The State of Security Studies in India: Limitations and Potential

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Abstract

Teaching and research in the security studies discipline remains one of the most neglected critical component in ensuring India's rise as a major twenty-first century power. However, in spite of India's well-recognized heritage as also potential to contribute to the emerging global discourses, its security studies remain devoid of direction, vision and resources. Sporadic initiatives, both at individual and institutional level, have not allowed India to move beyond producing merely a mass of consumers of teaching and research done in select universities in Europe and North America that continue to guide the tone and tenor of India's security studies. Indian universities, which sustain large degree-awarding infrastructure in security studies, have continued in this path-dependency and celebrate works done in the West. Information revolution led globalization was expected to create a level-playing field for India's experts. But it has only reinforced conventional path-dependency by providing free and rather easy access to Western analysis and information. India's security studies have remained bound within the original mode of Imperial education that was aimed at producing clerks and court jesters. No doubt, few think tanks have tried to present Indian perspectives of few contemporary issues yet they remain focused on topical themes and confined to policy research. Even here, it is India's universities that provide both the cadres as also consumers for these think tanks' analysis and comments. Thus responsibility lies primarily with Indian universities to engage in deeper academic research through long-term cultivation of Indian scholarly traditions. Indeed, as India emerges as a major power to reckon with, evolving original Indian schools of thought in security studies teaching and research becomes a prerequisite for ensuring India its place in the evolving global order.

Keywords

Security studies, Indian universities, think tanks, Macaulay, emerging India

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Introduction

There are 29 universities in India that offer security studies research and teaching programmes and award 'degrees' in their defence and strategic studies departments either at college level or in their university departments. In addition to these, 137 other colleges 'associated' with 27 other universities offer 'courses' covering various aspects of the security studies—like military history, military studies, military science, strategic studies, diplomacy, disarmament, peace and conflict or war and peace, etc.—largely at the undergraduate level (Dhar, 2011). Most military institutions also run higher command and other training courses which conclude with writing of a dissertation on themes of security studies and result in award of research degree from universities to which these are affiliated. Then many deemed-to-be universities and other recognized and unrecognized private teaching institutions offer diplomas and degrees that include courses covering several sub-themes of security studies.

Starting from late 1950s, an overwhelming number of these institutions offer security studies under the nomenclature of defence and strategic studies and most of these are located in northern and central India though there are few well-known university departments located in metropolitan cities in west (Pune) and south of India (Chennai) that as well offer specialization in security studies teaching and research. Over the years, University Grants Commission (UGC) has also encouraged and groomed several 'area studies' programmes in various universities specializing on various regions and countries. These too have often had though only a limited focus on the teaching and research which overlaps with concerns of security studies. Indeed, this has been the regular complaint against 'area studies' that these remain confined to only studying foreign, security and economic policies instead of dwelling deeper with issues relating to their region's cultures, classics, sociology, anthropology and languages.

India's rise as an emerging power, since early 1990s and especially India's nuclear tests of 1998, has given a boost to ever-expanding interest and infrastructure for India's teaching and research in security studies. The proliferation of new think tanks and growing coverage of security-related issues in visual, print and online media has been more than noticeable. This has since transformed the nature and nurture of India's security studies. It is in this fast evolving new backdrop of India emerging as a major power that this article surveys the current strengths and limitations of India's security studies and examines its growth potential for contributing to India's rise in particular and to the contemporary global discourses on security studies in general. The article is organized in seven sections. The constraints regarding vision and resources impinged on the security studies are analyzed in section two. In the third section, the committees set up on security studies and the question of non-implementation of the findings of these committees are examined. The role of think tank institutions in the promotion of securities studies is discussed in the fourth section. The hiatus between indigenous and Western perspectives on security studies is analyzed in the fifth section. The role of expansionary phase of higher education in India and its impact on security studies is examined in the sixth section. The concluding remarks are presented in section seven.

To Begin with Limitations

In spite of widely recognized civilizational intellectual heritage and enormous potential to contribute to global discourses as well as in professional skill development, India's education and research sectors in general, and its security studies in particular, have remained hostage to several vision and resource related limitations. The fundamental flaw in the very conception, inception and curriculum building in most of India's teaching and research institutions remains the fact that their methods, materials, tools, techniques and consequently contents are, by and large, very dated and even alien to India's ethos and needs.

Given that a peaceful transfer of power was the basis of India's independence in 1947, basic structure and focus of India's 'education system even today, owe their genesis to it', namely, to Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay's famous Minutes on Education that were presented to the British Parliament in 1835 (Kumar, 2005; Parajpe, 2013; Pathak, 2007). Efforts at transforming this Imperial education system of 'creating clerks' to run British administration into a mass education system rooted in Indian traditions, languages and classics, have remained at best half-hearted and disconnected.[1] As a result, barring few islands of excellence, even the professional higher education sector remains mediocre, inefficient and insufficient to address emerging India's challenges. And, in opinion of experts, as successive regimes have struggled 'to bring in uniformity and co-ordination in the matters of higher university and professional education … conflict and inconsistency [continues to] … occur and arise not only with respect to State and Central Acts, but even in the functioning of the various central agencies themselves' (Dhanapalan & Saravanan, 2007, p. 81).

As regards the contents of India's teaching and research in security studies, their focus remains equally on conventional military studies and foreign relations rather than on comprehensive national security or non-traditional security though several universities have tried to incorporate components like terrorism. But this 'add-and-stir' approach remains disjoined and often counterproductive producing misguided and superficial data-sets, assessments and analysis. Several of these universities also hold orientation courses for teachers of security studies from various departments and colleges but these have mostly been rituals which are necessary for promotions especially though career advancement scheme of the UGC.

On the other hand, think tanks on security studies—several of these set up since India's nuclear tests of 1998—remain focused on contemporary themes, chasing latest new headlines and media commentaries which often makes them timely yet superficial. Most of them are focused on doing policy research (not academic research) and they are mostly outside the university system.[2] A few of these think tanks are relatively innovative and up to date with discourses on security studies but most of these also exist only on article or at best are one-man institutions that get active and disappear from time to time. Also, these are located mainly in major metropolitan cities—most of them in New Delhi—and vary from old and large institutions like New Delhi-based Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, United Services Institute of India to new ones like Institute

for Peace and Conflict Studies, Observer Research Foundations, Vivekanand International Foundation of India, etc. Then there are these mushrooming new institutions many of which are involved in only organizing topical conferences and in explaining or even defending official policies or speculating on the alternative futures for emerging India and its resultant role and responsibilities. Most of these think tanks are headed and manned by retired officials and often seen as stop gap arrangements with very few of them personally contributing to academic discourses on security studies.

However, unlike these think tanks, which mostly lead India's discourses on contemporary issues of security studies, bulk of teaching and academic research occurs in India's university system which provides both the cadres and audiences to think tanks' work on policy research. Similarly, while the quality research and public debates on security studies are mainly moulded by few of these think tanks, bulk of job creation and degree rewarding on security studies occurs in India's universities and colleges. Third, as regards the pedigree of India's scholarship that provide direction to these researchers and teaching programmes in both think tanks and universities, India's security studies remain overcast by studies done by European and North American professors who remain most cited in India's security studies discourses. Other than standard classics in security studies, India-centric works by scholars like Lorne J. Kavic, Michael Brecher, Stephen P. Cohen, Stephen Ross and of various non-resident Indian scholars like Mohammed Ayoob, Raju G.C. Thomas, Sumit Ganguly, T.V. Paul and others working in various North American universities, have laid the broad contours of India's security studies teaching and research programmes. There have also been few home grown experts like K. Subrahmanyam, Jasjit Singh, P.R. Chari, Raja Menon who have provided lead and direction to Indian security studies. More recently, contemporary experts like Raja Mohan, Brahma Chellaney, Bharat Karnad, Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo, Shrikant Paranjpe—to name a few—have provided Indian perspectives to security studies, though it still continues privileging the work done in the Western universities.

Information technology revolution had once raised great expectations of making the world flat.[3] It was expected to provide greater access and space for Indian's home grown experts to contribute to global discourses on security studies. To some extent it has opened up new opportunities but it has also facilitated greater numbers of Indian students having access to works done in North American and European universities or in facilitating their actually moving to these universities for higher education and research. This information revolution has reinforced the conventional trends of India's path dependency and India's privileging of the work done in the Western universities. Moreover, modern technologies and consequent connectivity has also increased visibility and influence of print and visual media thus further marginalizing academic research and even policy research done in India's think tanks and universities. This has resulted in publication explosion (both in hardprint and on websites) though some of it remain expensive thereby making ordinary Indian scholar fall prey to what comes for free and online without worrying much about its origins, quality or about the objectivity of given information or analyses. Like many other disciplines,

India's security studies have therefore witnessed an increasing trend of the cut-and-paste and rehash culture where quantity seems to overcast quality thereby reinforcing India's continued dependence on works done in European and North American universities.

University Grant Commission: Experts Groups

In 68 years of India's Independence, other than various efforts made by various institutions at their individual level, the UGC has, at various stages, set up four expert committees to review that status of defence and strategic studies in Indian universities. All these expert committees reviewed the state of security studies and submitted their findings but no action taken reports are available to know what action was taken following their advice. There are no records available of what were the findings of the first two such committees; no mention of these is made in subsequent committee reports though they mention their existence.

Third, such committee of experts was set up during 1987 to examine the functioning of India's university departments of defence studies. However, nothing substantive came of it except that term 'strategic' was added to their name making these defence and strategic studies. If anything, the committee report highlighted the lack of uniformity of syllabus amongst various universities and showed how the focus of these departments had remained far more on military studies rather than comprehensive approach to national security. Its report did seek to underline the significance of defence studies as an academic discipline with enormous potential for national life and it made following observations:

- That UGC must include the subject in the academic curriculum of universities at undergraduate, postgraduate and research level, for it would generate multiple viable policy options to deal with complex issues of national importance and generate a national security consciousness.
- That the present infrastructure in the universities for teaching and research in this discipline was inadequate and that an earnest endeavour must be made to develop defence and strategic studies departments in Indian universities. To achieve this, UGC must from time to time give grants for departmental libraries and other infrastructure.
- That development of defence and strategic studies in various universities should be monitored closely by the UGC by a standing committee of experts. It also recommended close interactions between senior academics and senior defence officers.
- That given national security environment in recent years it is in national interest to set up one or more advanced research centres to undertake research on matters of national security and national interest (Ghosh, 2007, pp. 354–355).

The June 1998 three member Task Force on setting up a National Security Council had also submitted its report to India's prime minister. This committee had also proposed setting up five autonomous government-funded think tanks in

functional areas to support the national security management institutions with requisite research and analysis inputs based on open sources. Though India set up in New Delhi India's National Security Council Secretariat and subsequently the think tanks were also eventually established by respective three services names, Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), National Maritime Foundation (NMF) and Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS), the status of teaching and research in security studies in India's universities remained as it is.

Jasjit Singh Committee

The last such committee was set up by India's minister for human resource development, Kapil Sibal, during 2010 with Late Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, former director of IDSA, as its chair and UGC chairman, Ved Prakash, as its convener. This committee was constituted of five members including two senior professors from the two prominent defence and strategic studies departments of the University of Madras (Professor Gopalji Malviya) and Allahabad University (Professor M.N. Verma). The committee was mandated to look into the state of teaching and research in security studies in India's universities and do so within a stipulated short period of 8 weeks. The committee did manage to submit its 15-page report in time and also managed to make some substantial outline of what existed and what was needed to be done.

First and foremost, this committee concluded that the nomenclature of defence and strategic studies was outdated and limiting; that this needed to be replaced with a more comprehensive, contemporary and generic title of National Security Studies. To incentivize this change the report suggested giving large, one-time, grants to few existing prominent departments. They also recommended recasting of all teaching courses to reflect contemporary themes and perspectives. Indeed, the committee recommended setting up of a separate apex Council on National Security Research and Studies as overarching body to guide and direct National Security Studies across India's universities. Finally, while it urged for upgrading and renaming of existing departments as Departments of National Security Studies, it recommended setting up of at least five new such departments to be opened up in selected other universities. All these departments were to receive additional funding directly from the union government to revamp their research and teaching. This indirectly was aimed at raising not just the standards but also expectations from Indian security studies and making them able to be in step with global changes and challenges as also to be able to contribute to global discourses.

As critical backdrop for this committee, the discourses on future of security studies in India since 1987—when last such committee was set up—shad witnessed major systemic changes that included the collapse for former Soviet Union, 9/11 terrorist attacks and global war on terrorism, shifting of focus from territorial national security to food, water, energy and environmental security and information revolution leading to cyberwars, cyberterrorism and cybercrime, etc. making security studies an extremely expanded and overarching field of

study. This metamorphosis in security studies—moving in general from national security to human security—throws formidable challenges for both theorizing and praxis of security studies. It was not perhaps fully appreciated by the quick-short report of the aforementioned committee that their suggested nomenclature of 'National Security' would also be equally narrow nomenclature for this ever-expanding field of security studies. Though Jasjit Singh Committee sought to take the broadest possible definition of 'National Security' yet this question remains unanswered. In terms of its teaching and research in India's university system this format is very likely to allow chunks of major emerging themes and perspectives to be left outside. To highlight this Rajendra Prasad, former head of Department of Defence and Strategic Studies of Deen Dyal Upadhyay Gorakhpur University makes it ample clear by saying that:

> The conception of National Security is narrowed down by considering it merely in terms of 'National Defence by Military Security' and varied emphasis on military expenditure, security arrangements, alliances, force structures, military doctrines, future power projections, border management, and so on. (Prasad, 2002, p. 9)

In case of India, this obsession with limited bandwidth of National Security may be manifestation of India's colonial and cold war legacies, as also of its geostrategic location and repeated military coups and other such developments in its immediate periphery. This may also have been caused by the arrival of nuclear weapons and India's location in a unique nuclear triangle as also its close proximity to world's most intense breeding grounds of international terrorism. Such a precarious security environment has certainly ignited widespread interest in realist perspectives on National Security. But it cannot be done at the cost of ignoring Liberal, Constructivist, Marxists and other Critical Theory perspectives on these ever-expanding, new and old, themes of security studies. Both in terms of what it should include as also how many more so-called peripheral themes can be treated as central to this discipline remains inconclusive.

But to the credit of Jasjit Singh Committee, it did revive the debates on the need for regular revision of courses taught at India's universities which are the feeder agencies to India's think tanks and teaching communities as also of experts contributing to online, print and visual media which all need to co-opt emerging new perspectives and themes in their research and analyses. However, the reality is that even after this committee's report, the bulk of India's security studies teaching and research continues to be just 'degree' awarding machines with little quality controls if any. Most universities and institutions have not just failed to update and upgrade their security studies but often treat it as a sub-discipline that continues to be part of elective courses in traditional fields of political science, international studies, foreign policy, conflict resolution and peace studies, etc. It is this continuing inertia even in face of rapidly evolving debates on security studies themes and perspectives that being neglected and dated remains the fate of India's security studies.

Aptly therefore, the committee had expressed 'deep distress that our education system, still resting on Macaulay's formulations' which indicates that 'national security as a discipline and autonomous subject does not find a rightful place

in the higher education in universities while ''international security'' received far greater attention'.[4] The committee, at the same time, underlined that though most of security studies teaching and research is done in several of the well-known defence and strategic studies departments in about three dozen universities and 'most of them face severe handicaps' yet a few of them have managed 'to introduce this subject in the entrance examination to provincial civil service'.[5] The committee also alluded to the growing mismatch between rise of India and the intellectual acumen to support it. To underline some of the conclusions of this committee, it had stated that '[T]here is an identifiable mismatch in India's growth to major power status and the intellectual deficit in understanding national interests and security for the coming years as a major world power.'[6] More specifically their report said, *The Committee came to the firm though unfortunate conclusion that national security studies and education in this field as a discipline is nearly absent in the curriculum of our universities and colleges* (emphasis original).[7]

As regards its limitations, the committee itself admits in its report that they had a really short time of 8 weeks which was clearly insufficient to undertake an assessment of dozens of universities and scores of colleges and thousands of students who have obtained degrees and expertise from these places. Moreover, the committee clearly missed including several centres like the Disarmament Studies programme of the Jawaharlal Nehru University or the National Centre of International Security Analysis (NISDA) of Pune University, simply because these are not called departments of defence and strategic studies though their teaching and research largely focuses on themes of national security. Courses taught in the diplomacy and disarmament studies at JNU, for example, include courses titles like 'War and Peace in Nuclear Age', 'Introduction to Peace and Conflict Resolution', 'Strategies of War and Peace', 'Science, Technology and National Security' and so on. Indeed, amongst India's universities teaching and research in security studies Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) clearly stands out as the leader in the field having produced hundreds of PhD thesis and MPhil dissertations and dozens of leading experts who today mould India's national security debates and policy making.[8] Indeed, two professors of this Disarmament Studies programme of JNU—Matin Zuberi and Amitabh Mattoo—have served on India's National Security Council Advisory Board and few of its other members have also been former scholars from Disarmament Studies programme at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Role of Think Tanks

The greatest contribution of India's universities has been in generating mass-scale general consciousness, interests and expertise in security matters, while much of focus in India's think tanks remains on the policy debates. This policy research in India has happened mostly in various think tanks led by Ministry of Defence supported Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and United Services Institution of India (USI), lately joined by Centre for Land Warfare Studies

(CLAWS), National Maritime Foundation (NMF) and Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS) all in New Delhi. These centres have trained large number of young researchers who contribute to security studies discourses both from inside as also having moved to other institutions of media and universities. Various other think tanks also contribute to security studies but from the periphery though some of these may occasionally have an important analyst of credibility employed and as an individual making seminal contributions to India's security studies.

Then there are also a whole range of armed forces institutions—from India's National Defence College in New Delhi at its apex to Defence Services Staff College in Tamil Nadu and then three colleges of three Services (Army War College at Mhow, College of Naval Warfare at Goa and College of Air Warfare at Hyderbad) and several other specialized institutions (like College of Defence Management at Hyderabad or Army Training College at Shimla) and similar other institutions of field commands, academies, regimental headquarters as also other paramilitary and police organizations. These all train their officers in security studies especially at the higher command courses of three services that lead to award of MPhil degree from various universities to which these are affiliated. Often these also involve series of lectures to these student-officers by security experts from various think tanks and universities. For obvious reason, the focus of these trainings remains strongly in favour of operational and practical training based on simulation and scenarios-building and barring few exceptions, academic discourses are not really seen to be their strong point.

As regards, universities, perhaps the most visible example of a security studies think tank based in university system is the one of National Centre of International Security Analysis (NISDA) that was set up in a University of Pune in January 2002. The UGC had considered proposal submitted by the University of Pune for the establishment of the NISDA and this proposal was placed under the programme called 'New Schemes' during the 9th Five Year Plan (1997–2002). The UGC Expert Committee visited the University of Pune on 30–31 October 2003 to ascertain the viability of the project and then gave their recommendations to the UGC for its approval and implementation. NISDA became operational at the University of Pune from 1 March 2005. The UGC granted a sum of Indian rupees 50 million (about $1 million) as initial seed money to establish the NISDA. Subsequently, a chair professorship in air power studies was also established in NISDA. Later, on 1 October 2008, the University of Pune, recognizing the contribution of Shri Yashwantrao Chavan to India's foreign and security policy, decided to rename the centre as Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre for International Security and Defence Analysis (YCNISDA). Likewise in 2014, the UGC had approved of a Centre for Maritime Studies in Pondicherry University though it is still to take off and has no dedicated faculty positions assigned this purpose. There has been another chair for maritime studies at Calicut University, which has also not made any noticeable presence in national, leave alone, international, discourses.

Lately, media has also begun to train a whole lot of experts given their experience in covering security-related themes—from national defence to local insurgencies. Media often uses inputs and full-length articles of security experts to comment on topical security issues. Various university departments and colleges

teaching security studies do contribute to providing cadre of potential candidates for positions of the expanding breed of security experts in online, print and visual media and television who cover security issues either directly by being employed in media houses or as regular commentators from outside. Some of these media security experts have been reputed enough to be brought into official committees like the National Security Advisory Board of India's National Security Council. Lots of retired military and civilian officers also contribute to such online, print and visual media debates on security-related themes that contribute to both the assessments and evolution of security studies discipline in India's universities.

Indigenous Traditions

In terms of their basic orientation and loyalties, security studies teaching and research in India's universities have witnessed a persistent binary between those inspired by Western narratives and those seeking roots in India's ancient and medieval traditions and classics. The fact that much of India's elites have preferred Western education over their own and that post-World War II global security discourses were dominated by the United States had 'rendered uniform ways of seeing and theorizing "security" in most academic and policy circles' (Rajagopalan, 2006). This has made such a divide rather crude and glaring making any blending of the two ever more complicated. Divides of rich and poor, upper and lower caste, urban and rural or policy and academic research have further re-enforced these binaries making blending of these ever more difficult. In some ways, all these binaries reflect and re-enforce the persistent dichotomies in Indian security studies having been influenced by and privileged Western security studies discourses.

Notwithstanding the power of aforementioned dichotomies, the fact that security like peace remains indivisible concept by nature has compelled continuous attempts to be made for encouraging interactions and engagement from both sides. Increasing connectedness of world has questioned the 'self-help' thesis of realism as the widening and deepening 'security' is increasingly seen dependent on multilateral and global initiatives in norm-building. Indeed, emergence of non-American proponents coming up with new themes and genres on security studies—like those promoted by English or Copenhagen Schools of International Relations theory or reports brought out by various commissions headed by Willy Brandt (1980), Olof Palme (1982) and Gro Harlem Brundt-land (1987)—projecting significance of ever wider themes like social, political, environmental, energy security, etc. have gradually taken the focus away from state as the only provider and target of security studies. This has been followed by increasing focus on transnational issues and non-state actors as primary drivers of security studies discourses which has created space for blending of these binaries of India's security studies.

Another area where there remains lack of clarity is as to what security studies are expected to achieve. For instance, some scholars believe that the 'main objective of national security studies is to create national consensus around some

common values and establish coherent and united Society' and they underline the fact that 'the linkage between internal and external setting is the *sine qua non…*' especially for developing countries involved in nation-building and national integration (Ghosh, 2007, p. 347). Others seem to disagree and by investigating 'diverse Indian conceptualizations' of security, they conclude that Indian experts remain 'heavily concerned with a narrow range of conventional security threats, while paying little attention to what security scholars and researchers would see as looming risks lying hidden in plain sight' (Kolas & Miklian, 2013). Though, issues like human security, governance and development are beginning to attract attention at least in India's select primer institutions of learning, yet none of these seem to be working on broader canvass of developing the security consciousness of Indian citizens which seems too wide an objective. Nevertheless, India's security studies broadly encompass a complex mosaic of bits and pieces that seek to answer how peace can be maintained in a society of sovereign states as also within Indian state and society. Such studies themselves calls for multidimensional approaches for reaching any broad approximations of formulations of a unified theoretical orientation and holistic analysis.

Especially in the age of information driven globalization, interdependence has become the norm and this requires not just cooperation amongst states to address their increasingly shared security challenges but much more people-to-people contact and people-centric approach that requires bridging the dichotomies of elite and masses perspectives. In the current phase, understanding of security has to be reframed as security of people, not just territory; security through development, not arms; security of all people everywhere—in their communities and in their environments (Prasad, 2007). The focus is shifting from defending borders to providing for communities and emerging India's teaching and research in security studies seem to have enormous void to fill in order to contribute to not just India's own rise but also to contribute to contemporary global discourses on security studies.

Growth Potential in University Boom

University Grants Commission of India's 12th Five Year Plan 2012–2017 document opens by underlining that '[H]igher education in India is passing through a phase of unprecedented expansions marked by an explosion in the volume of students, a substantial expansion in the number of institutions and a quantum jump in the level of public funding' (University Grants Commission, 2011, p. 1). According to *Higher Education in India: Vision 2030* report of India's Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), by the year 2030, India will have 140 million college going students—one in every four graduates in the world will be an Indian (FICCI, 2014, p. 4). Therefore, even while in the last two decades, India has created a mammoth additional capacity of 40 million students seats thereby reaching a total capacity of 70 million student seats, the task of responding the expanding demand for higher education remain still daunting. Emerging India since early 1990s have witnessed sharp rise

in demand for education leading to large number of Indian students going abroad for higher education thereby contributing to education industries of Australia, Canada, Germany, United States, and so on. According to *Open Doors 2014* report of the International Institute of Education, based in Washington DC, the number of Indian students studying in United States has reached 96,754 for 2014; second only to the Chinese students (International Institute of Education, 2014). This has also created opportunity for expansion of India's security studies.

Starting with the Sikkim Manipal University of Health, Medical & Technological Sciences set up with a Gazette Notification dated 11 October 1995, UGC has sanctioned setting up about 190 private universities in last two decades.[9] Private universities and colleges are not just the fastest expanding segment of India's higher education but also have the advantage of leap frogging in terms of their conception on of programmes and in their teaching and research curriculum and methods. In year 2005, Government of India had itself launched 16 new Central Universities which have also had a similar advantage though many of these have not really been able to establish and expand to showcase their presence. But amongst examples of those having focused on launching security studies, Central University of Gujarat has set up a Centre for Security Studies (CSS) as part of its School of International Studies where it aims 'to impart theoretical, empirical and critical understanding of the changing notions of security encompassing a complex and frequently interconnected set of issues' from both traditional and non-traditional security ranging from national defence and security, international security, terrorism, cybersecurity, ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts as well as other threats to human security.[10] Similarly, amongst private universities, Jindal School of International Affairs at the Jindal Global University near New Delhi has adopted a more corporate style and offers a 2 month part-time, self-paid, Fellows Program in National Security covering series of lectures on critical infrastructure, cyberwars, business intelligence and so on.[11]

Then recent years have also witnessed new corporate style experiments happening in providing Security Education and Training. For instance, the International College for Security Studies (ICSS) or the Orion School of Security & Intelligence Managements, both based in New Delhi, offer training and Security Education for all levels of personnel in every facet of the subject whether it be on land, sea or air.[12] Their major advantages include their recent origins, their having multiple branches as also affiliations and partnerships with various reputed international agencies of similar kind. But all these new initiatives seems to be driven by market and commercial needs and have little promise of making any serious contribution to fundamental or academic research and teaching in security studies. If anything, these new experiments are expanding the domain of security studies such that it threatens to lose its very identity as an academic discipline. For this reason alone, the academics involved in teaching and research must take in to account this new genre and evaluate their impact on the evolution of India's security studies discipline. But above all, it is India's University Grants Commission, if not the Ministry of Human Resource Development that needs to take note of the urgent need, and persistent refrains of all earlier assessments made, for having a nation-wide plan to standardize basics teaching and research

in security studies discipline, to prioritize its promotion as a critical academic discipline and to outline their role in rising India's emerging new roles and responsibilities.

Conclusion

To conclude, therefore, India's education sector in general and its teaching and research in security studies—that without doubt remain a critical pillar of emerging India—continues to remain neglected. The focus on sustaining some elite institutions of British vintage and in grooming few national-level islands of excellence may have played an important role in the past but emerging India today needs focus on mass education and build enormous support systems for advanced and higher education making it one of the best in the world. While providing resources may be one way of meeting this challenge yet greater rigour need to be placed on quality control in terms of selections of institutional leadership, in development of the course curriculum, and in facilitating public-private partnership and in facilitating private initiatives. Recent years have seen few half-hearted initiatives like setting up of a National Maritime University and an Indian National Defence University. While the former has been an enormous waste of national resources, a non-starter that remains engulfed in financial and other scandals the later continues to gather dust in official files. This surely calls for vision and bold initiatives.

Meanwhile, successive ruling regimes of India's civilizational state, who pride on traditions of peace have never prioritized teaching and research in security studies often treating this as opposite to peace. However, as 'Security' is increasingly seen to incorporate issues of development, governance, justice and equity along with traditional military preparedness in terms of worst case scenarios, even issues of climate change and global pandemics become integral to security studies. Corporate sector and investors increasingly hire security analysts making teaching and research in security studies integral part of nation building. Given that emerging India is located in a highly volatile environment—as part of nuclear triangle and with close proximity to breeding grounds of terrorism—makes it imperative that democratic India strengthens it indigenous infrastructure and approaches to making assessments on its short- and long-term security needs. Thus if India's overall rise as a major power has to ensured, then efforts at overcoming extant limitations of India's security studies as also explorations and exploitation of its growth potential in India's universities and colleges must be made on rather urgent basis.

Notes

1. In 2002 an amendment to India's Constitution had made 'Right to Education' a fundamental right yet, according to UNESCO India's literacy rate was only 63 per cent for 2006 making India host of 37 per cent of world illiterates (see *The Hindu*, 30 January 2014).
2. There are few exceptions of think tanks being set up in universities. One example could be Yashwantrao Chavan National Centre for International Security and Defence Analysis at Pune University.
3. Idea inspired by Friedman (2013).

4. *Committee of Experts: To Review the Functioning of Defence and Strategic Studies and Related University System*, 10 January 2011, pp. 7–8.
5. Ibid., p. 8.
6. Ibid., p. 5.
7. Ibid., p. 9.
8. Most of these PhD theses and MPhil dissertations can now be seen online on universities' websites. For reasons of their limited mandate and time, JNU was not studied by Jasjit Singh Committee.
9. See for details http://www.ugc.ac.in/privatuniversity.aspx
10. See for details http://www.cug.ac.in/SIS_SS.html
11. See for details www.jsia.edu.in/sites/default/files/events/flyer-small.pdf
12. See for details http://www.icssindia.org/ or http://www.ossim.in/

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