOU, and advocates of Government Funded community colleges set out on a journey of recognition chasing. ICRDCE had, from the outset, sought autonomy within higher education through the development of a Community College Development Authority separate from existing oversight agencies. IGNOU offered recognition through registration and the promise of vertical mobility within the existing Open University system. The Wadhvani Foundation shifted the focus of recognition away from NGO community colleges

³⁴ This was not true for many NGO community colleges that continued to struggle despite their best intentions. But, for those that were successful, these were common attributes.

toward colleges and universities establishing embedded community colleges to function like an independent college within a college. Swayed by the Wadhvani Foundation's model and shying away from the recent failure of IGNOU, the MHRD offered recognition through its formal higher education institutes. The protracted effort of recognition chasing was defined by the ability of some advocates to grant legitimacy while others sought it. Giving and receiving of recognition was carried out through an all-important web of interdependent actors promoting their vision for community colleges, a vision that began to take substantive shape in the 1980s.

Community Colleges in India: The Prequel

An increasing number of officials and practitioners in India became aware of and intrigued by the notion of developing a community college system in India over throughout the 1970s and 1980s. For example, a 1982 essay on this topic suggested:

We must be careful not to attempt an exact imitation of a foreign institution which developed and flourished under very different circumstances than those that pertain in this country today... it should be as a natural outgrowth of the community's own growth and not as another foreign model superimposed on indigenous conditions (Karmayogi, 1982).

Following the hard to resist influence of globalization (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997), India's 1968 National Policy on Education laid the groundwork for the push for improving and expanding vocational education in secondary schools with a growing interest in unprecedented expansion in higher education. For example, a university in Tamil Nadu began offering associate degrees in 1987 as another pioneering attempt to adapt the community college model to India. The hope of this initiative was to add a "new dimension to higher education to provide free vertical mobility to vocational stream students so as to create technically qualified and skilled

manpower to take up middle-level management jobs” (Arulandram, 1994 quoted in Alphonse, 1999, p. 69). Setbacks, including lack of recognition and funding, but not lack of demand, resulted in the discontinuation of the associate degree program at this University. While these efforts were taking place from within India, the first delegation from U.S. based Community Colleges for International Development (CCID) visited India in 1987 in partnership with the United States India Education Foundation³⁵ (Humphrys & Koller, 1994). This was the beginning of an ongoing and instrumental relationship in the development of community colleges in India.

An essential network of trans-national educators was developing among Indian and American educators facilitated by the Fulbright scholar-in-residence program. In 1988, Dr. Adrian Almeida, an Indian business professor, was based at Sinclair Community College in Dayton, Ohio. The following year, Dr. Victor D’Souza a sociology professor from India also completed a Fulbright year at Sinclair. During Almeida’s stay, he met Dr. Jean Cook a tenured faculty member at the community college. The two describe their initial meeting as a “chance encounter” (Cook, Struhar, Stoessel, & Almeida, 1997, p. 2) that led to the co-creation of a project to develop a Center for Vocational Education in Madras, India.³⁶ As Almeida and Cook began to develop their plans, Cook secured a Fulbright grant to work in India in 1990 and 1991. Her time in India followed in the wake of a 1990 CCID delegation exploring technical education in India.³⁷

³⁵ At the time, the organization was called the United States Education Foundation India.

³⁶ The name of the city of Madras was changed to Chennai in 1996 amid a number of similar name changes throughout the country including Bombay to Mumbai and Calcutta to Kolkata.

³⁷ It is important to note that Mathur, Indian Ambassador in D.C. – a close friend and advocate of Sinclair community College since D’Souza’s Fulbright fellowship in 1989 – was largely responsible for arranging this visit according to U.S. community college representatives. Mathur remained a key ally in securing meetings for U.S. community college representatives in India even after his ambassadorship ended in 1993 and he returned to India. He coordinated systematic exposure of Indian officials to the U.S. community college concept through regular and frequent faculty exchanges as well as study tours by government officials to the U.S. and publications.

The CCID team was asked by the government of India to create a plan to develop partnerships between U.S. community colleges and Indian polytechnics that would help build linkages between industry and technical education (CCID, 1990, reproduced in Alphonse, 1996). While not focused on the establishment of community colleges in India per se, the involvement of community college representatives in discussions of educational reform in India continued to sow the seeds of interest and awareness in the model as a vehicle to link education with employment and improve the educational and life outcomes of Indian students. In response to this experience, Sinclair Community College and Eastern Iowa Community College District – represented among the delegation participants – hosted a team of Indian educators to visit community colleges in the U.S. This was the continuation of a robust process of exchanges between U.S. community college and Indian educational leaders. Sinclair Community College further partnered with Eastern Iowa Community College District to pursue multiple grant-funded projects together in India. One turned out to be a lynchpin in the development of Indian community college.

The 1992-1997 project funded by a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) grant for a University Development Linkages Project was the first time any community college had received this award. This grant provided five years of funding for the Center for Vocational Education plan hatched by Almeida and Cook. In total, USAID provided \$750,000 over the course of five years with the primary goal to:

Assist the Centre for Vocational Education in Chennai, India by providing operational, logistical, and programmatic support so that it becomes by September 30, 1997 a proactive, self-sufficient, prototype institution for the delivery of vocational and technical education in India. The target population is rural and urban poor, women, slum dwellers, persons with limited opportunities for skills training and adult early school leavers. A secondary goal is [to] provide an opportunity for American community college faculty and administrators to have an international work experience in India in order to enrich their classrooms and broaden the perspectives of their students (Cook, Struhar,

Stoessel, & Almeida, 1997, p. 2)

In addition to the efforts of Sinclair and Eastern Iowa Community College District, the community college concept was beginning to percolate among educational officials in the Indian government. For example, the National Policy of Education's "programme of action" in 1992 included a suggestion to establish community colleges while a 1993 UGC report also stressed the need to vocationalize first-degree education. The report provided a detailed plan to scale up a recent pilot program to administer vocational courses at colleges and Universities. Following the report's release, the UGC hosted an international seminar titled "Community Colleges in India" in 1994 (Alphonse, 1996). Representatives from the U.S., Australia, and Canada attended along with educational officials from many intersecting departments at the national level. Additionally, principals and vice chancellors attended, including Father Xavier Alphonse, an educator from South India. While this was Alphonse's first introduction to the community college concept, he would come to be known as the father of community colleges in India. During the seminar, educators from across India presented papers about the potential of the American Community College model in India based on their personal research and study trips including Prof. Victor D'Souza³⁸ and Prof. Sudha K. Rao.^{39,40} In the wake of the seminar, UGC funded a team of educators to travel to the U.S to further study the community college model.

After visiting numerous community colleges in the U.S. – all CCID member colleges including Sinclair and Eastern Iowa Community College District – the UGC team recommended

³⁸ Former Fulbright in Residence at Sinclair Community College

³⁹ Rao, a government educational official, published the paper that she presented at the UGC seminar on the need and relevance of Community Colleges in India in the All India Association of Christian Higher Education journal. Much of the language used in future writing about community colleges in India is borrowed from this paper. Alphonse refers to Rao as a good friend and supporter of his work in the community college movement.

⁴⁰ Rao's presentation was based on a longer paper published in 1991 titled *Restructuring Higher Education in India: The Relevance of the American Community College* in *New Frontiers in Education*; AIACHE, XII: 4, Oct-Dec. 1991, pp. 549-589

“the adoption of the concept of Community Colleges in Indian higher education with *suitable modifications*” (emphasis added, UGC report, 1994 in Alphonse, 1996, p. 133). The report went on to suggest that community college could be integrated into existing institutions, offered with flexible scheduling and course options as an add on year to a bachelors degree program, created through the modification of existing polytechnics, or established as “independent institutions mobilizing community resources” (Alphonse, 1996, p. 134). In short, the team supported the *idea* of the community college, but believed that its form, function, and structure would need to “evolve” and that consensus would only be reached through a series of workshops. Based on the team’s ambiguous yet enthusiastic recommendations, Pondicherry University Community College, India’s Joliet Junior College,⁴¹ was established in 1995.⁴²

It is was at this time, after nearly ten years of bubbling consideration of the community college concept in India that Alphonse, a Jesuit priest and postsecondary educator, began to play a major role in establishing community college movement. Through the workshops offered by Indian and American partners of the Center for Vocational Education and the UGC, Alphonse quickly became taken with the idea of community colleges. Shortly after meeting, Alphonse and

⁴¹ Joliet Junior College is the longest continuously running junior college in the United States, established in 1901. In India, Pondicherry University Community College is often touted as the first community college. However, there was a previous community college that did not survive the test of time. At the encouragement of the former U.S. Ambassador in India, Canara Community College was founded in Mangalore (1993) as an “experiment” in “providing relevant education to meet societal and developmental needs” (Alphonse, 1996, p. 144).

⁴² With the motto “‘education for employment’ through skill formation” that reflected the “thrust” of the movement according to a U.S. community college administrator, Pondicherry University Community College was intended to “offer a fundamental solution to the maladies of higher education system and translate it into a productive and potent instrument of socio-economic development in India” (Pondicherry University Community College, 1996, in Alphonse 1996, p. 153). Housed within a well-respected university, the vice chancellor of Pondicherry University was able to secure UGC approval for the credentials offered at the new community college. This buffered the initiative from needing to pursue further recognition, an effort that in many ways defines the community college movement in general. To further solidify the legitimacy of the idea, in 1995, on behalf of a working committee, the Vice Chancellor submitted a report entitled *The Feasibility of Community Colleges* for approval by the UGC. Calling for expanding access, combatting privatization, and aligning with Open University standards, the report was almost prescient in its framework. To date, Pondicherry University community college remains a leader in the movement if a bit distanced from the efforts of the ICRDCE.

Almeida drafted a concept paper to establish Madras Community College. With the full and imperative support of the Archdiocese, Almeida and Alphonse founded Madras Community College,⁴³ which was housed in the building of the Center for Vocational Education E. Madras Community College was portrayed as a response to “the educational and employment needs of the people of Madras” (Madras Community College, 1996, p. 9). The inauguration event brochure acknowledges that the idea to establish the community college “emerged gradually” through discussions with local principals and administrators, community leaders, involvement with U.S. community college leaders in India and in the U.S., and collaboration with business and industry (p. 9). Numerous U.S. community college leaders attended, along with wide support among members of the All India Association for Christian Higher Education (AIACHE), religious community leaders, as well as state and national higher education officials, and international supporters (Alphonse, 1996). By May 1997, Madras Community College submitted an “application for recognition” to the government of Tamil Nadu (Alphonse, 1999, p. 251; Alphonse, 2010, p. 162).

Madras Community College’s celebrated founding kicked off a rapid spate of growth and unexpectedly split the focus of U.S. involvement in India. Rather than simply supporting workforce development projects, administrators were now also working with Indian educators, community leaders, industry partners, and government officials to support community college development. According to both Indian and American participants, it was at the end of the 1990s that Almeida and Alphonse had a major falling out. As a result, Almeida abandoned his role with community college development and Alphonse “assumed power,” according to one U.S.

⁴³ The new endeavor would end up being a hybrid approach integrating general and vocational education while remaining focused on the employability of students as the primary outcome. All students were enrolled in a distance learning degree program at University of Madras, received coaching for that program through the community college, and also pursued a diploma course in a “job oriented programme” (Alphonse, 1996, p. 171).

administrator. Alphonse, by all accounts, was a charismatic man who is “doing god’s work” but needed to be “managed” according to another U.S. community college representative.

After the conclusion of the USAID grant for in 1997, Alphonse’s interaction with U.S. community colleges shifted from direct collaboration toward fundraising. The changing relationship between Alphonse and the U.S. community college leaders partnering in India was indicative of a broader shift in interaction between the two countries related to community colleges. While the initial phase exploring the community college concept was primarily shaped by direct interaction between Indian and U.S. educators, in the second phase of development – the period in which momentum for establishing community college in India picked up – the U.S. community college leaders began taking a more advisory than programmatic role.

Concurrently, the USAID grant funding the Centre for Vocational Education was in its final months and the formal partnership concluded with an international conference in Chennai. In the final grant report, Cook (1997) outlined that although establishing community colleges was not an original goal of the grant project, it was a “major result” (p. 4).⁴⁴ The report went on to highlight the unexpected translation processes that flowed from the international collaboration including the shifting of goals and unexpected outcomes that lead to the adaptation of the community college model in India. The report concluded:

In 1992, when this UDLP [University Development Linkages Program] started, it was geared to correlate with USAID's strategic initiative for sustainable development of **Broad-Based Economic Growth** to help people in developing countries mired in poverty gain a self-sufficient foothold in the productive economy using a focus on vocational education. However, as the project evolved, it seems it fits better with **USAID's recent education and training strategy** whereby USAID, working with the higher education community, **assists host countries to develop training capacity to**

⁴⁴ To continue the work the team pursued additional grant proposals to help support the “development of the infrastructure to establish a community college system in India” (p. 5).⁴⁴ These grants led to a number of potential founders receiving a fellowship to study community colleges in the U.S. a number of which eventually did establish community colleges in India (Halder, 2008).

meet local workforce needs. Adapting the community college model for technical training in India helped train the local workforce... After five years, this project has not only accomplished the original objectives of the UDLP, but has achieved the additional outcomes, most notably the establishment of the Chennai Community College. The College is a model of vocational training based on a local need assessment similar to what occurs in many, very successful American Community Colleges. India's imagination, dedication and willingness to invest in the community college approach will determine the long-term significance of the seeds that have been planted (emphasis in original, Cook, Struhar, Stoessel, & Almeida, 1997, p. 12-13)

Just as the community college movement in India was ramping up for expansion, U.S. government-funding priorities seemed to have shifted and there were no longer readily available grants to support similar projects. Shortly after the conclusion of the grant, Almeida moved onto a different project and the Center for Vocational Education dissolved while Alphonse spearheaded the “propagation” and “recognition” of community colleges as a viable alternative in higher education. The Center was intended to be a capacity building resource center supporting the work of other direct service providers, but the enduring legacy of the UDLP is, in fact, the direct services provided by community colleges across India.

The Community College Movement

As described above, the first community colleges in India were established after foreign exchange visits between Indian and American educators (Cook, 1996; Halder, 2008; Hewitt & Lee, 2006) and funded by international and domestic grants (Cook, 1996; Halder, 2008; Alphonse, 1996). This was in keeping with international development of community college global counterparts (McKrink & Whitford, 2017; Raby, 2009; Raby & Valeau, 2012; Wiseman et al., 2012). Once the concept had successfully crossed the ocean and was firmly rooted in the minds of educational reformers in India and funding from the United States became sparse, for

the next 10+ years, the trajectory of the community college movement was largely shaped by the efforts of Alphonse and his small team of colleagues and advisors.

With the support of a grant from the UK and the local Archdiocese Alphonse created the Indian Centre for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE) to coordinate community college development in 1999. Early advocates conceived community colleges to “help the socially, academically, economically disadvantaged groups to gain middle level skills to provide work-related and employment oriented education with employability guarantees” (Alphonse, 1999, p. 27). In the beginning, the movement spread largely through the religious higher education network, but it has since diffused widely through secular community-based NGOs operating at the edges of formal education, To this day, Alphonse and ICRDCE continues to promote community colleges as a local, regional, and national response to an ailing educational system that largely ignores marginalized students (Alphonse, 2009; Alphonse, 2013).

Alphonse is portrayed as the single most influential actor in the growth of community colleges in India, and rightfully so as the following chapters will demonstrate. Yet his efforts were far from heroic. They would have been for naught without the web of enthusiastic supporters (and detractors) that came to be involved over the years. To establish the legitimacy of community colleges, Alphonse engaged in strategic efforts including conducting professional development workshops, developing curricula, partnering with NGOs and industry, and promoting the ICC concept domestically and abroad. As a result, the ICRDCE has helped establish 319 ICCs in nineteen states (ICRDCE, 2015), coordinated efforts in Oceania and South Africa to establish new community college systems, and significantly shaped the community college policy landscape in India. Alphonse served as a member of the University Grants Commission and the Distance Education Council, two agencies integral to the formal recognition

of Indian Community Colleges. Through these roles, Alphonse was able to promote the concept as an ideal solution to the issues plaguing the intersecting fields of higher, technical, and vocational education through the idea of community colleges for skill development.

Subsequently, the community college concept gained traction at the state and national levels.

Encouraged by and in partnership with ICRDCE, Tamil Nadu Open University began recognizing NGO community colleges in 2004. Recognition refers to inclusion as a program of the University with the ability to earn a formal credential. In 2008, the Tamil Nadu state government adopted progressive policies to promote community colleges (Alphonse & Valeau, 2009; Alphonse 2013; Panwar, 2013). Subsequently, Tamil Nadu Open University has recognized 204 community colleges as vocational training centers. With the southern states being historically the most supportive of education and training reform (Agrawal, 2014), it makes sense that the ICC would develop its first stronghold in Tamil Nadu before spreading to the rest of the country. Nearby, many traditional colleges and universities began establishing NGO community colleges as community extension programs while religious and educational trusts, societies, and NGOs also joined the movement.

Building on the momentum in South India, Alphonse pushed for national community college recognition. In each subsequent Five Year Plan, beginning with the 9th (1997-2002), the community college concept has played an increasingly prominent role. By 2007, the National Knowledge Commission promoted development of a nationally coordinated community college system registered with, but not operated by, Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU). The 11th Five Year Plan (2007 – 2012) laid the groundwork for funding such a scheme.⁴⁵ As a result, in 2009, IGNOU established a community college initiative that allowed organizations “rooted in community-based activities” to register as a community college (IGNOU, 2011, p.

⁴⁵ While included as a recommendation, this funding would not be realized until the 12th Five Year Plan.

14).⁴⁶ The IGNOU policy outlined a curriculum of stackable credentials with the possibility of transfer into an IGNOU degree program (IGNOU, 2011). With a promise of vertical mobility, IGNOU offered the first opportunity for centralized recognition of community colleges in India. The response was immediate.

Within the first three years, IGNOU registered over 600 community colleges.⁴⁷ In addition to the NGO community colleges seeking official recognition, IGNOU encouraged registration from a diverse array of providers bridging the fields of higher, technical, and vocational education as well as formal and informal education and training. As a result, community colleges from various founding contexts including NGOs, public and private universities, government-recognized skill development programs, and corporate initiatives gained recognition under the new scheme. IGNOU's network model offered community colleges national recognition without being constrained by the conventional postsecondary education system; but quick expansion without the necessary infrastructure in place left the new program vulnerable.

Almost as quickly as the IGNOU community colleges registered, the scheme was put on hold. The suspension of the community college scheme coincided with a change in leadership at IGNOU. The newly appointed Vice Chancellor immediately began stalling expansion efforts initiated by his predecessor. Despite nascent attempts at collective action to ensure quality among IGNOU community college leaders, by spring of 2012 the IGNOU Board of Management issued a notice that due to a lack of oversight and quality assurance the activities of the IGNOU

⁴⁶ In the context of India "registration" was a carefully chosen word to distinguish the relationship from formal affiliation, which denotes the legal status and degree granting authority of Universities with their constituent colleges.

⁴⁷ Many of these colleges were already associated with ICRDCE and/or Tamil Nadu Open University but chose to register with IGNOU because of the promise of national certification.

community colleges were suspended and subject to a “thorough time-bound review” (IGNOU, 2012). Investigations revealed that only one third of affiliated colleges were fully operational.

Among the 532 registered community colleges, only 253 were active and only 146 had complied with all of the technical requirements laid out by IGNOU and filed the necessary paperwork with IGNOU to issue grade cards for students. 142,333 students at the 253 community colleges were enrolled in a total of 1,568 different programs with 12,639 courses, and only 60,608 had appeared for exams. Only those students appearing for exams would be eligible for a credential and those students at the 146 compliant community colleges received priority. Because practice preceded policy in the IGNOU community college scheme, registration with IGNOU happened before articulation agreements were reached. The Community College Unit was then retroactively responsible for vetting each course and aligning the exams with IGNOU content and norms before issuing credentials. Because of the protracted internal conflict over the community college scheme and the immense workload this type of alignment required, the process was slow and contentious.

As a final resolution, in June 2013, the Delhi High Court ultimately dissolved the system stating that IGNOU did not have the legal authority to affiliate colleges providing face-to-face instruction rather than distance education (Suneja, 2013). While official recognition was no longer available to IGNOU community colleges, many continued their operations in pursuit of providing students the promised “parallel system of education which aims to empower individuals through appropriate skill development leading to gainful employment in collaboration with the local industry and the community” (IGNOU, 2009, p. 1).

Simultaneous to the demise of the IGNOU ICC scheme, the MHRD began planning an additional centralized community college scheme. By the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017) the

Planning Commission (2011) explicitly called for the integration of existing community colleges and the expansion of a heterogeneous system to “provide modular credit-based courses with entry and exit flexibility that conforms to the National Skills Qualifications Framework” (p. 101). Since 2010, the Wadhvani Foundation, a high profile technology driven NGO based in Bangalore and focused on “economic acceleration of emerging economies and U.S.” (Wadhvani Foundation, 2014, p. 1), has played an instrumental role in the implementation of new efforts toward national community college policy.

The Foundation funded a series of exchange visits between the U.S. and Indian educators, government officials, and philanthropists in 2011 and 2012. As a result, the MHRD organized a Committee of Education Ministers who produced a unanimously accepted report on the *Concept and Framework of Community College Scheme*. To launch the initiative, the MHRD along with the Wadhvani Foundation hosted an international conference (February 2013) including approximately 500 participants from India, United States, Canada, Germany, UK, New Zealand, and Australia. Following the conference, multiple countries including the USA and UK signed Memorandums of Understanding with relevant stakeholders in the Indian government to support the development of the community college system.⁴⁸ Implementation of these government-funded community colleges finally began in 2013. The All India Council for Technical Education selected 72 Polytechnics throughout the country to implement the scheme while the UGC has hosted selection rounds after calling for proposals from universities and colleges across the country. Government-funded community colleges operate much like a small department

⁴⁸ On an international scale, although the community college scheme outlined in the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017) drew from the “North American Model” (Planning Commission, 2012, p. 100), MHRD has encouraged numerous other nations to provide funding and partnerships to support curriculum, faculty, and industry development. This follows similar examples of central governments exploring multiple community college global counterpart models before establishing an amalgamated version in their own country (Zhang, 2017).

within an institution, offering new skill-based vocational education credentials in high-growth industries (Suraksha, 2015). With the central government's new prioritization of skill development and educational reform, national efforts to standardize and regulate community colleges moved from policy to practice in a way that both complemented and competed with the operation of NGO community colleges and the deteriorating IGNOU scheme.

Community College Vignettes

Vignettes about each community college model can help provide an overview of how the concept was implemented in each phase of development without being obfuscated by the detail of individual community colleges. As Lawrence Lightfoot (1983), in her research on U.S. high schools points out, portraits are “reality-based” depictions (p. 9) that “seek to capture the culture of these schools, their essential features, their generic character, the values that define their curricular goals and institutional structures, and their individual styles and rituals” (p. 6). The following descriptions of the different types of community college in India aim to serve as portraits – windows into their lived, but sometimes unseen or unacknowledged, reality. These paragraphs function only as an introductory portrait, while the rest of this dissertation is intended to breathe life and depth into these grounding sketches.

NGO community colleges. Growth in this model rests in grassroots effort to spread the word about and encourage establishment of community colleges across the country. Because they are self-supporting and self-regulating with little funding or oversight from the government, community acceptance (or not) has largely decided the success or failure of individual NGO

community colleges. They are rooted deeply in the Jesuit tradition of community service and social upliftment and prioritize the individual transformation of students. A non-traditional approach to education, this has become quite appealing to parents and employers overtime as students have graduated and secured better paying jobs or continued to further education. While not all community college leaders are religiously affiliated, all go through a “teacher training program” offered by ICRDCE twice a year. The content of this orientation is steeped in spirituality and a commitment to serving marginalized students while maintaining a secular and employment preparation approach to the curriculum. Furthermore, attendance set the expectation that community colleges would be looked after by ICRDCE, though not formally regulated by the coordinating agency.

At the individual colleges, curricular choices are based on community need and partnership with local employers is considered a necessity before implementation because the credentials students receive fall outside of formal higher education.⁴⁹ A few examples of programs offered include: diploma in catering assistant, diploma in health assistant, diploma in early childhood education; certificate in tailoring; certificate in hotel management. Most credentials take six months to one year to complete and include coursework in life skills, job-specific technical skills, practical internships, and employment skills. Some community colleges also offer shorter-term courses. None of these curricula include the academic or “general education” coursework typical of formal higher education, rather the coursework focuses on preparing students with the basic English, computer, and communication skills necessary to earn and keep a job. Because NGO community college credentials are largely unknown outside the

⁴⁹ Some programs operate as Vocational Program Centers under Tamil Nadu Open University which operate as community extension programs in the University. The credential offered, although issued by a formal institution of higher education, is not linked to a formal undergraduate degree program. They can be thought of as non-credit/continuing education programs in the United States.

local catchment area for students, each community college must carve out a niche of acceptability with local employers. With few exceptions, all students regardless of academic preparation are welcome at the community college. Class sizes are quite small, ranging from 10-50 students per program and most community colleges only offer a few programs at most. Tuition and fees are generally extremely low and are often subsidized by scholarships that are raised in the local community or through the parent organization in which the NGO is embedded (e.g., a local parish, a local NGO, a local college or university).

Recently, ICRDCE, representing NGO community colleges, is putting its eggs in the NSQF basket. Hope of a non-financial partnership with National Skill Development Corporation, which oversees the NSQF and Sector Skill Councils as the implementation arm of the Skill Development ministry, is ICRDCE's latest step in a relentless pursuit of viable recognition accompanied by the reputational resources needed to attract sustainable financial backing.

IGNOU Community Colleges. Whereas a general description of NGO community colleges has stabilized overtime, the IGNOU community colleges are much harder to convey. Rather than describe a general picture of community colleges, offering a range of possibilities is perhaps more useful. Growth of the IGNOU scheme leveraged the network of existing NGO community colleges and the growing popularity of those community colleges associated with Tamil Nadu Open University. To increase expansion rapidly, a primary goal of the scheme, advertising through word of mouth and newspapers across the country marketed the new opportunity for organizations to register their skill development training programs as IGNOU community colleges. Some of these were small and hyper-local social service organizations that initiated a program (e.g., Thaamath IGNOU Community College, Samuchit Rural Community

College). Others were part of large pre-existing national vocational training programs with outlets across the country that chose to register to increase the level of credibility associated with a credential from an institution of higher education (e.g., Apparel Training & Design Centre, Kohinoor Technical Institute, Town School Community College). All community colleges had to choose between offering existing IGNOU curricula, adapting IGNOU curricula to meet the needs of the community, or designing their own programs (IGNOU, 2011). The majority of community colleges took this last approach resulting in an overwhelming number of programs and courses for which it was incumbent upon IGNOU to track and monitor.

Organizations that registered community colleges with the IGNOU scheme ranged all levels of formality, infrastructure, and size. Regardless of scale or size, the expectation was that “all IGNOU norms are to be strictly adhered to. There should not be any kind of departure” (IGNOU, 2011, p. 26). The norms included internal regulatory mechanisms, examination schedules, registration guidelines, and a credit-based approach to the curriculum. The four program levels of IGNOU credentials were: 1) open access non-credit training lasting less than six months; 2) Certificate programs requiring the passing 8th standard (standard is synonymous with grad in the U.S. system) or equivalent lasting six months to one year; 3) Diploma programs lasting one to three years requiring 10th standard pass or equivalent; 4) Associate Degree programs lasting two to five years requiring 12th standard pass. This means that a single course in developmental English for 25 students hosted in a local community center and a national network of associate degree programs educating thousands of students in myriad areas of study tied to specific industries all operated simultaneously under the banner of the IGNOU community college. Tuition and fees were set by the individual community colleges, and community colleges were required to send IGNOU registration and examination fees for each

student. Because the community college scheme at IGNOU grew so quickly, there was sometimes little to no personal interaction between IGNOU and the community colleges, and the operational manual was produced after two years of operations, there was plenty of room for enterprising individuals to take advantage of the situation. Some providers charged exorbitant fees without offering a meaningful educational experience in return and students, because oversight lagged behind expansion, had little recourse. In danger of painting a singular nefarious picture of IGNOU community college leaders, many – especially those that entered through the NGO community college movement – were deeply committed to their students and community development. It was, however, difficult to identify, monitor, and regulate these differences. This difficulty, when combined with a politically motivated change in leadership at the University, arguably resulted in the downfall of the IGNOU community college scheme.

Government-Funded Community Colleges. Government-funded community colleges were a centralized effort defined by national policy prior to implementation. This stands in stark contrast to the grassroots effort that shaped the early community college movement among NGOs guided by ICRDCE. As a result, the individual community colleges under this scheme were more consistent in form and function than in either of the two previous schemes. Energized by the expectation to be a leader in “harness[ing] the full demographic dividend,” these community colleges were designed as an implementation tool for the new National Skills Qualification Framework (UGC, 2013, p. 1). With a focus on competency based education to close the purported skills gap and connect higher education “with the requirements of the workplace” (p. 1), community colleges were funded by government grants and implemented in polytechnics, colleges, and universities with oversight carried out by the UGC and AICTE. Each

community college was approved to run one to two programs that correlated with high-growth sectors nationally and could be evaluated by local representatives of a Sector Skill Council. Alternatively, community colleges were allowed to develop courses based on the local needs, but those curricula were required to be approved by the Board of Studies and created in “consultation with” the appropriate Sector Skill Council (p. 6). Examples include programs from mushroom production to cyber security and from jewelry making to dairy sciences. The number of students in each program was capped at 50, but many community colleges had trouble filling seats because of the newness of the program and the lack of prestige associated with many of the associated trades and skills.

Community colleges were approved to offer one-semester certificates, two semester diplomas, and foursemester advanced diplomas. The advanced diploma was equivalent to the first two years of a three-year baccalaureate degree program and, upon completion, students in UGC based community colleges were eligible to complete the third year of a Bachelors of Vocational Education (B.Voc) degree. Because of this academic pathway, these students were required to have passed their 12th standard exams.⁵⁰ While vertical mobility was built into the system, in practice this type of transfer was nearly impossible because very few colleges and universities ran both community colleges and B.Voc programs and those that did, often were not in the same fields. Because the program was so new, there were rarely nearby options for the mostly place based students. In essence, while the promise of the community college advanced diploma was a gateway into a first degree, it was much more likely to be a terminal credential. Because funding is centralized for these colleges, sustainability depends on future national budget decisions. Without future funding participants are concerned that these initiatives will not

⁵⁰ Polytechnic community colleges were not yet connected to the B.Voc degree and generally required students to have at least passed 10th standard exams.

survive. This concern is acutely felt because, recently funding has been shifting toward prioritizing short-term skilling initiatives recently.⁵¹

All three community college models adhere to a widely popular narrative about the goal and purpose of the community college, but differ in their approach to implementation. For NGO community colleges, practice preceded policy while the reverse is true for government-funded community colleges. As a result, NGO community colleges maintain a stronghold of legitimacy based on their outcomes and reputation in the local community, while government-funded community colleges are able to rely on the legitimacy of regulatory support and the reputation of their parent institution. IGNOU community colleges fall somewhere in between. These differences have resulted in parallel organizational forms that converge conceptually on the idea of educational reform through skill development, but diverge in terms of policy and regulatory backing.

Conclusion

In general, a small troupe of highly influential individuals, organizations, and government officials has primarily shaped the community college movement over the past twenty years that have been marked by efforts to increase the number of community colleges while simultaneously engaging in a “constant struggle to receive recognition” within formal higher education (Alphonse & Valeau, 2009, p. 84). To secure credibility, community college advocates

⁵¹ Discussing government-funded community colleges, one Wadhvani Foundation participant succinctly voiced an opinion that was repeated in almost every interview about all community colleges, saying, “On one hand government is saying that skill development is something which is important and we are committed towards it, and on the other hand we see that there is a lack of funds, budget has been cut down in skill development and stuff like that so there are two messages... [If they] are not giving resources then how do you implement these kind of programs.” Among government funded community colleges, without future funding participants are concerned that these initiatives will not survive. A higher education official suggested that “we’d like to, of course, pump money into the scheme” but he “can’t say right now” because community college funding “depends on government policy” that has been shifting toward prioritizing short term skilling initiatives recently.

successively pursued various routes to government recognition including distance education, open universities, and traditional diplomas and degrees. Because implementation requires multilevel leadership in order to garner the political, financial, and reputational resources necessary to legitimize a new organizational arrangement (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Purdy & Gray, 2009), each phase of community college development has met with varying levels of success. Despite the interconnection of these actors, most community colleges operate in relative isolation with little inter-organizational awareness or communication and minimal (substantive) oversight or accountability. Like community college global counterparts around the world, consistency and quality are difficult to ensure due to a lack of consistent oversight or accountability measures (Raby, Friedel, & Valeau, 2017). As a result, how advocates interpret the concept varies widely leaving form and function of community colleges highly inconsistent within and between models in India. It is to this interpretation, demonstrated through the translation process, that I turn next.

Chapter 5: Translating the Community College Concept in India

Globally, the idea of the community college had been circulating for about a century, with national educational officials in India directly and purposefully interacting with the concept since the late 1980s. Yet, history of the community college in India is often told as if the idea were plucked out of the sky and materialized to serve the public good. The recounting of the origin story for community colleges in India is reminiscent of the finely crafted mythologies, described by Clark (1972) as an “organizational saga” that is a “collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group” (p. 178). While the formality of community colleges is still being determined, the telling and retelling of how this idea came into being is well under way. Such mythologizing of origins is a critical step in the translation process as it provides a conceptual scaffold that helps actors make sense of their commitment to this new (to them) idea (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996).

Before exploring the distinct origin stories that advocates shared, it is important to understand the commonalities between these stories and hence, the perception of each model as translated across India. Universally, advocates depicted the origins of the community college as an instantiation of the globalized model. As translation would predict, they also described ongoing efforts to adapt the model to the unique and changing social, educational, and economic

conditions of India. In this way, advocates grappled with satisfying global demands for vocationalization without losing sight of the local context.

Each model of community college adheres to a different origin story despite being part of a continuous whole. These stories offer a logical starting point for the tellers that distinguish the new model from what came before, despite the idea's continuous circulation. Sahlin and Wedlin (2008) pointed out that "translation processes may be interconnected and [that] one process of imitation may lead to another" resulting in a "complex web of imitation" (p. 228). Community college development in India is a near perfect demonstration of such an interconnected web where advocates interact, models overlap, and the idea of the community college is subject to repeated translation through "issue-attention cycles" that wax and wane in favor of this problem-solution set (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p. 31). Each model is presented as an improvement on the ones that came before. As Rorty (1989) suggested, such progress "results from the accidental coincidence of a private obsession with a public need" (p. 37).⁵² Community college advocates highlight their private obsession in the origin stories they tell, framing each community college model as contributing to serving the public.

"Inspiration" and "Evolving"

Advocates acknowledged unilaterally that the U.S. community college was a primary "source of inspiration" for the growing movement in India. Many advocates agreed that the U.S. model was an exemplar because of its long history of integrating academic and technical education through close ties to industry – elements that educators and policymakers have long

⁵² Quoted in Czarniawska and Joerges (1996, p. 30).

agreed were important to educational reform in India. For example, the earliest book published by Alphonse (1996) included multiple essays by Indian educators exploring the “relevance,” “feasibility,” “possible model,” and “imperative” of building a community college system in India (Alphonse, 1996, p. 31 & 49). Seventeen years later, the Twelfth Five Year plan – from which implementation of government funded community colleges flowed – echoed these earlier essays stating that community college guidelines were being developed “based on the North American model” to expand “skill based programmes in higher education” (2012, p. 101). Throughout the history of the community college movement in India, the U.S. model has served as a consistent source of guidance on how to create an educational opportunity “of the people by the people and for the people” (Rao, 1994 quoted in Alphonse, 1996, p. 37).

Notably, a common denominator in how advocates were inspired was through actually visiting community colleges in the U.S. For example, discussing the 2012 committee of state ministers’ study tour, a technical education official reflected:

The US community college system is well established... They have proved that for what purpose they actually were established they were able to produce those results. So, a best destination for that committee to see the system was obviously the US community college system.

Likewise, Alphonse was involved early on with the Center for Vocational Education that resulted from Fulbright faculty exchanges. ICRDCE claims that “the whole concept evolved because of the interaction with more than thirty professors of U.S. community colleges” who came to India, and Alphonse’s own six month study in the U.S. visiting eighteen community colleges (ICRDCE, 2013, p. 27). Additionally, IGNOU hosted meetings with American Association of Community College representatives during the planning stages that helped shape the University’s approach to the new scheme, according to one administrator.

These trans-national interactions illustrate Raby's (2009) notion that "community college models are not imposed upon other countries, but rather emerge as a result of exchange visits" (p. 27). Reflecting this long history, a Wadhvani Foundation representative commented that in the government funded model the idea of a two-year associate degree⁵³ was "coming in very, very strong from the US model." Recognizing that exchange visits are not haphazard, translating the community college concept in India after interaction with the U.S. system reflects the "well worn routes" of the imitation of ideas (Czarniawska & Sevon, 1996). Adaptation of a model from the U.S. is not surprising given the template of educational "borrowing" by which the forces of globalization compel emerging economies to seek models from more "industrialized" nations (Altbach, 2011; Raby & Valeau, 2012, p. 23-24).

Advocates of all three models acknowledged historical and philosophical roots in the American community college model, yet there was equal insistence that the concept had been "Indianized," as one IGNOU official put it. A higher education official similarly suggested that "the idea was initially taken from US" but that, in the end, "we developed on our own" a model for India. A concern with grounding the community college concept in the local context surfaced before the first viable community college was founded.⁵⁴ A vice chancellor that participated in UGC's 1994 workshop on the *Community College in India* said, "the total replication of foreign models might be difficult in the Indian context" (Reddy, 1994, quoted in Alphonse, 2010, p. 2). In other words, this early advocate understood that imitation could not be carried out whole cloth. He alluded to the limitation of replication because inevitably changes and innovations occur

⁵³ Advocates changed the nomenclature to "advanced diploma" in the government-funded community colleges while IGNOU used the term "associate degree."

⁵⁴ Pondicherry University Community College in 1995.

during the process of each new implementation experiment. Translation suggests that replication is impossible because no two contexts are identical (Waldorff, 2010). In the words of another IGNOU official, “you can’t bring in something alien and dump it on their heads,” instead to be successful the community college needed to have a clear shape but be “flexible as per the needs of the community.” Imitation, then, is a more accurate description of the process, allowing for adaptation to a new environment to ensure success (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

Regardless of universal agreement about Indian community colleges partially imitating their U.S. counterparts, advocates of each model recognized that not only was it going to take time to develop a robust model, but that it would look drastically different than the original concept. To this point, as the opening to a book about community college development in India, Alphonse expounded,

The concept of the community college may have taken its roots on the American soil and would have given us an inspiration to follow a similar system in Indian. What is articulated below has nothing to do with the US reality. The concept has gone through a complete transformation to suit and respond to the Indian reality. It is thoroughly local and indigenous. (Alphonse, 2010, p. 2)

Alphonse’s notion of inspiration from, but not replication of, the U.S. community college model that he studied so closely reminds one of the motivating intention for scholars to develop a theory of translation. Latour and Callon insisted that translation was both symbolic and material; it was both movement and change. Said another way, “ideas do not diffuse in a vacuum, but are actively transferred and translated in a context of other ideas, actors, traditions, and institutions”(Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, p. 219). Or, as an ICRDCE representative explained, “the success of Father Xavier” is based in his experience with the U.S. community college system. “He did not exactly transplant the whole thing from the U.S, he tailor-made it according to our Indian requirements.”

Like Alphonse, advocates from each model recognized and asserted active participation in the translation process as both intentional and necessary. There was no pretense that the concept diffused as an exact replica. Instead, participants focused on the need to engage in a “continuous editing process” creatively carried out through collective effort (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, p. 225). A Wadhvani Foundation representative suggested that, “this is our own model for India which we will be adapting and we will pick up the best practices” from education systems around the world and will be “pushing” for those changes in Indian higher education, while also tailoring the community college to the specific environment of India. In this way, the translation of the community college in India could result in both a redefining of the community college concept in the global arena, while also reshaping higher education in India through planned and unplanned educational reform. On this note, an MHRD official, referring to the U.S. model, quipped that, “the kind of community colleges your system has, we have miles to go.”

Aside from adapting the concept to the Indian context, these participants also highlighted that translation was not a static process. Rather, advocates regularly described the community college movement as an “evolving”⁵⁵ process of “experimentation” (Alphonse, 2010, p. viii). In fact, two different technical education officials, one at the state and one at the national level, suggested that all community colleges were “experiments” in India. Experimentation, which evokes images of improvement overtime – of testing a new idea in a new place, of evaluating it and adjusting it along the way – is a core element of the continuous process of translation (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). Ideas take time to develop, and in the case of community colleges in India a skill development official suggested that “you can’t expect things to change over night, we are getting there, bit by bit.” The “there” this official referred to was still a fairly

⁵⁵ Participants described all three models as “evolving.”

ambiguous destination, but it had do with creating a robust “framework” for community colleges; one similar to those that were already “evolved” in other countries but was brand new to India. As an INGOU official suggested, “things kept evolving about the scheme once we started” a sentiment echoed by a Wadhvani Foundation representative who remarked “we are also going through a learning curve while we are putting a vision on this.” Perhaps the ongoing commitment to evolution was built into the DNA of the Indian community colleges. From the start it was not a well laid out plan, rather as one ICRDCE representative shared, the idea “slowly picked up because all underprivileged students got employment and job placements, and also they got confidence in life.” Picking up on this historical tradition within the movement, most participants, acknowledged that the Indian system was a model in flux, but an ICRDCE representative summarized it best saying, “we are forced to change because of the global investments, global market, global demands.”

Origin Stories

In the case of Indian community colleges, the concept was translated multiple times within the country over a period of twenty years resulting in three distinct but overlapping models. Models were not restricted by geography or political jurisdiction, a typical assumption in the literature (e.g., Waldorff & Greenwood, 2010; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). Rather, model adoption and proliferation was tied closely to founding context (Almandoz, 2014; Purdy & Gray, 2009), which allowed community colleges of each model to proliferate across the country. Each model adhered to a unique and defining origin story that rarely revealed the messy

truth of the fluctuating definitions of the community college within and between organizations advocating for the movement.

NGO Community Colleges

In the world of NGO community colleges there was a clear and consistent origin story that is told from within ICRDCE and by others who are engaged with community college development. In a white paper, *The U.S. Community College Model: Potential for Applications in India*, published by the Delhi office of the Institute for International Education in 2013, Alphonse highlighted the role of ICRDCE, saying:

The community college movement in India began in 1995 and was modeled after the U.S. system, but adjusted to meet India's unique needs and aspirations. Specifically, it aims to empower the disadvantaged by helping them develop skills that will lead to gainful employment and make a qualitative difference in the lives of the urban, rural and tribal poor and women. The college system works in collaboration with local industrial establishments and potential employers, as well as community leaders, to create opportunities for employment and self-employment in the local area (Alphonse, 2013, p. 17). The Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE) is coordinating agency for community colleges in India. Located in Chennai, ICRDCE is an initiative of Madurai Jesuit Province and a unit of the ICRDCE Trust. Founded in January 1999, it has been involved in the preparation, establishment, monitoring and evaluation of 319 community colleges in 19 States of India to date. It has also trained 1,937 teachers. The Center has conducted 53 workshops involving 1,500 NGOs and 2,900 participants. It has also organized 11 national consultations and 69 regional consultations among community colleges. (Alphonse, 2013, p. 21).

A similar version of the story above appears in almost every publication written and meeting convened by ICRDCE. All of the elements ICRDCE views as critical to the community college concept are covered including a commitment to community, partnership with industry, quality control, and the central role of ICRDCE in "coordinating" this "movement." The only element

that is missing, are the “efforts for recognition” featured prominently on the ICRDCE website.⁵⁶ While individual community colleges had received recognition by parent universities, TNOU and IGNOU had registered community colleges in mass, and now the government-funded scheme recognized community colleges in approved colleges and universities, the result for NGOs has been a series of failed attempts for autonomy within formal higher education.⁵⁷ It is easy to imagine why this then would not be highlighted in the origin story used to recruit advocates and founders. I will address the contours of this struggle for recognition in more depth in the following chapter.

Even with this omission, the story that ICRDCE shared about the origins of the community college movement in India represents a durable saga (Clark, 1972) that garners great loyalty to the movement in general, and to Alphonse in particular. As one long time ICRDCE staff member said, “father [Alphonse] is the face of ICRDCE and the community colleges” so he is regularly called to speak on behalf of community colleges. Beyond being the face of community colleges, Alphonse served as a guide for individuals in the movement. Another ICRDCE member described the positive influence that ICRDCE had on his life choices sharing that he had switched his career trajectory to be a part of the movement because “my heart is there. I’m really passionate about it because of the system bringing dropouts to mainstream education.” He went on to attribute this approach to ICRDCE’s commitment to personal development of marginalized students through life skills and the involvement of NGO’s because they are “already very much involved in the social welfare activities.”

⁵⁶ <http://www.icrdce.com/effortsforrecognition.html>

⁵⁷ Apart from the ongoing relationship with TNOU that does not offer transfer into higher education, but functions as a stand-alone vocational training program with oversight by TNOU.

While ICRDCE representatives acknowledged the “dynamism of the community college movement in India” (Alphonse, 2014, p. 5) they were quick to stress that the system has been “well established and to a large extent it has been standardized” (Alphonse, 2011, p. vii), despite the continuous translation process. Over the years a dynamic and messy process has been reduced to a linear narrative for ease of cognitive digestion and recruitment of new advocates. This story holds up ICRDCE as *the* standard bearer of the movement and provides reassurance that implementing the community college concept locally is a straightforward act of service.

While the story that most often gets told about the origins of the NGO community college and ICRDCE appears to be a linear narrative, when pressed for more information, Alphonse did acknowledge some of the work that came before his involvement. In response to a question about how he came to learn about community colleges, Alphonse replied:

There was Ram Reddy who was the Chairman of University Grants Commission. He invited all of us in '94... he exposed us to all the systems including American community college professors, parallel school teachers of Germany, community college people from further education from England. Then, there was the TAFE Colleges from Australia. All these people came and introduced us to this kind of alternative system of education: how accessible it is, how flexible it is, and so on. So based on that national meeting of principals and vice-chancellors, Dr. A. Gnanam,⁵⁸ an eminent educationist, prepared a report saying that a team should be sent to U.S. to study and see this system. So, a team was selected out of vice-chancellors and principals. They went and visited a few colleges and came back and said, ‘This system is very good.’ But, at that point in time everything remained on paper only as reports... It was Dr. Sudha Rao, who inspired me, so I suggested to the Archdiocese of Madras, Mylapore, ‘Instead of creating a big building and so on, why don't we create an alternative system for the disadvantaged groups; marginalized groups; for those who have dropped out of school, those who are not getting high marks’... After that, there was a very eminent person, who said, ‘somebody should study community colleges. And now that you have left your presidentship in Loyola, you are free and you should go.’ I was given necessary permission by my organization, so I went and I visited 18 U.S. community colleges in six months. And what I did was I undertook a personal study in which I attended classes, met the presidents, met the deans, met the lecturers and learnt a lot of things about how this system works: what is a community college, how does it function, for whom they're functioning, and how they're bringing people, and especially, how they promote access,

⁵⁸ The Vice Chancellor of Pondicherry University who would establish the University's Community College in 1995.

flexibility, equal opportunity, how these colleges are people's colleges, democratic colleges, how they're giving and imparting quality training and how they're sending people for higher education as well as for employment. So, I had a very good, very clear idea. So when I came back in March, I prepared a concept paper for Madras Community College. And that was accepted by the Diocese.

In this more detailed version of the story, Alphonse acknowledged the complex background of how the ground was prepared for planting the seeds of community colleges. Rather than portray the community college idea as his own, which is often the connotation produced by the NGO origin story, Alphonse gave credit to those who came before him and even identified a single education official as the person who introduced him to the concept.⁵⁹ Strikingly though, he did not mention the historical origins in the Center for Vocational Education and involvement of Americans before his own engagement with Madras Community College through the Jesuits. This might be in part due to a falling out with Adrian Almeida, the founding principal of Madras Community College, that numerous Americans and ICRDCE staff members acknowledged.⁶⁰ Once the funding for the project from the U.S side had dried up and Almeida was no longer involved, Alphonse became the sole “face” of the community college movement. This earned him the title of “founder” and “pioneer” from numerous participants despite the establishment of at least two earlier community colleges.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Sudha K. Rao wrote a concept paper, *Community Colleges in India: Need and Relevance* that she presented at the 1994 UGC workshop. Interestingly, she was also involved tangentially with Oakland Community College, which is where I was first introduced to the Indian community college movement.

⁶⁰ According to U.S. faculty involved with the CVE, the falling out happened concurrently with an end in the grant cycle, and a shift in focus from replicating the CVE model to translating the community college concept.

⁶¹ Canara Community College (1993) and Pondicherry University Community College (1995).

Given the twenty-year history of NGO community colleges in India along with the consistent staffing of ICRDCE, it makes sense that the related origin story would be the strongest and most coherent. It is told and retold through internal publications, external coverage, and through participation in workshops and consultations.⁶² Community members that come in contact with the NGO community college receive a consistent message about its origins and the role that ICRDCE has to play. This may obscure the continuous translation process, but it has helped strengthen the model's resiliency in the face of failed attempts at recognition, overly eager expansion efforts, and the appropriation of the name "community college" by unaffiliated entities.

Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) Community Colleges

A 2010 cover story in *EDU Tech* magazine offered a uniquely well-rounded history⁶³ of the community college movement in India, positioning the IGNOU scheme as a continuation of an idea whose "seeds" date back to the 1964 Kothari Commission⁶⁴ on educational reform (Anand & Polite, 2010). In this interview Vice Chancellor R. Pillai suggested that

IGNOU was quite aware of the recommendation of the committee constituted by University Grants Commission to study community colleges and its recommendations. In

⁶² To be clear, ICRDCE publications, which consist largely of reproducing documents related to community college development, amply cover the fuller version of the origin story.

⁶³ One publication by ICRDCE, *Including the Excluded: The History of Community Colleges in India 1854-1998*, takes a similar look at the antecedents of educational reform and vocationalization. However the preponderance of writing on community colleges starts with the founding of Pondicherry Community College in 1995 followed closely by Madras Community College in 1996.

⁶⁴ The Kothari Commission - http://www.teindia.nic.in/files/reports/ccr/KC/KC_VI.pdf

fact I was heading the UGC prior to my present appointment. Though some academics viewed the concept as lower levels of knowledge, and felt that it was not a part of higher education, I felt this level of knowledge was crucial for including those who desired higher education, but could not access it because of various reasons. This system can help India bridge the gross enrollment gap (p. 16).⁶⁵

In the article, authors credited Alphonse as the “pioneer of the community college movement” and portrayed him as a close collaborator in the IGNOU scheme (p. 14). IGNOU community college administrators who were involved with the scheme generally reflected a similar understanding that the initiative grew out of ICRDCE’s work in South India. In 2013, a former IGNOU community college unit leader bluntly stated that Alphonse “is the founder of community college in this country.” While this painted Alphonse as a hero rather than the herder of cats that he was, it was a logical origin story that honored the close ties between Alphonse and Pillai while serving on and chairing the UGC respectively.

Pillai and the IGNOU team could not have told the story any other way in the early years while Alphonse was closely involved. However, soon after the launch of the scheme, Alphonse and ICRDCE had distanced themselves from the IGNOU scheme out of concerns that there was not adequate commitment to and understanding of the concept. By the time the IGNOU manual was produced in 2011, the contributions of Alphonse and ICRDCE had been written out of the story. Notably, the first two events in the manual’s “chronology of events in respect of institutionalization of community colleges” were: 1) the release of the National Knowledge Commission’s recommendation on community colleges in 2007; and 2) a proposal by the All India Women’s Conference to the IGNOU Board for “recognition as a community college” on May 22, 2007 (p. 6). Despite the undeniable connection between Pillai and Alphonse that was

⁶⁵ Gross enrollment ratio can be calculated by dividing the total number of students enrolled in higher education by the number of students 18-23 in the population. According to the World Bank, India’s 1971 GER was 5%, which had double by 2003 (10.7%). Now again, in only the last ten years it has more than doubled to 23.9% in 2013 (MHRD (2015) calculates it as 23.6% for academic year 2013-14). For more details visit <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR?locations=IN>

cemented through interactions on UGC and then a collaboration with TNOU that preceded the launch of the IGNOU scheme, the origin story that was shared widely and continuously was one that gave IGNOU sole credit for bringing the internationally successful concept to India. As pro-Vice Chancellor Latta Pillai⁶⁶ put it, “the Indira Gandhi National Open University, has for the first time, formulated a plan to start such community colleges in India” (IGNOU, 2011, p. 4). Her declaration both ignored the approximately 200 community colleges already in operation, as well as the systematic effort by ICRDCE (with support from the central government) to build such a robust movement.

Although IGNOU community colleges started with rousing endorsements and public fanfare, concerns quickly cropped up. A common critique was that it was started hastily with “mushroom growth” that did not have clear direction, understanding, or oversight. One IGNOU official described the situation as being:

Brought up in a bit of a hurry, given that Indian policies and things take time to change, and thinking takes time to change, and therefore bringing everybody on board. A lot of people jumped onto the bandwagon, some with good intent, some not. And sifting the wheat from the chaff requires time.

Time was one luxury that the IGNOU scheme did not have. Despite the widespread excitement of the scheme demonstrated by the registration of over 600 community colleges in less than three years and the development of a separate set of community colleges geared toward the continuing education of military personnel, IGNOU was almost universally critiqued for poor execution of its community college scheme. Critique was strong from external sources that emphasized the “mushrooming” of “fake colleges” and “fly by night operations,” but also from internal sources. An administrator shared:

⁶⁶ This is not to be confused with Vice Chancellor V.N. Rajasekharan Pillai

In fact, we were not in favor of the way it was to be modeled. ‘We’ being some of the professors, people at IGNOU, we were not - and if I say emphatically I certainly - we were not certainly in favor of the way things were being conceived and planned and therefore implemented.

Critique, both internal and external, over IGNOU’s rapid expansion and concern that many new community colleges were only “in it for the money” became an important part of the organizational saga of the rise and fall of the IGNOU scheme.

Ultimately, between 2009-2011, 620 community colleges registered with IGNOU. The administrator in charge of the Community College Unit, “deregistered” 87 during his tenure, leaving 532 sanctioned community colleges in late 2011 when Vice Chancellor Pillai’s term ended.^{67,68} Immediately upon taking office, the new Vice Chancellor, Prof. Aslam, ordered the creation of a “High Powered Committee” to review to “examine the entire gamut of issues and trade-off between quality and quantity” of the University’s programs (High Powered Committee, 2012, p. 6). Among the programs reviewed was the community college scheme. In a May 2012 report, the committee advised that although the “scheme of community colleges fits well with the IGNOU’s mandate for skill development,” the general lack of oversight, standards, and consistent eligibility criteria during implementation would require substantial restructuring in the future.” In the meantime, the committee recommended that no new community colleges should be registered with IGNOU.

On the committee’s recommendation, the board resolved that community colleges with IGNOU be put on hiatus and an additional review completed. The subsequent Review

⁶⁷ Vice Chancellor positions are a five-year, and largely political, appointment. The replacement of Dr. Aslam for Dr. Pillai became a matter of parliamentary investigation amidst allegations of corruption in the process.

⁶⁸ In addition to NGO community colleges, this number includes a number of training centers for the defense services that were established to grant associate degrees to military personnel. In subsequent years these community colleges have been treated separately.

Committee included a representative of the Wadhvani Foundation, the principal of Pondicherry University Community College, two IGNOU officials looking after the Community College Unit, and an MHRD official who was working closely with the Wadhvani Foundation to develop UGC community college guidelines. Again, the committee concluded the importance of the community college concept and prioritized “clearing the backlogs” of students who had not been awarded credentials in a timely manner because of the lackluster system to handle such extreme growth. The committee also proposed a new set of guidelines moving forward to come into compliance with IGNOU’s legal statutes while continuing to propagate the nation’s new skill development mission.⁶⁹ Instead of heeding the committees’ suggestion, Vice Chancellor Aslam abruptly ended the community college scheme during the summer of 2013.⁷⁰ Although as Boxenbaum, Leca, and Battilana (2009) point out, “not everything that diffuses enhances organizational legitimacy” (p. 89), even in the face of its failure, the exposure to the community college concept that IGNOU provided was a critical step in raising awareness and bringing attention to the concept on a national scale.

Government-Funded Community Colleges

Establishment of the centralized scheme for community colleges had its roots in the earliest murmurings of the movement, preceding even Alphonse and ICRDCE’s involvement.

⁶⁹ By this time, the country’s first National Skill Development Policy had been established and there were efforts across twenty-one government ministries to coordinate efforts to create a “a pool of skilled manpower in numbers with adequate skills that meets the employment requirement across various sectors of the national economy” (National Skill Development Policy, 2009, p. 1).

⁷⁰ The process of shutting down the IGNOU community college scheme was outlined in a 2014 parliamentary report investigating the functioning of IGNOU. The report concluded that “the Committee can only infer that the entire issue of Community Colleges Scheme has been mishandled in every conceivable manner” (p. 30).

That being said, substantive action did move forward until the demise of the IGNOU scheme had already become apparent. When discussing the origins of community colleges in India, advocates of the government-funded scheme begrudgingly acknowledged the existence of previous models, but generally labeled them as illegitimate because they catered to “school dropouts” in the words of one Higher Education official. Because of their target student population and proliferation among NGOs, both IGNOU and NGO community colleges were viewed as “not linking to higher education,” as an academic on the UGC expert committee put it. Distancing the community college concept from what came before as outside the realm of higher education allowed advocates to pursue national economic goals with the added benefit of formal recognition within higher education. The hope was that by bringing the skill development into the aegis of higher education through community colleges that the new courses would become “credible or fully acceptable to the employers” (UGC, 2012, p. 1). Although this belief was going against the grain of public perception, government officials insisted that revitalizing the “Gandhian belief that working with the hands is worthy of respect,” was critical to India’s future in the words of the Chairman of the National Skill Development Agency (Ramadorai, 2013).⁷¹ Skill development initiatives in general and community colleges specifically were the solution being offered by the government for both individual and national economic development.

In response, government funded community college advocates began the telling of the community college story with the government’s involvement since 2010 and focused on the importance of responding to the country’s economic needs.⁷² Despite these similarities,

⁷¹ S. Ramadorai speech September 24, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.skilldevelopment.gov.in/content/skilling-nation-time-act>

⁷² This shift was further cemented with the change in government in 2014 under Prime Minister Modi that coincided with a shift in community college curricular focus from local to national economic development.

government funded community college origin stories varied based on the role of the advocate in developing the community college scheme. Most often, advocates highlighted the story as told in the UGC's revised guidelines for community colleges:

The idea of establishing such colleges in the country was unanimously endorsed in the Conference of State Education Ministers held on 22nd February 2012 and a Committee of Education Ministers of nine States was constituted to finalize the concept and framework of the community college scheme (UGC, 2013, p. 2).

Preceding this policy work was a study tour that the Education ministers took to the United States under then Minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal. Discussing the U.S. visit, a technical education official suggested that a committee was sent to the U.S. to study community colleges because the U.S. was the “best destination” to learn about the concept. The U.S. provided a “well-established” and “proven” model for the “integration of the conventional education with the skill or the vocational education.” Highlighting the overlapping activities of community college advocates, the 2012 trip, organized by the Wadhvani Foundation, included the then current IGNOU nodal officer for community colleges as well as representatives from UGC, AICTE, and MHRD. According to an IGNOU representative, “as a result of our visit to America last year,” the government became actively involved in implementing the community college scheme in an attempt to “correlate it to be a combination of vocational education and general education.”

Commonly, advocates tied the story of the government funded community college back to the visits of Kapil Sibal to the United States after being appointed as a “reform minded” Minister of Human Resource Development in 2009 (The Chronicle of Higher Education, June 2009, p. 1). With his appointment the India-U.S. Higher Education Dialogues were inaugurated along with a \$10 million, five year grant initiative to build closer connections between U.S. and India, with a “particular emphasis on community college development in India” (McMurtrie &

Neelakantan, 2010, p. 3).⁷³ As early as the March 2010 dialogue that took place in Delhi, Sibal mentioned interest in developing a community college system in India (p. 3). All of this activity coincided with the launch of IGNOU community colleges, the development of the National Skill Development Policy, and efforts to coordinate skill development initiatives across ministries. Higher education was a primary area of interest to help solve the “crisis” of the “demographic dividend.”⁷⁴ Officials were clambering to address the challenges presented by unprecedented economic expansion outpacing training opportunities.

Notably, Sibal’s predecessor had met with Alphonse to discuss community college recognition just months before being ousted from the position. Yet, once Sibal took office, there was little mention of the existing community colleges, only a declaration that state ministers of education had “interacted with community colleges in the U.S to draw lessons for establishing a similar network of colleges in India” (MHRD, 2012, p. 6). In other words, despite government officials’ acknowledging that, “Alphonse has been a key player” in community colleges focused on “school dropouts,” ICRDCE was generally kept at the periphery of this new effort. Even though Alphonse had been interacting with MHRD for over 15 years related to community college development and was currently a UGC member, rhetoric was used by participants to deligitimize NGO community colleges for being outside the scope of higher education. In large

⁷³ The most systematic effort to make good on this promise was an Memorandum of Understanding signed between the American Association of American Community Colleges and the All India Council for Technical Education in June 2013. Despite concerted effort from both sides, implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding has stalled. All other efforts have relied on independent connections between individuals.

⁷⁴ “The demographic dividend is the accelerated economic growth that may result from a decline in a country’s birth and death rates and the subsequent change in the age structure of the population. With fewer births each year, a country’s young dependent population declines in relation to the working-age population. With fewer people to support, a country has a window of opportunity for rapid economic growth if the right social and economic policies are developed and investments made.” (Population Reference Bureau, 2017, retrieved from <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2012/demographic-dividend-factsheet.aspx>)

part, this shift can be attributed to the often-invisible hand of the Wadhvani Foundation that became actively involved with the community college concept in 2010.

The Wadhvani Foundation. In fact, Wadhvani Foundation representatives were likely to suggest that it was their own efforts that catalyzed the government funded model under Sibal. For example, a representative shared that by 2010 the Foundation’s CEO “had worked extensively in US, so he was quite familiar with the community college model and he thought that this is something which probably we could look at adapting to Indian conditions.” Using as a starting point the idea that translating the community college concept in India originated with the Foundation’s CEO, he went on to complete the story of courting government officials to develop what resulted in the government funded model.

In India there were things which were happening, were being spoken about, but primarily here in India, in a systemic manner, it was Wadhvani Foundation who had started telling MHRD minister at that time to look at studying the US model and elsewhere and adapting it to Indian conditions. So, Wadhvani Foundation did play a major role in that. Over the last three or four years we have taken the Minister [Kapil Sibal to the U.S. to visit a couple of community colleges. Then he had set up a committee of 10 education ministers of different states to study it and they had gone to US. Of course, they were funded by the ministry, but all the scheduling and planning was done by the Wadhvani Foundation and one of the ministry officials in MHRD.

Only alluding to the fifteen years of effort among NGO community colleges and the IGNOU community college scheme that was burgeoning at the time, this participant immediately discounted the previous two models as unsystematic and not an “integral part of higher education.” In an attempt to distance the government funded scheme from previous models, a Wadhvani Foundation representative suggested

I’m not talking about Alphonse’s community colleges because they’re not into the higher education system; so he’s addressing a different part of the market. I’m not talking about IGNOU community colleges; those are not community colleges. They did something, with good intentions, but they didn’t design it properly.

Instead, he placed the origins of the “redefined” model with the efforts of the Wadhvani Foundation working with government partners. In the words of another Wadhvani staff member, the Foundation was deeply involved in “policy work, which we are doing with the MHRD. We helped them to develop the scheme, we got experts who can help the Indian colleges, and we also helped them for the organizing the international conference” in February of 2013. Collectively, these activities strongly shaped the development of government funded community colleges and helped delineate this new model as something essentially different from the IGNOU and NGO models.

As with every other origin story, there were elements that were not included unless participants were pressed. For example, it was a personal connection to the minister that allowed the Wadhvani Foundation to gain critical access to the Minister of Human Resource Development. According to a representative, the minister’s personal secretary was in the same college cohort of a Foundation staff member. The team leveraged this relationship to entice the minister to support the Foundation’s newfound interest in community colleges. It was a fairly simple process in retrospect, where Foundation members “spoke to this guy and he liked the idea so he spoke to the minister and this is how the whole thing started out.” Because the community college concept fit so nicely as a solution to the “need of the hour,” Minister Sibal quickly jumped on the community college bandwagon and began, in earnest, clearing a path toward government funded and formally recognized community colleges.

Additionally, a likely critical aspect of the Wadhvani Foundation’s involvement in community colleges specifically and skill development more generally, was the amount of money at stake. The founder of the Wadhvani Foundation, Romesh Wadhvani, is a Silicon Valley tech billionaire and active philanthropist. By August 2011, the Foundation had pledged

\$25 million to support community college development in India (Neelakantan, 2011). While ICRDCE had the (political) power of the Catholic Church behind their efforts, the lure of such a substantial financial commitment helps explain the abrupt turn away from incorporating NGO community colleges in the new government funded scheme. The blueprint for that scheme was laid out in Wadhvani Foundation's 2012 approach paper, which strongly suggested that community colleges educate only 12th pass students, although they offered some provisions for "bridge courses." To be clear, such programs in community colleges were to be considered "just a path to the end; the mainstay is higher education." (p. 8-9). Demonstrating the ultimate power and influence of the Wadhvani Foundation, the Twelfth Plan Community College Guidelines issued by the UGC adhere closely to the ideas outlined in the Foundation's approach paper.

Origin stories that highlight how each community college model came into being offer a mechanism that advocates used to decontextualize the concept as the beginning of the translation process (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). Only after setting the model apart from what came before could advocates begin redefining the community college for the current context. As new advocates engaged in the translation process, previously blocked avenues towards recognition were opened and the concept was reconfigured into three successive models (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013). Advocates worked together in some cases and in parallel in other, but always with awareness of how the other was positioning community college development.

Reactive and Ongoing Translation

Because of this awareness, each model initiated a translation process as a reaction to the constantly changing landscape. The community college concept never reached a settled status,

instead it was reimagined multiple times at the system level, resulting in three different models. Recontextualizing the concept first from the U.S. into the NGO model, then from NGO to the IGNOU model, and from IGNOU into the Government-Funded model took effort on the part of advocates that is typically lost in the public narrative. I examine the individual level “institutional work” of advocates more closely in the next chapter (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). Before turning to the actual activities of the advocates that supported the translation of the community college concept into multiple models, it is important to examine the non-static nature of the translation process.

There were not three distinct processes of decontextualization-translation-recontextualization as it is often depicted in the literature (Boxenbaum, 2004, 2006; Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Waldorf, 2010; Waldorf, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). Instead, the Indian community college provides an illustration of the truly cyclical and overlapping nature of translation as conceptualized but not typically analyzed empirically (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013). There are two key aspects to this process. First, community colleges models developed as a reaction to what came before; and second, existing models constantly adjusted to the changing context of the community college movement. Institutionalization is not a foregone conclusion. Instead, it is an “unstable” process of “always becoming” and therefore must be constantly negotiated and renegotiated (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014, p. 1507; see also Fligstein, 2013; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

Community college translation in India was an continuous and responsive process. For example, according to Alphonse, MHRD was “watching carefully what’ll happen to IGNOU” and “once it collapsed, they said ‘Leave it.’ And now they asked the UGC to take it up.” In this way the government funded model was a direct response to the failure of the IGNOU scheme.

However, there was also an immediate reaction within IGNOU. Just weeks after formally disbanding the scheme in July 2013, an IGNOU administrator shared that “the University is now contemplating coming out with a new scheme where there would be some common curricula, some leeway for practical skills, some leeway for the local customized programs to be taken up by the community.” The concept of the community college had become so powerful among educational advocates in India that rather than eliminating the concept from its offerings, IGNOU administrators began reimagining it immediately. The effort to reconfigure the scheme was lost for a few years in the “backlog” of clearing student records and court cases as a result of the failed initiative. However, by the end of 2015, IGNOU had appointed a new nodal officer and created a committee to revive the community college scheme at IGNOU.

Among government funded community colleges, preliminary UGC guidelines were circulated in December of 2012 that offered no option for recognition among NGO community colleges. Although Alphonse was the official chair of the committee responsible for drafting these guidelines, the primary authors were a UGC representative, an MHRD representative, and a Wadhvani Foundation representative.⁷⁵ In response to NGO community colleges being denied recognition in the government funded community college scheme, ICRDCE began hosting workshops and conferences by January 2013 promoting the “ICRDCE Model.” This was the first time the ICRDCE team distinguished a discrete model in juxtaposition to the dynamic movement to develop community colleges. Acknowledging this shift, an ICRDCE representative shared:

We are busy with our NGO community colleges because we should not be bothering about community colleges that receive lots of funding. There are already enough mechanisms of supervision, monitoring, and evaluation created by UGC itself. So, we

⁷⁵ The genesis of these guidelines is fairly contested – including Alphonse claiming responsibility – but after comparing multiple accounts of the guideline drafting process the telling I present here was most robustly corroborated by multiple participants with similar detailed stories rather than a simple, unsupported claim of authorship as offered by an ICRDCE representative and an IGNOU representative.

don't want to interfere in that. But in terms of the concept and implementation for UGC community colleges, we are also conducting training programs, workshops and so on. Whenever we conduct any workshops, we also send out invitations to these colleges. If they are willing, they can come.

Although retrenching into the NGO model, ICRDCE did not abandon government-funded community colleges entirely.

ICRDCE had previously worked closely with colleges and universities throughout the region to establish NGO community colleges and were viewed as a critical resource to help leaders interpret the new government policy. In fact, colleges and universities that had previously been running NGO community colleges and now were implementing the UGC scheme (sometime simultaneously) requested such support from ICRDCE.⁷⁶ In order to stay relevant, ICRDCE obliged because, as one representative put it “more or less the whole philosophy and concept is the same whether it's a UGC community college or whether it's a NGO community college.” In this way, support of UGC community colleges was tangential rather than central to ICRDCE's re-prioritization of the education of “dropouts” and providing “life skills” in the face of the UGC model that focused on 12th pass students and skill development.

By September of 2013, Alphonse had organized a national conference to explore a partnership with the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) as an alternative route toward recognition. In the invitation to participants Alphonse acknowledged that, “many models of the community college are floating in the air, but we are firmly sticking on to the ICRDCE model which has achieved considerable and reasonable success. It is time for us to strengthen

⁷⁶ Community colleges were able to switch affiliation as new and more prestigious options for recognition became available. For example, according to ICRDCE staff members and archival records, a large swath of NGO community colleges first registered with TNOU and then, when the IGNOU scheme launched, switched their affiliation. Furthermore, in a handful of cases Universities that were running NGO community colleges prior to the availability of government funding applied for UGC recognition and either combined both efforts or maintained separate programs (e.g., Lady Doak community college; St. Joseph's; Pondicherry University Community College; St. Anne's Community College and J.A.C. Community College operating on the same organizational campus)

and consolidate the various aspects of the model” (Alphonse, 2014, p. 3). In reaction to the development of a new community college model, ICRDCE was gathering the NGO community college troops to introduce a new arrangement for recognition, this time through the National Skill Development Corporation with assessment by Sector Skill Councils. Summarizing the conference, a report stated that a committee “under the leadership of ICRDCE has been formed to work out the modalities of cooperation, collaboration, and funding opportunities with NSDC” (Alphonse, 2014, p. 31). Not an easy task, ICRDCE was still working out the contours of such an arrangement in September of 2016. Alphonse remained confident that NGO community colleges were “entering into the second phase of the movement” with a renewed belief that “the government wants to recognize us.” By declaring a new “phase” of development, Alphonse highlighted the importance of an reactive translation process, not only in bringing the community college concept to India, but within each community college model. As another staff member put it,

We have not left our idea that we are mainly for the dropouts and the underprivileged. We are not worried about the UGC programs. We are still working for that NGO model; we are still struggling, but we have a bright future. There is NSDC and there is an officer in our Skills Development ministry and Joint Secretary; they are very pro-poor.

Always remaining optimistic, ICRDCE was willing to seek out new avenues for recognition as a way of continually translating the concept to adapt to the changing regulatory conditions. Had the NGO community colleges model remained static, it would have never survived. Instead, it was ICRDCE’s willingness to constantly adapt and seek out new opportunities for recognition that has helped it thrive.

In essence, by adapting the community college concept to India, advocates collectively worked to “span” the “institutional void” (Tracey & Phillips, 2011, p. 32) created by a system that left too many students uneducated and unemployed. Alphonse, in many ways, appeared to

be a “dominant actor” in the development of community colleges, which should have led to organizational stability (Van Gestl, 2011, p. 247). However, his dissatisfaction with each iteration of recognition created an opportunity for new advocates to get involved and new models to be created (Van Gestl, 2011). Universally framed as a “problem” of higher education (Boxenbaum, 2004), implementation of the each community college model represented a new approach, if not a unique solution, to overcoming the socio-cultural challenges of the Indian education system (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Marquis & Raynard, 2015). Advocates actively tried to differentiate community college models to reinforce the perceived legitimacy of their own activities.

Conclusion

Indian community colleges present an intricate story of repeated translation within the country resulting in multiple models, but the translation process did not stop there. Instead, as each new model developed, translation occurred within each model as a response to the new conceptualization of the community college being promoted. The within model translations tended to be more like an adjustment to the new social context rather than a full overhaul of the model, whereas the between model translations each fully repositioned the form and function of community colleges. It would be tempting to see this as an evolutionary process of continuous improvement, but there was nothing to suggest that one model, or adjustment of a given model, was better than another. Each conformed to different ideologies, norms, and expectations, which will be explored in more depth in Chapter 7. Ultimately, the judgment of community college quality in India is in the eye of the beholder.

Despite its portrayal in popular media and in the memories of advocates, the idea of implementing the community college in India was less a stroke of genius and more a slow and often messy process of building familiarity with and appropriateness of the concept over time. In other words, community college advocates were part of a wider action net that includes participation by “original innovators, proselytizers, and proselytes” (Hwang & Powell, 2005, p. 187) situated in a multilevel social environment. Through ongoing interactions, advocates created an environment of “perceptual readiness” (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p. 27, see also Bruner, 1957) for the community college concept through cycles of experimentation and implementation. They were continually drawing the attention of an expanding network of people to the idea that the community college could “solve” a range of “problems” related to higher education. As the idea of the community college circulated, it drew the attention of individuals and organizations looking for an appropriate solution to a field wide problem. As Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) pointed out, it is “more appropriate to discuss processes of *attention* rather than of information in relation to ideas that appeared in a given place/moment” (p. 26). The information about community colleges was ever present, but the attention paid to it varied considerably across time, space, and social context.

Attention, like fashion, is cyclical (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Each time a new community college model developed new advocates who had previously been less or uncommitted to the idea would be won over. Their involvement would trigger a new translation process – one that did not replace the old model but occurred in parallel rooted in a social context that had changed with space and time requiring modifications (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013). Translators, guided by their understanding of the problem solution set potentially addressed by the community college “socially constructed path dependency between foreign and local practices as

part of their translation process” (Boxenbaum, 2006, p. 946). Foreign, in this case, was both international and related to previous models domestically. The idea was not new, it was rooted in preceding models, as new advocates get involved in a new place and a new time the concept was translated through “movement and transformation” (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, p. 224). To connect this macro perspective of community colleges with the individuals who populated the movement, in the next chapter, I explore the specific action strategies of advocates that supported the translation process (Frølich et al., 2013; Smets, Greenwood, Lounsbury, 2015; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Chapter 6: Institutional Entrepreneurship in Action

In India, a small but interconnected network of highly influential individuals, organizations, and government officials has driven community college development. Together, these advocates engage in the process of collective institutional entrepreneurship, or a communal process of creating new organizational arrangements (Aldrich, 2011). Institutional entrepreneurs in emerging markets are assumed to require flexibility and a “different set of skills” than those in more mature markets and highly institutionalized fields (Tracey & Phillips, 2011, p. 29; Jolly & Raven, 2016; Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016). Yet, even with these additional expectations, institutional entrepreneurs are still expected to engage in three strategic areas of action understood to shape institutional entrepreneurship; theorization, affiliation, and collective action, the (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013). Regardless of their ultimate goal, all community college advocates in India focused their efforts on securing the legitimacy of regulatory support through the public policy process. As Bastedo (2007) pointed out, “transformative innovation is thus only possible when it is consonant with the desires and expectations of policymakers” (p. 158).

To promote awareness and acceptance, community colleges were universally theorized, or promoted, as “education for employment” and as a tool for reform that is intended to integrate skill development coursework into higher education and increase access to postsecondary education. To build legitimacy, advocates used affiliation strategies that leveraged personal

relationships to secure formal regulatory support at the local, state, and national level. In response to a highly bureaucratic policy design and implementation process, rather than mobilize the combined expertise of professionals through collective action, advocates relied on top down strategies to direct information to community colleges. These practices employed few, if any, formal feedback mechanisms. In total, the institutional entrepreneurship strategies shaping community college development in India both conform to and diverge from theoretical expectations as typically depicted in the literature.

Theorization

The Chapter 5 described narratives that are told about the origins of the community college movement. This section looks more specifically at how institutional entrepreneurs theorize, or frame, the concept of the community college. David, Sine, & Haveman (2013) point out that theorization “involves specifying generic problems and justifying particular innovations as solutions to these problems” (p. 359; see also Strang and Meyer 1993; Tolbert and Zucker 1996). In this way, community college advocates identified their preferred model of community college as the appropriate (and innovative) solution for a widely accepted belief in the mismatch between educational offerings and employment opportunities. Advocates’ success in theorization was their ability to convey the political implications of supporting (or not) the community college concept (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; Smets, Greenwood, & Lounsbury, 2015). In India, community college advocates effectively politicized community colleges to drive institutional change by embracing skill development curricula and

challenging the status quo of an elite, theory-based higher education system (Agarwal, 2009).

Education for Employment

Only a small sliver of Indian students at any level pursue skills training. Evidence suggests that most students graduating from any part of the postsecondary education system are not adequately prepared for employment (Career Builder, 2016; World Bank, 2014). Under a new push for competency based standards for vocational education and portrayed as the “need of the hour,” community colleges were positioned as an important “vehicle” to solve the “unemployability” crisis. Thus most study participants, particularly government officials, tended to define community college in terms of its focus on employment and measure success by the number of job placements, starting salary, and industry participation. Echoing the official government position on community colleges, one ICRDCE representative said, “community college is a response to the unemployed, it is the essence of community college, if you capture this you get the idea of the community college. It answers the un-employability problem.” The complex web of expectations reflected the need to satisfy academic and skill development demands as well as the needs of individuals and employers. The simultaneous influence of a constellation of logics shaping these expectations and advocates’ responses will be addressed in the following chapter.

Referring to the perceived role of community colleges, a higher education official said, “we want them to produce students that are work ready, industry fit ... our single objective is to cater to the local industry.” All participants agreed that community colleges, in a departure from “conventional education,” should prepare students for the world of work. One Wadhvani

Foundation representative echoed this sentiment, “to my mind community colleges are what need to remain focused on meeting industry’s requirements and giving gainful employment to our youth, and with a option open for mobility to higher education.” Furthermore, this advocate went on to suggest that, “employers will decide what works and what doesn’t work... Not define what is community college, but the final pull comes from the employers, if employment is the objective.” Community colleges were framed as a direct pathway to employment all while accommodating industry demands, whether implicit or explicit, in the interest of economic development.

While adherence to the education for employment framing was universal, a number of participants, especially those associated with NGO community colleges, tended to balance the importance of employability with “personal development,” “empowerment,” “building confidence,” and student “growth.” For example, an ICRDCE representative said, “community college helps an individual to discover his or her own talent, capacity... we make them aware of what they are capable of and we invite them to put that to use, and the person discovers himself or herself... Community college is transformational.” An influential IGNOU administrator remarked on the transformative power of community college. He said that after just six months “you will be amazed to see the transformation of the student... And that was the satisfaction” of working on the scheme. Other IGNOU officials echoed this sentiment, although some had a hard time seeing how to manage such individual care and attention for students in a massive system that grew so quickly.

In contrast, government officials rarely referred to the personal development of students, focusing rather on more explicitly measurable outcomes such as job placements and completion of training programs aligned with the newly established National Skills Qualification Framework

(NSQF) – the competency based approach to skill development education. This highlighted the strength of commitment to individual students by the NGO model that was challenged by the scale of the IGNOU scheme and began to diminish under the weight of national policy associated with government-funded community colleges. In 2015, Sector Skill Councils were granted independent power to award government certification for NSQF coursework in both formal and informal educational settings. Critics of the NSQF that were associated with government-funded community colleges contended that the “soft skill” requirements⁷⁷ were not adequate to “create a basic foundational backbone for a student to build skills for life.” Similarly, Alphonse lamented that the standards of the NSQF “are very basic, rudimentary and elementary. They are not enough ... we will also put a set of additional skills required for getting employable.” Together, these advocates suggested that community college practitioners should go above and beyond the requirements of a centralized curriculum to focus more on developing students holistically, rather than for immediate employment. As a solution, advocates argued that organizational leaders must set a higher bar for success than those required by the NSQF requirements and employer expectations.

This discrepancy in perspectives on the “education for employment” framing demonstrates that as control shifted from grassroots efforts to state-organized initiatives, the priority of national economic development began to overshadow the early goals of student development.⁷⁸ In this way, the state had significant power over the standards community colleges must meet while giving industry experts – who populate the Sector Skill Councils – an increasingly critical role in determining the fate of community college. Ultimately, all agreed

⁷⁷ These refer to skills associated with personal and interpersonal communication, leadership, problem solving, critical thinking, etc.

⁷⁸ This is taken from the chapter: Gross, J.L. (2017). Community colleges in the Indian context. *New Directions for Community Colleges*. Spring (177), 61-70.

that the possibility of economic justice could only be achieved through education for employment, but participants who prioritized student “transformation,” viewed employment as a secondary benefit rather than a primary goal and feared that focusing purely on employment without the preceding developmental work would result in stagnant and terminal employment opportunities after training. The hope among participants interested in student transformation aligned with the inclination of an ICRDCE administrator who suggested that “eventually, community college should lead to a silent revolution of social change – change for the better through education, empowerment, and employment.”

Educational Reform

With advocates firmly committed to the notion of “education for employment,” fulfilling these promises would only be possible in conjunction with considerable educational reform. One technical education official suggested, “you really need to look at what kind of jobs are available at different levels in the industry and probably you need to redefine your education systems.” Echoing the desire for market-oriented reform another higher education official expounded, “we have linked and synchronized this vocational training with general education. So there is an opportunity that candidates can move vertically as well as laterally.” Mobility like this had never existed in the Indian Higher Education system yet, from the outset, had been a goal of community college advocates from all three models. Backed by the staunch support of advocates inside and outside the government, community colleges were promoted as a “vehicle” to usher in this reform ultimately intended to breakdown “watertight” divisions that were the hallmark of “traditional” higher education and integrate practice with theory. In short, the community college

was viewed as a tool to “make skills aspirational,” in the words of a Wadhvani Foundation employee and the National Skill Development Policy (2015). Among study participants, the vision for reform took on two primary dimensions: updating the curriculum to adequately prepare students for employment, and expanding educational access in an otherwise rigid system. The hope, in the words of a technical education official, was that “the community college concept would grow into a massive movement.”

“Mainstream skills in higher Education”⁷⁹

Generally, participants looked at reform in terms of “mainstreaming skills in higher education” as a primary goal. This view juxtaposed “conventional education” based on the abstract knowledge of academics with an approach that integrates “general education” with “practical education.” In other words, reform required a shift in focus from theoretical understanding to application and employability. One Wadhvani Foundation representative asked, “why can’t we institutionalize and leverage that and make sure that we integrate skills into our general academics and get things moving?” Participants almost universally indicated that application of theory had been basically absent from higher education and the current system supported a false division between vocational and general education where colleges and universities were theory-based while Industrial Training Institutes and Polytechnics focus on skills with little overlap. The purpose of the community college, then, was to bridge that gap by incorporating general and vocational education simultaneously in one curriculum and inculcating an ethos of employability throughout higher education.

⁷⁹ An alternative title for this section could have been, as expressed by an IGNOU representative, “because simply if you are talking of only the vocations, then you can jolly well have some bloody branch of a polytechnic.”

Achieving this goal would require unprecedented collaboration between industry and the academy. Another Wadhvani Foundation member suggested that, “right now it is only a seeding which is happening,” but eventually, “community colleges will be a silent revolution” because “the teachers have started knowing how to talk to industry; they have started becoming sensitive to that.” This reflected the belief, echoed by several participants, that slow and steady exposure to new ways of designing curricula and teaching would break down barriers between the academy and industry. The community college would serve as a catalyst for this work while the experience was expected to have long lasting ramifications that enhanced both the professional knowledge of faculty and the cooperation of industry experts in teaching and designing curricula.

Participants regularly acknowledged the great divide between the academy and industry, but most viewed this shift in education as either inevitable or critical. This was true even among those NGO community college advocates that prioritized student transformation as a necessary precursor to employment. Advocates believed that industry and academic collaboration would help build confidence and trust in a mutually beneficial partnership that would ultimately help students pursue their academic and career goals. As one ICRDCE member suggested, “just the rapport with industries, that alone is enough.” Furthermore, as industry partners become more involved in the community college the hope was that they would begin to realize the value in hiring a skilled workforce rather than relying on hiring the cheapest available labor and providing minimal on the job training with an expectation of high turnover.

Expanding Access

Beyond curricular reform, participants repeatedly discussed the potential role of community colleges in improving access to higher education. Expanding access through massification policy is a reform prioritized by many emerging economies across the globe (Altbach, 2013; Boggs, Elsner, & Irwin, 2017; Carnoy, Froumin, Loyalka and Tilak, 2014; Raby et al., 2017). In India, an academic on the community college expert committee shared:

The scheme primarily was conceived to take care of the people who are not part of the formal system, who did not have access to education or for whom working in industry or being an entrepreneur, taking up small-scale project itself is a necessity. It's not a matter of choice, but a necessity.

Improving educational access aligned with the desires of individual students, the policy priorities of the national government, and the demand of employers for more skilled works. Shaped by a consistent refrain in media and policy discussions, a general assumption was that there was a skill development crisis and the nation's future rested in the balance of how many students could be educated for the global work force (Ministry for Skill Development & Entrepreneurship, 2015). Attention to those "left out," who tended to be place based and low income, was elevated in this framing. This suggests the expectations of community development had a moderating effect on the influence of external demands for national economic development.

Consistent with the national priorities of "harnessing the demographic dividend" and becoming "globally competitive" was a zealous push to increase higher education enrollment with acute attention on the role of skill development programs. To satisfy both goals simultaneously, community college advocates focused on enrolling non-traditional and marginalized students. Underscoring this point, in a 2015 teacher training program for community colleges, an ICRDCE member extolled community colleges as "an opportunity

college where the students are lacking, they do not have the opportunity to go forward. So, it is an opportunity college which gives hope and opportunity to those who otherwise will not have one.” Government guidelines made similar provisions that “community colleges will be located to facilitate easy access to underprivileged students” (UGC, 2013, p. 1). However, the opening of the door was slightly narrower in government-funded community colleges than in NGO community colleges. The guidelines went on to say that community colleges should “provide skill based education to *students currently pursuing higher education* but actually interested in entering the workforce at the earliest opportunity” (p. 3, emphasis added). It is important to note that higher education statutes regulating government-funded community colleges require minimum eligibility criteria for students that do not allow colleges and universities to admit students who are not 12th pass and polytechnics generally require 10th pass. Meanwhile, NGO community colleges remained committed to admitting a wider breadth of students, saying they existed to educate “dropouts.” Their stated goal was “serving the poor,” “including the excluded” and seeking ways to bridge the gap between informal and formal education.

This narrowing of eligibility, as the community college moved toward inclusion in formal higher education, was perhaps the greatest point of tension between advocates. Despite ardent criticism among NGO advocates, guidelines for government-funded community colleges were designed to work within existing regulations, an approach that the Wadhvani Foundation, which also had representation on the expert committee to develop the guidelines, actively supported. A Foundation representative suggested that NGO community colleges were “neither in the formal system nor in the informal system” but that with government-funded community colleges “students should get an upward path” toward a much-coveted degree. Accomplishing this required that community colleges “be integrated in the higher education system otherwise it

doesn't make sense really." ICRDCE expressed grave disappointment in this policy development saying, "the UGC should not be bothering about starting the community college" because "it is not going to help out any dropout student." But, this ICRDCE representative did express the optimism that the government "now, at least, they know the concept of a community college is a vibrant model for the entire system as an alternative to higher education." Although advocates' expectations about reform offered by the community college differed with each model, a belief in the power and necessity of the community college as a tool for change was consistent among all advocates. Armed with the attractive promise of community college as education for employment and a tool for educational reform, advocates went about "mobilizing allies" to support the community colleges concept (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009, p. 81; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009).

Affiliation

Advocates focused on affiliating with those who could confer legitimacy on the community college movement based on expertise in the framing concepts as well as high social status (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013). This was an effort to "build networks and alliances, and to legitimate new sets of practices amongst other key actors" (Tracey & Philips, 2011, p. 29; see also Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy, 2002; Jolly & Raven, 2016; Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004). The constraints of social acceptability and degree obsession forced advocates into recognition chasing – described in Chapter 4 – through the guise of regulatory support, the exclusive domain of government actors. However, this could be carried out at the individual university level, the state level, or the

national level. Advocates chased recognition at all three using affiliation strategies to mobilize resources. Affiliation, as an element of collective institutional entrepreneurship, was carried out through an interdependent web of advocates some of whom were seeking recognition for community colleges (i.e., ICRDCE and Wadhvani Foundation) while others were able to grant it (i.e., IGNOU and MHRD). This power differential resulted in competing strategies for recognition wherein ICRDCE sought an independent authority for NGO community colleges and the Wadhvani Foundation sought to embed community colleges within existing institutions. Both relied on leveraging resources to develop community college “champions,” but their differential success at navigating the rapidly changing context helps explain the continued existence of multiple community college models in India (Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016; Purdy & Gray, 2009).

Interdependence

It is evident that while the origin stories described in the last chapter tended to depict independence, community college development did not happen in isolation. As Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum (2009) pointed out, “institutional entrepreneurs can enhance the legitimacy of change projects by, for example, mobilizing support for them among key constituents such as highly embedded agents and professionals and experts who operate at the center of a field” (p. 85, see also Hwang & Powell, 2005; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002). In order to achieve recognition, community college advocates sought to mobilize support for inclusion in the system

of higher education. Personal relationships, therefore, mattered deeply and interaction with MHRD, and UGC by extension were a critical resource among advocates.⁸⁰

Over the years, Alphonse would leverage relationships he developed in the 1990s with government officials and educational leaders to eventually gain entrée to the UGC as a distinguished member. It was in this position that Alphonse was able to continue to promote the community college concept as an appropriate way to achieve “vocationalization” – a key concern of education reformers. In his own words, Alphonse shared that his appointments to the Academic Council of Tamil Nadu Open University and the UGC gave him “a big advantage, both through Central Government as well as State Government.” Moreover, Alphonse was positioned to work closely with Pillai who, when he became Vice Chancellor of IGNOU, eagerly began implementing a community college scheme. Furthermore, as Vice Chancellor of IGNOU, Pillai oversaw all state open universities. To upgrade the recognition status of NGO community colleges, Alphonse and Pillai began coordinating efforts with Tamil Nadu Open University during the development of the IGNOU scheme.

Shortly thereafter, the Wadhvani Foundation began its high profile advocacy for community colleges by accessing a political back door⁸¹ and bringing money to the table. Members of the Wadhvani Foundation almost immediately found themselves in positions of power helping to make decisions about the future of the IGNOU scheme by sitting on the review committees with other government officials. The Foundation also organized the state ministers trip to the U.S. that also included IGNOU administrators in charge of rebooting the scheme after its unceremonious closure in 2013. Early on Wadhvani Foundation representatives visited

⁸⁰ The network of individuals advocating for national policy support related to community colleges was quite small and this phenomenon will be explored in the next section.

⁸¹ A personal relationship between a Wadhvani Foundation employee and the personal secretary to the Minister of HRD helped solidify the Foundation’s role in the policy process.

extensively with Alphonse⁸² and the ICRDCE team, even going as far as signing an Memorandum of Understanding to support an NGO community college in 2010. Following this, both Alphonse and a Wadhvani Foundation representative were appointed to the 12th Five Year plan sub committee on Employment in Higher Education in 2011. Alphonse viewed this committee as a “significant point” that “convinced” government officials to “recognize us.”

Subsequently both Wadhvani Foundation representatives and Alphonse were also appointed to the 2013 expert committee on community college guidelines and selection. Influential education policy makers and government officials coordinated both committees that were responsible for transforming the idea of government-funded community colleges into reality. According to Alphonse “as a result” of these committee’s activities “we've got UGC community colleges, we've got B.Voc [Bachelors of Vocational Education] centers we've got Kaushal Kendras in Arts and Science colleges,” all important steps toward bringing community colleges into the mainstream, even if NGOs were, in fact, left out of this opportunity. Regardless of whether or not ICRDCE and the Wadhvani Foundation saw eye-to-eye on the implementation of the community college concept, both used affiliation with a web of influential officials and educational administrators to shape the trajectory of recognition. Each opportunity for recognition required the protracted effort of building and maintaining relationships, recruiting new advocates through of proof-of-concept demonstrations, and navigating the political process of securing regulatory support (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013).

⁸² This is corroborated by representatives from both ICRDCE and the Wadhvani Foundation.

Formal Recognition as Affiliation

Advocates mobilized allies based on personal relationships, and they leveraged those individual affiliations to secure organizational legitimacy through formal recognition. As the movement evolved, taking this multi-prong approach enabled them to garner legitimacy in different niches from different institutional homes (Purdy & Gray, 2009, p. 369). As India's first community college advocate focused on building a national system, ICRDCE's ultimate goal was inclusion as an "alternative system of education"⁸³ under MHRD. Yet, ICRDCE understood the slow political process that would be necessary to achieve such a goal. In the meantime, ICRDCE spread the seeds of recognition far and wide to build incremental legitimacy for the new concept with the hope that it would eventually build to a tidal wave of acceptance. ICRDCE pursued these recognition milestones while always keeping its sights set on the definitive target of central government recognition. This included seeking recognition from the state of Tamil Nadu for individual community colleges (e.g., Madras Community College in 1997); partnering with universities to establish multiple community colleges under their aegis (e.g., Manomaniam Sundaranar University and Avinashilingam Deemed University in 1998); seeking affiliation with Open Universities at the state and central level to recognize existing community colleges (e.g., National Institute for Open Schooling in 2002, Tamil Nadu Open University in 2004, and IGNOU in 2009); and establishing a state level community college development authority in Tamil Nadu (e.g., proposal submitted first in 1999 and approved in 2008). Each of these arrangements offered a different possible position for community colleges and was part of the "experimentation" process ICRDCE used to secure legitimacy for the new concept.

⁸³ <http://www.icrdce.com/effortsforrecognition.html>

IGNOU offered an upgraded recognition from what had already been achieved at the state level with TNOU. Given that money was promised but not distributed under the 11th Five Year Plan, IGNOU provided an attractive solution to ICRDCE as a way to gain recognition for NGO community colleges. Yet, in many ways IGNOU also proved to be a disastrous distraction. Despite misgivings from early on in the process, still Alphonse temporarily turned his focus toward IGNOU and away from establishing centralized recognition under MHRD. It was at that exact moment that the Wadhvani Foundation, with their pledge of \$25 million and a direct line to the new Minister of HRD, entered the scene and began to redirect the community college movement. Whereas the IGNOU model was consistent with ICRDCE's vision for including NGO community colleges in higher education, Wadhvani Foundation's vision embedded community colleges directly in the existing higher education structure. By working within the existing system, the Wadhvani Foundation's vision excluded the possibility of including NGO community colleges in higher education. It embraced the structural status quo of higher education, insisting that, "UGC cannot do any funding for below 12th standard. That's their mandate." Yet, the new government-funded community colleges still pushed for recognition of a new type of curriculum, it was change from within rather than externally imposed change represented by the NGO community colleges. Without Wadhvani Foundation's carefully orchestrated behind the scenes efforts,⁸⁴ this step might have remained elusive for years, particularly in the wake of IGNOU's implosion.

As described above, an essential mechanism of the affiliation strategy was committee

⁸⁴ The details of these efforts are not nearly as well documented for public consumption as that of the ICRDCE and IGNOU. ICRDCE has published numerous books, articles, and manuals about the community college movement. In contrast, the Wadhvani Foundation has largely operated in the murky fog of political horse-trading.

work.⁸⁵ Participants of all three models described the use of “experts” in the process of designing curricula, selecting colleges, preparing guidelines, and shaping policy. While committees wielded great power in deciding the fate of community colleges in India, their rotating membership provided advocates who had a consistent seat at the proverbial table a powerful platform to promote their vision for community colleges. ICRDCE, IGNOU, the Wadhvani Foundation, and members of UGC, AICTE, and MHRD were among the only consistent representatives advocating, with sometimes competing visions, about the fate of community colleges. Effectively, committee work culled the number of voices in community college policy conversations resulting in a small but active cohort of advocates setting community college standards that were then disseminated to practitioners through top down communication strategies rather than through professional networks.

Collective Action

Despite continuous growth, professionalization among community college leaders and practitioners with the goal of guiding community college implementation never developed in India. Institutional theory assumes that collective action among professionals is a necessary ingredient for institutional change (DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). Collective action refers to the “struggles over the meanings of new issues and technologies and to the purposeful enactment of both the networks of actors that compose the organizational field and the institutional arrangements governing the organizational field”

⁸⁵ For a fairly comprehensive timeline of the overlapping activities and committee work related to recognition chasing, refer to Appendix A.

(Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006, p. 884). Collaborative efforts support the creation of operational norms and internal governance mechanisms that bolster organizational replication and sustainability (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Fligstein, 2013). By working together, professionals can overcome the inertia of existing conditions and develop a distinctive identity that is resilient in the protracted struggle for institutional change (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991, Scott & Davis, 2008). However, while Indian community colleges universally offer skill development education to marginalized students, community college practitioners themselves rarely interacted. Instead, the concept was largely spread through mandatory workshops rather than professional networks, and participation was incentivized by the lure of government-controlled recognition.

Rather than collective action among professionals, proponents of community colleges relied on an interaction I describe as *coercive cooperation*.⁸⁶ In the context of Indian community colleges, institutional entrepreneurs communicated norms and expectations through publications, participation in mandated “sensitization” workshops, and the distribution of guidelines. Practitioners and community college leaders were pressured to participate, but outcomes and adherence to the disseminated expectations were largely ignored. Coercive cooperation approaches were generally one-way communications with no meaningful opportunity for feedback, sustained inter-organizational activity, or ongoing oversight. Rather than being directed by the “heedful interrelating of practitioners doing work” (Dorado, 2005, p. 396), the

⁸⁶ This term is inspired by DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) theoretical contribution of institutional isomorphism, or the idea that organizations become more similar because of coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures. Generally, coercive pressures are the result of “power and politics” whereby influential actors demand adherence to structures and practices or create systems of resource dependence (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008, p. 80). Whereas isomorphism was originally theorized to be an outcome of diffusion, or the spread of ideas, most of the empirical literature looks at isomorphism as a cause for diffusion (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). In the case of Indian community colleges, coercive cooperation strategies are both driving diffusion and a reaction to it. Heterogeneity rather than isomorphism appears to be the realistic outcome of coercive cooperation despite advocates’ desire, particularly government officials, for increased homogeneity.

institutionalization of the community college concept in India has relied on the collective institutional entrepreneurship of actors whose intentions and agency shifted over time (Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016; Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013). These top down rather than bottom up strategies effectively stifled collective action among practitioners and funneled power into the hands of a limited number of advocates. Advocates' perceptions about the constraints of recognition chasing that necessitated sustained engagement with the bureaucratic processes governing higher education in India created a substantial barrier to collective action.

Policy Design and Implementation Process

Bureaucracy and politics were primary challenges to community college development that participants – inside and outside the government – identified. An academic working closely on national higher education policy summarized this ever-present concern saying, “in India, networks, personal connections, political connections are the ones that make the world turn. Eventually politics overrides other issues, so in India networks, patronage, and politics overrides merit.” As in many emerging economies, although there is a formal bureaucracy that wields great power in India, accountability for that power rests primarily on how “vertical ties of personal dependence” are served (Swidler, 2009, p. 199; see also Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016; Marquis & Raynard; Tracey & Philips, 2011). This “individual centric” approach was further complicated by high turnover rates, misguided incentives, and short-staffed departments.

As part of this patronage system, bureaucratic appointments were used as reward and punishment, resulting in high turnover among officials. In the face of a recent “churn” among higher education officials, a Wadhvani Foundation representative pointed out that “for a new

person to come and understand also takes time. Education is not a simple subject.” He further expressed concern about these new officials saying, “they don’t share the same passion, neither do they understand” community colleges. Often participants, government officials and external advocates alike, indicated that vacancies and new appointments disrupted the continuity of planning and partnership and left bureaucrats overburdened without the “capacity” or “bandwidth” to manage all of the tasks at hand. This left community colleges to “fend for ourselves,” in the words of an ICRDCE representative.

Another concern, repeatedly expressed was that officials wanted to get “political brownie points” by starting something new rather than building on past initiatives. This political reality was given as an explanation for the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship’s recent shift away from community colleges and toward a focus on upgrading ITIs, promoting short-term skilling initiatives, and reconfiguring higher education skill development into Skill Universities and DDU-Kaushal Kendras.⁸⁷ In large part, this was because officials operating in this environment were incentivized to “only pick the low hanging fruit” with little regard for the ramifications of policy, practice, and accountability, according to one technical education official. Taken together, these conditions resulted in a lack of continuity among people and priorities with policy implementation being guided by personal passion and superordinate directives rather than responding to the needs of practitioners and communities. Therefore, as one government official adeptly observed, “champions in the system” are necessary to keep these efforts moving forward because “people come and go.”

⁸⁷ DDU KAUSHAL Kendras are university programs that integrate skill-based education from community college credentials through PhD level coursework.

Coercive Cooperation

Champions, as this government official described them, are simply a quotidian title word for institutional entrepreneurs, but who those champions were among government officials was in a constant state of flux. Further complicating matters, one public policy professor suggested that, “implementation is left at the hands of one or a few individuals, so the implementation of that could be good or bad depending on that individual. It’s more individual-centric than systems-process centric.” In short, a strong top down regulatory structure in India based inextricably on personal relationships coupled with a striving orientation among advocates (Jain & Sharma, 2013) resulted in the development of multiple community college models and national policy initiatives without strong professionalization.

To create change despite the constraint of the policy process, community college advocates turned toward centralized collective action approaches. Rather than relying on the grassroots efforts of practitioners to develop norms and standards, advocates for each model pursued top down strategies to convey information to community colleges with few if any feedback mechanisms. This maintained the norm of hierarchical knowledge transmission in India that dates back to ancient practice (Singh, 2012). Furthermore, it concentrated the power to define the community college in the hands of a few, rather than the expected collective work of a growing body of practitioner to determine the identity of the movement (Morrill, 2007; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006). Because formal recognition was viewed as a necessity and the policy process allowed only elite access to decision making, typical collective action strategies were largely abandoned in favor of more influential actions based on personal relationship. Primarily, *coercive cooperation* came to define the standards and norms for each community college model

and occurred by providing minimal but controlling oversight through selection processes, the creation of guidelines, and gathering (potential) practitioners for dissemination of information.

Guidelines. Advocates took a universally top down approach to selecting, providing guidance to, and communicating with community colleges. The level of engagement with individual colleges and flexibility in the process varied between models; government officials were particularly concerned about duty and conformity. ICRDCE and the Wadhvani Foundation, on the other hand, appeared to be concerned with providing quality materials to support community colleges through implementation. For example, at a training workshop, Alphonse told prospective community college practitioners that “we will give you a manual” to implement NSQF aligned curricula because “everybody cannot break their head with this, every college cannot do this which will be just a waste of time and waste of energy.” Alphonse insisted, “We are not sacrificing our content, our methodology, our way of doing it. Our approach, everything will remain the same. We are incorporating and integrating our stuff into their [NSQF] format.”

The Wadhvani Foundation took a similar approach but worked only with community colleges in a few states, with the most developed program management service in Bihar. A representative shared, “what is possible for us to support” was working closely in “two or three places” to document “best practices.” The Foundation intended to create a “playbook” and “make it available to everyone and get them to contribute also. If there are some better ways and practices let us include that so that body of knowledge keeps on evolving.” The Foundation’s desire to create a “playbook,” to share and continually improve, highlights their flexible approach to top down interactions with community colleges. While positioning their work as “hand holding” and providing “guidance” and “expertise,” Foundation representatives remained

open to learning from practitioners. Yet, rather than encouraging practitioners to work directly together to develop norms and document best practices, like ICRDCE, the Foundation saw this attempt at standardization as their role in community college development.

In contrast, government officials felt “duty bound to implement the guidelines” for community colleges developed at the national level. Reinforcing this expectation to adhere to hierarchy, a top technical education official who helped write the AICTE community college guidelines demanded:

You have to create systems, you have to create standards, put them in place, drive them down, and let people manage below. We created systems and standards to see that at least in our colleges, skilled training is practiced with the same passion. I am the regulator; I am the boss. So, if I go to my council, get a regulation passed and give it to the colleges, then they have to follow it.

To be clear, it was not just the colleges that had to follow top down regulations set by the government, but front line government officials too. Although those responsible for carrying out this duty rarely participated in the development of the guidelines, front line government officials were constrained by these top down standards. When asked about the goal of community colleges, another official shared that an individual’s goals cannot be different than the ministry’s goals clarifying that even “if he wants to take some initiative, he can’t do that... The only thing is that they have to follow guidelines of NSDC.” The definition of community colleges that officials were expected to implement had to conform to the guidelines created at the national level. With this constricting ethos of duty, officials were pressed to ensure compliance at both the state and local levels.

Selection. Selection of community colleges was also a top down process, but again this varied between models. IGNOU registered, it seemed, any college that met the basic

requirements that “they must be credible institutions with relevant experiences in the field, and be located in the community it seeks to serve” (IGNOU, 2011, p. 14). In contrast, government-funded community colleges were selected through one of two processes associated with AICTE and UGC respectively. In 2013, based on population, each state received a “quota” of the original 200 community colleges funded by MHRD. According to a Wadhvani Foundation representative, states could “choose either polytechnics or colleges, or a mixture of the two.” AICTE selected government polytechnics (rather than private) “because it was tax payers’ money that we were dealing with.” These 72⁸⁸ community colleges did not apply for recognition; rather they were anointed with the charge to implement the new scheme. UGC, on the other hand, sent out a call for proposals and invited any eligible⁸⁹ college or university to apply. The expert committee, populated by a Wadhvani Foundation representative, Alphonse from ICRDCE, an MHRD official, and two at-large academics facilitated the selection process for UGC, in stark contrast to AICTE. Both were top down processes that put the power of recognition directly in the hands of a concentrated few working with the government to implement the scheme. Furthermore, for the most part there was no interaction with the prospective community colleges, beyond paperwork.⁹⁰ Interface meetings for selection at UGC did not occur until the third (and possibly final) round of selection in June 2015.

ICRDCE’s process for starting a new community college was remarkably different. The process of directing information began with how a community college was oriented toward the concept. There was nothing stopping an organization from starting a community college independently – or continuing to operate a former IGNOU community college under the same

⁸⁸ Funding was made available for 100 in the original outlay, but only 72 became operational.

⁸⁹ Applicants had to have 12B, 2F status, which makes them eligible to receive central assistance from the UGC.

⁹⁰ An exception to this rule was the Wadhvani Foundation interacting with the team from Bihar.

name – but ICRDCE worked hard to guide interested individuals and organizations through a process that infused the values and beliefs associated with the NGO community college model they have developed over 20 years – one that prioritizes a community logic. As an administrator explained:

Whenever any NGO approaches us, first, we have at least two to three meetings in our ICRDCE center. Then, I send my staff to go and study, help them in terms of each course, how many students, how many classes should be there, what are the courses that can be started, and so on. How they have to fill up the application form in terms of getting recognition from Tamil Nadu Open University, all those preparations will be done by my staff. Then, I go there for one visit. Then, I usually go there for the inauguration. Then, usually, they periodically report to us. Even if I'm not there, they come and have guidance from my staff and myself.

Selection of NGO community colleges was, in many ways, initiated from the bottom up, but then managed closely by ICRDCE who ushered the college through the establishment process.

Regardless of the selection process or operational guidelines adhered to, all community colleges, now “has to work as per the policy guidelines” of the National Skill Development policy, in the words of technical education officer. Receiving recognition and certification through the Sector Skill Councils – the centralized authority for skill development education – required adherence to the National Skills Qualification Framework. This became the mandate as soon as the Framework was approved in 2013, and all community colleges began scrambling to align curricula, because “there is no choice actually” now that the standards had been set “everybody will have to follow that,” according to an ICRDCE staff member. Both NGO and government-funded community colleges were affected and funding (present and future) depended on alignment.

“Gathering.” An important way that advocates created awareness and disseminated information about guidelines and selection procedures was through hosting workshops and consultations with community college practitioners. Gathering was a key mechanism of coercive

cooperation among all advocates. From the beginning workshops, consultations, conferences, and seminars were used to funnel information to community colleges from advocates for each model. Such gatherings provided an opportunity to reach a wide audience and “sensitize” interested parties to this new concept in Indian education. As Alphonse shared, “the movement spread through workshops” and by publishing copiously on the community college movement. IGNOU officials and advocates for Government Funded community colleges took ICRDCE’s lead by hosting joint meetings with the organization in support of the movement. For example ICRDCE initiated a workshop to “strengthen” IGNOU community colleges in 2009 and in 2011, ICRDCE hosted a workshop on “quality management” for Open University community colleges. MHRD representatives attended this latter meeting to discuss national community college policy. MHRD financially supported ICRDCE meetings as late as September 2012. After this MHRD retrenched support from the NGO model and begin partnering with the Wadhvani Foundation to host workshops across the country.⁹¹

Additionally, advocates of all three models pursued this strategy independently to buoy the strength of the movement and ensure basic understanding of the models and their quality. Collective information sharing was considered critical to combat the reality that “there is a lack of understanding about how things should be implemented on the ground,” according to a higher education policy wonk and professor. To remedy this “lack of clarity” almost universally expressed, advocates of all three models hosted workshops for community college leaders and practitioners. According to ICRDCE, NGOs were introduced to the concept through workshops that the organization considered “almost mandatory.” This was a staple of the ICRDCE approach to community college development and these workshops have been described in great detail

⁹¹ For a complete list of such gatherings, refer to Appendix A.

throughout this dissertation. As the organization recognized the need to support Government Funded community colleges once the scheme was announced in 2013, ICRDCE conducted “sensitizing workshops” for UGC and NGO community colleges in 2014. At these workshops, participants were made aware of the community college concept and the guidelines for implementation. They followed up again with a series of workshops across South India with workshops explicitly related to the “sensitizing and functioning of UGC community colleges, because they are novices.”

At the same time, the Wadhvani Foundation helped orchestrate a “number of sensitization seminars at different places across the country.” They chose to support UGC and AICTE in this way in order to help educators understand the integration of skills in higher education, through a new organizational arrangement – the community college. A Foundation advocate went on to say, “We have been talking to people because this is something which is very new to them.” As implementation progressed and officials recognized that there was a great deal of “confusion” around integrating skill development courses in higher education, the UGC hosted mandatory workshops to inform higher education administrators and practitioners about the new Choice Based Credit System and Credit Framework for skill based vocational courses. These two policies provided the framework for including community colleges in formal higher education and both polytechnics along with colleges and universities implementing the scheme were required to attend in March and April 2015. More recently, skill development officials were beginning to plan train the trainer workshops for skill-based courses in higher education with a plan to include community college faculty, but those have yet to be implemented.

Quality maintenance was another motivation for gathering community colleges together. In fact, ICRDCE insisted that “we’ll not collaborate with them” if community college

practitioners do not attend an ICRDCE training. Although “ICRDCE is quite patient” through the process, “some kind of sanctions have to be done so that we maintain the quality.” Demotion to “active partner” rather than full association was the sanction meted out to community colleges that did not remain actively engaged in training workshops through ICRDCE. Similarly, IGNOU viewed meetings with community colleges as a way to maintain quality. An administrator shared that,

We should be able to see and close down the ones that are not good, or put pressure on them to alter themselves, and show the good practices of the others. So there were meetings of that kind to share and give awards to the best community college group.

The IGNOU Board also recommended ongoing regional workshops, and a series of national teleconferences were held to continue to share best practices and address common challenges. In terms of quality control, government-funded community colleges are lagging. UGC did not hold “review meetings” until 2014 when they “discontinued” nine⁹² community colleges because they had not “done the training as per the national benchmark.” It is important to note that unlike ICRDCE and IGNOU, the UGC review meetings were between the community college administrative team and a panel of experts. A UGC official considered this a “kind of a third party evaluation” rather than an opportunity to share best practices. AICTE had “no formal mechanism” for feedback but suggested that they were working on “planning regional workshops to provide a “a structured way of formal discussion.” This type of feedback was highly prized at ICRDCE.

Although they brought people together, with rare exceptions, gatherings maintained the top down flow of information that controlled community college policy and shaped practice dramatically. In other words, they were used as a tool to coerce cooperation. By convening

⁹² According to a UGC official two of these nine were “revived with further upgradation.”

meetings rather than relying on professionals to self-organize, advocates maintained control over standard setting and norms. This function increased substantially when curricular expectations were made uniform under the NSQF, with a promise of external evaluation by the Sector Skills Councils. This new opportunity for recognition controlled by a non-education agency⁹³ represented an additional form of external control that lacked the collaborative participation of community college educators.⁹⁴

Institutional entrepreneurship has tended to assume the necessity of collective action among practitioners (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Morill, 2007; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000). Furthermore, this need is more acute in relation to a new organizational form in a developing field because actors are unable to work within existing professional associations (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013, see also Morrill, 2007; Purdy & Gray, 2009). Yet, the burden of recognition chasing in India, meant that advocates from all three models sought legitimation and resources heavily from the field of higher education even while implementing the concept among NGOs and other community organizations. Given India's unstable policy process based largely on "personalized exchanges" that is characteristic of emerging economies (Jolly, Spodniak, & Raven, 2016, p. 104; see also Dorado & Ventresca, 2013), coercive cooperation was the strategic approach that community college advocates favored above collective action. Although advocates may have been differentially motivated by duty or passion, the result was the same. Securing regulatory, financial, and reputational support from formal higher education concentrated power in the hands of individuals who possessed or were imbued with the time, interest, and responsibility to consistently advocate at the system level. By channeling influence into the

⁹³ NSQF is ultimately under the auspices of the relatively new Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship established in 2015.

⁹⁴ The NSQF subsumed the former NVEQF that was designed by MHRD and the NVQF designed by the Ministry of Labor and Employment.

hands of a few, collective action among those implementing community colleges was effectively stifled.

Although coercive cooperation became the norm among community college advocates, there were inklings of mobilization among professional educators in the early years of the movement. In exploring this alternative possibility to the lack of collective action, it became apparent that in response to the constraints of the regulatory environment, nascent collective action efforts were eventually subsumed under the coordination of ICRDCE.

Stifled Seeds of Collective Action

At the inauguration of Avinashilingam University Community College in July 1998, recognizing the need to garner widespread support, the University Chancellor suggested developing an Indian Consortium of Community Colleges (The Indian Express, July 7, 1998 quoted in Alphonse, 1999 p. 340). Community college leaders, including Alphonse, drafted an organizational document for the consortium with an expressed desire to be “thoroughly professional and become powerful enough through its academic work so that it would be recognized as the ultimate authority” for community colleges (The Hindu, November 5, 1998 quoted in Alphonse, 1999, p. 396). Shortly after the idea of the consortium emerged, ICRDCE was established, and the consortium never materialized.

With funding from the UK and the Jesuits of Madurai and in response to the nascent consortium, Alphonse conceived of ICRDCE as a coordinating and monitoring agency for community colleges (Alphonse, 1999).⁹⁵ By early 2000, ICRDCE hosted a national workshop on

⁹⁵ Building on past interactions with UK educators, Alphonse submitted a funding proposal for a Department for International Development grant from the UK government to establish MCRDCE (now ICRDCE). According to the

community colleges “in collaboration with” MHRD⁹⁶ at which participants unanimously resolved “to accept ICRDCE as a nodal agency and authorizing the Director of ICRDCE [i.e. Alphonse] to talk on behalf of the community colleges to the State and Central Governments” (quoted in Alphonse, 2005, p. 38). With the power of this resolution propelling him, Alphonse became the voice of community colleges in India, and he alone was appointed to the influential committees at the state and national level to advocate on behalf of NGO community colleges.

These early years of the movement demonstrate how one organization became the conduit for the typical “collective action” process required by the institutionalization. With Alphonse as such a vocal, consistent, and persistent advocate for the budding movement, practitioners implementing at the organizational level could not have kept pace with ICRDCE’s activity level, even if they had wanted to. This made Alphonse, by default, the central figure driving community college development in India. Over the years ICRDCE continued consulting with community colleges to refine the vision and expectations of the movement, but each opportunity for feedback was organized, facilitated, and documented by the ICRDCE team and presided over by Alphonse.⁹⁷ Although the ICRDCE team may have collaborated with NGO community colleges, practitioners rarely interacted between “consultations” according to

organizations charter, “The purpose of the Centre is to act as the central agency to co-ordinate and monitor the process of the community college movement in terms of curriculum development, training of the trainers, building a Resource Center, global networking with community college...lobbying with Central and the State Governments, Universities, University Grants Commission an apex body of higher education in India, for the recognition of community college system as an educational alternative towards human resource development, alleviation of local Community and to fulfill the needs of the community” (p. 408).

⁹⁶ This followed meetings at MHRD where Alphonse was asked to present on community colleges. As follow up, an MHRD representative was sent to assess community colleges and concluded that despite their success “rather than incorporating community colleges into existing postsecondary education structures, they should be “left exclusively in the NGO sector as an alternate and innovative college system,” but that the government should step in with a committee to create guidelines (Agarwal, 1999 quoted in Alphonse, 2005, p. 65).

⁹⁷ This held true until late 2015 when Alphonse was moved into a role overseeing all Jesuit higher education in Tamil Nadu. He was replaced with a handpicked successor that he had groomed for this responsibility over the last ten years.

ICRDCE staff members. This allowed ICRDCE to maintain its privileged position as the voice of the movement and the primary advocate in the policy process at the university, state, and national levels. In many ways, through constant “consultation,” Alphonse created a “democratic process,” yet ICRDCE controlled how the voices of practitioners were conveyed to those in power. Being rooted in a grassroots campaign, ICRDCE was the most well positioned advocate to be swayed by traditional collective action. Yet, even with the explicit intention among early practitioners for creating a professional association to guide community colleges, the constraints of the bureaucratic process proved too great to sustain such an effort. In the end, rather than rely on the collective efforts of educational professionals to create internal governance mechanisms, define norms and standards, and shape the identity of the community college movement in India, this work was largely accomplished through coercive cooperation strategies determined by system level advocates rather than practitioners.

Conclusion

The emergence of a new organizational arrangement at the intersection of overlapping fields requires the “collective efforts of multiple, sometimes competing critical masses who resonantly frame alternative practices to secure legitimation and resources from key organizational players in existing organizational fields” (Morrill, 2007, p. 11). In India, all three community college models maintained adherence to a norm of education for employment, but its enactment varied based on founding context and organizational leadership. As community college control has shifted from grassroots efforts to state-organized initiatives, the priority of national economic development began to overshadow the early goals of student development at

the system level. In India, bureaucrats, regardless of their expertise in education, have been allowed to usurp the conventional role of professionals in determining the future of community colleges. This supports the growing consensus that, in addition to private actors, government officials can operate as key institutional entrepreneurs (Jain & Sharma, 2013; Nasra & Dacin, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2005). Yet, the larger web of community college advocates engaged in institutional entrepreneurship still had nearly free reign to interpret the concept to satisfy their personal interests that at times complement or compete with changing expectations related to government recognition.

Because the state alone controls educational certification in India and formal inclusion in higher education was perceived to be the key to community college legitimacy, advocates' affiliation strategies revolved around recognition chasing. To secure credibility, community colleges advocates contorted themselves to align with an evolving set of government policies that were set with little regard for local implementation. This gave the state significant power to define what it means to be a community college conceptually, but little power over how it was enacted in practice. Unlike previous literature that depicts institutional entrepreneurs having multiple alternatives for legitimacy (David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Tracey & Jarvis, 2011), the constraints motivating the process of recognition chasing severely limited the sources of legitimacy for community college advocates in India. With each opportunity for governmental recognition, advocates – both in and outside the government – began exerting influence over community colleges. This resulted in regulatory “tussles” over the definition and structure of community colleges (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013, p. 31). These tussles were the defining waypoints in the collective institutional entrepreneurship shaping the community college movement. It was in the aftermath of each reactive translation process that a

new model emerged.

Rather than collective action among professionals, proponents of community colleges relied on *coercive cooperation*. In this form of collective action, institutional entrepreneurs communicate norms and expectations through participation in mandated “sensitization” workshops and the distribution of guidelines for all three models. Generally these are one-way communications with no meaningful opportunity for feedback, sustained inter-organizational activity, or ongoing oversight that promoted professional development. As a result, when translated in India, the community college loses its structured organizational form and reverts to the level of an idealized concept. That is not to say that collective action may not develop, because as Morrill (2007) pointed out waiting to professionalize after a new institutional arrangement has gained sufficient legitimacy and structural consensus, may “metaphorically create a many-headed hydra that is difficult to kill and not easily forgotten” (p. 37). This suggests that while the idea of the community college may be institutionalized, its form and function are still materializing. In other words, Indian community colleges are still in the process of becoming (Bjerregaard & Jonsasson, 2014).

Chapter 7: Constellation of Logics

Complex environments – fields in which multiple logics coexist (Greenwood et al., 2011) – are infused with competing demands for action, attention, and compliance (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Elsbach & Sutton, 1992). While scholars increasingly agree that institutional complexity is a universal reality, most research assumes the existence of a dominant logic that may shift over time when in conflict with a competing logic (e.g., Reay & Hinings, 2005; Thornton, 2004; Zajac & Westphal, 2004). More recently, scholars have begun to explore the idea of how a constellation of logics – a coexistence of multiple logics in cooperation and competition - shaped professional practice over time (Goodrick & Reay, 2011); organizational practice (Jarzabowski et al., 2013; Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013; Smets et al., 2015; Varlander, Hinds, Thomason, Pearce, & Altman, 2016; Yu, 2013) and the development of government initiatives (Waldorff, 2013; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). New insights into the way that constellations of logics enable and constrain action has far reaching implications for understanding the multilevel influence of logics on the institutionalization process. Greenwood et al. (2011) suggest that institutional complexity shifts over time as logics push through and recede and organizations respond in different ways as the environment changes.

As described in Chapter 5, each model or opportunity for recognition in Indian community college development can be associated with an overarching goal of social, national, and economic development for the NGO, IGNOU, and government-funded community colleges

respectively. However, such a broad generalization glosses over the intricate navigation of complex logics influencing each model independently and as a budding interconnected system. As Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) acknowledge, “it is the contradictory relationships that exist between different institutional orders that allow for individual and organizational autonomy” (p. 45). There is no neat equation between logics and community college model because interpretation depends on unique blend of logics, organizational attributes, field structure, and local conditions (Greenwood et al., 2011). It is to the nuances that I turn in this chapter in which I aim to lay out the way a constellation of logics was ever present throughout the development of community colleges and accounts for both the similarities and differences among community college models in India. Translation, a continuous process that remains in flux today, does not produce an outcome, rather it is punctuated with way points of relative settlement while the context is constantly changing (Fligstein, 2013; Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014; Smets, Greenwood, Lounsbury, 2015). The configuration of the constellation of logics shaping action and structure provided the primary building blocks of the context.⁹⁸

In this chapter, I explore the institutional complexity that advocates faced when translating the community college concept in India, by illustrating how a constellation of the community, state, market, professional, and religious logics shaped the movement. I then turn to an analysis of how the mechanisms of constellations, identified by Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick (2013), constrained and enabled the action of community college advocates throughout the translation process. These mechanisms, outlined in Chapter 2, include: 1) existence of a strong logic; 2) additive relationships between logics; 3) strengthening an alternative logic; 4) segmenting competing logics; and 5) a facilitating relationship between logics. In this analysis, I

⁹⁸ The constituent elements of this constellation was detailed in Table 2.2.

also identify a hybrid mechanism, *logic seeking*. Given the complex resource environment coupled with competing demands from stakeholders, community college advocates engage in logic seeking, or aggressively pursuing the influence of multiple logics on community college development. I argue that logic seeking, which intensifies rather than minimizes complexity, is a function of founding context and embeddedness in an emerging economy.

Configuration of Logics Constellation Among Indian Community Colleges

The data confirmed that the advocates simultaneously navigated the influence of the state, market, community, and professional logics, which are the logics assumed to be essential to the field of higher education. In the context of Indian community colleges, it became apparent that the religious logic also played a critical role in shaping the movement. Therefore, I also demonstrate how the religious logic shaped the development of community colleges over the last twenty years. There was minimal evidence that the family or corporate logic had significant influence on any of the initiatives, the two other institutional orders outlined by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). See Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in Chapter 2 for a full elaboration of the interinstitutional framework and an illustration of the ideal type for each logic in relationship to community colleges respectively.

Community Logic

In all three community college models, the community logic served as a baseline for discussions about practice and policy. A community logic prioritizes the needs and desires of

community members and focuses on the development of individuals as means to ensure community growth and sustainability. Beyond pure geography or political jurisdiction, community is an ideological tie that binds communities together in a commitment to the common good, often with caste and class connotations in India.⁹⁹ Community college advocates working within and across all three models commented on the centrality of the community logic in decision-making and many commented about how the community logic created boundaries, or constrained the possible choices for appropriate action. Yet, the strength of the community logic differed among models.

In the NGO model championed by ICRDCE the community logic informed the targeted population of student and the focus on “life skills” in the curriculum with an intention to improve not only the individual student’s life but ripple out to the students’ families and the community at large. As Alphonse declared, the result of attending community college is “immediate job, livelihood, then wages, remuneration, then whole family situation will get better.” Beyond helping individuals and families, all members of the community were encouraged to be involved in the life of NGO community colleges. An ICRDCE representative, speaking to a group of community college novitiates, admonished:

Unless somebody has got a heart for the poor, you cannot conduct a community college. I repeat the sentence, if somebody doesn’t have a heart for the poor, with a special option for poor, you cannot run a community college, it is very clear... Community college is a community effort; it is not like our ordinary arts and science colleges or schools and things like that where the management runs the school. Here community leaders are trained to be involved, with industry, employers and community leaders, all have to come together to really, to give a boost to the community college.

⁹⁹ Throughout ICC history there is a constant dialogue about the use of the name community college for just this reason. Notably, the Wadhvani Foundation promoted the term “skills colleges” for a time, but ultimately political will to use the name community college, largely because of its ties to the west, won out.

What is emphasized is a core tenet of the NGO model: to serve local interests and needs above all else by being fully embedded in and engaged with the community. The idea was that students would be able to reach transformation only when they were supported by, and in, their communities. In other words, transformation was a community process that required full participation for maximum benefit. ICRDCE, serving as the backbone of community college development over the last twenty years, set a clear, and nearly inviolable, standard of prioritizing the care for and involvement of the local community in developing community colleges. This was a commitment that has remained central in each subsequent community college model.

When IGNOU offered the first opportunity for national recognition of community colleges,¹⁰⁰ their scheme continued to align with the community logic as promoted by ICRDCE. The manual introduced the community college with an “aim to empower individuals through appropriate skill development leading to gainful employment in collaboration with local industry and community” (IGNOU, 2011, p. 10). In reading the full manual, one can see the architecture of the community college developed by ICRDCE, including both structure and ideology. An IGNOU official suggested that, “the community college should build on the “strengths of the community” while another IGNOU official suggested that the community college should uncover and respond to how the community could benefit, saying:

It's supposed to meet the needs of the community. What do they require? Do a needs assessment... Based on that you devise something that's not just skill in the sense of using something, but what is happening behind that also. The person can't just be made to knock a nail in here, and there - it's not about that. It's about where would a nail be needed, and why, and what other materials can be used, for example... And we did that.

¹⁰⁰ Although numerous universities began providing recognition to community colleges before the launch of the IGNOU scheme in 2009, all were associated with ICRDCE and can be assumed to embody, at least in part, similar ideals.

This administrator suggested that the aim of community colleges went beyond training students to be cogs in a globalized labor market, but that students must develop a more holistic awareness of their participation in that system. An IGNOU official who only got involved with the community college scheme after its closing suggested, “the classical concept of the community college was altogether missing, nothing to do with community as such. So, there were all kind of programs and mostly they were going for market returns.” This official pointed out that while intended to be community responsive, market interests often usurped the power of the community logic. In this way, IGNOU community colleges faced questionable legitimacy because of a lack of oversight to weed out such “profit” oriented organizations during implementation. Together, although these perspectives on the IGNOU approach differed considerably, they all reinforced the belief that attending to the needs of the local community could and should play a central role in community colleges. Administrators readily critiqued the two thirds of IGNOU community colleges that they perceived as violating this norm.

As the government moved from being intrigued by the concept of the community college toward implementation of a centralized scheme, they maintained close ties with ICRDCE to inform their work even as the Wadhvani Foundation and policymakers took an increasingly prominent role. Despite the introduction of new state and market oriented advocates, the community logic remained central to the scheme. Often government officials would juxtapose the community college with “traditional” higher education and suggest that the former offered something unique because, in the words of one state education official, the majority of postsecondary education is “suffering” because students are not employable upon graduation and, “they don't have these concepts of community.” In this case, the official was highlighting the

importance of meeting the needs of the local, as in geographic, community. Among government officials, this was an often-repeated concern.

Another government official, for example, suggested, “what is ideal is you identify a 50 km radius, and create a college in that space which caters to the people there and the requirements there.” Notably, while focused on geographic proximity, officials recognized the importance of responding to local needs rather than adhering solely to national standards. In a country as vast and diverse as India, no two communities are identical. Therefore, this government official emphasized that focusing on a geographic community could help ensure that, “each community will preserve their traditional skills, their traditional values, and develop their community and their center and make wealth there.” In general advocates of the government-funded model viewed the community college as a vehicle to break the cycle of inequality and provide for communities in the general and specific sense. Much of the documentation and public speeches by government officials in support of the community college reinforced this commitment to the community logic.¹⁰¹

State Logic

In all three community college models, the state logic played a prominent role in discussions about practice and policy. The system of higher education, arguably designed to value the equality of all students, has become fixated on increasing the gross enrollment ratio¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Research on community colleges in the United States suggests that politicians and community college leaders were acting in their own political and financial self-interest by supporting community college development and vocationalization (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994). However, policymakers associated with community colleges in India are appointed rather elected and have no particular geographically bound constituency to satisfy.

¹⁰² Gross enrollment ratio can be calculated by dividing the total number of students enrolled in higher education by the number of students 18-23 in the population.

in postsecondary education over the past ten years. Quality only became a rallying cry in the last decade (Tilak, 2013). Additionally, because higher education is regulated by the state and national government, community college advocates seeking the legitimacy of an officially recognized credential were required to comply with the expectations of the state logic. As policy making for community colleges moved from grassroots control toward a centralized effort the state logic took on an increasingly overt role in the activities and expectations of advocates. Like the community logic, the state logic was quite strong in each of the three models though it differed in relative influence.

In the NGO model, the strength of the state rested on the power for recognition and regulation. ICRDCE spent much of its energy over the last twenty years pursuing “efforts for recognition.”¹⁰³ Described in earlier chapters, these efforts included constant interaction with government officials and education policy makers through committee work and conferences. ICRDCE conducted numerous studies to provide evidence for the viability of the community college and its potential in promoting goals consistent with the state logic. NGO community colleges knowingly and explicitly shaped the curriculum in ways that aligned with state and increasingly market expectations because this offered the only path to legitimacy in a country that is obsessed with degrees and formalities. Understanding the important role of the state in legitimizing the concept of the community college has been critical to the NGO model’s persistence.

As the national Open University, IGNOU had to operate within the confines of its state mandated guidelines. In this way, the actions of community college advocates associated with

¹⁰³ An ICRDCE webpage dedicated to “efforts for recognition” outlines actions taken at the state, and national level to secure inclusion in formal education and is also a phrase used to categorize a series of publications by the ICRDCE documenting these strategies and actions. Other categories of publication include: concept, implementation, testimony, propagation, research, and textbooks related to community colleges.
<http://www.icrdce.com/effortsforrecognition.html>

IGNOU were predisposed to the state logic and regularly discussed the importance of the gross enrollment ratio and standards determined by centralized oversight agencies. One IGNOU community college administrator suggested that the community college scheme “was good for the country as a whole. So we want that it wasn't just some gain to a few people. We were trying to help the poor and the marginalized.” This sentiment aligned with the way officials described the community college in the IGNOU manual as a way to increase postsecondary enrollment. The initiative was “regarded as a potential instrument of social transformation and an important means of national integration,” and that the community college addresses demands of “the Indian political will” focused on expanding educational access (IGNOU, 2011, p. 12). These guiding statements from the first national community college manual highlighted the role of the state logic as a means for equitable redistribution and development of citizens as key goals. Summarizing the commitment to public good – a defining interest of the state logic – in a section extolling the need for the “supplementary system” of community colleges, the IGNOU manual concluded, “these [community] colleges are a source of economic growth because they provide an educated and skilled workforce that improves the quality of life for individual students, communities, and the nation” (IGNOU, 2011, p. 14).

Much like IGNOU, the influence of the state logic on government-funded community colleges was extremely strong. For example, the 12th Five Year Plan covered community colleges in the section on formal higher education aligned with the specific dimensions of increasing expansion (of skill-based programs) and as an “equity related initiative” to better serve minority populations across the country (p. 106). Specifically, the plan called for educators and students to “use the ‘community college’ as a key vehicle for entry into regular higher education by way of widely located, community-based institutions offering relevant education of

high quality.” (p. 103). Government officials and advocates, closely aligned with the development of a centralized and formally recognized community college scheme, promoted the public good served by the community college as a key interest.

In the spirit of redistributing educational opportunities described above, one educational official repeatedly emphasized a desire to “democratize this higher education business... I will provide education to anybody and everybody who needs it so that they make a meaningful living.” Collective sentiment among government-funded community college advocates was that the purpose of community colleges was to expand access to the opportunity to make a meaningful living through education. In other words, the government-funded community college scheme was being designed to meet the perceived needs and desires of the nation’s citizens and respond in ways that would better support the overall welfare of individuals and the nation.

Adhering to the bureaucratic source of authority related to the state logic, government-funded community colleges were designed to function embedded within existing higher education institutions and adhere to all the incumbent regulations. Exemplifying the power of the state logic in the development of government-funded community colleges, when asked to define an ideal community college, a higher education official said, “for philosophical definition we can say that a community college that complies with all the expectations from the community and of the government that is the ideal community college. But the definition of quality is a dynamic one.” Government officials generally agreed that success for community colleges should be defined, in part, by compliance to the bureaucratic norms of the state logic. For example, officials often referred to it being their “duty” to carry out national community college policy despite personal inclinations that might lead to alternative paths. One official suggested that “we are duty bound to implement the guidelines” as set by government agencies. He went on to say,

“we can project our own goals but that has to be ultimately vetted and we have to get the consent” of the oversight body before implementing. In this way, the logic of the state, guided by “bureaucratic domination” (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2011, p. 73) played an essential role in shaping community college development and constraining the actions of government officials to conform to existing regulations and standards throughout the innovation process.

Market Logic

The market logic asserted itself in the role that (potential) employers were positioned to play in the success of community colleges and the development of curriculum. From the beginning, industry partners and partnerships were considered a necessary condition for achieving legitimacy for the community college movement and ensuring economic development of the country. In the modern era, the state and market logics are often tightly linked (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), but the commitment to producing “employable” students as a “product” of the community college rather than developing citizens to contribute to the national good is where one can begin to disaggregate goals and expectations that are easily conflated. The development of the NSQF and the authority of the Sector Skill Councils, primarily comprised of industry partners, to certify skills competencies among community college students further underscores the market logic influence on community college development. Community college advocates actively embraced these expectations demonstrating how the ever-present, though variable strength, market logic influenced all three community college models.

NGO community colleges, from the outset were influenced by the market logic. An ICRDCE representative suggested that, while communities were beginning to accept the

community colleges, the most “important stakeholders are the industrial partners” a notion reiterated by another representative claiming that “industrial partnership is the backbone of the community college.” Underscoring this necessity, ICRDCE manuals and trainings related to the community college insisted that no community college start without at least five industrial partners because “the community college cannot succeed without the active participation and collaboration of the industrial, rural, agricultural, commercial, and service organizations of the locality” (ICRDCE, 2013, p. 16). In this way, NGO community colleges were encouraged to understand the labor market demands of a community and pursue partnerships that would help the community college satisfy those needs and contribute to economic development. More fully embracing the market logic, when the NGO community colleges were squeezed out of recognition in the government-funded community college model, ICRDCE followed the strategy of recognition chasing by actively aligning curricula with the new NSQF and seeking approval as an NSDC partner. Although, NGO community colleges might be viewed as most resistant to market demands, particularly if they could pose a threat to the commitment to community transformation, the promise of a recognized credential once again lured ICRDCE to embrace a tighter relationship with the market logic. The organization recognized the critical role that employers play in fulfilling the promise of helping students realize a “sustainable livelihood” so they not only welcomed, but sought out the influence of the market logic through the certification offered by Sector Skill Councils.

IGNOU’s community college development relied heavily on the NGO model, often borrowing exact language from earlier ICRDCE publications. As such, the market logic had an integral role in the growth (and closing) of community colleges in India. One IGNOU

administrator adopted the efficiency and depersonalized language of the market logic to suggest that community colleges provided:

An alternative as well as a value addition. Value addition in the sense that by 2020, India would be needing much more skilled manpower, much more skilled manpower, which our given institutions are not able to cope up with. So there comes a role of such institutions at the local level, those who are having a kind of partnership mode or affiliation, whereby embarking upon quality, they are able to produce the products which could be of service to they themselves as well as to the society and community and the country. That is what the point is.

The good of the country and the good of the institution this administrator referenced was couched in notions of economic development ensured by the production of employees rather than the development of citizens or the transformation of individuals.

As the IGNOU scheme was winding down, Government-funded community colleges were conceived in conjunction with a national shift toward concern with skill development. Whereas there has been a long history within education circles to move away from a theory-centric approach toward a more applied focus, the entire nation had not coalesced around similar goals until the first National Skill Development Policy was introduced in 2009. With the support of the Wadhvani Foundation, community colleges became a hallmark strategy to meet the needs of industry through the training of students while not disrupting the existing structure of postsecondary education. As national obsession with skill development increased, the market logic began to infiltrate even formal education, which was not included in the 2009 policy's focus on after school programming. With the updated 2015 policy came explicit targeting of formal education with specific goals for higher education.¹⁰⁴ By the time government-funded community colleges were established in 2013, government officials suggested the need to

¹⁰⁴ Although neither policy document specified the role of community colleges in skill development, the attention given to making this a national priority permeated the policymaking environment and constrained potential avenues for action by requiring compliance or complementarity with skill development goals.

reimagine higher education in order to serve the needs of employers. One state level official summarized this view saying,

The issue is how we dovetail our inputs with the market requirement. That is the crux, so whatever demands and whatever requirements whether they are manufacturing industry or service industry and all; our education, through our professional colleges or non-professional colleges, must meet that requirement. We must work in close liaison with the industry and service sector people. That is important.

Again, the official used the language of production as a synonym for education and viewed employees as the output. Advocates regularly used the market logic to define the success of the community colleges. For example, one key educational official suggested that assessing the value of community colleges “ultimately depends on the employment of the learners.” In this case, and so many others, the official dismissed learning or growth outcomes and focused solely on employment status – a notion that defines students as products to be “used” in the economic engine – as the true measure of community college success.

Professional Logic

Although with each model there was evidence of a professional logic influencing community college development, overall its power remained quite low. Because the movement was firmly rooted in aspirations, if not realities, of inclusion in higher education, the guidance of professional educators was regularly sought in determining the parameters of community college translation in India. In fact, the success of the movement relied on the participation of educators to lend their expertise to designing and implementing a “supplementary” or “alternative” education system with flexible options for continuing education. The support of professionals offered academic legitimacy to the new organizational arrangement. This allowed community

colleges to secure successive opportunities for formal inclusion and recognition within postsecondary education, even without significant direct influence by the professional logic, or collective action for that matter, on community college development.

From the outset, Alphonse leveraged his power and relationships as “former principal of Loyola University” to garner support for the community college movement.¹⁰⁵ News of the community college movement spread through the All India Association for Christian Higher Education (AIACHE) and many of the earliest adopters were member organizations. It was (stifled) collective action among AIACHE educators and allies that propelled the creation of the earliest set of standards and expectations defining the future trajectory of community colleges.

Following in the footsteps of TNOU that began approving NGO community colleges in 2004, IGNOU moved this opportunity for recognition to a national scale. Rather than maintain community colleges as a separate vocational program as was the approach by TNOU, IGNOU intended to create vertical pathways to a degree by formalizing the community college system to fit with norms of the University academic council. Reflecting on this process, an IGNOU administrator said,

Providing certification is a process of evaluation, which is also a part of the academic process. So if you want to regularize that, if you want to frame rules in order to streamline the activities, then you have to do it through a body, which is mandated to give certificates.

That body was the University. IGNOU attempted this “academic process” by mandating the creation of a governing board, academic committee, and examination committee, all which prioritized the expertise of professional educators. An IGNOU administrator advocated using a heavy hand to help support NGO community colleges that might be new to academic standards.

¹⁰⁵ Almeida, the original director of the Center for Vocational Education and Madras Community College was a management professor.

However, for one participant “that's where I very strongly differed with [my colleagues],” who were perceived as less committed to maintaining academic standards and allowing the “marketplace” to assess the quality of skills and education.

Being fully embedded in the system of higher education, government-funded community colleges faced somewhat more influence from the professional logic than either IGNOU or NGO models. From the outset, policy created opportunities that were intended to have a modular curriculum allowing for multiple entry and exit points, stackable credentials, and a pathway to graduate school. In essence, providing a credential structure with transfer built in moved community college from the fringes of the academy to the core. A state level education administrator, highlighting the critical role of academic standards and credentials on the fate of the community college movement lamented that,

Now only university is an authority which can give diploma, degree, certification, so necessarily these certifications for this skilling, unless it becomes a part of the university system, it cannot be brought in actual education.

While it is easy to quibble with this notion of “actual” education, this thinking reflects the distinct theory vs. application approach to education in India that has historically sequestered all things skill development in second class organizations within postsecondary education, or in training overseen by another ministry altogether. For the first time in higher education, faculty of colleges and universities were expected to engage with skill development and teach the complementary “general education” courses that rounded out the credential programs.

Religious Logic

Early on, the Jesuits provided much of the financial and infrastructure support for community college development, while Jesuit clergy, like Alphonse, served as leaders at the colleges themselves. In this way, Alphonse was originally a practitioner-advocate, a unique position among influential advocates most of whom never served as practitioners or engaged with the daily operations of community colleges. Overtime, Alphonse distanced himself overtime from the day-to-day implementation of community colleges toward influencing development of the movement overall. Reflecting the strong religious underpinnings of ICRDCE's work, Alphonse described the community college as:

Highly inspired by the Jesuit spirituality existential, which is finding God in people who are needy and serving them and preferential option for the poor. Empowering the poor and the whole liberation spirituality of the Exodus and Moses and so on. The whole Kingdom spirituality of Jesus and the whole spirituality of creating a new world, the whole spirituality of creating a kingdom, which is characterized by equality. And that has been a great inspiration.

Here, Alphonse lays explicit his personal, and ICRDCE's organizational, commitment to a religious logic from which he has not waived in twenty years. Although religious education is well regarded in India, Christianity remains a minority religion. As many of the other ICRDCE administrators suggested, a community based program that looked like religious outreach would have a much harder time finding support in India, than if the work was portrayed as a secular effort. Despite clear ties to a religious logic, Alphonse insisted:

I have kept myself highly secular, because in India, if it has to succeed, it has to be multicultural, multilingual multiregional, and it cannot take any sectarian outlook or color. They consider me as Father Xavier Alphonse who is the pioneer of community colleges, who has done some considerable work so we need to listen to him... They treat me more as an educationist, as an expert in this whole new field of education.

Regardless of his actual success at achieving a secular approach,¹⁰⁶ Alphonse attempted to portray this mindset in his efforts to popularize the scheme, while admittedly being internally driven by the “spirituality” of the community college movement.

On the whole, a religious logic was not particularly strong outside NGO community colleges associated with ICRDCE. Although there was a strong thread tied directly back to ICRDCE, both IGNOU and Government Funded community colleges pivoted away from the influence of religion in their respective models. Among IGNOU or government-funded community colleges, any element that might be considered religious in nature was recast in terms of the community logic in order to appeal to a wider array of supporters. For example, rather than invoke the religious language of “including the excluded” or “giving the best to the least” that Alphonse regularly used, Vice Chancellor Pillai stated that, “the vision of a community college is built on the idea of a college of the community and by the community, that produces responsible citizens” (Anand & Polite, 2010, p. 15). Here he embraced the more secular community logic outlined by ICRDCE to make the new initiative more universal across the country, particularly for public universities so rigidly regulated by the state.

Like IGNOU, the government-funded community college model also had its origins in the NGO movement, and ICRDCE’s grounding in a religious logic did not go unnoticed. For example, one professor who served on the national expert committee with Alphonse, said “it started because there was mission, you know, mission zeal on the part of people like Father

¹⁰⁶ Despite ICRDCE’s best intentions, advocates for government-funded community colleges perceived Alphonse as not able to make the necessary adjustments to frame the ICRDCE approach in terms of the community logic. When asked why Alphonse did not serve on the UGC’s 2015 community college selection committee, a Wadhvani Foundation representative shared, “What was happening was while he was doing a decent job, he wanted to make it more livelihood NGO oriented. All said and done, he had a very strong bias towards Christian institutions. There is nothing wrong with that, but he had such a strong bias that even when we sat down to approve proposals, his thing would be Tamil Nadu and the Jesuit institutions. Others he was not bothered with. Okay? So there is strong bias which comes from that perspective which at least [named two government officials] did not like.”

Alphonse, maybe it has something to do with the very essence of the Christianity as it is in south India.” In agreement with the team at ICRDCE, this professor went on to admit that an exclusively religious focus would not be sustainable as community colleges moved from grassroots to centralized control. Together, these highlight the historical contingency of logics, meaning that definitions and assumptions change over time as societal conditions shift (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004). Moreover, the process of a new logics gaining strength leading to new practices and the redefinition of categorical elements of logics exemplifies the notion of historical contingency (Berman, 2011; Dodds, 2011; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Gumport, 2003). In light of institutional logics being dynamic, in the past few years a shift in the underpinnings of religious influence – from Christianity among NGO community colleges to Hindu Nationalism at the government level – has created an opportunity for the religious logic to begin to re-assert influence over government-funded colleges.

Given the clear presence of multiple logics, community colleges provide an excellent example of the constellation of logics influencing development within and between models. Overall there was strong influence of the community, market, and state logics on NGO, IGNOU, and Government Funded community college development. A religious logic was also strong in the overall framework of NGO community colleges, particularly as associated with the ICRDCE. The professional logic was not particularly strong among NGO community colleges and had only a moderate influence on IGNOU and Government Funded community colleges. These examples provide a crucial reminder the actions that actors take are nested in the broader social structures, and their responses to institutional complexity have the potential to reshape their very institutional environment (Greenwood et al., 2011). The constellation of logics and its specific configuration both limits and affords individual and organizational agency (Greenwood et al.,

2011; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Thornton, 2004; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Constellation of Logics in Action

In the previous section, I described how each logic independently exerted influence over existing community college models and assessed the relative strength of each logic.

Constellations provided the building blocks for each successive advocate to work with when shaping the new if not altogether different community college model. In this section, I analyze how the constellation of logics that informed the beliefs and actions of community college advocates collectively shaped the movement. The configuration of a logics constellation for each model both constrained and enabled action because it set parameters for acceptable action as well as offered opportunities for creativity in satisfying demands from multiple logics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Recently, researchers turned to an exploration of the specific ways in which constellations influence action. Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick (2013) outlined five mechanisms that support both stability and change in relationship to the influence of multiple logics: 1) the presence of an influential logic; 2) an additive relationship between logics; 3) strengthening an alternative logic; 4) segmenting logics; and 4) a facilitative relationship between logics. In the case of Indian community colleges all mechanisms were present. Additionally, I identify a hybrid mechanism, *logic seeking*, that alternatively enabled and constrained action as a function of founding context, advocate social position, and the phase of community college development. Below I illustrate instantiations of each mechanism.

Influential Logic

An influential logic is one that is strongly held in common among individuals with power to make decisions and shape action (Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). Because it is generally agreed upon, the logic creates boundary parameters for action, because decisions cannot be seen to violate the norms of the influential logic beyond a gentle nudge, and “only alternatives that respect the principles underlying the logic are possible” (p. 121). As has been repeatedly demonstrated, the community logic was clearly and unquestionably an influential logic among community college advocates, even when accounting for differences in the strength of the logic for each model. In other words, the community logic served as a minimum specification for action. Any community college provider that was viewed as implementing the concept for a profit motive was universally bad-mouthed – even with the general strengthening of the market logic over time.

There was a common fear of a profit motive guiding the work of new entrants to the community college movement, entrants considered to not have a proper respect for the community logic. ICRDCE actively fought against these actors by getting their own curricula approved that protects the aspect of “personality development” prioritized by the community logic. The NGO community colleges’ continued fight for the right to exist despite iterative challenges over definition and regulation is evidence of the tenacity of this model and the groundswell of support to resist acquiescing to the logics of the state and market and tenaciously prioritize the community logic. The NGO model under ICRDCE strongly resisted shifting the balance of logics too far away from its perceived overarching motivation toward social

development and the transformation of students and communities. In a 2010 interview during the early stages of the IGNOU scheme, Alphonse summarized his fear this way,

One of the biggest challenges is to ensure all the participating agencies understand the philosophy inherent in the concept. We need to ensure strict mechanisms are in place to filter the agencies that are merely driven by commercial interest and keep only those that are rooted in community-based action and driven by the philosophy of social transformation (Anand & Polite, 2010, p. 13).

Echoing this sentiment from the position of being a government-funded community college advocate, a skill development official suggested that for industry partners, “along with the resources it is important to know their actual intent as well. It should not be something about just money, it should be ‘yes, this is something I want to give back to the society or to the students’.” This participant, deeply involved in securing industry involvement to support the education reform effort associated with the implementation of the NSQF, acknowledged that the community logic of “giving back” was an essential element to building the relationship. In this way, the community logic constrained action because even the strongest supporters of the market logic – arguably the least compatible with the community logic – resisted reform efforts that significantly jeopardized collective benefit.

Additive Relationship

In an additive relationship between logics, the presence of multiple logics increases demands without being in competition with each other (Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Waldorff, Reay & Goodrick, 2013). Rather than trying to satisfy demands separately, in an additive relationship, the expectations of multiple logics must simultaneously be satisfied and thereby constrain change. In reflecting on the challenge of the IGNOU community college scheme, one administrator said,

Community college again, by definition, speaks of that it should be in the local community, it should be catering to the local market, local business, local industry so that the people could have the employability and so on and so forth. So if one thinks of having a kind of the structured approach for dealing with the community colleges that becomes a bit difficult.

The tension he referenced is the additive relationship between simultaneously satisfying multiple logics that were powerful in each community college model. The needs of the employer (market), educators (professional), regulations (state) and local community (community) had to be met, and that balancing act limited available options for action. While advocates universally agreed that community colleges must satisfy demands of the community logic, the new arrangement was also expected to fulfill the needs of industry partners. Rather than only serving the public good, which would align with the community and or state logics, in the words of another educational official, industry partners are, and should be, demanding that community college “success assessment actually depends on the employment of the learners.” Study participants from all three models repeatedly voiced this sentiment.

By increasing the demands on community colleges, advocates’ actions were constrained. There was less room to maneuver creatively when community colleges were bound by the outcomes required by industry partners for employment while also satisfying the needs of the community to create “transformation of individuals” through growth and development, in the words of one ICRDCE representative. This tension was demonstrated by participants who regularly voiced the need to satisfy competing demands while experiencing difficulty in doing so. Community colleges were viewed as the best available tool to satisfy an increasing array of demands ushered in by centralized education reform and skill development initiatives.

Strengthening an Alternative Logic

Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) point out that the introduction or increasing strength of a logic does not necessitate the replacement or diminishing of an existing logic. Instead, the strengthening or introduction of a competing logic can create room for innovative action to develop as a response to complexity (Jarzabowski et al., 2013; Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014; Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). As NGO community colleges began receiving recognition from Universities, the influence of the state logic began to increase because decisions about curriculum had to conform to the bureaucratic procedures of the state. A strong example of this is when IGNOU entered the scene community college advocates began prioritizing the gross enrollment ratio a democratic priority consistent with the state logic. In the IGNOU manual (2011), Vice Chancellor Pillai stated, “the community college scheme will definitely contribute towards the growth of the gross enrollment ratio, care has to be taken by all concerned about the maintenance of the quality and standards, and this requires systematic monitoring” (p. 3). Here he suggested that as the community college moved into a state of recognition in formal higher education, the priorities of the state must be attended to by providing quality education for the public good while maintaining bureaucratic oversight that supported democratic goals of citizenship development. This enabled action by allowing previously unrecognized community colleges to legitimize their programs through a credentialed program while also offering recognition to informal development projects that had a new opportunity to register with IGNOU.

With the advent of the government-funded model, the market logic had been strengthened considerably. For example, a higher education official bluntly stated that the goal of community colleges was to “produce an industry fit workforce, work ready.” While this might

appear to assign workforce development exclusively to community colleges, the reality is that at the behest of policy makers across ministries, education officials were demanding that all formal education be infused with skill development and focus on producing employable graduates in line with market priorities. This was clearly framed in a way that depicted the market logic as an increasingly influential force in shaping the curriculum of higher education. The official was not talking about the goal from a state logic perspective, which would pursue a stronger nation, but rather expressed the goal of education in terms of a market perspective with the need for employable products to increase the efficiency of businesses. Furthermore, government-funded community colleges were given a market incentive in the form of grants-in-aid to implement the community college.

In both examples action was enabled because new partners were induced to engage with the community college model on a national scale. In the case of IGNOU, the strengthening of the state logic allowed a wide swath of NGOs to participate in formal, state sanctioned recognition for their educational efforts for the first time. With the strengthening of the market logic postsecondary education organizations were incentivized to partner with employers to strengthen the curriculum. A bridge that was often perceived by both academics and industry partners as impassable, was newly opened as a result of the increased influence of the market logic.

Segmenting

Segmenting was among the first mechanisms that researchers identified as a response to managing complexity (e.g., Dunn & Jones, 2010; Goodrick & Reay, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009). It is effective because it “allows competitive relationships to coexist by partitioning work consistent with different logics among actors or organizations (Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick,

2013, p. 123). Within the community colleges, attention to “dropout” students was eventually relegated to NGO community colleges allowing government-funded community colleges to maintain both professional standards and state regulation. As one Wadhvani Foundation representative pointed out, Alphonse “wasn’t against [12th pass eligibility] but he wanted it to start from 10th onwards. Now UGC cannot do any funding for below 12th standard. That’s their mandate.”¹⁰⁷ The participant went on to point out that Alphonse “was not able to clearly separate himself from that agenda of his,” which eventually prompted his exclusion from ongoing UGC efforts.

NGO and government funded community colleges pursued overlapping, but largely separate student populations.¹⁰⁸ Unlike the bulk of prior research that assumes segmentation of logics by organizational model or geographic/jurisdictional boundaries (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Thornton, 2004; Waldorff, 2011), community colleges’ differing approaches to eligibility supports a more nuanced understanding that certain elements of organizational life, guided primarily by a single logic, can be separated while maintaining the robust complexity of the full constellation of logics (e.g., Goodrick & Reay, 2009; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). The community logic, which was associated with inclusive access to community colleges, was segmented to the NGO community colleges in terms of defining the student population. This did not excise the influence of the logic from other community college models, but it did allow advocates to delineate differences in each model and segment practices based on adherence to the community logic in relation to eligibility criteria (Jarzabowski et al.

¹⁰⁷ AICTE has 10th pass and UGC as 12th pass, but on average AICTE guidelines are less clear and were only issued once through one top down selection process so it is less contentious. UGC community colleges, which originally sought the guidance of Alphonse and ICRDCE, had to make a clearer cut and, to some, controversial decision to limit eligibility to 12th pass students. This is a strong point of tension that lead to the split between NGO and government-funded community college collaboration and convergence.

¹⁰⁸ This is another excellent example of how logics filtered through individuals can influence field level strategy.

2013; Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013). In this way, the practice of serving “dropouts” was confined to the NGO community college model while the UGC and other government-funded community colleges maintained the standards of the bureaucratic postsecondary education system buoyed by the state and professional logics.

In addition to segmenting based on eligibility criteria, logics were also being segmented in terms of curricular control. For example, in government-funded community colleges, specifically UGC, the skills standards were exclusively the domain of the sector skill councils, populated by industry partners, while the general education component remained under the control of the state and professions. Furthermore, with the introduction of the NSQF and the move away from including NGO community colleges in any state level recognition scheme, ICRDCE’s alignment with the NSDC for NSQF curriculum alignment demonstrated that even NGO community colleges were willing to segment skill standards to the market logic while promoting personality development, aligned with the community logic. Alphonse summarized this segmentation during a teacher-training program in 2015:

All that we have done is we have incorporated and integrated the national skill framework into community college system without sacrificing the basic essentials of the system, which is a proven entity now...I call it the second stage of our community college movement, integrating, incorporating whatever we have been doing into the framework and format of NSDC.

Alphonse acknowledged that assessment of students for the skilled portion of the curricula would be fully under the control of the NSQF and Sector Skill Councils, while the community college would retain control over the general education and personal development assessment.

Government-funded community colleges, because of the state regulations around the unique power of the sector skill councils to serve as skill assessors, also had to adhere to this

segmentation of activities despite some pushback by professors attempting to protect their power over academic content, standards and assessment.

Facilitative

Facilitative relationships between logics suggest that shifts in activity consistent with an aspect of one logic may support changes consistent with an alternative logic. An example of this from the literature is when the demands of consumers for information supported professional control over abstract knowledge (Goodrick & Reay, 2011). Beyond complementarity, a facilitative relationship between logics actually reinforces the strength of each individual logic in the constellation configuration (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013). There were aspects of the community college movement in which the community and market logics mutually reinforced each other and in other ways the market and professional logics strengthened each other, and in still perhaps more obvious ways the state and market logics operated in a facilitative relationship.

For the NGO model, the strength of the market logic was increasing but was still rather low compared to the government-funded model. By the time the IGNOU model launched in conjunction with the national prioritization of skill development for economic transformation, the market logic had much more direct and unmitigated influence on community college development. Perhaps the most unexpected relationship of logics being in cooperation rather than competition was how the increased strength of the market logic had the opportunity to reinforce the strength of the community logic. For example, a state government official suggested,

The need of the community has to be defined well and with that need, institutions should have a framework to design a curricula or the syllabus in partnership with the industries... Community college is totally different because the nearby community, whatever their needs are, we have to cater to that need; we have to design a program with the industry partnership.

In other words, a desire to transform communities through employment required the input and support of industry partners to train and hire students. By getting involved with community colleges, industry partners deepened their ties to the local community and became more invested in the sustainability of their workforce, which in turn would benefit communities through meaningful employment and economic well being. While the community logic provided a core boundary for acceptable action, as the market logic was strengthened through the inclusion of industry partners, the community logic was further strengthened.

Another state government official highlighted the facilitative relationship between the state and market logics saying, “we have to change the perspective of our entire higher education in the sense that when we are producing graduates, we are producing graduates in consonance to the whole new economy that has emerged. That requires both, that requires knowledge and also skill.” Although controlled by the state, officials representing the formal higher education system sought to respond to increased market influence in a “post liberalization” era. In this way, education officials, whose primary mandate was to expand quality access to postsecondary education, also recognized the increasing market influence on higher education. That meant the market logic, demanding a skilled workforce, was increasing in strength without diminishing the role of the state in expanding access to higher education.

Hybrid Mechanism – Logic Seeking

Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick (2013) outlined the five mechanisms described above as constraining and enabling action in the face of multiple logics. Their conceptualization relied on the notion that institutional pluralism can be a sustained state (Greenwood et al., 2011) and that logics are not inherently in conflict. This stands in contradiction to the majority of prior research that conceived of complexity as a temporary state of “institutional warfare” in which actors actively and knowingly pursue their goals with autonomy (Hoffman, 1999, p. 352 quoted in Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014, p. 33). Institutional complexity, defined by a constellation of logics, further recognizes the embedded agency of actors who develop and select responses to complexity overtime through interaction with each other and the wider environment (Hwang & Powell, 2005; Sahlin- Andersson & Engwall, 2002; Smets et al., 2012; Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013). Yet, these five mechanisms were portrayed as a response to managing multiple logics – a way to navigate existing conditions and (attempt to) diminish complexity. What was apparent in the case of Indian community colleges was the (sometimes) proactive invitation to create complexity among advocates – a phenomenon not yet explored in the literature.

The actions, beliefs, and values of community college advocates in India reflect just such a pursuit, one that was partially scripted and partially developed, in order to secure legitimacy (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2010; 2013; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood 2012). I argue that this represents a sixth hybrid mechanism – *logic seeking* – that shaped community college development. Logic seeking was not an attempt to resolve or mitigate complexity. Instead, logic seeking was an invitation for, and pursuit of, complexity motivated by the desire to secure legitimacy for a new organizational arrangement. Contrary to prevailing wisdom that

promotes “simplification” for productivity and efficiency (Morest, 2006), these projects satisfy different constituencies making simultaneous efforts a rational choice for colleges in order to maximize support of external stakeholders. That being said, most advocates actively resisted activities that appeared to jeopardize the core functions of the college regardless of the potential financial and political benefits.

It would be tempting to view this mechanism as simple instantiation of “anticipatory subordination,” or the effort to meet the needs of the state (and market) without explicit or direct regulation (Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 216). As Brint and Karabel described in the case of U.S. community colleges transforming the curriculum away from general education toward a primarily vocational focus, leaders “recognized the state’s and corporations’ structural power and thus have channeled their development along lines that would appeal to them” (p. 216). However, in the case of Indian community colleges, advocates were not attempting to “curry favors” because the mandate to vocationalize was a top down directive that even the President of the country supported.¹⁰⁹ The thrust of the nation was moving toward education for employment at every level of formal education, a goal that would only be achieved through educational reform, of which the community college became a primary vehicle. In other words, community colleges in India were not looking to carve out an acceptable niche within higher education that would not disrupt the status quo as had, arguably, been the case in the U.S. (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994). Instead, they lead the way in demonstrating the possibility for mandated change within a rigid system.

¹⁰⁹ The president sent a letter to all Vice Chancellors in February and March 2015 encouraging the implementation of skill-based courses.

For a grassroots movement to gain regulatory backing and desirable market outcomes, in a bureaucratic emerging economy, advocates had to engage in seeking behavior that actively pursued external influence and additional demands for action. A primary example of logic seeking among Indian community college advocates was through the act of recognition chasing, described in Chapter 4. Recognition chasing is the process by which advocates pursued inclusion in higher education with a desire for regulatory support and formal credentials. Motivated by the desire to combat challenges of public perception and “degree obsession” that the community college concept faced, advocates welcomed the influence of state and market, and professional logics on community college development. By doggedly chasing government backing, courting relationships with industry partners, and shaping the curriculum to meet specific employer needs based on professional standards, community colleges maximized complexity by choice. Among advocates, there was a desire and trajectory toward marketization, yet the democratic needs of the state along with its regulatory power and a strong early framing based on the community logic, helped keep the market logic from overpowering other ends in the pursuit of recognition chasing. In short, recognition chasing was carried out through the mechanism of logic seeking that both constrained and enabled action.

Logic seeking in Action

Intentionally seeking out the increased influence of alternative logics had unintended consequences, as evidenced by ICRDCE’s continued return to the drawing table each time the new opportunity for recognition failed to meet expectations. For example, when asked about the IGNOU scheme, of which Alphonse was a key architect, he said “right from the start, I knew

IGNOU would be a failure” and went on to list a number of reasons why the scheme was doomed from the start, even though he served on the expert committee to develop it. In response, ICRDCE doubled down on inclusion among government-funded community colleges and received acknowledgement in the 12th five year plan (2011) as a key organization to provide “technical support” to “create a robust framework for skill-based education within the higher education sector in the country” (p. 101). When this strategy did not pan out and NGO community colleges were excluded from recognition under the UGC and AICTE guidelines, ICRDCE turned toward partnership with the NSDC a public-private-partnership that is a poster child for the intertwining state and market logic. The point is that recognition chasing, the focus of collective institutional entrepreneurship among ICRDCE and community college advocates from all three models, can be explained by the mechanism of logic seeking as a means for addressing complexity proactively as well as reactively.

Among government-funded community college advocates, logic seeking – particularly related to the market logic – was an integral mechanism that shaped action. A higher education official admitted that, “industry in the beginning is hesitant to believe that we can produce work ready students” but that concern did not stop education officials from trying. This participant insisted, “We are trying to involve industries.” The official explicitly expressed a desire for, and active engagement with, industry partners in a way that would increase the complexity of demands placed on community colleges. Rather than a desire to diminish complexity, this official actively pursued strategies that would increase complexity in order to be able to meet the expectations of NSQF standards and fulfill the promise of education for employment. Government officials, who by duty, primarily adhered to a state logic, realized that proactively seeking out the participation of industry partners was required in order to meet these new

regulations and explicit focus on skill development. The desire was not to segment but to integrate new logics into curriculum development in ways that both constrained action, by limiting curricular options, and enabled it by increasing participation in developing educational opportunities. It is important to note that the government was not interested in ceding all of its power in the matter; they maintained regulatory power over the colleges but they began requiring the participation of “skilled knowledge providers,” or industry partners, to improve the curricula of community colleges and the employment prospects for students. A technical education official suggested that for community colleges,

Skill certification, it is their mandate basically. Skill certificates will be issued by the Sector Skill Council only. So, in the coming year, in all programs, even in our polytechnics, our community colleges, the skill component is to be evaluated by them only, the Sector Skill Councils.

In many ways as community colleges moved from a grassroots effort among primarily community oriented individuals toward state regulation through recognition chasing, they had been intentionally seeking out the influence of additional logics in the movement. Yet, when put into practice, the state level advocates – recognizing their own limitations (time, money, manpower) – sought to segment the act of assessment and cede power to the sector skill councils that were predominately controlled by industry partners. In this way segmentation was not necessarily an indication of competitive logics but a way of implementing practices for the efficiency of a new and highly intertwined cooperative relationship between two logics.

Finally it should be noted that none of these six mechanisms operated in isolation, but rather “all could occur simultaneously” (Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013, p. 121). In fact, they served as reactions and catalysts for advocacy. For example, inviting the influence of the state logic through recognition chasing resulted in segmenting eligibility criteria by logic among community college models. In this way logic seeking preceded segmenting. Alternatively, after

the imposition of the NSQF on higher education,¹¹⁰ a sign of the strengthening state and market logics, segmenting assessment by logic was a common response among all models of community colleges. However, seeking the influence of the market logic by industry partners preceded the application process for UGC and approval for NGO community colleges, whereas among AICTE and IGNOU community colleges this was often a reaction to regulation rather than a proactive response. These multifaceted examples of logic seeking depict a nonlinear complex web of intended and unintended consequences shaped by the actions constrained and enabled by a constellation of logics in constant flux.

Conclusion

Given the dynamic and unconventional landscape in which community colleges in India developed, they provide an ideal site to explore how a constellation of logics influences the actions of institutional entrepreneurs, particularly in the field building process. Therefore, this chapter analyzed advocates' response to institutional complexity throughout the movement. Findings suggest that the three distinct but overlapping community college models defined by a new opportunity for formal recognition and the introduction of new advocates each experienced a different balance among the community, market, professional, state, and religious logics. Advocates prioritized different approaches to community college development as a function of founding context and field level signals (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2013) while adhering universally to framing that promoted "education for employment" and education reform described in the last chapter.

¹¹⁰ National Vocational Education Qualifications Framework was generated by the MHRD but was subsumed under NSQF under the aegis of the NSDA.

The configuration of each model's constellation painted a picture of a general organizational logic for each model shaped, intentionally and unintentionally, from the tapestry of available elements of the primary societal level logics. In essence NGO community colleges most strongly identified with a combination of the religious and community logic, though state, market, and professional logics exerted some influence. IGNOU community colleges strongly embraced the community and state logics while welcoming the increased strength of the market logics and professional logics. Finally, the government-funded community colleges were heavily shaped by the intertwining expectations of the state and market logic while being bound by the community logic and continuing to assert the importance of the professional logic. These generalizations rely on a high level of abstraction and create an impoverished view of the true complexity among community college advocates. Rather than adhering to a singular dominant logic, advocates for each model wove together a dynamic and complex response to multiple societal logics over time.

All five mechanisms identified by Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick (2013) as the ways in which logics are able to constrain and enable action were present in the community college movement. Additionally, advocates engaged in a sixth hybrid mechanism, *logic seeking*. Recognition chasing, described in the last chapter, was a defining strategy pursued as a manifestation of the logic seeking mechanism. Community college advocates pursued recognition by seeking the influence of universities (professional logic), formal higher education agencies (state), and industry partners (market logic) on community college development. This was not a reaction to existing complexity; rather it was the intentional *creation* of complexity.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The miracle of the community college in India is that it has not only survived but also thrived, proving the tenacity and adaptability of the concept. As a result of advocates' efforts, the community colleges concept has infiltrated national level policy and practice, but the stability of community college form, function, and field position remains in jeopardy. Hard won legitimacy that community colleges have achieved through practice *and* policy is currently under threat due to a shift in public policy priorities at the national level as well as a near complete turnover among community college advocates. Therefore, understanding the ongoing translation of the community college concept is critical if this potentially transformative educational approach is to reach sustainability.

This study was guided by complementary frameworks from institutional theory – translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and institutional logics. Conceptualized as institutional entrepreneurs, or socially adept actors that initiate and sustain divergent change (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Fligstein, 2013), community college advocates in India drove institutional change by embracing skill development curricula and challenging the status quo of a rigid, theory-based higher education system. Particularly in non-Western contexts, the primary legitimation project of institutional entrepreneurs is translation – the creation of local meaning from global concepts (Boxenbaum, 2005; Spiby 1996). How these leaders translate ideas into action can be understood as a

response to the interplay between social forces and localized practices (Pache & Santos, 2010). These diverse goals are shaped by institutional logics, or the “belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field” (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 170). Among advocates, “logics became the invisible object of negotiation” (Boxenbaum, 2005, p. 24) that guide the translation process. However, because logics operate at multiple levels and institutional entrepreneurs engage with them differently based on their own role and socialization, logics have a variable impact on the translation process (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum & Jonsoon, 2008; Boxenbaum, 2005; Greenwood et al., 2011; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Tracey, Philips, & Jarvis, 2011). Institutional entrepreneurs’ success relies on a unique combination of strategic actions and collaborative efforts leveraging power, interests, common values, and access to resources over time.

Ultimately, this study used the interwoven theoretical approaches described above to explore how advocates navigated institutional complexity in the process of translating the community college concept in India. This conceptual framework helped illuminate the cyclical nature of the field-level translation process that resulted in three community college models developing in India. Guided by a perceived need for recognition in formal higher education, advocates that were part of an interdependent network initiated each model by promoting a universally acceptable yet locally differentiated vision for the community college. Strategies to achieve this type of legitimacy were generally top down and based on personal relationships that helped overcome the challenges associated with the centralized and individual-centric bureaucracy that controlled higher education in the country. Overall, throughout this process advocates’ actions were both constrained and enabled by a shifting constellation of the

community, state, market, professional, and religious logics that simultaneously shaped the complexity of the institutional environment.

This chapter provides an overview of the study with implications of the research. First, it provides a review of each of the guiding research questions and a summary of the study findings. Drawn from these conclusions, the chapter then elaborates implications for theory, policy, and practice in the Indian community college movement. This study concludes by exploring directions for future research.

Review of the Research Questions

Guided by a conceptual framework drawn from theoretical streams within institutional theory, the guiding research question for this research was: *How do institutional entrepreneurs shape the translation of a globalized organizational form into a complex institutional environment?* This question is multifaceted and this study can only partially address an answer. Whereas most accounts of the community college movement in India begin with the establishment of Pondicherry University Community College (1995) as a prototype for the government-funded model, and Madras Community College (1996) as the NGO model prototype, it is important to look a bit further back to understand the full picture of community college development.

The exact introduction of the community college concept to India cannot be pinpointed to a single actor or event – instead it was a more organic process. Academic exchanges between India and the U.S. resulted in Indian educators’ exposure to the idea of community colleges at a time when there was growing pressure on the nation to expand access to and relevance of its

lackluster postsecondary education system. This created the perfect storm of awareness, desire, and perceived need for the problem solution-set represented by the community college. All that was missing was a tireless advocate who would be willing to back this initiative through good times and bad. Enter Dr. Father Xavier Alphonse: Jesuit educator and community development champion. While Alphonse did not *introduce* the community college concept to India, the catalyst of the *movement* certainly can be traced to his involvement with Center for Vocational Education in Chennai. This effort – a joint project between U.S. community colleges and Indian educators, funded by USAID and supported heavily by the Jesuit community in Tamil Nadu – offered Alphonse an unprecedented opportunity to live into his religious values while leveraging his educational expertise and personal relationship to pursue social change. He seized this opportunity that set the community college on an accelerated and more focused journey of translation.

With Alphonse and ICRDCE leading the way, but not in isolation, a web of individuals and organizations working interdependently over the course of more than twenty years resulted in the development of three community college models in India – NGO, IGNOU, and government-funded. Although the IGNOU scheme ultimately failed, its development was a critical step in the institutionalization process that sustained cycles of awareness, engagement, and implementation of the community college concept in India. While Alphonse and the team at ICRDCE long led these efforts, had it not been for the interwoven interests and actions of overlapping advocates the community college might have never moved from the experimental stage into the structuration phase that continues today (Morrill, 2007). Practitioners who spread the concept, government officials who continually sought ways to incorporate the community college into higher education, IGNOU administrators who boldly offered centralized recognition

for the first time, and the Wadhvani Foundation who revitalized the concept in the national agenda were all integral players in the community college movement. Table 8.1 provides a comparison of the defining elements of the three overlapping models of community colleges as implement in India that have been explored throughout this dissertation and are summarized below.

Table 8.1: *Comparison of Indian Community College Models*

Characteristics	NGO	IGNOU	Government Funded
Origins	Grassroots mobilization	Centralized Support of grassroots mobilization	Centralized Strategy
Guiding Logic	Community	State	Market
Growth Priorities	Individual transformation & job opportunities	Student enrollment & organizational growth	Skill development & industrial partnerships
Funding	Self supporting	Tuition and fees	Government grants
Source of legitimacy	Community acceptance & employment opportunities earned through practice	Promise of credential (failed)	Promise of credential & job opportunities
Recognition	Organizational credential & working toward Sector Skill Council certification	Open University credential - few programs linked to degree pathways, most are community based	Formal higher education credential & Sector Skill Council certification required
Higher Education Field Position	(largely) External – primarily community outreach efforts	Periphery – Open Education offers traditional but less prestigious credentials	Center – affiliation with existing colleges, universities, and polytechnics
Student Eligibility	Open access – programs tend to accept students regardless of educational preparation	Semi-restricted access – some programs requires completion of secondary school	Restricted access – must have completed secondary school
Curriculum	Informal – personal development and employment preparation	Semi-formal – community designed programs made to fit IGNOU standards	Formal – combines general and vocational education in a centrally approved program
Establishment	Word of Mouth recommendations	Anonymous Registration	Appointment (AICTE) & Application (UGC)
Oversight & accountability	Self-regulating with desire for centralized recognition	Centralized oversight through Open University and Distance Education Council	Centralized oversight through AICTE, UGC, and NSDC
Existence	Continuous (1990s – present) and growing	Short-Lived (2009-2013), but unofficially ongoing in some places	Newly Introduced (2013 - present) but stalled growth

Through an ongoing and reactive process, these different groups of advocates translated the concept so that multiple community college models developed. Each model conformed to the globalized concept of a community college by offering flexible postsecondary education to

underserved students (Raby & Valeau, 2012), yet maintained unique approaches to the student population, curriculum, and structure. In this way uniformity at the macro level was balanced with the necessity for localization, not just in terms of geography, but also within each new conception of the community college. This duality was supported by advocates collectively attributing the “inspiration” for the community college as coming from the U.S. while staunchly adhering to the belief that the idea must be “adapted” to the Indian context. Advocates relied on unique but overlapping origin stories to help ground each new model in what came before, while attempting to differentiate the purpose and goals to attract new “champions.” However, translation was not a singular process. Advocates regularly revisited the contours of the community college in ways that highlighted complementarities and competition between models, always adjusting to the shifting social, economic, and political demands.

Advocates carried out this impressive translation project through strategies of collective institutional entrepreneurship – theorization, affiliation, and collective action – but were constrained by public perception challenges that motivated advocates from each model to constantly chase the recognition offered by formal inclusion in higher education. Although the underlying assumptions and guiding interests differed between the three models, all advocates framed community colleges as “education for employment” and a path leading to “educational reform.” Skill development and vocationalization of higher education became increasingly prioritized over the life of the movement, which allowed advocates to gain access, through personal relationships, to government officials who were well positioned to provide regulatory support for these initiatives. The ability to leverage organizational and individual networks within a highly bureaucratic regulatory structure differed among advocates. But, the nature of the

bureaucracy resulted in advocates from all three models relying on top down processes that hindered collective action while coercing cooperation at the organizational level.

Underlying the project of translation undertaken through collective institutional entrepreneurship was a constellation of the state, market, community, professional, and religious logics that shaped the actions and interactions of community college advocates. Together these logics formed the complex web of constantly changing demands that advocates had to navigate in order to secure legitimacy for the community college concept. The balance of power among logics, or the shape of the constellation, for each model varied though each was constituted by the five prominent logics. Overtime, in response to the changing social, political, and economic environment, the strength of each logic waxed and waned as it was filtered through founding context and individual advocates. Furthermore, how advocates interpreted the relationship between logics both motivated and deterred action in ways that tended to minimize complexity, as expected. However, as exemplified by the process of recognition chasing, advocates also voluntarily pursued strategies that would increase complexity if they viewed that as beneficial to the legitimacy of their affiliated community college model.

In short, advocates collectively contributed to moving the community college from an idea to an experiment to a movement by offering desirable frames, mobilizing allies and resources, and developing standards for the community colleges. As a result of how advocates maneuvered within and between demands of multiple institutional logics, multiple models emerged. Having provided a general overview of the key findings from this study, this chapter turns to a more specific look at the nuances underlying these overarching interpretations of the data as explored in the three sub-questions.

How was the community college concept introduced into India and why has it developed into a national phenomenon?

This question ties closely with the phenomena explored in Chapters 4 and 5 related to early U.S. involvement with, and Indian educators' interest in, community colleges. To account for the robustness of the community college concept, advocates relied on origin stories, responsive translation, and a communal sense of inspiration and change. In essence, the community college movement was a dynamic effort that constantly adjusted to the changing demands of the internal and external environment that kept the concept alive.

A framing concept that motivated the work of advocates was around the social acceptability of the curriculum and credentials offered at community colleges. Low public perception of vocational education and non-degree programs created the assumption that securing recognition within formal higher education was a necessary step to achieving legitimacy for the community college concept. The desire to “make skills aspirational” coupled with a “degree obsession” led advocates into the process of recognition chasing which framed their collective strategies toward institutionalizing the community colleges in India. Among advocates, there was no competing narrative to this motivating assumption, which leaves one to wonder: how would the story of the community college movement be different had advocates chosen an alternative path to recognition chasing? Although this offers an intriguing thought experiment, this is not a question that can be answered with the available data.

Among advocates for all three models, there was agreement that the community college concept was “inspired” by the U.S., and that stimulus was not simply cognitive. Rather, study tours to the U.S. by Indian educators and government officials and vice versa cemented the

vision of the community college as a desirable solution to address challenges in the Indian higher education system. The community college was perceived and pursued by all as a way to vocationalize higher education, increase access, and promote local and national economic development. That being said, advocates acknowledged that given the vast contextual differences between the U.S. and India, the community college could not be cloned but rather would need to be “adapted,” “adjusted,” and “Indianized” to meet local conditions. Active interpretation of the concept and vested participation of officials, educators, and community leaders would require time and attention resulting in “evolution” through “experimentation.” Because of this early and explicit commitment to a dynamic and ongoing process of translation, advocates rallied around different interpretations of the community college concept resulting in multiple sometimes competing models rather than a coherent system.

Three models emerged from this translation process each with their champions and detractors, all adhering to a unique origin story that constantly positioned the new interpretation as better than what came before. Among NGO community colleges the origin story was deeply and consistently rooted in the work of Alphonse and the ICRDCE as the “father,” “pioneer,” and “voice” of the community college movement. While ICRDCE acknowledged the messy process of emergence, advocates of the NGO model prioritized a focus on individual and community transformation through community colleges. IGNOU, in contrast, positioned itself as systematically bringing the community college into the fold of higher education with a commitment to producing “responsible citizens” and increasing the “gross enrollment ratio” – a prized international statistic. While IGNOU advocates acknowledged the groundwork laid by the NGO community college advocates, they also tried to set themselves apart as a more promising alternative from which Alphonse quickly distanced the ICRDCE team. The IGNOU model,

hastily implemented, was shuttered before its impact, beyond increasing awareness of the community college, could be measured. Its imminent demise coupled with the creation of the first National Skill Development Policy, created the perfect window for the Wadhvani Foundation partnering with government officials to introduce yet another alternative that embedded community colleges directly into higher education and promoted economic development goals. In this case, the government-funded model was brought to life through regulation that cashed in on the namesake of the community college without attaching itself to what came before. Policy created practice in this third model, flipping the script from the NGO model where practice energized responsive policy.

While each model came to be a distinct interpretation of the community college concept, one could not have existed without the other. It was their overlapping and responsive development that moved the community college from experiment to national phenomenon. Translation was an iterative process that advocates engaged in to constantly respond to the introduction of a new model and the changing context. Ongoing translation harkens back to the red queen theory of evolutionary biology that concluded that only by constantly adapting can a species survive (Van Valen, 1973). This was later incorporated into theories of organizational ecology suggesting that overcoming inertia, some organizations successfully adapt to intensifying competition and go on to prevail in competitive markets rather than remain resistant to change (Péli, 2009). For example, NGO community colleges moved from local, to state to national recognition within the Open University. When they were squeezed out of the promised recognition in the government-funded model, the ICRDCE sought collaboration with National Skill Development Corporation to secure the possibility of recognition as a legitimate training provider aligned with the National Skills Qualification Framework with certification available

through the Sector Skills Council. Advocates for each model faced a similar need to constantly react as “institutional change can literally outrun the change agent,” especially in an emerging economy (Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013, p. 47).

This ability and willingness to constantly adapt helped sustain the community college as a viable problem-solution set – a fashionable approach to improving education *and* the economy. Future research combining organizational ecology approaches with institutional theory could prove beneficial to better understanding the translation process as an evolutionary imperative and a chosen strategy. The community college movement in India was not a singular translation process, instead it was a constant and cyclical response that resulted in multiple models championed by advocates with different values, beliefs, and access to resources to attract and resist alternative interpretations. It is to these individuals who collectively created the community college phenomenon in India through planned and emergent efforts that the research questions turned next.

How has the translation process of the community college concept into the Indian context been shaped by the interdependent work of actors across organizational, field/system, national, and international levels over time?

This question was explored in depth in Chapter 6 in relation to the collective institutional entrepreneurship that community college advocates doggedly undertook. In total, advocates engaged in the expected work of theorization, affiliation, and collective action, but their approach was tailored uniquely to the Indian context.

Advocates agreed universally on the purposes of the community college – education for employment and educational reform – as a way to address the challenges of a majority low quality, highly theoretical education system that left graduates both unemployed and unemployable in a globalizing workforce. Community colleges could provide students with a livelihood while prioritizing the needs of employers. Advocates asserted that shifting the focus of educational outcomes from theory to practice, would lead to a “revolution” in the broader system of higher education. These radical changes would be predicated on “mainstreaming skills in higher education,” encouraging academic collaboration with industry, and increasing access to education and training opportunities. While guided by these general agreements, advocates differed in how they conceived the road to implementation. NGO community colleges tended to prioritize community development, while IGNOU focused on state goals, and the government-funded community colleges elevated the needs of the market. That being said, advocates among all three models balanced the desire to transform individuals, education, and the workforce simultaneously.

Motivated by recognition chasing, advocates focused on securing regulatory support for community colleges. ICRDCE persistently pursued the formation of a new independent regulatory authority within the broader umbrella of national higher education. IGNOU offered registration, but not affiliation for community colleges, which amounted to a loose form of recognition confined to one national university operating at the periphery of formal higher education. Wadhvani Foundation, in close partnership with government officials, devised the government-funded model that embedded community colleges within existing polytechnics, colleges, and universities. This third model offered full and formal recognition within higher

education, including a pathway to a degree, but at the same time it severely limited access to who could establish and attend community colleges.

All of this activity defining and redefining the community college for the Indian context was carried out through interdependent actions and interactions. Advocates of all three models continuously worked together despite their differences in opinion by leveraging personal relationships, particularly with government officials, to attract support for each model. For example, NGO community colleges achieved waypoints of recognition that created periods of settlement within the model. Alphonse worked closely with the Open University at the state and national level because this appeared to be a step toward centralized recognition. Simultaneously, the Wadhvani Foundation was able to mobilize its deep financial and political resources to significantly reshape the trajectory of the movement. At that moment, IGNOU was in decline, Alphonse lost his key contact in the government to bureaucratic turnover, and the country had coalesced around prioritizing skill development (in higher education). The Wadhvani Foundation, with an interest in serving 12th pass students, capitalized on these changing dynamics by creating a community college policy that integrated with existing structures of higher education. The IGNOU community college atrophied and the NGO community college was forced to seek out new relationships and new opportunities for recognition within or tangential to higher education. As advocates perceived no alternative source of legitimacy, their institutional entrepreneurship focused heavily on building relationships within and across higher education stakeholders.

A key mechanism of this effort was participation in committees that heavily influenced policy development. However, as Roy (1999) pointed out, in India, “this is another of the State’s tested strategies. It kills you by committee” (quoted in Roy 2016, p. 130). In the case of

community colleges, one is left wondering if the committee was used intentionally over the years to delay substantive action on Alphonse's demands for recognition, or whether the numerous committees dedicated to community college development were genuine attempts to create change? Given that the Wadhvani Foundation joined the movement so late but was able to move from committee to legislation with its conception so quickly seems to suggest the prior may have been the case. Alternatively, the Foundation may have entered the proverbial garbage can at the opportune moment when choices, problems, people, solutions, and a decision situation aligned perfectly to expedite the government-funded model (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972). Given its ubiquity in the Indian political process – and around the world - exploring the exact nature of committee work related to community would greatly enhance the understanding of behind the scenes policy development. This would be a fascinating, if difficult to achieve, project for future research.

By committee or otherwise, collectively advocates recognized that only interdependence could support such a massive change project in a highly bureaucratic system with low “social acceptability” related to skill development. Traditional approaches to collective action were centralized as a way to navigate the policy design and implementation processes that relied on “patronage” politics in an “individual centric” bureaucracy. Complicated by high turnover among officials and general understaffing in agencies responsible for policy development, government officials and departments often chose “low hanging fruit” that would secure “brownie points” with the current political regime. Expectations and policy energized by personal relationships meant that only a handful of advocates were able to gain access to influence over the decision-making process. In this way, the assumed need for supportive

regulatory policy stifled collective action among practitioners and encouraged coercive cooperation strategies to define norms and standards.

Community college advocates therefore used top down approaches, rather than the expected grassroots approaches, to create the identity of each model. Advocates disseminated guidelines, selected community colleges, and organized “gatherings” to promote the community college concept with minimal oversight and almost nonexistent feedback from practitioners. Both ICRDCE and the Wadhvani Foundation actively sought ways to support practitioners, while IGNOU officials scrambled to respond to challenges after registration had already occurred. In contrast, government officials approached implementation with little to no direct contact with community college practitioners. Although the use of coercive cooperation strategies varied among the advocates of the three models, each adhered to this approach. By convening meetings, circulating standards, and centralizing selection, advocates were generally able to maintain control over norms and expectations rather than relying on professionals to self-organize. By funneling power into the hands of a few, collective action among community colleges practitioners was quelled. System advocates were effectively allowed to determine the fate of the community college concept, and the introduction of the National Skills Qualification Framework only reinforced the top down approach to educational oversight that discouraged collaboration and creativity at the practice level.

Overall, the community college movement required the collective institutional entrepreneurship of advocates willing to persistently and consistently push the agenda forward. This was not the heroic action of one or two individuals or organizations; moving the community college from concept through implementation required the overlapping and interdependent activity of a web of advocates promoting localized and personalized models of the community

college while conforming to a communal approach to reforming education by focusing on skill development and employment outcomes. Success was largely predicated on the ability to mobilize supporters and build relationships with government officials who were able to wield the powerful steering wheel of the bureaucratic policy process. This left access to decision-making in the hands of a few while practice was distributed widely, but largely disconnected from policy.

How does founding context modulate the influence of pluralistic institutional forces on organizational expectations?

Chapter 7 addressed this question by demonstrating the constellation of logics that advocates faced in promoting each community college model. While there are seven societal level institutional logics identified by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), only five contributed significantly to the institutional complexity of the community college field as implemented in India. These were state, market, community, professional, and religion. While the first four are almost universally agreed upon in the literature as primary features shaping higher education, religion has not been considered, particularly in the case of public higher education. Because the NGO community college movement in India was firmly rooted in Jesuit origins, the imprint of the religious logic remains important if not strong for both the IGNOU and government-funded models as well. That influence may be increasing.

As a Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) majority government, with ties to the Hindu National movement, was ushered in during the elections of 2014, advocates suggested that there was less tolerance for any influence by Christianity. To this point, the religious logic influencing community college development was primarily associated with the Jesuits. However, the

religious logic is not exclusively Christian, and there seems to be quite a bit of evidence that a Hindu-based religious logic was gaining prominence in other sectors as a result of the democratic shift in party control (Doniger & Nussbaum, 2015; Roy, 2016). In fact, policy updates from the Ministry of Skill Development and entrepreneurship highlight activities aimed at “reaching the unreached” extend skill development to the “unreached” (MSDE, 2015, p. 1) which harkens back one of the most common phrases used by ICRDCE associated advocates. While the Hindu-based religious logic had not yet asserted itself formally in the realm of community college policy, some advocates perceived an anti-Christian sentiment beginning to seep in. Supporting the notion of historical contingency of logics – where the definition and influence shifts over time (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), numerous participants, both Christians and non-Christians, confirmed that Christian affiliated colleges were likely to experience decreased support under a BJP government while those colleges more closely aligned with the BJP ideals would be given preference.

Beyond the singular logic of religion, the influence of the constellation on community college development varied by model and as a function of time in response to the dynamic socio-political and economic environment. Overall, NGO community colleges, while navigating the full constellation of logics, prioritized the transformation of individuals in community while IGNOU advocates refocused efforts on a state logic of increasing the gross enrollment ratio. Finally, prioritizing the needs of employers and the economic development of the nation, government-funded community college advocates again shifted the predominant emphasis toward a market-based approach with employer needs at top of mind. Advocates achieved this differentiated approach without dramatically shifting the primary framing narratives of “education for employment” and “educational reform.” This illustrates the historical contingency

of these framing concepts in that while the words and macro-level intention remained static, the meaning materialized through policy and practice shifted from individual (community) to national (state) to economic (market) development over time (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

In a highly bureaucratic emerging economy, as the control of the movement shifted from grassroots to a centralized effort, community colleges had to both maintain the status quo and satisfy the growing demands of logics with increasing influence (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2013). Advocates accomplished this through multiple mechanisms that both constrained and enabled action to support stability and change (Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick, 2011). In addition to those mechanisms supported by prior research, Indian community college advocates engaged in a hybrid mechanism of logic seeking, motivated by perceived need for recognition chasing, in order to secure legitimacy in a striving nation with a resistance to vocationalization.

Within the development of Indian community colleges there was a history of advocates seeking a stronger influence of logics beyond a core commitment to the influential community logic. Challenged by negative public perception and the unflappable desire for an academic degree among students and parents, community college advocates began seeking recognition from the onset of the movement. In doing so, advocates actively invited the influence of the state logic on the initiative. Additionally, the primary goal of “education for employment,” necessitated the influence of a market logic to ensure favorable outcomes for the colleges. Logic seeking meant that advocates were not simply responding to environmental conditions that included multiple logics; instead they actively looked for ways to change the conditions that required a response. This ability to successfully adapt to changing circumstances through complexity aligns with ecological principles, which assert that interdependencies between

organisms improve resistance to stress on a system. Maneuvering among existing logics and responding to changes in the environment overtime, as is generally depicted in the literature, is remarkably different from advocates actively seeking increased complexity, as was the case among community college advocates in India.

Logic seeking as a mechanism among Indian community college advocates was motivated by the desire for legitimacy that, in this context, was perceived only to be possible through formal recognition. Whereas Chapter 6 explored the specific practices of institutional entrepreneurs aimed at achieving the legitimacy of “recognition,” Chapter 7 illustrated how seeking explains the dynamics of logic negotiation that were both constrained and enabled by that complexity. Recognition chasing was the strategy that the mechanism of logic seeking motivated community college advocates to pursue. They were deeply interconnected – two sides of the entrepreneurial coin.

Implications for Theory

The preceding sections dissect the findings of this research based on a primary theoretical framework. Yet, the overarching contribution of this study in relation to the application of institutional theory in an emerging economy is the interwoven approach using translation, institutional entrepreneurship, and institutional logics. In combination, these theoretical approaches paint a robust multilevel picture of the institutionalization process of the community college concept in India. The need for regulatory support proved paramount at every turn in the translation process and created a dynamic environment that required constant interpretation and adjustment by advocates; adherence to a universal frame for community colleges with localized

form and function; leverage of personal relationships to secure legitimacy; a centralized approach to collective action; and navigation of complexity in ways that both minimized its effects and also exacerbated them. In total, this study highlights both the applicability and limitations of current understandings of institutional phenomena in a democratic, capitalist, emerging economy.

As Boxenbaum and Jonsoon (2008) point out, institutionalization is the spread and adoption of “changing norms, collective beliefs, or laws” (p. 90), which means that the concept of the community college is deeply institutionalized in India as evidenced by the wide acceptance of the need for skill development in higher education, the universal belief in the need to reform education toward employability, and regulatory support through the five year plans and the NSQF. Yet the institutionalization of the community colleges’ form and function remain in flux. In India the translation process started as a grassroots effort to offer transformational skill development education for marginalized youth – an effort inspired by interaction with the U.S. community college faculty and structures. This is not in itself unique as often actors innovate by translating a foreign organizational arrangement in a new context – but the literature focused on national initiatives tends to stop after a single translation process (e.g., Purdy & Gray, 2009; Tracey & Phillips, 2011; Waldorff, & Greenwood, 2011). There may be one dominant model or even multiple models, but empirical literature tends to treat translation as a singular occurrence. In India, that could not be farther from the truth.

What is different about the case of India is that the development of alternative community college models was not related to just either jurisdictional and geographic boundaries or organizational practice (Greenwood et al., 2010; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Waldorff & Greenwood, 2011; Pache & Santos, 2013). Instead, the translation process was continuous and iterative within

the context of one nation, and even one interpretation of the translated concept. In this way, translation is not only about the movement and transformation of ideas through time and space, but also about what happens after the move is accomplished. A materialized idea, in order to survive, must continue to respond to its changing environment. This constant reactive and responsive approach to translation resulted in the growth of multiple models that were each revitalized through iterative policy developments (Waldorff, 2010).

In a highly status-conscious society governed by a centralized bureaucracy, there was no perceived alternative source of legitimacy other than formal recognition for a new organizational arrangement like the community college. This created the impetus for recognition chasing that defined the contours of the collective institutional entrepreneurship that was responsible for initiating and sustaining the new but ever changing movement. Although Alphonse is often painted as a heroic institutional entrepreneur, the data spotlighted the fact that government officials and their allies proved to be formidable institutional entrepreneurs as well. This role of bureaucrats supports a nascent body of research confirming the ability of state actors to actively contribute to the process of institutional entrepreneurship (Jain & Sharma, 2013; Reay & Hinings; Nasra & Dacin, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2010; Clegg, 2010), even when not serving as initiators of the change (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Lounsbury, Ventresca & Hallet, 2003; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012). Wittingly and unwittingly, as part of this web of institutional entrepreneurship, advocates were both initiators and sustainers of the simultaneously planned and emergent distinct process of community college development (Smets & Jarzabowski, 2013; Yu, 2015).

Institutional entrepreneurship was not just one person with intentionality but incorporated the compilation of activities (both strategic and ordinary) that supported the initiative. For

example Alphonse did not set out from the beginning to build a national community college system, but he did want to provide a bit of support to the students at his college. Hence, the community college built on the success of the Center for Vocational Education and Pondicherry University Community College. From that first NGO, the idea was quickly taken up by others. Together, this group of early adopters experienced the small win of local success. As they continued to gain supporters, they also attracted a new set of advocates that introduced new ways of interpreting the concept. Over time the “movement” was born – not with full intentionality but organically growing from a small seed germinating that lead to the sowing of new seeds by new advocates in different places. Like an underground network of roots, the connections between advocates was not always visible, but it did provide viability to the movement. In an emerging economy like India, these affiliations were not only organizational but also heavily based in personal relationships because of the “patronage” politics shaping the policy process.

The interdependence of individuals was a key to affiliation among community college advocates, but the ability to influence those relationships was largely concentrated within a small group of people and organizations. The demand and perceived need for regulatory support decreased the ability of practitioners to influence the development of norms and standards. In this way, collective action did not function as expected. To conform to the demands of the field characteristics in a post-colonial, highly bureaucratic state, the activities of collective action were not grassroots but top down. As a result, the role of personal relationships was elevated above the need for collaborative problem solving in the field building stage. Morrill (2007) suggested that delayed professionalization through collective action could enhance the institutionalization of a new organizational arrangement by providing time to diffuse more widely and therefore create a buffer against critique. Therefore, it may be that collective action will be the next phase in

community college development, yet it has been stifled so effectively. To date this is hard to imagine without a near complete overhaul of the higher education system or public perception regarding skill development. What is much more likely, it seems, is the translation of the community college concept into yet another model.

As Czarniawska (2012) suggests, the introduction of new reformers with new interpretations of how to materialize an idea is the foundation of the translation process. In this way, rather than logics getting replaced (Greenwood et al., 2010; Jain & Sharma, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009), it is the people and organization advocating for change that are replaced. The influential constellation of logics was stable within India's community college movement, but how those logics were filtered through individuals and organizations promoting the concept was what changed over time. Unlike much of the literature that assumes competition and segmenting practices by organizational arrangement (e.g., Dunn & Jones, 2010; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Reay & Hinings, 2009), there was no dominant logic per community college model. The reality was much more complex because multiple logics were ever present and the boundaries of their influence were related to opportunities for recognition and the introduction of new advocates (i.e., co-existing models of community colleges in India). Advocates' navigation of complexity supported a process perspective on the development of community colleges within one country that led to fragmentation rather than stability (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014; Khavul, Chaves, & Bruton, 2013; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Waldorff & Greenwood, 2013).

Within this process the strategies and actions that advocates employed were both constrained and enabled by the interplay of logics that constituted the constellation shaping the emerging field of community college. While institutional complexity is becoming a taken for granted assumption, what is not yet well understood is "the role of agency in change processes

involving multiple logics” (Goodrick & Reay, 2011, p. 405). This study illuminates how advocates managed the complexity of reforming higher education through skill development by promoting a new organizational arrangement, that had both intended and unintended consequences. Furthermore, advocates engaged in a process of logic seeking that purposefully increased complexity. The idea of actively pursuing added demands and expectations rather than mitigating the influence of multiple logics, is almost anathema in the literature. However, community college advocates in India perceived their hand as being forced into recognition chasing. To secure credibility, community college advocates contorted themselves to align with a revolving set of policies that were set with little regard for local implementation. Logic seeking may be unique to India, or emerging economies generally, or it may be much more widespread. Understanding the generalizability of this hybrid mechanism for managing complexity will require releasing the assumption of minimizing complexity that dominates the research on institutional change. Conclusions about the purpose and outcomes of institutional entrepreneurship should be revisited with beginners’ eyes.

In summary, this study offers four primary contributions to institutional theory. First, in a striving, globalized, post-colonial emerging economy educational reform advocates saw no alternative to formal regulatory support from the central government. This energized the activity of recognition chasing that defined the trajectory of the community college movement. Second, rather than being a singular process of borrowing an idea from a foreign context and adapting it to a local context, translation continued overtime resulting in three distinct but overlapping models championed by new advocates offering new opportunities for recognition. Translation was a continually responsive process at the organizational and system level. Third, instead of relying on collective action, assumed to be a necessary ingredient for institutional

entrepreneurship, advocates engaged in coercive cooperation as a result of bureaucratic patronage politics that funneled policy decision making power into the hands of a few. Finally, an institutional logics perspective tends to assume that actors will attempt to mitigate complexity. However, in India, to gain regulatory support, advocates welcomed or actually chased the influence of that state, market, and professional logics in community college development. Together these theoretical insights can help to illuminate the boundary conditions of institutional theory in emerging economies.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Beyond contributions to institutional theory, understanding community college development in India has critical policy implications. While leaders work to legitimize community colleges at the national level, if policy remains disconnected from local realities, their efforts are unlikely to ensure organizational viability. Without the reinforcement of local practitioners this potentially transformative educational approach is likely to “fester rather than flourish” (Swidler, 2009, p. 197). Ultimately, how this process is understood has implications for India, but also around the world because community college global counterparts continue to gain prominence as an integral part of nearly ubiquitous massification policies in emerging economies.

In general, practitioners are isolated, accountability is negligible, and policy decisions are based on anecdotal evidence rather than professional expertise. This leaves Indian community colleges in danger of falling victim to the fickle winds of political and economic change. Yet, powerful reform would be possible with policy design that incentivizes knowledge sharing, creates substantive feedback mechanisms, and buffers practitioners from short-term policy and

funding concerns. These approaches can be used to elevate the often-silenced voice of practitioners in future policy initiatives. Only by bridging the divide between policy and practice will community colleges fulfill their promise as a meaningful gateway to postsecondary education and employment.

While most participants desired the incorporation of skills in education and the expansion of access, the ultimate role and position of community colleges in higher education remains debatable. Participants tended to view the community college as a way to build flexibility into a relatively rigid system that caters almost exclusively to traditional age college students on a linear path through higher education. Yet, most students were unable to pursue such a narrow path as evidenced by low enrollment and high dropout rates across Indian postsecondary education (MHRD, 2014). To address these challenges, community colleges offered more flexibility in structure and schedule. NGO community colleges serve as “bridge courses” that help students expediently fill gaps in their education and training to continue an upward path toward higher education and better employment. Government-funded community colleges were intended to have a modular curriculum allowing for multiple entry and exit points, stackable credentials, and a pathway to graduate school. Additionally, across community colleges, classes were often conducted in the evenings and on weekends to allow working adults, parents, and students with family support obligations to enroll. This was a great departure from the “conventional” approach to higher education with its nearly linear process focused solely on credential completion without intermediate waypoints and should be amplified.

On a structural level, many participants view the community college as a bridging organization that could help build flexible pathways between NGO community colleges, Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs), polytechnics, and colleges and universities by offering

general education courses in conjunction with skill based training. To serve as a bridge, NGO community colleges should continue preparing underserved students for both employment and further education by helping them pass the necessary exams required to enter formal higher education. Some government officials wanted to merge higher, technical, and vocational streams in a way that made higher education more practical and vocational education more academic. Other participants advocated maintaining the distinctiveness of each organizational arrangement so that community colleges did not mirror the current ITIs and polytechnics, but instead offer a pathway for higher education students to pursue skill-based education with the vertical mobility offered by further education. Across founding contexts, all of these approaches relied heavily on the success of the NSQF as the foundation of “education for employment” in community colleges. Given these conditions, community college convergence is possible, but it will require advocates to reimagine a collaborative policy vision rather than the fragmented approach that has resulted from the separation of NGO from government-funded community colleges in policy and practice – an effort that will require a new translation process balancing individual preference with public needs and local legitimacy (Boxenbaum, 2006). Ultimately, through these multiple streams of educational reform, advocates expect community colleges to usher in a sea change that helps an education for employment mindset infiltrate all levels of postsecondary education. Without careful attention to implementation, this outcome will remain unrealistic.

According to Indian policymakers and practitioners, aligning education to employment and implementing experiential pedagogies require a change in mindset and practice that cannot be achieved overnight. Transitioning from textbook-based exams to competency-based evaluations demands new teaching, learning, and assessment methods that have been largely absent from postsecondary education. It cannot be overstated that the teachers, trainers, and

industry partners being asked to implement new skills-based vocational education are themselves the products of the conventional education system. Therefore, increased attention to *how* teachers and trainers are prepared to accomplish this new work is imperative (Goel, 2015).

Rather than top-down information dissemination, professional development designed to engage participants in collective knowledge sharing could provide valuable opportunities to identify common challenges and opportunities, share problem-solving techniques, and foster post-meeting interaction. Such activities could help develop support structures and create professional standards that reflect the experience of the grassroots level in order to buffer community colleges from an ever-changing parade of policymakers who often have little expertise in education. Without the reinforcement of local practitioners, the community colleges' potentially transformative educational approach may wither.

Practitioners generally agree that the most successful implementation of skills courses in community colleges has been the result of dedicated educators putting the individual transformation of students at the core of their work. This means that more than providing employability skills, effective practitioners at the grassroots level should be focusing on the holistic development of “responsible citizens.” In light of this success, prioritizing individual transformation over workforce transformation in future policy and practice could help ensure social justice outcomes rather than the reproduction of an elite and rigid system.

Complementary to prioritizing student development, viewing the National Skills Qualification Framework as a baseline to be augmented and adapted in the local context will be imperative. In a country as diverse as India, only a local focus is likely to provide the necessary fit between employer expectations, student learning, and entrepreneurship opportunities. This will help ensure sustainable employment for students with the possibility of upward mobility

while providing incentives to employers to hire trained individuals for higher initial wages—primary concerns among skill development leaders.

Community colleges have experienced steadily increasing political support for nearly twenty years, but over the last few years they have been slowly pushed out of favor. The current government, while remaining steadfastly if not more zealously committed to skill development, seems to be refocusing priorities away from long-term activities – like the community college – toward short-term programs that will more quickly meet the national “skilling” targets such as training almost 110 million people in 24 sectors by 2022 (Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, 2015). Rescuing the community college – both NGO and government-funded models – from a slow death in higher education will therefore require organizational leaders and practitioners to fight for its continuation. Whereas community college development to date has rested in the hands of the few, its future is likely to be decided by the collective action of many.

Leaders working at the national policy level have led much of the battle for community college translation and institutionalization. However, those individuals who have doggedly been pursuing community college recognition are, almost to a person, no longer leading community college advocacy efforts. In order to take action that will in fact sustain the movement, it will be important for practitioners at the organizational level to work together to influence the system moving forward. Effective collective action will require understanding the challenges to legitimacy perceived at the system level combined with the experience of how policy works in practice to ensure long term viability of community colleges in India.

The mandate for skill development programs in higher education must conform to employer needs. Yet, as numerous participants point out, unless job growth in the organized sector accompanies increases in skill-based education, the unemployability problem will not only

go unsolved, it will be exacerbated. Skills education without attention to job (and wage) growth will result in the empty promise of the education gospel (Grubb & Lazerson, 2004). However, the contours of the job market are largely ignored in discussions regarding the responsibility of postsecondary education to prepare students for employment. The organized labor market constitutes only about 10-15% of employment opportunities across the country, which means that the vast majority of students will be employed in informal working environments without regulated contracts/regular salaries or access to benefits like paid leave or insurance. Yet, these are the jobs targeted by skill development programs. Rather than the typically portrayed situation in which employers demand more skilled workers than the education system is supplying, fulfilling the new skill development policy is in danger of the education system supplying many more graduates than the formal labor market needs. The potential for both the over and under supply of appropriately skilled employees is an under-recognized reality related to the current skill development initiatives. In the current context, employers are not yet incentivized to pay a premium for a skilled workforce when there is an abundant supply of inexpensive and (perceived) dispensable manpower so readily available. Nurturing and cultivating acceptance among employers to hire graduates will be a “critical” issue for the future of community colleges.

It is too early in the institutionalization process to know if the community college will be able to deliver on its promises to reform education and serve as a “launch pad” for students to access otherwise unattainable educational and employment opportunities (Mullin & Phillippe, 2013, p. 4). Even with more limited eligibility, government-funded community colleges are opening the door to students who might otherwise have dropped out or never enrolled in higher education while NGO community colleges are providing opportunities to an even broader array

of students. Although these openings may be only a crack, they can illuminate pathways for students too often left disenfranchised under the weight of an inequitable social, economic, and educational system. Such opportunities will only endure if structural changes to ensure educational mobility are prioritized, employers begin paying a premium for trained employees, graduates experience upward economic and educational mobility, and community colleges become a first choice rather than a last resort.

Directions for Future Research

As this dissertation is among the first empirical investigations into community colleges in India, opportunities for future research are vast. From a theoretical standpoint, it would be useful to conduct a comparative analysis with another reform initiatives in India, educational or otherwise. The community college movement did not conform to institutional theory's expectations particularly related to collective action and minimizing complexity. A comparative analysis would help to identify if these boundary conditions were unique to the community college movement or if they were indicative of the way that theory must be reconfigured to address the conditions of emerging economies. Beyond India, it would also be helpful to compare the development of community college systems in other emerging economies to identify similarities and differences in the role of institutional entrepreneurship in navigating multiple logics throughout the translation process. Such a study should explore the interaction between micro, meso, and macro level phenomena that highlight the translation process in terms of both policy and practice (Wiseman & Chase-Mayoral, 2013).

Another area of investigation that should be explored more fully is a comparison of advocates' beliefs about and motivations for participating in the community college movement within and across models. This study attended to advocates' personal drive only minimally in the pursuit of a system level understanding of the translation of community colleges. Unfortunately, that may have created an illusion of uniformity among advocates' views about the community college, particularly within each model, but this masked marked differences. As Sauermann and Stephan (2013) point out, heterogeneity within sectors is a reality despite an aggregated picture of homogeneity. The community college, nested in the local community, is filtered through individuals and organizational responses to system level activity. In this way, individual community colleges may be completely decoupled from national policy or even from the expectations of their chosen model (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). Hence, individual and organizational response to complexity is necessarily going to lead to heterogeneity at the practice level. The practitioner level data alluded to diversity in implementation at the organizational level, but a deep investigation was beyond the scope of this dissertation. Extracting a robust understanding of how individual advocates interacted with each other and how those interactions shaped the translation process within and between models would continue to breakdown the almost monolithic portrait of community colleges in India.

Given the data collection for this study, a next obvious step is to relate organizational practice with system level policy. This would add an additional layer to the embedded case study in which operational community colleges associated with each model could be compared to each other, to their respective system level policy, and across time and policy iterations. This would respond the ardent call for multilevel analysis in understanding the nature of how individuals and organizations shape logics and how logics in turn shape individuals and organizations.

Furthermore, a practice perspective nested within a deep understanding of the pluralistic and constantly changing environment that community colleges in India face would demonstrate how individuals make sense of the constellation of logics shaping their work and how they respond in planned and unplanned ways. Much like the community college advocates highlighted in this dissertation whose responses to (shifting) institutional complexity were both intentional and unintentional, practitioners' actions, both pro-active and re-active can shed light on the evolving definition of community college in India.

Moving beyond a comparative analysis of community colleges across models, it would be fruitful to compare practice within each model. In other words, although this study tried to continually acknowledge the nuances of understanding within and between models, the reality is that practitioners are left to their own devices to translate the community college concept in their hyper local environment. This means that much like the NGO, IGNOU, and government-funded community colleges each adhere to overarching tenets of what it means to be a community college in India and the world, when put into practice, that translation has a nuanced reality. Specifically, within the government-funded model it would be useful to compare implementation between those community colleges in polytechnics under AICTE with those in colleges and universities under UGC. Alternatively, exploring the approach of ICRDCE to supporting individual community colleges with the efforts of the Wadhvani Foundation could illuminate within and between model differences based on primary affiliation of advocates. Each individual community college's viability is likely determined by the way practitioners maneuver within the boundaries of the societal level logics shaping developments at the policy level, but also the type of relationships they have with advocates within the model and the collaborations they are able to build in their geographic communities. In this way, an individual analysis would become

critical to understanding the multilevel and multivocal process of community college development. Furthermore, such an understanding would illuminate opportunities for collaboration across community college models that could help sustain a decades old movement that continues to face resource challenges.

Conducting state level comparative analysis would also be useful. For example, NGO community colleges were prolific in South India given that ICRDCE was established in Tamil Nadu. NGOs were slower to take off in other parts of the country, yet IGNOU community colleges were instantly popular across the country. Among government-funded community colleges the process has been slower to develop with certain states taking up the new initiative more quickly than others. Furthermore, community colleges have been established in a range from rural to urban communities that provide access to differentially marginalized student populations. It would be helpful to more fully understand what facilitators and barriers existed for the translation of the community college concept within each state.

Additionally, having taken a qualitative approach to the research, it must be said that building a database that could be analyzed quantitatively would help illuminate broader trends in community college development. For example, it would be useful to create a national clearinghouse for community college information that tracks opening and closing dates for each organization, size, location, density of local education and training opportunities, academic and economic outcomes of students, etc. With this type of information, it would be possible to compare models *and* analyze data at the state or community level to better understand the parameters of community college success and failure. This would go a long way toward supporting quality assurance and accountability mechanisms that participants at every level acknowledged as quite lacking. Concurrently, systematically locating each community college

using GIS [geographic information system] mapping techniques would identify community college deserts and oases. Having such information could better inform advocates in future policy planning to target areas of greatest need.

Although they are often promoted as an ideal solution to bridge the divide between skill development and higher education while providing a foothold on the ladder of upward mobility, much like the U.S. community college model, there remains an essential question that must be asked. Is the community college in India contributing to transformational social change or (inadvertently) creating a glass ceiling for students? As designed, community colleges should provide comprehensive opportunities for students and community members who have otherwise been pushed out of formal education to access new opportunities. In practice, many if not most of the flexible transitions between further education and employment appear to be broken if they were ever built at all. With this reality, are incremental improvements in terms of livelihood achievable? Are incremental improvements an equitable goal? Can the community college with its explicit vocational focus and target population of “marginalized” students serve as a tool for economic and social justice? Or will it, like critics of community colleges around the world have long contended, offer “false promises” as a salve for class and caste conflict (Pincus, 1980, p. 332)? These are questions that must be addressed openly and honestly if the community college in India is to truly “give the best to the least” and “include the excluded” as promised. In India, the question remains “whether or not the community college contributes to opportunity or is an illusion which promises access but instead serves to maintain social class” (Raby, 2009b, p. 29).

Despite my insistence on a desire to learn rather than consult, I was regularly positioned as an "expert" on community colleges and asked to provide solutions to vexing challenges. In this way, study participants often prioritized external “western” solutions to locally experienced,

but globally relevant, educational issues (Raby & Valeau, 2013). Seeking my guidance seemed to reinforce a sense of dependency on external information in a way that was “based on foreign ideas and nonindigenous values” (Altbach, 2004, p. 17). This experience helped me develop a sense of wanting to move forward in my research as a co-creator of knowledge rather than as a consumer of others' experiences. Taking a decolonizing approach to future research (Patel, 2016), one that is actively anti-colonial and takes a community cultural wealth rather than a deficit perspective (Yosso, 2005) will be vital.

The words of Leigh Patel (2016) are the perfect charge to researchers who will continue the critical work of studying the community college in India:

When educational research focuses on these strata without addressing the societal design that creates the strata, it becomes complicit in the larger project... The practices that lead some to carry educational debt are interwoven with the practices that lead others to educational opportunity and wealth. This relationship of wealth and debt can be obscured by silo investigations and interventions that aim to fill the gap but not address its fundamental conditions. Part of what decolonizing educational research must include is understanding how an imbalanced and misreferenced partial view, fundamentally, works from a colonial stance (p. 18).

In closing, I consider taking a decolonizing approach a critical call to action, one that I was only able to achieve partially in this study. Through my interactions with research participants specifically, and life in India more generally, I came to deeply understand the necessity of challenging assumptions about the “appropriate” nature of community colleges. It is essential to question the community college as an ideal solution for marginalized students. Researchers must be explicit about asking how this valorized approach to education might, wittingly or unwittingly, reproduce the inequality it professes to combat. Rather than doing research *to* or *on* a community, it is essential that future research leverage an understanding of the academy in a way that leads to more collective and community-led change.

Approaching the work with compassion and humility is only the first step toward addressing the “fundamental conditions” described by Patel (2016) that reproduce, reinforce, and even widen the divide between those who have unfettered access to the benefits of education and those who do not. The community college in India has the potential to create educational wealth or exacerbate debt, but too often, even those leaders that prioritize personal over economic development contribute to stabilizing the status quo of educational inequality rather than disrupt it. Researchers that want to contribute to the latter must commit to equitable collaboration with community members and indigenous ways of knowing and learning to realize the transformative potential of the community college.

समाप्त

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
1972		UNESCO promotes integration of gen and voc. edu				
1974						
1975		An educator from India signs a resolution to build a "world community college" at a conference in Canada (Nov.)				
1976						
1979		Rep. from Delhi University's CVS attends Wingspread Conference on International Community Colleges.*				
1982						
1987		CCID delegation travels to India with USIEF to explore polytechnics (Feb)				
1988			Jean Cook (Sinclair Community College) meets Adrian Almeida at a CCID conference in the U.S. and they begin planning the CVE. Almeida is in the US on a Fulbright Scholar in Residence at Sinclair Community College (Oct.)			
1989			Victo D'Souza is a Fulbright scholar in Residence at Sinclair Community College from 1989/90 and introduces Mathur, Minister of Education and Culture at the Indian Embassy in D.C. to the team at Sinclair.			
1990		CCID delegation, including a representative of EICCD, are invited - through the introduction of Mathur - to study Indian polytechnics in conjunction with a World Bank loan*	Mathur, from the US ,wrote an article in <i>University News</i> (the AIACHE journal) explaining the American Community College concept after visiting Sinclair during D'Souza's Fulbright.*			

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
1972					Delhi University opens a College of Vocational Studies
1974	National Policy on Edu (NPE) promotes vocational edu in secondary school				
1975					
1976	MHRD further promotes vocationalizing higher secondary school				
1979					Rep. from Delhi University's CVS attends Wingspread Conference on International Community Colleges.*
1982					A research group in Pondicherry publishes a position paper on Community Colleges
1987				Bh. U pilots an Associate Degree program	
1988					
1989	The government of India implements a liberalization, privatization, and globalization policy that resulted in a major expansion of higher education attendance and demand.				
1990	Mathur secures CCID an invitation to consult on Polytechnic reform* The government of India implements a liberalization, privatization, and globalization policy that resulted in a major expansion of higher education attendance and demand.				

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1991		CCID conference highlights the "India Project" as a priority (summer)	D'Souza publishes the essay, Restructuring Higher Education in India: The Relevance of the American Community College Cook begins a Fulbright fellowship in Madras India to collaborate on the CVE with Almeida; Archdiocese of Madras donates the building. CVE opens in March. CCID partners including Sinclair and EICCD partner to a literacy project with Stella Maris College			
1992		USAID funds a 5 year, \$750,000 UDLP grant to establish the Center for Vocational Education in Madras (Oct) *	Sinclair CC partners with Eastern Iowa CC District to implement the UDLP grant with Almeida as the lead partner in India with support from MHRD (Oct.)* Sinclair & EICCD partner with CCID to run a workshop on Industrial Partnerships for Polytechnics and technical teacher training CCID partners including Sinclair and EICCD partner on a technical teacher training program in Bhopal (Nov)			
1993						
1994		Representatives from USA, Australia, & Canada attend UGC seminar on Community Colleges (March)		Alphonse as principal of Loyola College attends the UGC seminar on Community Colleges (March)*		

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
1991					
1992					
1993	The National Education Policy's Programme of Action mentions the need to build community colleges	UGC issues a report on the need to vocationalize Higher Education (Sept.)		Archbishop supporting the CVE dies	Canara Community College is established - encouraged by a former US Ambassador to India and in partnership with the Centre for Technical Development
1994	Sudha K. Rao, NIEPA and AICTE official, publishes a paper that she presented at the UGC seminar on the Need and Relevance of Community Colleges in India in the AIACHE journal. Much of the language used in future writing about CCs in India is borrowed from this paper (Dec.)	UGC sponsors a seminar on "Community College in India;" D'Souza presents his 1991 paper (March) UGC members and university Vice Chancellors travel to USA to study community colleges. The trip report proposes a national pilot of community colleges. (Sept/Oct.) Pondicherry University VC, a UGC member, submits a proposal to UGC for recognition of a local community college (Oct.)*			Pondicherry University VC, a UGC member, submits a proposal to UGC for recognition of a local community college (Oct.)* AIACHE, housed in Chennai, holds a workshop on vocational education supported by the USIS (Dec.)

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
1995			<p>Archbishop and Almeida travel to US to get support for the Madras community college as an outgrowth of the CVE project</p> <p>Pondicherry University V.C. writes to EICCD and CCID to request support.</p>	<p>Alphonse meets Almeida through the Archbishop and the two begin to plan Madras Community College (July)</p> <p>Alphonse proposes the community college as an alternative Higher Education option to the Archdiocese of Madras and discusses it with Sudha K. Rao (Aug)</p> <p>At the request of the Archdioceses of Mylapore and the sponsorship of the Indian Bank, Alphonse travels to the US to study community colleges (Dec)</p>		
1996		<p>Alphonse and Sinclair/EICCD attend a meeting at the Ford Headquarters in Chennai, India (March)</p> <p>Representatives from the USA and UK attend opening of Madras Community College (Aug)</p>	<p>Cook publishes article on the "international development self-help project" of the CVE and Madras Community College</p>	<p>Madras Community College (the first NGO) opens in partnership with the University of Madras and housed in the CVE with the blessing of the Archdiocese; Alphonse is the inaugural Director of Curriculum at Madras CC and an English Teacher (Aug)</p> <p>Alphonse publishes Changing Track - the first book on Indian Community Colleges (Dec)</p>		
1997		<p>Bilston Community College in the UK invites Alphonse to visit (spring)</p>	<p>Closing activity of the UDLP grant is an international conference on "training options for early school leavers" (Aug)</p>	<p>Alphonse begins consulting with other organizations to establish community colleges (April)</p> <p>Madurai Community College opens with the support of the Jesuits (Oct.)</p>		

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1995		Pondicherry University VC provides a report commissioned by the UGC about the feasibility of Community Colleges in India after visiting US with team in 1994 (May)	Sudha K. Rao receives CC proposal from Alphonse & Almeida for review (July)		Pondicherry University Community College opens; "education for employment" is the motto (Oct.)
1996	Union minister of HRD attends the opening of Madras Community College (Aug)				
1997		UGC provides a grant to a University in Tamil Nadu to open a Community College but the project never comes to fruition (March)		Madras Community College petitions for recognition by the state of Tamil Nadu (May)	National seminar on Higher Education recommends the establishment of community colleges. (Dec.)

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1998		<p>Consultants from FL and CA help Avinashilingam Deemed Univeristy in Tamil Nadu open a Community College and host a conference (June)</p> <p>Department for International Development in the UK funds a three year project to establish the (Madras) Indian Center for Community Development and Education (ICRDCE) (July)*</p>	<p>EICCD continues to submit proposals to support Vocational and Technical education reform (including Community College development) in India (Feb.)</p>	<p>Alphonse presents a paper on community colleges at an international conference at Avinashilingam University and in the UK (June)</p> <p>First consultation of operational Community Colleges is held (July)</p> <p>Department for International Development in the UK funds a three year project to establish the (Madras) Indian Center for Community Development and Education (ICRDCE) (July)*</p> <p>Alphonse writes letter to the President of India describing the Community College Concept (Oct.)</p> <p>Alphonse solicits support from AACC to begin an Indian Community College Association (Oct.)</p>		
1999				<p>ICRDCE is established with funds from a DFID grant in the UK and a building from the Archdiocese (Jan.)</p> <p>Alphonse presents to UGC, AICTE, IGNOU, and MHRD officials. Rao from AICTE and NIEPA is in the room. (Aug)*</p> <p>ICRDCE hosts a conference and multiple consultations throughout the year to spread the CC concept and prepare a state level policy document (Jan, March, Oct.)</p>		<p>Alphonse presents to UGC, AICTE, IGNOU, and MHRD officials. Rao from AICTE and NIEPA is in the room. (Aug)*</p>

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
1998	<p>Community College concept is included in the country's 9th Five Year plan under the section</p> <p>Dr. Joshi appointed as Minister of HRD (March)</p>	<p>UGC chairman supports ADU CC inauguration and discusses need to spread CC Concept (June)</p>		<p>MSU establishes five community colleges - the first coordinated opening of multiple community colleges by a single organization and begins developing guidelines (Sept.)</p> <p>Avinashilingam Deemed University in Tamil Nadu opens a community college with the support of two US-based collaborators and hosts a conference to inaugurate the opening (June)*</p> <p>An Indian Community College Association begins after the June conference (Nov.)</p>	
1999	<p>Kaw, an MHRD Educational Secretary, becomes aware of community colleges and invites Alphonse to make a presentation at MHRD (March)</p> <p>Alphonse presents to UGC, AICTE, IGNOU, and MHRD officials. Rao from AICTE and NIEPA is in the room. (Aug)*</p> <p>Pawan Agarwal is sent to study community colleges in Chennai and reports back to MHRD endorsing the NGO model. (Aug)</p> <p>Alphonse is invited to join a council at MHRD about vocationalizing HE (Aug)</p> <p>P. Agarwal meets with TN Secretary of Higher Education to discuss community colleges (Sept.)*</p>			<p>P. Agarwal meets with TN Secretary of Higher Education to discuss community colleges (Sept.)*</p> <p>Secretary of Higher Education for the state asks for a presentation and detailed proposal on Community Colleges from Alphonse. (Sept.)</p> <p>ICRDCE, with input from CC practitioners, submits proposal for recognition of community colleges and the creation of a Community College Development Authority to the state government (Oct)</p>	

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2000	Wadhvani Foundation is founded to promote economic acceleration in emerging economies.	CCID seeds another delegation to India (March)		ICRDCE hosts a workshop on community colleges and presents data from the first CC survey in India. Participants draft a policy document to guide CC document and identifies ICRDCE as the "nodal agency" to advocate on behalf of community colleges. (Feb.)*		Collaboration with IGNOU is one presentation at the ICRDCE Feb. workshop*
2001			EICCD and Sinclair secure USAID grant to support pilot Community Colleges in South India	MHRD hosts a consultation on Community Colleges as an alternative system of Education with ICRDCE (March)* ICRDCE submits a proposal for recognition to National Open School (March) and IGNOU (May) The VC of IGNOU creates a Committee on Community Colleges with Alphonse as a member (May)* Consultation with NIOS, IGNOU, and ICRDCE to discuss horizontal mobility (NIOS) & vertical mobility (IGNOU) at the behest of MHRD (Dec.)*		ICRDCE submits a proposal for recognition to National Open School (March) and IGNOU (May) The VC of IGNOU creates a Committee on Community Colleges with Alphonse as a member (May)* Consultation with NIOS, IGNOU, and ICRDCE to discuss horizontal mobility (NIOS) & vertical mobility (IGNOU) at the behest of MHRD (Dec.)*
2002		World Bank Policy begins promoting Community Colleges	EICCD hosts an Indian Delegation of "champions" identified as having potential to establish community colleges to visit the US to study CCs			ICRDCE submits proposal to NIOS for recognition and 27 individual community colleges apply for recognition (June)
2003	National Entrepreneurship Network begins.	Fulbright Scholars from US visit ICRDCE (July)*	EICCD hosts workshop on industry linkages and resource development for Community Colleges as part of USAID grant (Sept.)	ICRDCE, through a grant received from the planning commission, submits a feasibility study on community colleges (May)* Fulbright Scholars from US visit ICRDCE (July).*		
2004				Chennai consulate sponsors Alphonse to present at the CCID conference (month) Alphonse is appointed to the University of Madras Community College Expert Committee (Sept.) Alphonse works with TNOU and holds ICRDCE consultations with CCs to secure state level recognition (late)	ICRDCE begins courting TNOU for recognition (Aug.) TNOU creates MOU to recognize NGO community colleges as Vocational Program Centers after (Sept) 29 NGO community colleges secure recognition from TNOU (Dec.)	

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2000	MHRD sponsors the Feb. ICRDCE workshop on community colleges.*			TN State council for higher education recommends "streamlining" skill development programs for marginalized youth (Nov.)	
2001	MHRD hosts a consultation on Community Colleges as an alternative system of Education with ICRDCE (March)* MHRD organizes an external review of community colleges by NCERT (July-Aug) Consultation with NIOS and IGNOU to discuss partnering with ICRDCE community colleges (Dec.)*			ICRDCE submits a revised proposal for recognition to the state. (April)	
2002	Community Colleges included in the 10th Five year Plan (Dec.)	ICRDCE conducts a Community College feasibility study for UGC			
2003	ICRDCE submits a feasibility study on community colleges to the Planning Commission, which funded the study (May)* Arjun Singh appointed Minister of HRD (May)				
2004	Minorities Education Commission submits a proposal created by ICRDCE for community college recognition to MHRD (Aug.)			University of Madras (UM) creates a committee to develop a state level proposal for community college guidelines at the request of the Chief Minister (Sept.)	Original director of Pondicherry University Community College, Ramdass, now a member of Parliament, suggests that the government support community college development (July)

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2005		Northern Virginia Community College representative attends seminar to create community college policy at University of Madras (Feb)*		<p>Alphonse appointed to MHRD's newly established National Committee on Community Colleges (Feb.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE participates in the University of Madras seminar on CCs funded by US Consulate in Chennai (Feb.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE organizes a consultation with existing CCs to draft a document finalizing an Indian Community College System (from the Feb. seminar) and send it to UGC for approval (March)*</p> <p>ICRDCE begins helping establish community colleges in countries in Africa.</p>	<p>TNOU appoints Alphonse to the Academic Council which oversees community colleges (July).</p> <p>TNOU approves recognition to community colleges operating outside of Tamil Nadu (Oct)</p> <p>79 CCs are registered with TNOU and all have been vetted by ICRDCE (Dec.)</p>	MHRD Committee on Community Colleges directs IGNOU and UGC to develop a plan to integrate community colleges in higher education (Feb).
2006				<p>Alphonse appointed as a member of UGC and the Distance Education Council overseeing Open Universities (Feb.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE hosts a national consultation to "finalize" the Indian Community College System proposal (developed at the Feb 2005 seminar by UM and submitted to the state of Tamil Nadu) to submit to UGC then MHRD (Aug).</p> <p>ICRDCE inauguration of upgraded building and functioning (Sept.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE submits a proposal for the Indian Community College System to UGC and the Planning Commission (Oct).*</p>		Pillai, former vice chairman of UGC appointed as IGNOU Vice Chancellor (Oct.)

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2005	<p>MHRD constitutes a National Committee on Community Colleges and appoints Alphonse as a member, after the Minister of HRD met with Alphonse (Feb)*</p> <p>CC Committee meets in Feb & May to work out "equivalencies" across higher education sectors (includes HRD, AICTE, IGNOU, UGC, and ICRDCE).</p> <p>Planning commission working group on higher education incorporates budget for community colleges in its recommendations for 11th five year plan.</p>	<p>UGC Vice chairman, Distance Education Council member, and soon to be VC of IGNOU, R. Pillai, inaugurates seminar at University of Madras. (Feb)</p> <p>MHRD Committee on Community Colleges directs IGNOU and UGC to develop a plan to integrate community colleges in higher education (Feb).</p> <p>ICRDCE organizes a consultation with existing CCs to draft a document finalizing an Indian Community College System (from the Feb. seminar) and send it to UGC for approval (March)*</p>	Members participate in MHRD CC Committee (Feb) .	<p>UM hosts seminar with US Consulate in Chennai and ICRDCE to create a community college policy document for the state of Tamil Nadu (Feb.)</p> <p>UM, with assistance of ICRDCE, submits the proposal to the Tamil Nadu state department of higher education for approval (March).</p>	Ramdass of Pondicherry University Community College again suggests to parliament that the government support community college development (May)
2006	<p>Alphonse appointed as a member of the working committee on education to the planning commission (Aug).</p> <p>MHRD working paper on education submitted to planning commission referencing community colleges (Sept.)</p> <p>ICRDCE submits a proposal for an Indian Community College System to UGC and the Planning Commission (Oct).*</p> <p>Minister of HRD meets with UGC and promotes community college concept (Nov.)</p>	<p>UGC appoints Alphonse as a member with a committee assignment to the Distance Education Council overseeing Open Universities (Feb.)*</p> <p>UGC approves "career oriented programs" paving the way for skill development under the guise of "vocationalizing higher education" (April)</p> <p>Chairman of UGC inaugurates new ICRDCE center (Sept.)</p> <p>ICRDCE submits the proposal for an Indian Community College System to UGC and the Planning Commission (Oct).*</p>			National Knowledge Commission (a policy think tank commissioned by the Prime Minister) recommends community college development (Oct).

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2007				<p>Alphonse appointed as chair of new UGC National Committee on Community Colleges (Jan).</p> <p>Alphonse presents at American Association of Community Colleges national conference. (April)</p> <p>Alphonse presents community college concept to UGC at the request of Thorat (July)</p>		AIRC approaches IGNOU for recognition as a community college (May).
2008		<p>Montgomery (Community) College in Maryland attempts to set up a community college with the government of Haryana state, but regulations thwart the effort.</p> <p>Alphonse presents at International Association of Community Colleges in the Bronx (Feb.)</p>		<p>Alphonse appointed to second term on UGC and remains a member of the distance education council (March)*</p> <p>UGC forms a new committee to draft guidelines for community college structure and function with Alphonse as chair and the VC of TNOU, a ProVC from IGNOU, a CC friendly UGC member, and a member of the National Knowledge Commission (May)*</p> <p>ICRDCE and TNOU meet to propose a legal fee waiver for community colleges registering with TNOU (July)*</p> <p>Department of Higher Education in Tamil Nadu issues an order for TNOU to recognize and waive the fees of community colleges run by voluntary organizations associated with ICRDCE (Oct.)*</p>	<p>UGC forms a new committee to draft guidelines for community college structure and function with Alphonse as chair and the VC of TNOU, a ProVC from IGNOU, a CC friendly UGC member, and a member of the National Knowledge Commission (May)</p> <p>ICRDCE and TNOU meet to propose a legal fee waiver for community colleges registering with TNOU (July)*</p> <p>Department of Higher Education in Tamil Nadu issues an order for TNOU to recognize and waive the fees of community colleges run by voluntary organizations associated with ICRDCE (Oct.)*</p>	<p>UGC forms a new committee to draft guidelines for community college structure and function with Alphonse as chair, the VC of TNOU, a ProVC from IGNOU, a CC friendly UGC member, and a member of the National Knowledge Commission (March-May)</p>

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2007	National Knowledge Commission - a think tank for the planning commission - recommends community colleges.	<p>Alphonse appointed as chair of new UGC National Committee on Community Colleges (Jan).</p> <p>Committee is tasked to develop national community college guidelines and meets with representatives from 98 operational community colleges at a meeting organized by ICRDCE in Chennai (March).</p> <p>Alphonse submits committee report to UGC Chairman Thorat (April)</p> <p>Alphonse presents community college concept to UGC at the request of Thorat (July)</p> <p>Thorat forms an Expert Committee to further consider community college implementation with Alphonse as member (Sept).</p>			Ramdass of Pondicherry University Community College again encourages government support of community colleges at parliament meeting (Aug.)
2008	<p>Planning Commission approves the formulation of a national skill development policy (May)</p> <p>Planning Commission includes provision to set up 210 additional community colleges in the 11th Five year Plan Document (June).</p>	<p>CC Expert Committee submits report to UGC (Feb).</p> <p>Alphonse appointed to second term on UGC and remains a member of the distance education council (March)</p> <p>UGC forms a new committee to draft guidelines for community college structure and function with Alphonse as chair and the VC of TNOU, a ProVC from IGNOU, a CC friendly UGC member, and a member of the National Knowledge Commission (May)</p> <p>448th UGC Board Meeting after Alphonse presents the CC Committee work, UGC determines that it cannot be responsible for creating community colleges. It asks the committee to continue working with additional MHRD representatives (June)</p>		The state government issues Order no. 163 for TNOU to recognize and waive fees for ICRDCE/NGO community colleges (Oct.)*	National Skill Development Mission announced by the Finance Minister in the Union Budget (Feb).

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2008 part 2						
2009		<p>USIEF hosts U.S. Education Administrators to India including two community college representatives (spring)</p> <p>AACC representative, hosted by USIEF, presents at IGNOU to share about the American CC movement and meets with Alphonse separately at an MHRD workshop on Community Colleges and attends the FICCI summit on employability and education (Nov)*</p>		<p>Alphonse meets with IGNOU to discuss the associate degree program and is appointed to the National Expert Committee to determine guidelines (Feb.)*</p> <p>Alphonse meets with Minister of HRD, Singh, to discuss community colleges (Feb.)*</p> <p>IGNOU National Expert Committee meets with TNOU (May)*</p> <p>ICRDCE meets with TNOU and IGNOU to discuss collaboration of community colleges in the new IGNOU CC scheme (June)*</p>	<p>IGNOU National Expert Committee meets with TNOU (May)*</p> <p>ICRDCE meets with TNOU and IGNOU to discuss new IGNOU CC scheme (June)*</p>	<p>IGNOU board approves Community College Scheme under VC Pillai before receiving funding from the Expenditure Finance Committee of the GOI (Jan)</p> <p>National Expert Committee meets with TNOU (May)*</p> <p>Alphonse meets with TNOU and IGNOU to discuss new IGNOU CC scheme (June)*</p> <p>IGNOU CC scheme launches with registration of 100 community colleges; ultimate goal is to have one CC in each of India's 600 districts (July)</p> <p>IGNOU launches the Army Community College Scheme (Sept.)</p> <p>IGNOU meeting with AACC representative (Nov.)*</p>
2010	<p>CEO takes Minister of HRD to visit US community colleges (Sept.)</p> <p>CEO announces WF intention to help shape national community college policy at an IIT Bombay alumni meet (Sept)</p>	<p>Global Education conference in Delhi drew community college representatives from the U.S. and was "energized" by Minister of HRD Sibal (March)</p> <p>USIEF grant of \$195,000 to Montgomery College for faculty & student exchange program results in the transition of OP Jindal ITI to community colleges (Nov)</p> <p>US State department sponsors Indian students to study in U.S. community colleges through the Community College Initiative - many are from NGO community colleges.</p>		<p>Funded by the US Consulate-Chennai, Alphonse presents at CCID conference (Feb.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE initiates a southern and northern workshop to "strengthen" the IGNOU community colleges (March & April)*</p>		<p>ICRDCE initiates a southern and northern workshop to "strengthen" the IGNOU community colleges (March & April)*</p> <p>Board approves draft IGNOU community college manual (April)</p> <p>CCID representative presents at IGNOU meeting about community colleges (May)</p> <p>Joint meeting of IGNOU community college oversight groups (June)</p> <p>IGNOU hosts national "meet" for all its community colleges (Nov)</p> <p>IGNOU Airforce Community College launch (Dec.)</p>

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2008 part 2		<p>CC Committee meets to continue working out the details of implementation (Sept)</p> <p>CC Committee approves concept and sends recommendation to full UGC (Nov)</p>			
2009	<p>Alphonse meets with Minister of HRD, Singh, to discuss community colleges (Feb)*</p> <p>NKC recommends community colleges as a tool for undergraduate education reform (March)</p> <p>Kapil Sibal is appointed as Minister of HRD with a "reform minded" approach to Higher Education (May)</p> <p>MHRD asks the National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA) to host a workshop on community colleges at which an AACCC representative presents on American CCs and Alphonse on CCs in India (Nov.)</p>	UGC announces plans to implement a credit based system with the intention of newly building transfer into the HE system (March)	Mantha appointed as Vice chair of AICTE at the end of the tenure of the VC of IGNOU who was simultaneously the AICTE chair (March)		National Skill Development Policy is released with plan for creating a national skills qualification framework (Feb)
2010	WF CEO takes Minister of HRD, Kapil Sibal, to visit US community colleges (Sept.)				<p>NSDC launched a public-private partnership to implement skill development initiatives (Jan.)</p> <p>Global Education conference in Delhi drew community college representatives from the U.S. and was "energized" by Minister of HRD Sibal (March)</p> <p>Ministry of Labor and Employment releases a National Vocational Qualification Framework for certifying skill development initiatives.</p>

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2011	<p>Foundation representative visits ICRDCE to learn about existing community colleges.*</p> <p>National Skills Development Network, a program of the Foundation, is established to "enable the NSQF" in secondary and Higher education.</p> <p>Foundation pledges \$25million to support community college development within the existing HE infrastructure.</p> <p>Foundation funds a "chair" position at CSIS to "expand policies" to strengthen political and economic ties between India and U.S. (Jan)</p> <p>CEO presents at an Indo-American Chamber of Commercenational skills summit; Alphonse also presents (Feb.)*</p>	<p>CCID representative presents at Indo-American Chamber of Commerce along with WF CEO and Alphonse (Feb).*</p> <p>Montgomery College hosts symposium on community colleges in India and partners with OP Jindal (March)</p> <p>IGNOU officials meet with visitin US. Education administrators on a Fulbright exchange (March)*</p> <p>Jindal Education Initiatives launches five unaffiliated community colleges by renaming Industrial Training Institutes after partnering with Montgomery College. The courses are registered as IGNOU programs. (June)*</p>		<p>Wadhvani Foundation representative visits ICRDCE to learn about existing community colleges.*</p> <p>ICRDCE hosts workshop on quality management in CCs with TNOU and MHRD representative attends to discuss national policy on CCs (Jan.)*</p> <p>Alphonse presents CC concept at an Indo-American Chamber of Commerce national skills summit, WF CEO also presents (Feb)*</p> <p>Alphonse appointed as an expert for the Planning Commissions working group on Higher and Technical education. (April)</p> <p>Fr. Jacob, from ICRDCE, attends US-India Higher Education Summit as the guest of CCID. (Oct.)*</p>	<p>ICRDCE hosts workshop on quality management in CCs with TNOU and MHRD representative attends to discuss national policy on CCs (Jan.)*</p>	<p>Monthly teleconferences for IGNOU Community Colleges begin (March)</p> <p>IGNOU officials meet with visitin US. Education administrators on a Fulbright exchange (March)*</p> <p>IGNOU committees overseeing community colleges establish an oversight mechanism to ensure quality at community colleges (May)</p> <p>IGNOU partners with the government of Haryana to launch five community colleges in the state (May)</p> <p>Haryana government establishes IGNOU community college (June)</p> <p>IGNOU Navy Community COLlege launches (June)</p>
2011 part 2	<p>IGNOU VC, Pillai, presents the community college scheme at the World Education Summit in a session on skills training; WF representative also presents in the session (July)*</p> <p>WF signs MOU with Montgomery College (Maryland) and Jindal Education Initiatives (India) to improve faculty development and technical training through OP Jindal Community Colleges. Sibal, of MHRD launched this project (Oct)*</p>	<p>WF signs MOU with Montgomery College (Maryland) and Jindal Education Initiatives (India) to improve faculty development and technical training through OP Jindal Community Colleges. Sibal, of MHRD launched this project at the US-India Higher Education Summit (Oct)*</p> <p>US-India Higher Education Summit (Oct).</p>				<p>Jindal Education Initiatives launches five unaffiliated community colleges by renaming Industrial Training Institutes after partnering with Montgomery College. The courses are registered as IGNOU programs. (June)*</p> <p>IGNOU VC, Pillai, presents the community college scheme at the World Education Summit in a session on skills training; WF representative also presents in the session (July)*</p> <p>Aslam replaces Pillai as VC of IGNOU (Nov.)</p>

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2011	<p>ICRDCE hosts workshop on quality management in CCs and MHRD representative attends to discuss national policy on CCs (Jan.)*</p> <p>Sibal presents at World Education Summit along with IGNOU and WF (July).</p> <p>Kapil Sibal visits attends a US-India Higher Education summit at Georgetown University and visits Montgomery college (Oct). In conjunction with the summit, WF signs MOU with Montgomery College (Maryland) and Jindal Education Initiatives (India) to improve faculty development and technical training through OP Jindal Community Colleges. Sibal, of MHRD attended the MOU signing (Oct)*</p>				<p>NSDC representative presents at an Indo-American Chamber of Commerce national skills summit, WF CEO, and CCID representative also present (Feb)*</p> <p>Jindal Education Initiatives launches five unaffiliated community colleges by renaming Industrial Training Institutes after partnering with Montgomery College. The courses are registered as IGNOU programs. (June)*</p>
2011 part 2					

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2012	<p>Foundation releases an "approach paper" for carry out the 12th five year plan's Community College pilot project. (Jan.)</p> <p>Foundation signs MOU with an ICRDCE Community College to provide employment training (March)*</p> <p>Hosted by the Wadhvani Foundation, the MHRD's CC Committee visits community colleges in the U.S. and attends the AACC annual convention (April)*</p> <p>Foundation is a corporate sponsor for the AACC annual convention (April)*</p> <p>Foundation signs MOU with Northern Virginia Community College to enhance skill development training in India. Sibal is present at the ceremony (April)*</p>	<p>Hosted by the Wadhvani Foundation, the MHRD's CC Committee visits community colleges in the U.S. and attends the AACC annual convention (April)*</p> <p>WF signs MOU with Northern Virginia Community College to enhance skill development training in India. Sibal is present at the ceremony (April)*</p> <p>WF is a corporate sponsor for the AACC annual convention (April)*</p> <p>USIEF announces OSKI - a bilateral academic collaboration grants (June)</p> <p>Sibal discusses community colleges with H.R. Clinton at the first Indo-US Higher Education dialogue (June)</p>		<p>Wadhvani Foundation signs MOU with an existing (ICRDCE) Community College to provide employment training (March)*</p> <p>Alphonse and Wadhvani Foundation representative appointed to employability in higher education working group for 12th five year plan (June)*</p> <p>ICRDCE hosts a regional (south) seminar on community colleges with the support from the MHRD (Sept.)*</p> <p>12th five year plan is approved promoting community colleges with a special reference to ICRDCE, IGNOU, and UGC efforts and an ambiguous reference to help from "philanthropic foundations" that would include the WF (Oct.)*</p>		<p>VC Aslam creates High Power Committee to Review IGNOU programs, including Community College Unit. Joint Secretary of HRD is a committee member (Jan.)*</p> <p>VC Aslam replaces the director of the IGNOU community college unit by edict.</p> <p>Board of Management resolves to thoroughly review community colleges with a Community College Review Committee and put a hold on registering new ones in the meantime (May)</p> <p>12th five year plan is approved promoting community colleges with a special reference to ICRDCE, IGNOU, and UGC efforts and an ambiguous reference to help from "philanthropic foundations" that would include the WF (Oct.)*</p>
2012 part 2	<p>Alphonse and Wadhvani Foundation representative appointed to employability in higher education working group for 12th five year plan (June)*</p> <p>CEO joins Sibal on delegation to DC (June).</p> <p>12th five year plan is approved promoting community colleges with a special reference to ICRDCE, IGNOU, and UGC efforts and an ambiguous reference to help from "philanthropic foundations" that would include the WF (Oct.)*</p> <p>WF representatives on panel at FICCI Higher Education summit with AICTE, MHRD to discuss community college pilot project (Nov.)*</p>					<p>IGNOU Community College Review Committee that includes: IGNOU officials; a WF representative; MHRD joint Secretary; and principal of Pondicherry University Community College; suggest revising the community college scheme at IGNOU and taking care of existing students (Nov.)*</p>

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2012	<p>VC Aslam creates High Power Committee to Review IGNOU programs, including Community College Unit. Joint Secretary of HRD is a committee member (Jan.)*</p> <p>MHRD holds conference of State Ministers of Education to discuss Community Colleges in the 12th Five year plan and unanimously endorsed the idea (Feb same agenda item in April for secretaries)</p> <p>MHRD constitutes a 10 Member committee of state ministers of education to draft a document for implementing community colleges in India (March)</p> <p>Hosted by the Wadhvani Foundation, the MHRD's CC Committee visits community colleges in the U.S. and attends the AACC annual convention (April)*</p>	<p>UGC approves a new Bachelors of Vocational Education (BVoc.) degree (Feb.).</p> <p>12th five year plan is approved promoting community colleges with a special reference to ICRDCE, IGNOU, and UGC efforts and an ambiguous reference to help from "philanthropic foundations" that would include the WF (Oct.)*</p> <p>MHRD with the assistance of UGC and a WF representative draft CC guidelines for review (Dec.)*</p>	<p>Mantha appointed chairman of AICTE (Jan)</p> <p>Chairman Mantha gives presentation on integrating commeunity college framework with NVEQF (July)</p> <p>WF representatives on panel at FICCI Higher Education summit with AICTE, MHRD to discuss community college pilot project (Nov).*</p>		<p>TeamLease releases a report promoting community colleges in India.</p> <p>Hindustan Coca-Cola in partnership with Univeristy of Mumbai opens a community college at 5 affiliated colleges as an independent effort (Oct.)</p> <p>APM Chairman addresses multiple audiences and promotes community college concept when discussing vocational educationand skill development (Nov & Dec)</p>
2012 part 2	<p>WF signs MOU with Northern Virginia Community College to enhance skill development training in India. Sibal is present at the ceremony. (April)*</p> <p>WF works with MHRD to host "sensitization" workshops in all regions of the country to spread the idas of the Community College in Higher Education (April to August)</p> <p>Committee of state education ministers reports on community colleges during follow up conference with unanimous acceptance to pilto 100-200 community colleges (June)</p> <p>Conference of Vice Chancellors and Cenral Universities discuss community colleges (June & August)</p>				

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2012 part 3	<p>IGNOU Community College Review Committee that includes: IGNOU officials; a WF representative; MHRD joint Secretary; and principal of Pondicherry University Community College; suggest revising the community college scheme at IGNOU and taking care of existing students (Nov.)*</p> <p>WF, working with MHRD joint secretary and UGC official draft community college guidelines (Dec).*</p>					

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2012 part 3	<p>Alphonse and Wadhvani Foundation representative appointed to employability in higher education working group for 12th five year plan (June)*</p> <p>Sibal takes a delegation of HRD, VCs, industry leaders, and Wadhvani Foundation to Indo-US Higher Education dialogue in DC with setting up community colleges as a "key area" of collaboration (June)</p> <p>Sibal discusses community colleges with H.R. Clinton at the first Indo-US Higher Education dialogue (June)</p> <p>MHRD sends letter to states as a call for proposals to apply for 200 community colleges (July)</p> <p>MHRD notifies (puts into law) a National Vocational Educational Qualification Framework (Sept)</p>				

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2012 part 4						
2012 part 5						

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2012 part 4	<p>ICRDCE hosts a regional (south) seminar on community colleges with the support from the MHRD (Sept.)*</p> <p>12th five year plan is approved promoting community colleges with a special reference to ICRDCE, IGNOU, and UGC efforts and an ambiguous reference to help from "philanthropic foundations" that would include the WF (Oct.)*</p> <p>IGNOU Community College Review Committee that includes: IGNOU officials; a WF representative; MHRD joint Secretary; and principal of Pondicherry University Community College; suggest revising the community college scheme at IGNOU and taking care of existing students (Nov.)*</p> <p>Sibal is replaced as minister of HRD by Pallam Raju (Nov)</p>				
2012 part 5	<p>WF representatives on panel at FICCI Higher Education summit with AICTE, MHRD to discuss community college pilot project (Nov).*</p> <p>MHRD with the assistance of UGC and a WF representative draft CC guidelines for review (Dec.)*</p>				

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2013	<p>WF partners with MHRD to host international conference "Mainstreaming Skills in Education" to support community college development (Feb.)*</p> <p>WF and UGC representatives meets with Chief Minister and Secretary of Education for Bihar to discuss community college implementation (June)*</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p>	<p>UKIERI signs MOU with MHRD to develop community colleges (Feb.)*</p> <p>AACC delegation and U.S. CC representatives attend MHRD Conference on Community Colleges (Feb)*</p> <p>ICRDCE participates in a skill development workshop in Kolkata in association with USIEF (March)*</p> <p>2nd Indo-US Higher Education dialogue (Delhi) includes delegation from AACC (June)*</p> <p>AACC delegation to India signs MOU with AICTE about CC development (June)*</p> <p>Institute for International Education - Delhi releases a white paper on the application of the U.S. community college model in India; Alphonse authors an article (June)*</p> <p>Indian delegation visits San Diego to study Community Colleges and the Advisor to the Prime Minister on Skill Development visits Seattle community colleges (Sept.)</p>		<p>ICRDCE hosts a workshop on UGC community colleges at University of Rajasthan (Jan)</p> <p>ICRDCE begins holding workshops highlighting the NGO Community College model (as opposed to UGC model) (Jan)</p> <p>WF partners with MHRD to host international conference "Mainstreaming Skills in Education" to support community college development and Alphonse is invited to present the ICRDCE model and serve as a "resource person" (Feb.)*</p> <p>ICRDCE participates in a skill development workshop in Kolkata in association with USIEF (March)*</p> <p>Institute for International Education - Delhi releases a white paper on the application of the U.S. community college model in India; Alphonse authors an article (June)*</p>	Government of Tamil Nadu begins issuing free bus passes to TNOU Community College students (Oct)	IGNOU formally discontinues the community college scheme (July)
2013 part 2				<p>Bihar professors attend ICRDCE annual teacher training program in preparation for implementing UGC community colleges (June)</p> <p>ICRDCE holds conference for NGO community colleges to begin exploring partnership with the NSDC (Sept.)</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p>		

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2013	<p>MHRD, with financial backing of Wadhvani Foundation, hosts an international conference on skill development and community colleges with 500 participants from six countries and India (Feb)*</p> <p>MHRD signs MOU with UKIERI to, in part, help develop community colleges at the international conference (Feb.)*</p> <p>MHRD sends letter to states/UTs and VCs of Central Universities to remind them to apply for community college scheme (May)</p> <p>12th 5 year plan released (May)</p> <p>State education ministers meet to discuss Community College implementation and choose whether to implement through UGC or AICTE (June)</p>	<p>WF and UGC representatives meets with Chief Minister and Secretary of Education for Bihar to discuss community college implementation (June)*</p> <p>UGC approves funding of MHRD community college scheme (July)</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p> <p>UGC approves 64 community colleges for 2013-14 (late)</p>	<p>AACC delegation to India to signou MOU with AICTE about CC development (June)*</p> <p>AICTE approves 83 (and funded 72 community colleges) in existing Polytechnics for 2013-14 based on proposals forwarded by MHRD from the states (late).</p> <p>AICTE issues guidelines for approval and functioning of community colleges (date)</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p>		<p>Nationsl Skill Development Agency (formerly the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on Skill Development) is created to coordinate skill development efforts across the country (June)</p> <p>NSDA Nationsal Skill Development Agency issues a white paper on community colleges in India (Aug.)</p> <p>GOI notifies the NSQF through the ministry of finance (Dec.)</p>
2013 part 2	<p>2nd Indo-US Higher Education dialogue (Delhi) includes delegation from AACC (June)*</p> <p>MHRD holds national workshop on Skilling and the new NVEQF that highlights the role of community colleges (Sept.)</p> <p>MHRD begins releasing funds to community colleges (Nov.)</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p>				

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2014	<p>WF signs MOU with AKU to support community college development in the state of Bihar and provide project management to 15 pilot CCs in the state (April)</p> <p>WF signs MOU with two US community colleges to develop curriculum and educational technology for skill development in the U.S.A.</p>	<p>As a follow up to the June 2013 delegation, AACC annual convention has a presentation about Community Colleges partnering in India (April)</p> <p>Institute for International Education - Delhi hosts a study tour of Indian Educators to visit U.S. community colleges, Alphonse attends (Month).*</p> <p>USIEF Indian Administrators Fulbright-Nehru tour to the U.S. (Oct.)</p> <p>AACC delegation to India for meeting on CC Task Force in conjunction with the 3rd higher education dialogue (Nov)</p> <p>Delegation from Maryland, led by Montgomery college, attend Higher Ed Dialogue on business and commerce trip (Nov)</p>		<p>Institute for International Education - Delhi hosts a study tour of Indian Educators to visit U.S. community colleges, Alphonse attends (April).*</p> <p>At the request of community colleges in South India, ICRDCE hosts workshops on UGC BVoc and Community College schemes (Aug)</p>	<p>NSDC signs MOU with TNOU for NSQF alignment, recognition of prior learning, and skill certification in community colleges (Aug.)*</p>	<p>Parliament takes up investigation into the functioning of IGNOU and releases a scathing review (June).</p>
2014 part 2						

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2014	<p>Irani replaces Raju as Minister of HRD (May)</p> <p>State ministers of education meet to discuss Community college implementation (June)</p> <p>UGC creates an Expert committee to draft community college guidelines with Alphonse as chair, WF representative, a member of AICTE, an MHRD representative, and two unaffiliated professors (Nov.)*</p> <p>Minister of HRD, Irani, hosts National Consultation on skills in higher education featuring community colleges, BVoc., choice based credit system, NSQF. AICTE, UGC, HRD attend with presentations by numerous community colleges (Dec.)*</p> <p>MHRD issues a credit framework for all Higher Education institutions offering NSQF curricula (Nov.)</p>	<p>UGC takes up CC scheme as its own initiative (separate from MHRD) and invites proposals for community colleges from 12B/2F colleges and Universities (Feb).</p> <p>UGC launches Bachelor of Vocational education (Feb)</p> <p>UGC writes an appeal letter directly to Vice Chancellors to encourage application in CC and Bvoc scheme (March)</p> <p>UGC workshop on CC leadership as part of the India-Australia TAFE partnership (June)</p> <p>UGC hosts interface review meetings with community colleges (June)</p> <p>UGC approves community colleges to issue credentials for students (Aug)</p>	<p>AICTE hosts conference of state ministers of technical education (June)</p> <p>MSBTE issues guidelines for Community Colleges in polytechnics (June)</p> <p>AICTE sends notification that all technical institutions offer at least one course for 100 students under NSQF, like community college (Aug)</p> <p>AICTE issues regulations for community colleges (Sept.)</p> <p>AACC meets with AICTE to discuss MOU implementation during 3rd Indo-US Higher Education Dialogue (Nov.)</p> <p>National Consultation on skills in higher education featuring community colleges, BVoc., choice based credit system; NSQF. AICTE, UGC, HRD, and educators attend (Dec.)*</p>		<p>Modi sworn in as Prime Minister ushering in a party change (May)</p> <p>NSDC launches Public Service Announcement campaign about skills development success stories.</p> <p>NSDC signs MOU with TNOU for NSQF alignment, recognition of prior learning, and skill certification in community colleges (Aug.)*</p> <p>NSDA Committee, after 4 meetings between Jan & July, reports on the attempt to "dovetail" & "rationalize" skill development initiatives across GoI ministries & State governments (Nov.)</p> <p>Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship forms to coordinate activities across ministries and overseeing NSDA and NSDC (Nov)</p>
2014 part 2		<p>UGC creates a coordination committee with NSDC and SSC (Aug)</p> <p>UGC approves 102 community colleges (Sept.)</p> <p>National Consultation on skills in higher education featuring community colleges, BVoc., choice based credit system, NSQF. AICTE, UGC, HRD attend with presentations by numerous community colleges (Dec.)*</p> <p>UGC approves (revised from MHRD) community college guidelines at Board Meeting (Dec.)</p>			

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2015	<p>WF announces partnership with MSDE and NSDC to promote entrepreneurship and skill development education support (Feb.)*</p> <p>Founder pledges \$1 Billion (USD) to support skill development and entrepreneurship through the Wadhvani Foundations. (July)</p> <p>WF partners with the Government of Jharkand, a state in India, to support skill development education through community colleges etc.(Aug.)</p>	<p>AICTE and UKIERI host a workshop to continue developing partnership (Feb)*</p> <p>ICRDCE asks US Consulate Chennai to fund a seminar on aligning Community College curricula with NSQF requirements in partnership with a US community college - Montgomery College is awarded the grant (Oct.)*</p> <p>US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural affairs funded a 6 week training program for Indian Educators to visit the U.S. and learn about community college leadership and administration; 2 ICRDCE CC principals attend (Sept-Nov.)</p>		<p>ICRDCE holds three workshops to align NGO CC curriculum to NSQF for approval by NSDC (April & Aug)</p> <p>ICRDCE has three curricula approved by NSDC (June)</p> <p>ICRDCE hosted four workshops to help UGC Colleges approved for Bvoc, Kaushal Kendra, and CC implement the program (Aug & Sept)</p> <p>US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural affairs funded a 6 week training program for Indian Educators to visit the U.S. and learn about community college leadership and administration; 2 ICRDCE CC principals attend (Sept-Nov.)</p> <p>Alphonse, after 20 years, is moved out of ICRDCE to a state level HE position with Jesuits and Fr. Jacob assumes leadership of ICRDCE (Oct.)</p>		<p>IGNOU begins posting results for community college students and issuing certificates (Feb)</p> <p>IGNOU forms a committee to revise community college guidelines and begin a new scheme after the President's meeting with VC's urging participation in skill development (Feb-April)</p> <p>Community College committee meets to work on guidelines and credit articulation across the University (June)</p>

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2015	<p>MHRD initiates workshops for all universities to attend a regional "orientation workshop" on the CBCS and credit framework for skill based vocational courses in higher education with presentations from MHRD, UGC, AICTE, NSDC, and industry experts (March)*</p> <p>MHRD initiates planning for a new National Education Policy (early)</p>	<p>UGC chairman writes to University VCs and requests their participation in implementing CBCS and skill development courses (Jan).</p> <p>UGC raises fees for community college faculty and nodal officers (Jan)</p> <p>President holds meeting with UGC funded Central Universities to mandate the CBCS and asks them to partake in skills based voc. ed as CC/BVoc/PG (Feb.)</p> <p>UGC issues a call for proposals for another round of funding approval for Community Colleges and BVoc. (Feb/March)</p> <p>UGC revises BVoc. guidelines (month)</p>	<p>Chairman Mantha is not asked to continue as head of AICTE (Jan.)</p> <p>AICTE hosts national meeting about community colleges and skill development in higher education (Jan).</p> <p>AICTE and UKIERI host a workshop to continue developing partnership (Feb)*</p> <p>MHRD initiates workshops for all universities to attend a regional "orientation workshop" on the CBCS and credit framework for skill based vocational courses in higher education with presentations from MHRD, UGC, AICTE, NSDC, and industry experts (March)*</p>		<p>WF announces partnership with MSDE and NSDC to promote entrepreneurship and skill development education support (Feb.)*</p> <p>Govt issues notice giving Sector Skill Council certification authority for NSQF programs (March)</p> <p>MHRD initiates workshops for all universities to attend a regional "orientation workshop" on the CBCS and credit framework for skill based vocational courses in higher education with presentations from MHRD, UGC, AICTE, NSDC, and industry experts (March)*</p> <p>ITI administration and oversight shifts from Ministry of Labour and Employment to the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship as a move toward "convergence" of skill based education and training (April)</p>

Year	Wadhvani Foundation	Foreign Partners	Sinclair Community College & Eastern Iowa Community Colleges	Alphonse & Indian Center for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE)	Tamil Nadu Open University (TNOU)	National Institute for Open Schools & Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
2015 part 2				ICRDCE asks US Consulate Chennai to fund a seminar on aligning Community College curricula with NSQF requirements in partnership with a US community college - Montgomery College is awarded the grant (Oct.)*		
2016		ICRDCE partners with Montgomery College to host a curriculum development workshop funded by the US Consulate in Chennai (March)* NGO Community College hosts workshop to initiate the Indian Community College Association; American community college experts present (Nov.)*		ICRDCE partners with Montgomery College to host a curriculum development workshop funded by the US Consulate in Chennai (March)* ICRDCE hosts an interface meeting of south Indian colleges and universities implementing UGC skill development schemes (March)		

Year	Ministry of Human Resource Development/Planning Commission	University Grants Commission (UGC)	All India Council on Technical Education (AICTE)	Tamil Nadu State Govt and Universities (non-TNOU)	MISCELLANEOUS actions in India
2015 part 2		<p>MHRD initiates workshops for all universities to attend a regional "orientation workshop" on the CBCS and credit framework for skill based vocational courses in higher education with presentations from MHRD, UGC, AICTE, NSDC, and industry experts (March-April)*</p> <p>UGC chairman writes to University VCs to encourage participation in CBCS and skill development programs like community college, per the request of the President (March)</p> <p>UGC holds interface meetings with 2015 Community College applicants (May)</p> <p>UGC approves an additional 106 community colleges (and upgrades (#) to become KAUSHAL Kendras) (June)</p> <p>UGC invites proposals for DDU KAUSHAL Kendras (Aug)</p>			<p>MSDE with NSDC hosts a national conference on skill development standards for education; WF representative attends but no-one from MHRD is present (May)</p> <p>New Skill Mission launches in conjunction with the release of an updated Skill Development Policy. The final policy removes the recommendation that all Polytechnics be converted into Community Colleges as outlined in an earlier draft circulated for comment (July)</p> <p>NSDC drafts proposal on how to engage U.S. community colleges in skill development in India (month)</p>
2016		<p>UGC schedules review meetings with approved Community Colleges (Feb - April)</p> <p>UGC issues notification the BVoc degree is equivalent to all other Bachelor degrees and qualifies graduates to sit for public service exam and be considered for government jobs (Aug.)</p>			<p>MSDE announces creation of new Multi Skill Training Institutes (March)</p> <p>MSDE issues "common norms" for all NSQF aligned programs (May)</p> <p>UGC community college principal hosts a conference on how to implement skill development programs (Sept.)</p> <p>NGO Community College hosts workshop to initiate the Indian Community College Association; American community college experts present (Nov.)*</p>

APPENDIX B: Interview Protocols (2015)

System Level Advocates

1. Thank you and introduction
2. Ensure consent form is signed
3. Ask permission to begin audio recording
4. To begin, could you please share a bit about how you learned about the community college concept?
 - a. How long have you been involved?
 - b. In what capacity do you participate with community colleges in India?
5. How has your experience prepared you to be involved with the ICC movement?
 - a. Please describe how your background shapes how you approach your work to ICCs?
 - b. What is appealing to you about the community college model?
6. Please share what it means to you to be a community college in India?
 - a. How do you think ICCs differ from the education and training that is already offered, if at all? What do you think is important about these differences?
 - b. Where does the community college concept come from? How well received is the concept locally? At the state level? Nationally?
 - c. Please describe your ideal ICC. How does this align with what you know about community colleges in operation across India? Can you give me any examples from operational community colleges?
7. What are your primary goals for community colleges in India?
 - a. How do your goals differ, if at all, from others involved in promoting the ICC system? How do you account for those differences? How have your goals shifted over time?
 - b. How important do you think it is to develop a unified system of ICCs that incorporates the many models operating?
 - c. Do you feel it is most important to focus your attention on local, state, or national ICC activities? How do you see these efforts as distinct from each other? Intertwined?
8. How would you describe your role in the development of community colleges in India?
 - a. What strategies have you used to actively promote the concept? How well have they succeeded? How have you changed your strategy over time? Describe specific activities.
 - b. Do the strategies you use differ based on to whom you are talking? If yes, please describe. Can you give me a specific example?
 - c. What resistance have you met in developing the movement, if any?

- d. Who are the key players involved in shaping what it means to be an ICC? How do you interact with those individuals and organizations?
9. Please discuss the partnerships that you believe are important in shaping the community college movement.
 - a. How do you interact with individuals and organizations to support ICCs? Local? Regional? State? National? International?
 - b. How do you help provide resources to community colleges through: funding? Industry tie-ups? Curriculum? Student recruitment? Political support? Other resources?
 - c. Could you walk me through the last time you had a meeting about the ICC? Who was in the room, what was discussed, how were decisions made?
10. What lessons have been learned from the success or failure of community colleges so far? How are those lessons being used to inform policy design moving forward?
11. What impact will the ICC have on postsecondary education five or ten years from now?
 - a. Is the community college an effective way of supporting postsecondary education reform? The skilling movement? What are the advantages/disadvantages?
 - b. How do you envision the future of the community college in India?
 - c. Do you believe that multiple systems can coexist simultaneously? Why or why not?
 - d. What challenges do you see the ICC facing in the coming years?
12. Is there anyone else you think I should talk to who could help me understand how the community college concept is being developed in India?
13. Is there anything else you think I should know but haven't asked you about regarding what it means to be a community college in India?

Community College Practitioners (e.g., college principals, faculty, administrators)

1. Thank you and introduction
1. Ensure consent form is signed
2. Ask permission to begin audio recording
3. To begin, how did you become involved with [insert college name]? What was attractive to you about working at an ICC?
 - a. What is your position at [name ICC]? How long have you been working here? Do you have any other jobs?
 - b. Please describe how your experiences in education; teaching; professional; industry; community activities shape how you approach your work in the college?
4. What does community college mean to you?
5. What is your college's mission? How well do you believe the college is fulfilling its mission? What barriers exist? What helps you achieve the mission? What efforts have you taken to overcome any challenges?
6. How is the college managed? Who has influence over what happens in the college on a day-to-day basis?
 - a. Who participates in decision making about the curriculum?

- b. Are there individuals beyond college faculty and the principal who influence decisions? If yes, please describe who those are and how they participate in curriculum planning?
 - c. Does your college participate in any government run education or training schemes (e.g., Modular Employment Scheme; NSQF alignment; Skilled Knowledge Provider)? Any community education efforts? If yes please describe.
7. Please share a bit about how you promote the community college in the community.
- a. Please describe the recruitment and admission process for students. Have you faced any obstacles? If yes, in what ways have you tried to overcome them? How successful have you been?
 - b. Do you have community partners (e.g., industry, NGO, philanthropy, secondary schools, colleges/universities) who support the college? Please describe the nature of those partnerships. Please walk me through the specific strategies you used to secure their support.
 - c. How would you describe your participation in local, regional, or state level activities that have helped you secure resources for the college? These could be religious, governmental, community organizations, or PPPs, for example.
8. Thinking about your community college in relationship to the growing number across the country, what similarities do you see? Differences?
- a. Do you have ties with any other community colleges to discuss common issues (e.g., funding concerns, professional development, student recruitment, teaching and learning)? If yes, who and would you share a bit about the nature of those relationships?
 - b. Do you discuss these issues with any other individuals or organizations (e.g., local training NGOs, international partners, local industry)?
 - c. Have you had the opportunity to participate in any meetings related to community college development locally? Regionally? Nationally? Internationally? Please describe. If yes, did that participation change how you approached your work at the college?
9. Turning to the national momentum around community colleges, how do you see centralized initiatives influencing the work that you do at your college?
- a. Do you have any intention of applying for recognition under the new government scheme? Why or why not?
 - b. Are you taking efforts to align your curriculum with any other government initiatives related to skill development (e.g., MES, NSQF, VTP, SKP, Community Polytechnic)? Please explain.
10. What impact will the ICC have on postsecondary education five or ten years from now?
- a. How do you envision the future of the community college in India?
 - b. Do you believe that multiple systems can coexist simultaneously? Why or why not?
 - c. What challenges do you see the ICC facing in the coming years?
11. Is there anyone else you think I should talk to who could help me understand how the community college concept is being developed in India?
12. Is there anything else you think I should know but haven't asked you about regarding what it means to be a community college in India?

Community College Founders (supplementary questions)

- Can you walk me through the decision to open a community college? Please describe the who, what, where, when, why, and how.
 - Why did you decide to start [ICC name]?
 - Why did you choose this model (as opposed to another postsecondary education or skill development model)?
 - What is your vision for [ICC name]? Has this changed over time?
 - What would you have done differently (if anything)?
 - Who was involved in the decision making process?
 - How did you secure the necessary resources? Please explain the strategies you used. Did those strategies differ based on with whom you were working? If yes, please describe how.
 - How did you promote college in the community? Did you encounter any resistance to the idea? If yes, who opposed the idea? How did you overcome these obstacles?
 - Have any of the founding conditions changed over time? If yes, please describe (e.g., funding model, affiliation, leaders, governance, mission).

APPENDIX C

Interview Framework (2013)

Community College Stakeholders in India

Personal background

- Academic/teaching
- Educational
- Industry
- Family
- Ability to relate to community college (CC) students
- Why participate in the CC movement?

Involvement in CC

- Knowledge of teacher training program (applicable if in Chennai)
- Choose to participate or appointed by someone else?
- Compilation of the CC team
- Knowledge of national CC scheme
- CC work part of normal duty or additional work
- Decision making process for CC

Community College vision

- Most important decision/aspect of the CC to implement
- Ideal CC size
- Why are you involved?
- How will faculty/curriculum etc. be selected?
- What is the purpose/vision of the CC?

Qualifications

- what do you think about being involved in the CC movement? Why?
- What makes a CC different from Vocational/Technical education?
- How will the CC be held accountable?
- How will you know if you're successful?

CC Movement

- How would you describe the CC movement?
- Biggest challenges?
- Greatest opportunities?
- Importance of the CC movement?

APPENDIX D

Table A.2: Crosswalk of Interview Protocol with Conceptual Framework & Research Questions

Crosswalk	Logics	constellation	competition/cooperation	legitimacy	Institutional Entrepreneurship	theorization	collective action	affiliation	Translation	strategy	level of action	influence (Direct/Indirect)	goals	Research Questions	Sub Question 1 - history	Sub Question 2 - multilevel action	Sub Question 3 - organizational practice
Interview Questions and Theoretical Concept Alignment for System Level Actors																	
Please share a bit about how you learned about community colleges in India.		x									x				x	x	
Please describe how your background shapes how you approach your work?		x											x			x	
How do you think ICCs differ from the education and training that is already offered, if at all?			x	x					x						x	x	
Where does the idea of community colleges come from? In your opinion, how well received are community colleges?		x	x	x											x	x	
Please describe your ideal ICC.				x						x			x		x	x	
What are your primary goals for community colleges in India?						x							x		x	x	
Do you feel it is most important to focus your attention on local, state, or national ICC activities? How do you see these efforts as distinct from each other? Intertwined?				x						x	x	x	x				

How would you describe your role in the development of community colleges in India? Please describe specific strategies you use.						X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	
Who are the key players involved in shaping what it means to be an ICC? How do you interact with those individuals and organizations?						X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	
What lessons have been learned from the success or failure of community colleges so far? How are those lessons being used ?			X						X	X			X		X	X	
Interview Questions and Theoretical Concept Alignment for ICC Leaders																	
How did you become involved with [insert college name]? What was attractive to you about working at an ICC?		X				X							X				
Please describe how your background shapes how you approach your work?		X											X			X	X
What does community college mean to you?		X	X	X		X							X		X		
What is your college's mission? How well do you believe the college is fulfilling its mission?						X				X	X		X				X
Can you walk me through any major changes your college has undergone since it opened?		X	X	X						X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Who has influence over what happens in the college on a day-to-day basis? Please describe.		X		X		X	X	X		X						X	X
Please share a bit about how you promote the community college in the community.										X	X	X				X	X
How have you helped secure resources for the college? Please walk me through the specific strategies you use to secure local, regional, or state support.				X		X	X	X		X	X					X	X
Have you had the opportunity to work with anyone else (people or organizations) related to community college development locally? Regionally? Nationally? Internationally? Please describe. If yes, did that participation change how you approached your work at the college?							X	X		X	X	X				X	X
Turning to the national momentum around community colleges, how do you see centralized initiatives influencing the work that you do at your college?				X		X							X		X	X	X

	Logics	constellation	competition/cooperation	legitimacy	Institutional Entrepreneurship	theorization	collective action	affiliation	Translation	strategy	level of action	influence (Direct/Indirect)	goals	Research Questions	Sub Question 1 - history	Sub Question 2 - multilevel action	Sub Question 3 - organizational practice
Supplemental Questions for Founders																	
Why did you decide to start [ICC name]?		x				x							x		x		x
Why did you choose a community college as opposed to another postsecondary education or skill development model?			x	x						x			x		x		x
What is your vision for [ICC name]? Has this changed over time?				x		x							x				x
Reflecting back, what would you have done differently (if anything)?						x	x	x		x	x	x					x
Who was involved in the decision making process?		x		x		x		x		x	x	x	x			x	x
How did you secure the necessary resources? Please explain the strategies you used.				x						x						x	x
Did those strategies differ based on with whom you were working? If yes, please describe how.				x						x	x	x				x	x
How did you promote college in the community?						x				x						x	x
Did you encounter any resistance to the idea? If yes, who opposed the idea? How did you overcome these obstacles?		x	x			x				x	x	x				x	x
Have any of the founding conditions changed over time? If yes, please describe (e.g., funding model, affiliation, leaders, governance, mission).		x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x

Appendix E

Treatment of Interview Quotes

Examples from each chapter and three different participants demonstrating how quotes were modified for clarity are included below.

Chapter 5

Original: That is why the university is now contemplating to come out with a new scheme where there would be some common curricula, some leeway for the practical of the skills, some leeway for the local customized programs to be taken up by the community.

Modified: The University is now contemplating coming out with a new scheme where there would be some common curricula, some leeway for practical skills, some leeway for the local customized programs to be taken up by the community.

Chapter 6

Original: We wanted to, you know, link all our NGO committee colleges with IGNOU. Just because of the National Certificate –certification. Otherwise, we – the – personally, we didn't want. Especially because most of the colleges, you know, other than Tamil Nadu, they don't have still any recognition from the, any university.

Modified: We wanted to link all our NGO community colleges with IGNOU just because of the National certification. Otherwise, personally, we didn't want it, especially because most of the colleges, other than those in Tamil Nadu, they still didn't have any recognition from any university

Chapter 7

Original: So we have to change the perspective of our entire higher education in the sense that when we are producing graduates, we are producing graduates in consonance to the whole new economy that has emerged, so that requires both, hence that requires the knowledge and also skill, isn't it?

Modified: We have to change the perspective of our entire higher education in the sense that when we are producing graduates, we are producing graduates in consonance to the whole new economy that has emerged. That requires both, that requires knowledge and also skill.

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