

**PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION
A STUDY OF NATIONAL POLICY ON
EDUCATION (1986)**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the award of the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

POLITICAL SCIENCE

By

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DECLARATION

I here by declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled "Public Policy Formulation - A study of National Policy on Education 1986", has been carried out by me under the guidance of Dr. G. Sudershanam, Reader in Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, and this has not been submitted for a degree of any other University.

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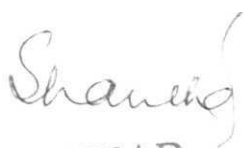
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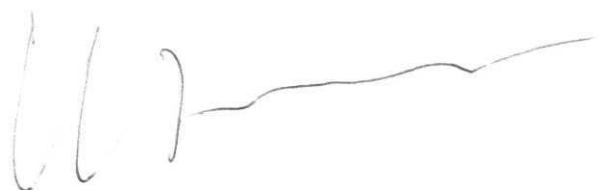
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to a number of individuals and institutions without whose help and encouragement this study would not have been possible.

On this occasion I express my deep sense of gratitude to my Teacher and Supervisor Dr. G. Sudershanam who showed a lot of interest in guiding this work. The opinions he shared with me, his willingness to enter into dialogue, and offer helpful suggestions eased my burden considerably.

I am also grateful to Prof. G. Haragopal, whose advice and guidance helped me a lot in the completion of this work. My profound sense of gratitude is also due to Prof. Shanta Sinha, Head, Dept. of Political Science and other faculty members.

I am also thankful to the help rendered by Prof. Satyabhushan (Director, NIEPA), Prof. J.B.G. Tilak (NIEPA), Prof. Rajani Kothari, Prof. Jalaluddin, Dr. Mathews (NIEPA), Dr. Vidyanath Iyengar (Jt. Secretary', Ministry of HRD), Sri. Raghavachary (Member, CABE), Prof. V.S. Prasad (IGNOU), Prof. K.V. Srinivasan, Fr. T.C. Rayappa, Fr. Julian Studden (Principal, St. M.C. Jr. College.)

The work would never have been finalised without the *help* of my friends. I must particularly acknowledge the help rendered by Mr. Arvind Das, Corrine Camposs, D. Babu Rao, S. Laxman Rao, Timma Reddy, Subramanya Raju, Venu Gopal, J.L.N Rao, Y.K. Reddy (Director SICE), R.S. Goud, Don Fernandez, Naveen, M. Srikanth, I also extend my thanks to the officials of Ministry of HRD. Planning Commission Faculty members of NIEPA and representatives of various student organizations, teachers organization, political parties, who gave an opportunity to interact with them.

It would have been impossible to reach this point of academic life, but for the consistent encouragement and support of my parents Sri. M. Venkateswara Rao and Dayamati Devi. I would like to thank my mother-in-law Smt. Lakshmi and my brother Srinu for their love and support. My wife Mrs. Hyma stood with me on all the occasions. She encouraged me to pursue my research work and a great source of strength and inspiration. The love and affection of my wife and my daughters Rachana and Sahiti boosted my morale to complete this work. My sincere gratitude is also due to my cousin Dr. C.L. Narasimha Rao and their family members for their love and affection.

My thanks are also due to the library staff of University of Hyderabad. NIRD, Osmania University, CESS, HPA, NIEPA, ASRC, etc. Finally I place on record the help rendered by my friend Mr. Gangaji, in finalizing this dissertation.

M.V. Rama Rao

CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

Public policy is what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes on society. David Easton defines public policy as “the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society”.¹ The agency which can authoritatively act on the whole society is government. Laswell and Kaplan define public policy as "a projected programme of goals, values and practices".² Thomas R. Dye defines public policy as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do".³ This assumption implies that if a government chooses to do something there must be a goal, objective or purpose and even the government's inaction will have as great an impact on society as the government's action.

Study of the public policy, the way it is formulated, implemented and the impact of the policy is important because the twentieth century witnessed the insidious growth of the State. Its role is increasing in both developed and developing countries. Its role is significant in the context of developing countries where it is expected to perform numerous functions through its executive agency- government. The state today is undertaking more and more activities in the economic, industrial, commercial and social fields. W.V. Donham says that ‘if our civilization fails it will be mainly because of a breakdown of administration.’⁴ The government's role in the life of a human being begins from the cradle and appears to continue even after reaching grave. This is defined as Government's overload.⁵

In developing countries governments do many things. It regulates conflict through carrot and stick strategy. They provide some benefits or rewards according to their own priorities. They seek the support from public in the form of extracting taxes, voting, participation and support of the activities of government, etc. In fact, the legitimacy of government depends on the acceptance of public policies by the concerned communities. Its role is coercive, responsive and legitimate. Thus, public policies may be regulative, organizational, distributive, extractive, substantiative or all these things at once or a combination of a few of these.⁶

There are two different approaches to the study of public policy i.e. traditional and modern or behavioural. Traditional political science focused its attention primarily on the institutional structure and philosophical justification of government. Modern behavioural approach focused its attention primarily on the processes and behaviour associated with government.⁷ Primarily it is the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of governmental activity. This involves a description of the content of

public policy, an assessment of the impact of environmental forces (national and international) on the content of public policy, an analysis of the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; an inquiry into consequences of various public policies for political system, and an evaluation of the impact of public policies on society in terms of both intended and unintended consequences.⁸

Since the role of the state is significant in accelerating socio-economic change, modernizing the traditional societies, regulating conflict, protecting the national sovereignty, etc. social scientists devoted greater attention on the principal function of state activity i.e. public policy. It is studied for scientific, professional and political purpose*. Public policy can be studied for purely scientific reasons to gain an understanding of the causes and consequences of policy decisions and to improve the knowledge about society. It can be studied for professional reasons. An understanding of the causes and consequences of public policy permits us to apply the knowledge of social science to the solution of practical problems. It can also be studied for political purposes to ensure that the nation adopts the right policies to achieve the right goal. It is also useful for advancing the level of political awareness, quality of policy advocacy, policy analysis and policy making.⁹

So far the study of public policy is informed by different theoretical models like incremental model, systems theory, game theory, elite theory, rational model, etc.¹¹ But each model has its own inadequacies or limitations and no model is adequate enough to explain the policy formulation and implementation totally since policy formulation is a complex and dynamic process. Policy formulation is largely conditioned by the socio-political and economic factors. Policy formulation and implementation is not a rational activity totally. In fact, no public policy, whether in the sphere of education, or elsewhere can be a value free inductive exercise exclusively based on empirical observations. It implies that the process of policy making by the state is primarily a political act initiated in a particular socio economic and political environment.

When we examine the process of public policy making in India, we have to have an understanding of its socio-economic and political ecology. India is a large country with a huge population, a land of diversities - linguistic, ethnic, regional, religious and cultural.¹¹ Political democracy imposed from above instead of transforming the traditional structures of society into more egalitarian, it has sparked off a revivalist backlash resulting in ascriptive entities. This is manifested in political groupings based on caste, religion, language and spatial location.¹² Socio-cultural, political and economic backwardness of the vast majority

made the functioning of democratic institutions less effective and widened the gulf between state and civil society. The subject and parochial political culture coupled with relative deprivation of the people made people more dependent on the State and also made the State a powerful actor.¹³

Within the liberal paradigm, the most widely shared view of the Indian political system is that of a variation of liberal democracy of the parliamentary model with the federal structure of government. The Constitution of India provided more powers to the Union Government in legislative, administrative and financial matters owing to certain historical, political and economic exigencies. The Indian political system seems to have agreed ideologically on secularism, socialism, democracy, the merits of the mixed economy and a non-aligned foreign policy.

The Problem:

Public Policy formulation acquired significance since it is the principal instrument of the state through which positive intervention is possible. This has an added significance in the field of education because education has become one of the powerful instruments of socio-economic and cultural transformation.

Formulation of public policy in India is influenced by the nature and the philosophy of the political system also. The structural and ideological framework is clearly mentioned in the Constitution. Parliamentary democracy, federal framework of polity and philosophy of welfare state shape various policy processes.

There is an increasing realization on the part of many that policies have to be formulated through the active involvement of the Union Government, State Governments and concerned communities. This belief largely emanated from the conviction that nation building and development has to be initiated from below and not be imposed from above. This process is known as homogenization.¹⁴ Policy formulation by considering various socio-economic, political variables and the consent of the people makes it more realistic and legitimate.

Immediately after Independence, providing education became the responsibility of the state. The members of the constituent assembly favoured universalization of elementary

education, within 10 years of the commencement of the Constitution. Providing education to the people became imperative for the country's socio-economic development and political stability. This called for careful planning, policy making, administrative cooperation and co-ordination. The question is to what extent are the representative decision making bodies at various levels and the people (concerned communities) involved in the realization of commonly shared goals and purposes, such as education.

Analyzing this question is more important in the backdrop of the debate called for on 'Challenge Of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' by the Ministry of Education in the context of formulation of the National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986.

Education has become an important area of social science research, because it has a multifaceted role to play. It is regarded as an instrument of social, political, economic development and as a critical input in the development process. From time to time the governments have been formulating various educational policies in response to the contemporary socio-political and economic needs. After the National policy on Education 1968, no major policy exercise had taken place in India[though there are some initiatives]. After almost two decades (17 years) the Government of India released a confusional document on the present state of education titled 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' for initiating a debate which was aimed at providing the basis for the formulation of a new policy.

No policy can be seen in isolation. The contemporary socio-political and economic factors (domestic and international) influence various policies that are formulated from time to time. The NPE 1986 is no exception. Changes in technology and the economic order in India and all over the world necessitated the formulation of the New Economic Policy in 1986. The approach of the New Economic Policy appears to be that economic growth in India can best take place through small islands of industry based on high technology.¹⁵ The National Policy on Education 1986 is an offshoot of this development. The document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' also admits it.¹⁶

Public policy formulation in India is characterized by elitism. The NPE 1986 is formulated by the few people in spite of getting the feedback from the concerned communities, agencies, political parties, students organizations & state governments. The elite perceived the needs and formulated the policies rather than the demands being articulated from the people. This process largely emanates from the belief that development

can be initiated from above (hegemonization), Hegemonization which is the preference of top governing elite results in more powers to the Central Government with peripheral participation of other representative institutions and public. But quite strangely the policy makers (central government) released a document (status paper) 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' to initiate a public debate. This public debate intended to provide the basis for the formulation of a National Policy on Education 1986 (popularly called as New Education Policy). This is treated as an unorthodox exercise in policy formulation in India. The State governments, students and teacher's organizations, political parties, academic institutions and the academic community expressed their views on the present status of education.

Review of Literature:

Research in the area of policy formulation or policy studies in the field of education is not that forthcoming. There are some attempts to focus on different aspects of education like management of education, higher education, non-formal education, adult education, vocational education, curriculum, resources etc. There are some studies on center state relations in the field of education. There are very few studies on the political system or the state and education. Here an attempt is being made to present a few works which have a bearing on the present study.

Harold D. Lasswell in his book 'A Pre-View of Policy Sciences' stated that policy science as a concept is concerned with knowledge of and in the decision process of the public and civic order. He advocated that policy sciences must strive for three principal attributes.

1. contextual ; decisions should be a part of a larger social process.
2. problem orientation; policy scientists are at home with the intellectual activities involved in clarifying goals, trends, conditions, projection and alternatives.
3. diversity; the methods employed are not limited to a narrow range.

Thomas R. Dye's book *Understanding Public Policy* explains the theoretical models as well as certain case studies. These case studies are on formulation of different policies in the American context. One of the case studies deals with education. He says educational policy affects a wide variety of interests and stimulates a great deal of interest group

activity. In this context he examined federal aid and the role of racial, religious groups, teachers, tax payers, school board members and school administrators.

Charles E. Lindblom in his essay *The Science of Muddling Through* says that political participants often limit themselves to considering policies fairly close to the status quo. According to him it is not possible to win agreements on large changes. Hence, policy makers formulate policies which reflect the slight variation from the past. Policy proposals are the one which are politically feasible. Politically a way of conserving scarce time and energy.

Charles E. Lindblom in his book *The Policy Making Process* says that there are many obstacles to intelligent and democratic policy making. He observes that human beings are not more effective in actually solving social problems and democratic governments so often appear unresponsive to many of their citizens. The actual and potential participants in policy making do not bring the requisite skills, motivation and there are human cognitive limits which will not allow any person to trace all the causes of complex problems or to foresee all the consequences of policy options. High level of factual uncertainty make it impossible to fully understand what goes wrong, why or how to correct it. Social life is so complex that deliberate understanding and control over it repeatedly escapes us. Since the world is so complex, human understanding so limited and organisational life so complicated and problem-ridden it is reasonable to suppose that public policies often turn out to disappoint. He further says that any society serious about moving towards intelligent democratic governance will have to be willing to debate its fundamental features of its economic, political and social organisation. And it will have to acknowledge the inevitability of proceeding via trial and error recognising social life and social thought to better promote strategic learning from experience. The important step would be to develop a more equal competition of ideas. Such a move would strike simultaneously at the privileged position of business, at inequality and at impaired capacities for thinking about social problems and policy options.

Yehezkel Dror made a pioneering contribution to the field of policy science. His important works are *Design for Policy Sciences*, *Ventures in Policy Sciences*, & *Public Policy making Re-examined* etc.

Design for Policy Sciences ²¹ “aimed at providing a preliminary design for policy

sciences. He viewed policy sciences as a possible new response to shape human destiny. Policy sciences attempts to improve policy making through systematic knowledge, structured rationality and organized creativity.

Ventures in Policy Sciences is based on research papers, consultation reports and policy studies. Dror says that while human capacities to shape the environment, society and human beings are rapidly increasing, policy making capabilities to use those capacities remained the same. The need is to improve policy making through introducing policy sciences as a new element. Dror says policy sciences holds forth the hope of improving the most backward of all human institutions and habits, policy making and decision making. Policy sciences constitutes a major attempt to assert and achieve a central role for rationality and intellectualism in human affairs and to increase by jumps the capacity of humanity to direct its future. Dror hopes that if policy science is developed man can shape his future by choice not by chance. But the development of this new discipline requires integration of knowledge. He also cautions that the whole process will encounter many difficult challenges as it plans to revolutionize all the assumptions on which knowledge is based. Therefore it involves the large scale effort on the part of the scientific community and policy practitioners.

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Yehezkel Dror in his book *Public Policy Making Reexamined* puts forward the need to integrate the fragmented knowledge through his concept of policy science. He divides knowledge into three levels; knowledge relevant to the environment; knowledge relevant to the control of society and individuals and knowledge concerning the control of control themselves i.e. meta-control. Of these three levels according Dror knowledge regarding control over environment is the most advanced area owing to science and technological advancement. Knowledge about control of individuals has not developed highly although it resisted some progress. But the knowledge about control over controls is the least developed of all and is scarcely recognized as a distinct focus of research. Dror says though some effort is made to improve public policy making, the endeavours to develop scientific knowledge in the area of public policy making suffer from the following weaknesses.

1. The present research is adopting micro approach.
2. In the policy making improvement measures, there has been too much of incrementalism without any effort for the new designs. (Nova Design).

3. The dichotomy between the behavioural approach and normative approach prevented a comprehensive approach in understanding and improving the policy making system as a whole.

Altho these weaknesses with many others have generated knowledge which is too inadequate for effective public policy making. Hence there is a need to build up a new body of knowledge with greater integration of concepts i.e. policy sciences.

In Dror's analysis models occupy an important place. He considers the normative model as a tool for systematically analyzing public policy making. He identified six normative models of policy making. Since these models have their own strengths and weaknesses he suggested OPTIMAL MODEL integrating and supplementing the strengths of various models while avoiding their weaknesses. He claims his optimal model as a fusion of the economically rational model with extra rational model. Dror also elaborately dealt with characteristics of the optimal model and various stages in policy making. This book dealt with various aspects of public policy making. Dror in conclusion says that improving public policy making is a lengthy and difficult process but a feasible one.

There are a few studies on public policy making in India. S.R. Maheshwari in his article '*Public Policy Making in India*'²⁴ mentions the normative framework of policy making in India. He says though Indian polity is federal in character, the administrative system is highly integrated, the State Governments act as implementing agencies of the Central Government in a large variety of matters. In the Central Government, the principal policy making functionaries are the Prime Minister, his office including his advisers, ministers and the secretaries. Policy (like educational policy) is being increasingly made at the level of Prime Minister's office. When the latter takes the initiative in an area other bodies become merely approving/ratification organs and many among them have been forced to idle as a result. He further observed that there is no organ for detailed inter-disciplinary study necessary for policy making and what prevails is generally adhocism in policy formulation and a hand to mouth policy making process. Search for alternatives, an essential exercise in policy making, is extremely limited and incrementalism appears to be the policy for policy making.

Barbara N McLenan's work "Comparative Political System",²⁵ examines the political process in developed as well as developing countries. The author also presented a few case studies. He observed that the formulation of National Policy in India is one of

compromise and negotiation. Leading politicians talk about development and mobilization of the people, but decisions in the final analysis are the products of competing forces representing many levels and interests in the Indian society.

Various welfare policies including educational policy are considered by social scientists as an integral process of political system and the society at large. There are some studies which fall into this category. Susane Heober Rudolph and Lloyd Rudolph, in their work titled, *Studies in Organization, Society and Policy*.²⁶ In this books one chapter titled 'Education and Politics'. dealt with the relationship between educational system and political system. The authors observed that Indian independence in 1947 marked something of a new watershed in the development of higher education as Indian schools and higher education lost their elite character and became increasingly a popular one. They also referred to the formulation of the National Educational Policy in a federal context. There is another pioneering work by the same authors, titled *In Pursuit of Lakshmi - The Political Economy of Indian State*.²⁷ This book is an authoritative work on political economy of India. In this book one chapter deals with 'students as a demand group, educational policy and student mobilization. The authors observed that students, including educated unemployed youth, have become an important demand group in Indian politics. Students as a demand group have not generally offered any challenge to the centrist ideological policy consensus, although they have threatened the centrist regimes. The student mobilization in the 1960's - 1980's was meant for bread and butter issues and not to achieve wider political objectives. There were certain policy interventions because of this demand group activity affecting student conditions.

Myron Weiner's work *The Child And The State in India*²⁸ analyses the reasons for India's policies towards children in education and employment being different from those of many other countries. He argues that more than the low per capita income and economic situation, the belief systems of bureaucracy and the educated community are responsible for the failure to ban child labour and to ensure compulsory primary education. He also holds that India's policy makers have not regarded mass education as essential to India's modernization. They have instead put resources into elite government schools, state aided private schools and higher education in an effort to create an educated class that is equal to the educated classes in the West and which is capable of creating and managing a modern-enclave economy.

The policy makers, according to Myron Weiner, conceded the fact that they cannot altogether abolish child labour and ensure universal literacy. The key notion in child labour policy in India became amelioration not abolition; and in education incentives and not compulsion. He further says that the absence of a strong support for governmental intervention from within the state apparatus itself, and the absence of a political coalition outside the state apparatus pressing for governmental intervention, explains the inadequacy of the policy initiative for ensuring compulsory education and for banning the employment of children.

The intentions and the commitments of the Indian state regarding welfare is visible through planning. Prof. Sisir Bhattacharya in his book *Social Darwinism in Indian Welfare State*²⁹ says the Indian state has promoted only elitism in education. He favours appropriate measures for equalization of educational opportunities both in regard to access and achievement. He also suggests a) proper execution of some of the recommendations of the Kothari Commission like a free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 as stipulated in the Constitution. b) improved status, emoluments and education of teachers c) development of education for agriculture and industry. d) improvement in quality and production of inexpensive text books and e) investment of 6% of national income on education.

Some authors without focusing much attention on the nature of the political system and political processes viewed policy formulation as an institutional activity. In this context it is worth mentioning about Dr. A. Mathew's work *Ministry of Education - An Organizational History*.³⁰ In this book he attempts to analyze the changing role and responsibility of the Union Government. He says that its role was limited in 1950's but is increasing continuously since then. According to him *five* major organizational principles appear to form the functioning of the Union Education Ministry, These principles are ideational leadership in the case of school education including elementary, adult and non-formal education. Institutionalization and delegation in the case of higher education; Devolution and Guidance in the case of technical education; Coordination and promotion in the case of physical education; Integration and Inter-linkage in the case of youth services and culture. In different ways the Union Education Ministry is extending its activities. This study provides certain insights into the functioning of the Union Education Ministry. It also provides certain pointers to understand the dynamics of policy formulation.

There are a few studies on the Union-State relationship in the field of education.

The review of these studies provides certain inferences regarding policy formulation i.e. how the Union Government plays a dominant role in policy formulation, planning, administration and allocation of financial resources. One of the works is by Marino Pinto titled '*Federalism & Higher Education in India*'.³¹ This study deals with the role of various agencies of the Union Government in the field of higher education. This work primarily focused on the role of the 'University Grants Commission' (UGC). It also examined the role of other agencies like the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), Education Ministers conference, All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), etc. The author observed certain inadequacies in educational planning and administration both at the union as well as the state levels.

*Centre-State Relations In The Field of Education*³² by Narsing Ray analyzes how education has become the concern of both the centre and states in a federation. He observes that in the field of making policies for education, the Centre performs the role of a guide, initiator, coordinator of the states. But the Centre depends heavily on the states for implementation. He also opines that in the field of education the relations between the center & states is not one of isolation and indifference but one of co-operation and coordination between the two levels of the government. It is a study devoted for the centre state relations in the field of education before 1976 when education was in the State List. By the time this study was completed education was transferred to the Concurrent List with the enactment of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment in 1976. He pleaded for co-operative and collaborative relationship between union and states.

Like Narsing Ray, Abubaker also wrote a book on '*Union and States in Education*'.³³ Abubaker discussed two important aspects in the centre-state relations in the field of education, i.e., educational planning and educational finance. He observed that the transfer of resources had not proceeded on the lines envisaged in the Constitution. It had been assumed in the Constitution that such transfers would be statutory in nature. They are generally made through the instrument of the Finance Commission more as a matter of right than of grace. But with the advent of planning and the Planning Commission had belied this assumption. Discretionary transfer of resources made through the Planning Commission overshadowed the transfers made through the finance Commission. Planning thus changed the economic, fiscal and political context of the country. The financial needs of the states in a way became the political opportunity of the center.

He also says that the policy outputs and decisions are more often close to the position of the centre than the states. He feels that there is an unequal partnership in the educational planning. He pleaded for a genuine partnership in policy making. This calls for a considerable changes in our fiscal and planning procedures. It also implies far reaching changes in the composition, structure and style of functioning of the main center-state policy making and consultative devices. He also pleaded for a political *modus vivendi* that protects the interests of the central government in education as a national concern without stifling the initiative and creativeness of the states in this field.

Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao, the former Union Education Minister wrote an article on '*Center-State Relations in the field of Education*'.³⁴ He put forward certain suggestions which are highly useful for educational planners. His first suggestion is that there should be no talk of amending the constitution to make education a central or concurrent subject. Instead, every effort should be made to exploit the existing provisions of the constitution to the full and to concentrate on the development of those urgent programmes of educational development in which the centre and states can readily and willingly co-operate and collaborate. The second suggestion is the centre should play a stimulating, innovative, consultative, co-ordinational and promotional role in the educational development. The third suggestion is the Center should allot more funds not only to the central sector but also to the centrally sponsored sectors. There should be more of financial concurrency in the place of legal concurrency. In addition to this bodies like CAME, should have more meetings apart from more frequent joint conferences of Chief Minister and Education Ministers of the States.

C.L. Sapra's paper '*Educational Planning in India*'³⁵ deals with the organization of educational planning. He opines that educational planning in India needs a new thrust and direction through reorientation of policies so as to evolve a national system of education in keeping with social, economic and cultural changes, establishment of policy and planning nexus. He says educational planning to be successful has to be decentralized, so that it percolates from the national and state levels to the district, block and institutional levels. Another work on educational administration and management is by Dr. S.S. Mathur titled '*Educational Administration and Management*'.³⁶ It dealt with administrative set-up of education at the Central, State and Local levels. It also analyzed the recommendations of various committees and commissions. It is a descriptive study. Like S. Mathur's study there are two other studies. The first one is Jaganath Mohanthy's work '*Modern Trends in Indian Education*'.³⁷ It discusses the National System of Education,

National Policy on Education and other issues pertaining to the educational planning and administration. He opines that National Policy on Education 1986 will be implemented successfully because it is equipped with well developed strategies for implementation. The author feels that education contributes to the development of human resources. The second study is '*National Policy on Education*'³⁸ by J.C. Agarwal and S.P. Agarwal. It discusses the educational reforms in India, and the merits of National Policy on Education 1986. It also examines the views of the parliamentarians, state governments and the enlightened public. But this study did not analyze the impact of the views of parliamentarians, state governments and enlightened public on the formulation of the National Policy on Education.

J.P. Naik is a highly respected academician and educational planner. As an insider of the system he provided various insights for educational planning and administration apart from raising basic issues pertaining to the field of education. His pioneering work '*Education and Fourth Plan*'³⁹ is worth mentioning. In this book he mentioned that educational planning in India is plagued with certain weaknesses. According to him, expenditure orientation got precedence over effort orientation and in the place of quality expansion was given weightage. He suggested according top priority to non-monetary essentials. He also stated that the educational planning is top heavy and it resembles an inverted pyramid. He favoured broad based and decentralized planning by introducing the system of institutional plans. He also suggested reorienting the plans at the local levels right from the state, district and institutional levels.

He also wanted a Swadeshi Movement in education. He did not favour over dependence on foreign expertise for ideas, programmes and financial resources. He felt that our educational planning largely neglected the urgent problems of transforming our educational system to suit the life needs and aspirations of the people so that it becomes an important instrument of national development.

He suggested three major changes in the educational policy to be incorporated in the Fourth Plan. The first is that our emphasis has to be shifted from a programme of expansion to that of qualitative improvement. The second is to accord a high priority to the programme for the transformation of the educational system which had been the most neglected so far. The third is to adopt a selective approach instead of a comprehensive approach.

There is another study which is descriptive but it provided some historical perspective. Kuldip Kaurs study *Educational Policies (1791-1985), Planning and Implementation*⁴⁰ dealt with the policies and planning from a historical perspective. The author gathered together a great deal of valuable historical material which should be of immense help to the researchers as well as the planners.

Anil Bordia wrote a note on *Indian Education in the Encyclopedia of Comparative Education and National Systems of Education*.⁴¹ He discussed the history of education, educational structures, educational development, different commissions and policy initiatives including the National Policy on Education 1986. As an insider of the system (Secretary, Ministry of HRD) his note provided various details on policy formulation, and planning. Amrik Singh's book *Redeeming Higher Education*⁴² is a collection of essays. It is not a policy study. He discussed some of the issues pertaining to the field of Higher Education, like the role of the UGC, restructuring of Universities, autonomy versus accountability, role of teachers, politicization, etc. His main thrust in conclusion, was on autonomy versus accountability. In conclusion he argues that in the Indian context, the issue should not be state control versus university autonomy, instead it should be autonomy versus accountability. This is not to suggest that Indian universities are not menaced by state intervention. He felt that a lack of accountability on the part of academic and administrative staff is responsible for the deterioration of standards. He says in theory almost every university is autonomous. Not in practice that it is not exactly autonomous because of and short of creating a new political ethos there is little that any one can do about it. Similar views are expressed by Suma Chitnis in an article titled *Some Dilemmas In Higher Education*.⁴³ She discusses how unplanned higher education without proper employment opportunities has led to the disaffection and alienation of students and teachers from the academic purpose of higher education. She also examines the rival claims of quality and equality in the context of reservation policy and growing corruption in educational system. She supported the promotion of private enterprise and voluntarism to promote higher education with certain regulatory devices.

There are some other studies which deal with education and educational policy from a broader political perspective. Some of these studies are Asian Drama by Gunnar Myrdal; Philip Altbach's paper "Servitude of Mind? Education, Dependency and Neo Colonialism"; J.P. Naik's work "Equality, Quality or Quantity" (an Exclusive Triangle Indian Education); J.B.G. Tilak's paper "Political Economy of Education"; All India

Save Education Committee's paper 'Towards a Peoples Policy on Education - An Alternative to National Policy on Education 1986'; Govinda and Mathews's paper 'What Went wrong with National policy on Education 1986'; Krishna Kumar's article 'Education Towards a Policy'; Satya Deva's article 'The New Education Policy'; Dinesh Kumar's article 'National Policy on Education-A Non-negotiable promissory note' and J.V. Deshpande's 'Towards a New Education Policy'.

In *Asian Drama* Gunnar Myrdal⁴⁴ says that there is a need for a radical change in the entire educational system. He treats education as an investment in Man. It has a crucial role to play in developing countries of South Asia, because people require rationalization of attitudes which are essential for modernization and development. He noticed the neglect of adult education and also observed expansion of the secondary and tertiary education faster than the primary education. He also noticed expansion unaccompanied by quality. He favoured a firmer governmental control (which is difficult in soft states) of educational institutions, recruiting properly qualified and properly motivated teachers, reforming the curricula etc. He also examined the inadequacy of funds for primary and secondary education.

Philip Altbach's essay *Servitude of Mind Education, Dependency colonialism*⁴⁵ analyzes the centre periphery relationship between industrialized nations and the third world countries. He observed the dependency of third world nations on the old colonial centers of power for expertise and many other artifacts of modern culture. He says that the impact of industrialized powers extends throughout the intellectual life of the third world nations. The organization of educational system from kindergarten to research institutes reflects western models. Indigenous patterns of education remains underdeveloped in almost all the third world nations, This created a kind of psychological dependency in which industrialized nations serve as an example of what is modern and by implication de-emphasize indigenous models. The educational system in the post independence era in most of the developing countries produced a small elite who exercised political and economic power as well as social status. The small elite of developing countries developed strong ties with the metropolitan nations and are inclined to accept the practices and advice from the centre as appropriate and look for their models for the development. The author advocated indigenous models of development for developing nations.

J.P. Naik's works on Indian education are quite instructive. They provide some deep insights into the various educational issues and problems. His works include A

students History of Education (along with Syed Nurullah), Education Commission and After, Education and Fourth Plan, Elementary Education A Promise to keep, Equality, Quality and Quantity I (an elusive triangle in Indian education) etc. The fifth book titled *Equality, Quality and Quantity - An Elusive Triangle in Indian Education* ⁴⁶ discusses the critical issues and also proposes what is to be done to ensure equality, quality and quantity in the Indian education. Some of the recommendations and reflections of J.P. Naik are similar to that of the Indian Education Commission. He pleaded for a change in the present system which has been founded on the basic values of liberalism, individualism and competitiveness. These values de-emphasize the larger social goals. He opposed the present formal education system which still function on the basic concepts evolved at the opening of the 19th century, a system of single point entry, sequential annual promotions and full time instruction of professional teachers. This has a definite middle class bias and is not helpful for the liberation of the masses or social transformation. He also stated that the so called quality supports the status quo and strengthens the position of well to do classes. The present system, according to him, is geared mainly to meet the needs of the class structure in power. He also lamented negligence of the non formal sector. He favoured institutionalization of the secondary and higher educational polices and called for more support to the poor for the successful functioning of the elementary education. He also pleaded the encouraging non formal sector to cover the vast populace.

Prof. J.B.G. Tilak's research paper '*The Political Economy of Education in India*' ⁴⁷ attempts a critical review of the achievements and failures of education and discusses the need for a pragmatic policy in financing education. He advocated discriminatory fee structure which generates more resources and at the same time ensures social justice.

He felt that there is a need for perspective (long term) plan for education. He felt that one of the main ills of the education system is the absence of long term plan. Statements of policy on massive vocationalization, large scale mechanization of the whole educational system, setting up of rural universities etc. exist no clear correspondence with educated unemployment, the skill requirements of the economy, the potential of self employment sector, the dangers of crossing tolerable limits of dependence on other countries for computers etc. The interdependence nature of education and other development sectors on each other on the one hand, and the diverse contribution of education to various sectors over a long period of time on the other necessitate formulation of a policy on education in a frame work of inter sectoral planning. He says policy formulation requires clear prioritization involving hard decision regarding crucial choices.

Apart from books, there are also articles published in social science journals which deal with issues that have bearing on educational policy and its formulation. Arun Kumar in his article '*Education Towards A Policy*'** says that the main agency involved in the formulation of this new policy is the bureaucracy. By undertaking this job, the bureaucracy is continuing the role assigned to it by colonial rule on the one hand, and the cultural stagnation of a caste divided society on the other. In the absence of a mass community seeking to define education according to its vision and needs, the bureaucracy in post colonial India adopted the job of educating the masses. Another social scientist Satya Deva in his article '*The New Education Policy*'⁴⁹ discussed the issues like equity Vs elitism, social relevance Vs individual interest, autonomy Vs control in the new educational policy. Dinesh Mohan in his article '*National Policy on Education A Non negotiable promissory Note*'⁵⁰ says no realistic options are given in the New Education Policy and there is nothing new in it. It is a promissory note of good intention which cannot be encashed. The policy also aims at increasing bureaucratization. '*Towards New Education Policy*'⁵¹ is another article written by J. V. Deshpande. He made some observations regarding how educational policy should be. He says that the country must first fulfill the national commitment enshrined in the constitution and ensure that free and compulsory elementary education indeed made a fact of life as early as possible. He advocated vocationalization of secondary education taking into account the economic and industrial development.

Sometimes movements also shape the public debate and tries to influence the formulation of a policy. The impact of the public opinion depends on the sensitivity of the government as well as the effectiveness of the public opinion. In this context the initiative of 'All India Save Education Committee' which was formed to fight against the present educational policy and suggest an alternative education policy, '*Towards A Peoples' Policy on Education An Alternative to National Policy on Education 1986*'⁵² is worth mentioning. This policy document opposes various aspects of the NPE 1986 like establishment of model schools, privatization of education, curtailment of higher education, de-linking degrees from jobs, de-politicization, lack of autonomy, negligence of universalization of elementary education, education to be in the concurrent list, inadequate allocation of financial resources etc. It suggested the immediate steps to universalize elementary education, allocating more resources, right to education and employment etc. In fact it presented its alternative views on all the aspects of education and educational policy.

Dr. Govinda and Mathew's article '*What went wrong with National Policy on Education*'?⁵³ states that social policy making in any system of governance is a political act, informed not necessarily by considerations arising out of empirical research, but by its own ideological framework. Commenting on the way the policy is formulated, the authors stated that the NPE 1986 is superimposed without considering the situational diversities of states constituting the Indian Union.

Scope and Methodology:

The present study tries to focus on the nature of policy formulation in India and it also examines the impact of the debate generated on the document '*Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective*'. For this purpose the researcher tries to examine the responses of the Union Government, three State Governments ruled by three different political parties (with an objective of having a comparative understanding) and the responses of the people concerned with education. The three State Governments selected for the study are, Uttar Pradesh (ruled by the Indian National Congress), West Bengal ruled by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its friendly allies; Andhra Pradesh ruled by a regional political party, the Telugu Desam (During 1985-86 Period). Since public policy formulation should also refer itself to the concerned communities, the researcher has examined whether the responses of these communities like academic community, students and teachers organizations, political parties and mass-media were taken into consideration by the government in policy formulation. Eliciting participation of the state governments and the concerned public is imperative for the legitimacy of any policy. The responses of the state governments and the opinion of public is considered as necessary input indispensable for having a better output i.e. policy. Political system requires this kind of participation and feedback from all quarters while evolving new policy initiatives if policy needs to be realistic.

For the purpose of the study the researcher depends mainly on the secondary data. The secondary data is collected from Government reports; policy documents, publications of research organizations, articles published in social sciences journals; national dailies, press reports; press statements; resolutions and reports of students and teachers organizations, political parties and proceedings of various seminars and conferences held during the 1985-86. The researcher also had the benefit of eliciting the views formally and informally the persons associated with policy formulation like officials in the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Planning commission, resource persons in National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration etc.

The researcher did not collect primary data through field work for three reasons i) since the present work seeks to characterize policy formulation at the national level, collecting the sample on all India basis is not possible for study of this type. ii) secondly, it did not effect the quality of research because the researcher has examined and studied carefully the responses of citizens, educational institutions, press, state governments compiled by National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA). NIEPA compiled the responses of the state governments, educational Institutions, press and the citizens based on the communications it received during 1985-86 and also proceedings of the National and regional seminars sponsored by the Ministry of Education and other agencies. The researcher also collected secondary data extensively from the national dailies, research journals, reports of various students and teachers organizations and political parties, proceedings of various national and regional levels seminars on the New Education Policy (iii) Finally, paucity of time, resources and distance are also responsible for not relying on primary data. However, it did not result as a major limitation either in research design or analysis.

Chapterisation :

The first chapter Introduction deals with the scope and importance of the study and methodology used. Provision of education for the people is recognized as one of the principle functions of the State. The intention of the present study is to find out how the welfare state performs the welfarist functions like provision of education to the people and the way the Indian state has been performing its role. The same is examined in the second chapter 'Welfare State and Education'. No policy can be seen without a historical perspective. Unless we know the past, it is difficult to understand the present and predict the future as well. Hence an attempt is made to analyze the change and continuity in the evolution of the educational policy in India from second millennium B.C. to the present in the third chapter 'Education policy in India'. Public policy as an important function of the state is assuming increasing significance in the developing countries where state has a positive and interventionist role in accelerating the socio-economic change. In this context providing education to the people and education as one of the principal public policy has acquired significance. The role of different agencies in policy formulation is analyzed in the fourth chapter 'Public Policy Formulation: Role of Different Agencies'. Quite strangely the policy makers released a document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' on the present state of education to provide the basis for the formulation

of a new policy. This was regarded as a radical departure from the past in the process of policy formulation in India. In the fifth chapter, 'Comparative Analysis of the Challenge of education - A Policy Perspective 1985' and 'National Policy on Education 1986' a comparative analysis of both the documents is made. This includes observations on the nature of debate and on the conditions that led to the formulation of the NPE 1986. (The details regarding the NPE 1986 and its Programme of Action (POA) is not covered by the present study since it deals with the formation of NPE 1986 only).

In the sixth chapter 'The Responses of State Governments on National Policy on Education 1986', the researcher analyzed the responses of the three state governments viz. Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh on the issues raised in the document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' in the context of formulation of NPE 1986. This is to supplement the responses of public, academicians, educational institutions, political parties, students and teachers organizations etc. Studying the impact it had made on policy formulations and on other aspects pertaining to the dynamics of policy formulation is important for the following reasons; a) the unorthodox exercise of the Union Government in releasing a document for public debate, b) non constitution of a commission to provide the guidelines and framework for the national policy c) and the present constitutional status of education in the division of powers between the Union and State governments. (Education being transferred to concurrent list through 42nd constitutional amendment in 1976.) The seventh chapter 'Public Opinion on National Policy on Education', analyzes the responses of press, professional bodies, educational institutions, political parties, students and teachers organizations and prominent persons associated with education and the press as expressed through diverse for a like newspapers, magazines, journals, seminars, proceedings of different organizations and so on and the impact it had made on the final policy. The eighth chapter *Conclusion* deals with the findings of the study.

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CHAPTER - II

WELFARE STATE AND EDUCATION

This chapter traces the emergence of Welfare State in India and discusses how the Indian state performs the welfarist functions with specific reference to education which is conceived as an important function of the modern state. For this purpose various educational objectives stated by various plans are examined. An attempt has also been made to understand the constraints and limitations of the functioning of Welfare state in general and Indian welfare state in particular.

Welfare state has been defined from different perspectives. Some treat it as an economic proposition. A few think that it is an institutional arrangement for the solution of poverty. It has also been interpreted as an uneasy compromise between individualism and collectivism.¹ If one has to talk about the actual origin of the welfare state, it is neither wholly inspired by capitalism nor by socialism.² It is a typical English product.³ In the United Kingdom the inadequacy of private charity, philanthropy and poor law to meet the pressing demands of the poor people who acquired the new voting power, and the increasing capacity of the public exchequer to meet certain basic services of the people resulted in the growth of the welfare state. Welfare state helps to the extent it is practicable, both in the formulation and solutions of the felt and publicized problems of the want in the backdrop of the widespread fear of an impending revolution. The rise of the trade union movement, political consciousness of the people, and the inadequacy of private charity added welfare and service functions to the administrative state.

In the beginning the business of the state was confined to law and order and physical security. The state was expected to protect each man's freedom to act as he chooses, provided he does not infringe upon the freedom of others.⁴ But welfare state has some additional functions to perform like looking after education, laying of roads, facilitating development of agriculture, industry in addition to law and order or protective functions, The writings of Bentham, J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, etc. indicated the importance given to these functions of the State⁵.

The political and economic conditions of the 19th century in Britain led to the creation of welfare state. Welfare state envisaged a society where political power was more widely distributed than economic power. State ownership and management of economic enterprise was not encouraged but the government's intervention was sought for checking undesirable monopoly, competition or exploitation. Besides, the state has legislated for one reason or another conferring benefits to classes that had failed in the

competitive struggle. To be specific it was not concerned with equality of incomes but only with the narrowing of class differences so that the needs of the scheduled groups are satisfied and their share in power as voters become meaningful.

It would be erroneous to compare welfare state with communist state. The analogy is wrong both in term and spirit. While communism signifies the culmination of class struggle,⁶ welfare- statism recognizes the coexistence of classes. It is only a continuum of harmony and accommodation and diverse sectional interests within the basic structure of capitalist economy and political democracy. It is founded on the practical assumption of a positive role of the state as a tool of society, a servant to be used to solve problems, that could not be otherwise solved by society alone.

It has been further argued that state emerged essentially as a coercive organization of the ruling classes and this basic element in the character of the state persists even today. But during the past century or so, the modern state has developed new models of domination as well. Overt and exclusively coercive methods (as mentioned earlier) do not suffice any longer and at any rate they have become increasingly expensive for the ruling classes. Hence the contemporary state is a responsive state as well; it responds to the demands for change and carries out reforms in the system. At the same time it has an elaborate process of legitimization in order to get the state power acceptable to the wider sections of the people.

In the 1930s, under the influence of post depression theories of Keynes, the capitalist state undertook significant economic role to generate demand and employment.⁷ Marxists argued that these services are largely necessitated by capitalist crisis. These services helped to make capitalism more efficient and productive, and on the other hand it acted as a form of social control mechanism, helping to maintain social peace and to legitimize capitalist dominance. Contrary to popular belief fostered by social democrats, Marxists with other radicals argued strongly that the welfare state has not altered the class structure of capitalism in any significant way and welfare state did not redistribute income from the rich to the poor. It is a form of horizontal distribution involving intra-class transfer of resources. In short, the welfare state is not a socialist measure.⁸ The welfare state assumes no conflict between the individual good and the common good but conceives the common good as contribution to the growth of individual personality. Democracy in this sense sought to confirm to the principle of welfare by harmonizing individual welfare into a pattern of general welfare in a way that the latter did not become

qualitatively different from the former. In a nutshell, it is (he application of a collectivist method for the individualistic aims of laissez faire.

The welfare state typifies a modified capitalism or humanized capitalism. Here exploitation is not direct and naked. State becomes an instrument of showering benefits like profit sharing, housing, health care, legal aid and free schooling etc.

It has been argued that welfare state in India assumes qualitatively, a new form from the Western model. The resources at the disposal of the state are less and people who are dependent on the services of the state are more. At the same time the social contradictions are so sharp that urgent social economic reforms are needed for the existence of the state. Land reforms, development of public sector, efforts to provide free and compulsory education to the children below the 14 years of age, and various concessions to the working class as well as weaker sections are some of the glaring examples of the responsive role of the contemporary state. This role is expressed through various public policies. These are not mere superficial measures but necessarily substantive ones, because without these changes, the capitalist state would find itself difficult to survive. These policies however do not replace the contradictions which threaten to affect the domination of the ruling class, the coercive instruments freely intervene.⁹

The anxiety of the ruling class for legitimacy is as acute as their need for control over instruments of coercion. After the growth of the workers movement, with the introduction of universal franchise, the ruling class has all the more felt the necessity of legitimizing its own existence. Through a variety of institutions like Parliament, judiciary, media, education etc., the ruling class conveys to the people that these institutions are open to all and hence the state truly represents the interests of all sections of the society. The process of injection of such beliefs in the minds of common people is done very sophisticatedly. The ideological hegemony is established through various democratic processes like elections, and other socializing agencies like press, government and socialization process.

The role of the state in the developing countries is qualitatively different from that of developed countries. Due to the peculiarities of developing counties like India, the state has to intervene in various public utility services and state planning acquires a considerable significance.

The welfare component of the Indian state will be explicitly known by its various constitutional provisions enshrined in the Constitution and through planning. (Because the present chapter is concerned with education, some constitutional provisions about education are mentioned here. Later a review of educational planning in various plans is presented).

Article 45 under the Directive Principles of State Policy deals with provision of free and compulsory education for children.¹⁰ Articles 15, 16, 17 deal with right to equality and, equal opportunities in public employment.¹¹ Article 29 deals with protection of cultural and educational rights of minorities.¹² Article 46 deals with promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other weaker sections.¹³

The welfare component of the Indian state will be explicitly known through its planning. The necessity of planning arose because of the following factors. 1. Some of the basic defects of capitalism have drawn attention to the fact that unless a free enterprise economy is regulated and controlled, it would not ensure stable economic growth. This obviously means that free enterprise economy has to be planned and guided by an agency in order to attain the best results. 2. Experience gained by governments in the economic field during the period of wars enhanced the popularity of economic planning. 3. Remarkable achievements of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia through economic planning also attracted public attention. 4. After the second world war, a keen desire to develop quickly was increasingly felt in the developing countries and this desire made it necessary to have state intervention as well as planning for development.¹⁴

Gunnar Myrdal believes that the basic principle in the ideology of economic planning is that the state shall take an active, indeed the decisive role in the economy, by its own acts of investment and enterprise and by its various controls, inducements and restrictions over the private sector, the state shall initiate, spur and steer economic development. "These policy measures shall be rationally coordinated and coordination be made explicit in an over all plan for specific number of years ahead"¹⁵. He says that the whole ideology of planning in all its manifestation is thus essentially rationalist in approach and interventionist in conclusions". In this context he also talked of circular causation the need to improve levels of nutrition, housing, health, education and general culture to break up the rigidities of social stratification; to equalize opportunities and increase social mobility; to make local and sectional community organization; to extend and intensify participation by the people in such communities as well as in the national community;

and to base that participation on more rational considerations of their true interest.¹⁶ Otherwise these undesirable conditions act as obstacles to economic development.

The Indian state adopted planning for development for which it has set up the Planning Commission. The First Five Year Plan states “the central objective of planning in India is to raise the standards of living of the people and to open opportunities for a richer and more varied life. Planning must therefore, aim both at utilizing more effectively the resources, human and material available to the community so as to obtain from them a larger output of goods and services and also at reducing inequalities of income, wealth and opportunity.”¹⁷ Planning is democratic and its approach is defined in the Directive Principles of State policy also. Article 38 (part iv) says, . The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life. 2. The state shall, in particular strive to minimize the inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations. Article 39 says that certain principles of policy to be followed by the state, the state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing -

- a. that the citizens men and women equally, have the right to have an adequate means of livelihood;
- b. that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- c. that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;
- d. that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;
- e. that the health and strength of workers, men and women and (the tender age of children are not abused and the citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.
- f. that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.¹⁸

Apart from Article 39, Articles 40 to 48 in Part IV of the Constitution also reveal the role of Indian state in promoting the welfare of the people and it is the duty of the state to make necessary laws for the effective implementation.¹⁹

The significance given to planning became clear with the pronouncements made by our leaders. For instance late Prime Minister Smt. Gandhi said “planning in our country is a charter of orderly progress, it strengthens the social and economic fabric of the country as a whole and of the different regions and states, and is a powerful contribution to the goal of “National Integration”.”²⁰

From time to time, the Indian Government sets goals for national development, and for this it uses planning as a principal tool. The parliament declared as early as in December, 1954, that “the broad objective of economic policy should be to achieve the socialistic pattern of society”. It further said that this is possible only through planning. The basic objective of planning is "providing sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions for the masses".

Apart from the basic thrust, the Planning Commission has formulated certain educational targets and aims.

The first Five Year plan 1951-56 considered certain educational targets and aims.²¹ These are i) Re-organization of the educational system and integration of its different stages and branches. ii). Expansion in various fields, especially in areas of basic, technical and vocational education iii) Consideration of the existing secondary and university education and the creation of a system of higher education suited to the needs of rural areas. iv) Expansion of facilities for women's education, especially for the basic schools and attempting to provide equal opportunities all over the country.

The Second Five Year Plan recognized the determinant influence of education on the rate of economic development. It laid emphasis on (a) basic education (b) expansion of elementary education (c) diversification of curricula at the secondary level (d) improvement of the standard of education at the college and university level (e) development of professional and technical education (f) development of social education and cultural programme.²²

Educational planning in the Third Five Year Plan stated that in the field of general education, as distinguished from technical education, the government laid major emphasis on the provision of facilities for education of all children in the age group of 6 to 11 . The emphasis is also on extension and improvement of teaching of science at the secondary

and university stages, development of vocational and technical education at all levels, expansion and improvement of facilities for the teachers to teach at each stage of education, education of girls, and substantial reduction in existing disparities in levels of development in education between boys and girls. All elementary schools were to be organized according to the basic pattern. Reorganization of university education along the line of third year degree course was to be completed, and facilities for post graduate studies and research work was to be further expanded and improved.²³

During the Third Plan , NCERT was constituted (in 1962) for improving the quality at the school level. Soon after, NCERT conducted an educational survey in 1965-66. Greater emphasis was laid on science education during the Third Plan,

The Fourth Plan attempted to face three major tasks in the field of education : ²⁴ a) Removal of deficiencies in the existing educational system and linking it more effectively with the increasing demand of social and economic development. b) Removal of internal stresses and strains in the educational system which had developed as a consequence of rapid extension during the first three plans and c) Extension of the system *in* response to social urges and economic needs to give priority to the training of technical personnel.

It is observed that the ambiguity of approach, vagueness of objectives and inconsistent priorities could not provide a clear cut theoretical background for methodology of planning. Commenting on the educational planning , J.P. Naik in his book "Education in Fourth Plan", comments that "It is a pity that we did not make full use of opportunities that we had in the last eighteen years. It would not have mattered very much if we had not adopted planning in education in 1950".

The Fifth Five Year plan 1974-79 emphasized four issues in educational development. These are;²⁵

- 1 Equalization of educational opportunities for social justice.
- 2 Coordination between various educational levels with employment and economic development.
- 3 Quality improvement
- 4 Co-operation of intelligentsia, including students , in social and economic development. It also stressed on professionalization of education at secondary level and reorganization of curricula.

The Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85 emphasized eradication of illiteracy, universal primary education, and introduction of job orientation. There is greater emphasis on the expansion of primary and secondary education and adult education. The emphasis is on the development and consolidation of facilities within the existing higher educational institutions and also on organizing an information system for technical manpower.²⁶

In all the previous Five Year Plans, education was considered as a social service, rather than an input in the development process. P.N. Haksar says that "Unless we get rid of the idea that education is some kind of social service performed by the welfare state, and substitute it with the idea that education is the most critical input into the entire process of social, economic, political and cultural transformation of India, the so called educational reforms would predictably produce explosive social tensions in our country",

It seems there is an apparent change in emphasis from the Sixth Five Year Plan onwards. Education as an instrument for the development of human resources is now considered to be pivotal in the social and economic development of the country. The approach paper to the Seventh Five Year Plan for education has recognized that the existing education system requires certain radical changes.²⁸

The Seventh Five Year Plan assigned Human Resources Development in the development strategy. It suggested a new design of education, which is flexible, varying, relevant and linked to widely diverse local cultures and social environments. The emphasis has been laid on innovation, on low cost alternatives and social involvement, all aimed at linking education effectively to the needs of pupil to employment and to development. The major programmes in the Seventh Plan for education are:²⁹

- a. Universal elementary education by 1990;
- b. Eradication of illiteracy in age group of 15-35;
- c. Qualitative improvements and reorientation of education at all stages, with special emphasis on vocationalisation of higher secondary education, improvements in science and technology at secondary stage, improvements in the standards of education, restructuring courses in higher education, extension of applied research facilities at University stage; and,
- d. Modernizing technical education.

All these proposals are reflected in the New Education Policy. This reveals the fact

that policy makers are very much aware of about the educational policy that is going to be formulated.

It is recognized that the contemporary State is the combination of coercive, responsive and legitimate components. It has its critics and supporters. Though there are constraints and limitations on the role of the state in providing various welfare functions, focus should be on how best one can administer the present state with effective allocation, proper planning and improving the bureaucracy etc.

The State should take an active role in providing education to the people, in developing countries like India, to break the rigidities of social stratification, to equalize opportunities and to ensure development. This calls for the formulation of a realistic public policy in the field of education. It depends on how the State identifies the diversified needs of the different sections of the public (public in India is not a homogeneous category), It also depends on how the State synchronizes the varied needs of the different sections of the public. In this context the state initiating the public debate on different aspects of the present educational system for the formulation of a new educational policy acquired significance. This initiative on the part of the State is considered to be important for two reasons i) Public debate provides the necessary inputs in the form of various alternatives for the political system ii) It also provides legitimacy to the political system to formulate a new policy.

In the Indian context, formulation of different educational policies, based on the recommendations of different commissions constituted by the government, came as a response to the changes in the socio-economic and political environment. Whereas the National Policy on Education (NPE 1986) was formulated by the government (without constituting a commission) based on a public debate only. Subsequent chapters discuss the evolution of educational policy in India, the role of multiple agencies in the formulation of the educational policy, the comparative analysis of the document 'Challenge of Education : A Policy Perspective 1985' and the NPE 1986, the responses of the state governments and public on the NPE 1986.

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CHAPTER - III

EVOLUTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA

The development of education is a continuum, which gathers its past history into a living stream, flowing through the present into the future. It is essential to see the historical background of educational development to understand the present and visualize the future. Hence the present Chapter aims to briefly look at educational developments from the ancient 2nd millennium BC to the modern period.

The development of the education system in India can be broadly divided into three stages

1. Pre British period
2. British period
3. Post Independence period.

While discussing about the pre- British period, a brief attempt has been made to see the evolution of education from the 2nd millennium BC up to the Muslim invasions. Focus is made on the character of education, the role of state (king), religious heads, institutions and people, and its accessibility to the larger community.

Education in Indian Classical Cultures — Ancient Period :

India is one of the ancient civilizations of the world. About the 2nd millennium B.C. the Aryans entered the land and came into conflict with the 'dasas'. The non-Aryan tribes dominated them in all spheres. In the course of time, this led to the emergence of 'Chaturvarna' (four varnas) system in which 'dasas' were absorbed as 'sudras' or domestic servants. By about 500 B.C. the classes became hardened into castes. This was a typical hierarchical society. In it religion played a vital role. It even influenced education. The study of Vedic literature was indispensable to higher castes.

The stages of instruction were very well defined - up to the age of seven at home, from eight to 16 at school and then at a university. During the first period, the child received primary education at home. Formal schooling, however, began with a ritual known as 'Upanayana' or thread ceremony, which was more or less compulsory for the three higher castes (at a later stage it was exclusively confined to the Brahmins). The ceremony marked the beginning of secondary education. Then the boy would stay at the preceptor's 'ashrama' or house. Study at this stage consisted of the recitation of the 'Vedic mantras' or hymns and the auxiliary sciences, phonetics, grammar, astronomy, prosody and etymology. The important point to note here was that the character of

education differed according to the needs of the caste. For a boy of the priestly class, there was a definite syllabus of studies. The 'trividyā' or the knowledge of the 'vedas' was obligatory for him. The period of studentship normally extended to 12 years. Those who wanted to continue their studies joined a higher center of learning or a university presided over by a 'Kulapathi' (founder of a school of thought). Advanced students would improve their knowledge by taking part in philosophical discussions at a 'Parishad' or academy. Some historians speculate that these centers mark the genesis of 'university education'. Education was not denied to women in principle but normally girls were instructed at home. The method of instruction differed according to the nature of the subject. The first duty of the student was to learn by heart the particular veda of his school. Every word and line of the text had to be learned from the lips of the teachers, and so correct pronunciation was stressed. In the study of such literary subjects as law, logic, rituals and prosody, comprehension played a very important role. The third method was the use of similitudes. They used to tell a fable or story to illustrate some doctrine. This was usually employed in the personal spiritual teaching relating to the 'Upanishads', or conclusions or 'Vedas.' Dialogical method or catechism which was a compendious system of teaching drawn up in the form of questions and answers, or discoursing was the method in higher learning or the teaching of "Sastras" (sciences). Memorization also played a significant role.

The exclusiveness and formalism of the Brahmanic system by the end of 6th century B.C., and discarding the right of the 'Upanayana' to other castes antagonized the other larger sections. This led to the emergence of two new religious orders: Buddhism and Jainism. Mahavira and Buddha did not recognize the supremacy of 'Vedas'. They imparted education in the common language of the people irrespective of caste, creed or sex. It was a mark of development.

Another important mark of development in the history of education in India, was the establishment of the imperial Nanda dynasty in 413 B.C. Afterwards a stronger Mauryan dynasty, shook the very foundations of the Vedic structure of life, culture and polity. There were changes in the hierarchical structure of society and in its occupational rigidity. This produced changes even in education. Schools were established in growing towns and students were chosen freely, not according to caste, and teachers admitted students of all castes. During this period Takshashila (which was a great centre of learning,) acquired international reputation. This institution included special institutions of law, medicine and military science.

The 500 years from the 4th century A.D. to the close of the 8th, under the Guptas, Harsha, and their successors is a remarkable period in the history of education in India, during which the universities of Nalanda and Valabhi were established and there was significant advancement in the field of Indian sciences, mathematics and astronomy. The other great centers of Buddhist learning in the post Gupta era were Vikramasila, Odantupuri and Jagaddala.

Development prior to Muslim invasions began in the 10th century. Nearly every village had its schoolmaster, who was supported by local contributions. The Hindu schools of learning, known as 'Pathasalas' in Western India and 'Tolos' in Bengal, were conducted by Brahmin acharyas at their residences. Each imparted instruction in an advanced branch of learning. Larger or smaller establishments, specially endowed by 'rajas' and the other donors for the promotion of learning, also grew in number. The usual centers of learning were either some king's capital such as Kanauj, Dhar, Mithila, or Ujayani, or a holy place, such as Varanasi, Ayodhya, Kanchi or Nasik. In addition to Buddhist Viharas (monasteries), there sprang up Hindu 'maths' (monk's residences) and temple colleges, and 'agrahara' villages (where spiritual and pedagogic functions are performed by learned Brahmins) in different parts of the country. It is noticed that the growth of temples in India was an indication of growth of education. This is because religion dominated education. It should be noted that girls were usually educated at home and vocational education was imparted through a system of apprenticeship.

Indian society at the end of the 18th century was essentially a feudal society. It was stratified, hierarchical and inegalitarian. There was a small group of well to do persons at the top consisting of feudal overlords and their dependents and supporters, the higher castes, cultivators of large tracts of good land, traders, merchants, and money lenders. The bulk of the population was underprivileged and poor. Few women could rise to the highest positions in society. The scheduled castes and who were treated as untouchables, and scheduled tribes who were not integrated into the mainstream of the society, turned into the lowliest, the poorest and the most exploited groups. The socio economic background of the society is itself reflected in the educational policy.

The princely governments of the day did not accept any responsibility for the education of the people and all their educational effort was limited to the provision of some financial support to learned persons and institutions of higher learning mainly on

religious considerations. These institutions were administered by a small priestly class, in which some elementary education was also imparted, to the well off sections. The principal means of education was non-formal. It was vocational in character and students generally obtained it working at the family occupation. The girls did not go to schools. They learnt the art of home making, child rearing and participation (where necessary) through an apprenticeship in the family. It was social status that determined an individual's access to education, as well as its type and extent, rather than vice versa. The objective of the system was not to promote vertical mobility but to educate individuals to their pre determined status in society. J.P. Naik pointed out the elitist nature of education and the nature of its exploitation, while saying that the educational system also made a distinction between intellectuals who did not work with their hands but received formal education and workers who produced wealth with the sweat of their brow but were not supposed to be in need of formal education. This created two classes i.e. the exploiters and the exploited. Unfortunately education became a negation of social justice.

At the beginning of 19th century, the following were two types of indigenous Indian educational institutions- 'schools of learning' which more or less can be equated with colleges of modern type. i.e. a) Pathasala of the Hindus and the b) Madrassahas of the Muslims, and elementary schools which were again of two types i.e. a) Persian Schools, b) schools teaching through modern Indian language .

Both the Pathasalas of the Hindus and the Madrassahas of the Muslims, received assistance from rulers, chieftains, and opulent or religious citizens. They were medieval in character, used a classical language (Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian) as the medium of instruction, and imparted thought on traditional lines. Generally these institutions were attached to a temple or mosque. The State had nothing to do with the governance of these institutions. The chief objective of these institutions was to produce 'Moulvis' or 'Pandits'. These institutions were replicas of conservatism, obsolete ideals and methods of instruction. Elementary schools were the main agencies for spreading of mass education namely the three 'R's. These institutions were for fulfilling the mundane requirements of the petty Zamindars, Banias and well to do farmers. A small number of girls of upper classes and children of these communities formed the large majority

The merits of this system were its adaptability to local environment and the vitality and popularity it had earned, by centuries of existence under a variety of economic

conditions. The narrow curriculum, traditional methods of instruction, exclusion of girls and poor students were some of the defects of these institutions.

The decay of indigenous Indian Education started with the advent of the British. The colonial interests of the British shaped the then educational policies of India.

Education under British Rule:

As it was mentioned earlier the development of education system during the British period was determined by the needs of the colonial powers. The end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century was the period of consolidation of industrial > %x capital in Europe and England. Corresponding to this, the emerging intellectual opinion argued for the spread of English language and culture in the colonies. The Utilitarians, Evangelists and Liberals from their own stand point of view, favored the spread of English Education. The debate between the Anglicists and the Orientalists with regard to India was finally clinched with Lord Bentick asking Thomas Babington Macaulay for his opinion. In his famous note of February 2, 1835, Macaulay noted that selective natives must be educated "as interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes and opinion, in morals and intellect".

Before the intervention of the British Government, the Christian missionaries spread education. Then the East India Company was compelled to do something for the spread of education. Enlightened Englishmen, enlightened Indian intellectuals, movements like Araya Samaj and Muslim reform movements also worked for the spread of education.

A month after Macaulay's note, Bentick ruled that "the great objective of the British Government was, henceforth, the promotion of European literature and science. All funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on education alone". There were at least three important reasons that had significant bearing on the ruling of Bentick. The first was the increasing opinion and the recognition of the fact that the British could derive political benefit from English education. Amongst others who held this opinion, was Charles E. Trevelyan who in 1838, notes that "the spirit of English literature cannot but be favorable to the English connection" and argued that this would stop Indians from treating Britishers as foreigners and make them, "intelligent and zealous co-operators"

Secondly, the framing of the education policy was guided by the practical administrative needs of the colonialists. At the time of passing the 1833 Charter Act, the East India Company was in serious financial difficulties, one method suggested was to cut down expenditures on European employees and instead employ Indians at much lower salaries. The 1833 Charter opened the lower order Civil Service jobs to Indians. But this required English educated clerks. Hence the policy of 1835,

Thirdly, English education was also seen as an important basis for expanding the British market in India by reining English values and tastes. As Macaulay noted "but wearing our broad cloth and working with our cutlery, they should not be too ignorant or too poor to value and buy English manufactures". Macaulay's note, Bentick's ruling and the establishment and growth of English education in India was an expression of the direct needs of the ruling colonial power. The education system in India, a legacy that continues till date, originates not because of any individual opinion but because of the contemporary needs of the Government.

In 1837, English replaced Persian as the official and court language, and in 1844 Hardinge announced preference for English educated Indians in the Civil Service. These two steps effectively sealed any growth of education other than English education.

The pursuance of these needs and the consequent rise in demand for English education, led to the forward of the despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, which was popularly known as "Woods Despatch". This recommended the setting up of the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras which were established in 1857. The recommendations reflected the needs of the ruling colonial powers to train a section of upper classes in higher education, and set up the administrative structure for education, which continues till date,

The following five decades saw a rapid expansion of educational institutions. At the turn of the century, confidential and semi confidential circulars were being issued to local authorities to curtail Government grants to universities and colleges because British officers saw a direct link between English education and rise of the Indian nationalism. Following the murder of an officer at Poona, Lord Hamilton, Secretary of State wrote to Lord Curzon, "it is impossible to dissociate their ideas and their hatred of England from the course of education and training through which they have passed"

Consequently, Lord Curzon proceeded to initiate steps for reforming the education system in order to curb the growth of nationalism. The Commission of 1902, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Raleigh, and the Act of 1904 recommended various measures curtailing the growth of education and changing the composition of university administrative structure.

The education system, which the British had worked out to consolidate their rule, within four decades, produced results contrary to their expectations. The Curzon reforms reflected the fact that necessary changes had to be made corresponding to the needs of the ruling classes. This is only a brief description of official British educational policy in India. Now a brief mention is made about the efforts of some enlightened men and missionaries, to have a clear picture of the total educational development during this period.

After the establishment of British rule in India, some of the English intellectuals like J. Duncan and William Jones were attracted by Indian literature. The result was the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, Sanskrit College in 1791 and the starting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in November 1804. People like Charles Grant, Lord Minto and some Christian missionaries had endeavored to establish English Schools before 1813. But the efforts of these people were not fruitful. The first attempts made by Europeans to impart education in India were the results of private benevolence and enterprise, and that too not to natives but to Christian children.

There was a lot of political unrest in universities. This was in fact an expression of the rising class the Indian bourgeoisie, and its aspirations. The Indian National Congress at its sessions of 1902, 1903 and 1904 adopted special resolutions condemning the Raleigh Commission. Indians on the senates took up the issue and Surendranath Banerjee and Gopal Krishna Gokhale led protests in the streets.

The conflict between the contending classes found expression in the field of education. Jamshedji Tata visualized the need for scientific and technical manpower necessary for the development of independent capitalism, worked out a scheme for a research institute which culminated in the establishment of the Indian Institute of Sciences in Bangalore in 1909. The leaders of the Swadeshi movement started the Jodavpur Engineering College in 1907. Prior to this, the Victoria Jubilee Technical School was

established in 1887 and in 1904 an association was formed in Calcutta to send Indians to U.K., U.S.A., and Japan for higher studies in science. In 1906, the British turned down the proposal of the Madras Provincial Government for a Department of Industries and in 1911 rejected a bill moved by Gokhale for free and compulsory education.

The debates in educational policy reflected the clash of interest between the British and Indian bourgeoisie. While the former attempted to restrict education and impose a control with a view to stop students from taking active part in politics, the latter saw the advantages of expansion of higher education as strengthening the national movement and providing the human resources for the development of capitalism in Independent India.

Education since Independence:

After the Sargent Commission, there were no major commissions or reports in the British period. Even the Sargent Commission's Report did not see the light of the day. Following the transfer of power, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) decided to set up two Commissions one to deal with university education and the other to deal with secondary education, recognizing the fact that the requirements of independent India would be different, and hence a restructuring of the system was imminent.

This decision came at a time, when the promises made to the people in the field of education during the freedom struggle, were to be implemented. Free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 was being debated in the Constituent Assembly, which ultimately found expression in the Directive Principles of state policy. The scheme that seems to have been worked out was that universal elementary education would be achieved by 1960, and necessary changes in the secondary as well as higher education would have to be made in accordance with the needs of an independent India.

University Education Commission 1948:

The first Commission to be appointed was the University Education Commission in 1948, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishna, to report on Indian University Education and suggest improvements and extensions that would be desirable to suit the present and future requirements of the country.

The Commission, which produced a comprehensive and voluminous report, got for

itself the task of reorienting the education system to face the “great problem, national and social, the acquisition of economic independence, the increase of general prosperity, the attainment of effective democracy, overriding the distinctions of caste and creed, rich and poor, and a rise in the level of culture. For a quick and effective realization of these aims, education is a powerful weapon if it is organized efficiently and in public interest. As we claim to be civilized people, we must regard the higher education of the rising generations as one of our principal concerns”

Implicit in this was the task that was, also repeatedly stated by Nehru, that the achievement of political independence must be transferred into economic independence.

The essential tasks of this Commission were in correspondence to the class needs i.e., to orient the educational system towards achieving economic independence and attainment of values to ensure an effective democracy .

Towards this end, the report of the Commission discussed the re orientation of higher education in relation to the five basic tenets of our constitution Democracy, Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The idea of the report was to mold “the education system as an ideological support to parliamentary democracy”.

On the question of economic independence, the report noted that, “There is an urgent need of technicians and for such occupations and skills all over the country, which will train a large growing body of ambitious youth for employment as technicians, in various existing industries. We are strongly of the opinion that each province should have a large number of occupational institutes, preferably one in each district, giving training in as many occupations as possible.

Secondary Education Commission (1952):

The recommendations of Dr. Radhakrishnan were reinforced by the Secondary Education Commission appointed in September 1952 with Dr. L.S. Mudiliar as Chairman. The report was submitted to the first Parliament in 1953.

Reflecting the needs of the ruling classes, the report in the chapter, Reorientation of Aims and Objectives, notes that one of the (India's) most urgent problems is to improve

productive efficiency to increase the national wealth, and thereby to raise appreciably the standard of living of the people. The report went on to recommend the setting up of technical schools, polytechnics, strengthening multi purpose education, central technical institutions etc., in fact the infrastructure that would procure a large technical manpower. Establishment of multi-purpose schools was a major contribution of this Commission.

Education Commission (D.S. Kothari) 1964-66 :

After the appointment of Mudliar Commission, to deal with all aspects and sectors of education and to advise Government on the evolution of a National System of Education for the country, the Education Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of D.S. Kothari. Based on this Commission's report, the National Policy on Education 1968 was formulated.

The Basic Approach:

This Commission reviewed the development of education in India in the modern period and particularly since Independence and came to the conclusion that Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution, to realize the Constitutional goals and to meet the various problems facing the country in different sectors. This comprehensive reconstruction, said the Commission, has three main aspects

1. Internal transformation
2. Qualitative improvement
3. Expansion of educational facilities

Internal Transformation:

In the opinion of the Commission, "no reform is more important or more urgent than to transform education to endeavor to relate it to the life, needs and aspiration of the people". This is extremely significant because it is only such a transformation that can make education a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realization of our national goals. It is also urgent and has to be accorded priority over expansion because the greater the expansion of the traditional system of education, the more difficult and costly it becomes, to change its character.

The Commission has emphasized the following ten programmes to bring about this transformation :

1. Science Education:

Science Education should be made an integral part of all school education. Its teaching at the University stages should be improved and special emphasis should be laid on the development of scientific research.

2. Work Experience:

Work experience should be made an integral part of all general education. It should be oriented to technology, industrialization and the application of science to the production process including agriculture.

3. Vocational Education:

Vocational education should be emphasized, particularly at the secondary stage. At the lower secondary stage (age group 11 - 16) vocational education should ultimately be provided to about 20 percent of the enrollment. At the higher secondary stage (age group 17 - 18) such enrollment should be increased to 50 percent. In higher education, about one-third of the total enrollment may be in vocational courses. In particular, it is essential to emphasize the development of education and research in agriculture.

4. The Common School:

A common school system of Public Education which would provide equality of access to children from all social strata, and which would be adequate in quantity and quality was proposed.

5. Social and National Service:

Some form of Social Service should be obligatory on students of all ages.

6. Language Policy:

In the development of all modern languages as the medium of instruction and for the administration in the respective states. Hindi as both official and link language and English and Russian as library languages. It further said that the three language formula should be modified; only the mother tongue should be compulsory at the lower primary stage, a second language should be added at the higher primary stage either Hindi or English, at the lower secondary stage, all the three languages should be studied mother tongue, Hindi (or a modern Indian Language in Hindi areas) and English; any two of these languages should be compulsory at the higher secondary stage and no language should be compulsory at the University stage.

7. Promotion of National Unity:

Curricula should promote National Unity and consciousness and international understanding.

8. Elasticity and Dynamics:

It observed rigidity and uniformity in the existing system. It suggested change in curricula, teaching methods and a large programme of in-service education for teachers and educational administrators.

Apart from full time education, part-time and own time educational programmes should be encouraged.

The education system should emphasize the development of fundamental social, moral and spiritual values. There should also be some provision, in a multi-religious, democratic society like that of India, for giving some instruction about the different religions.

9. Qualitative Improvement:

The Commission has emphasized the need for dynamic and evolving standards of education. For this purpose the Commission has recommended the adoption of the following measures.

1. Utilization of Facilities:

It suggested increasing the number of working days, lengthening the duration of the working day, proper use of vacations and creating a climate of sustained and dedicated work.

2. Reorganization of Educational structure and Teachers status and Education:

It recommended the 10+2+3 pattern and recommended substantial improvement in remuneration of teachers particularly at the school stage and the gap in the remuneration of teachers at different stages of education was proposed to be abridged.

3. The Commission recommended drastic changes in curricula, teaching methods and evaluation, with the scope for elasticity and dynamism. It proposed autonomous colleges and experimental schools which would be free from the shackles of external

4. Selective Development:

In view of the scarcity of money, material and men it advised the selective development of institutions. At the university stage, about five or six universities should be selected for intensive development, by locating clusters of centers of advanced study in them, and should be helped to reach internationally comparable standards.

Expansion of Educational Facilities:

The Education Commission at all stages, has recommended expansion of education facilities, but more priority was given for internal transformation and qualitative improvement. The following programmes were recommended:

1. Adult Literacy :

A part-time course of about one year's duration should be conducted for all children in the age group of 1-14 who have not attended school or left it before attaining literacy.

2. Primary Education :

Good and effective primary education should be provided to all children. The objective of the educational policy should be to provide five years of such education by 1975 and seven years of such education by 1985:

3. Secondary and Higher Education :

This should be expanded on a selective basis and the output of educational institutions should be broadly related to manpower needs or employment opportunities.

It is criticized that the Commission did not give a clear picture of “development”, that is, of the future society we should strive to create in the country, and the steps to be taken to create it. It is further argued that while the Commission did prepare a fairly good blueprint of the national system of education, its report did not highlight the close links between education and society. Nor did it elucidate how the dialectical process of education leads, to a strengthening and perpetuation of status quo, and to social change and development.

The report was in fact a reflection of the social and political expression of the economic crisis of the period. On the one hand it made recommendations that reflected the democratic aspirations of the Indian masses regarding free and compulsory education, increasing financial out-lays for education etc., and on the other recommendations leading to the restriction of higher education.

The Policy Resolution, following the submission of the report, was adopted in 1968,

at the time when the economic crisis arising out of the capitalist path of development was finding sharp political expression. The Education Policy Resolution of 1968 in fact has very little to do with overall recommendations, of the Kothari Commission. The following six recommendations of the Commission were picked up by the goven: uent and intensive efforts were made to implement them:

1. Use of regional language as medium of instruction at the university stage.
2. Non-formal education.
3. Education for the people i.e., Elementary and Adult Education.
4. The Common School System.
5. 10+2+3 Pattern.
6. Teachers salaries.

The proposals like new priorities in educational development, differential systems of grants in aid, continuance of education as a subject in state list etc., attracted wide attention but were not implemented.

I). Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee 1969 :

In relation to governance, the government found the Kothari Commission lacking in many respects and appointed this Commission in 1969. The recommendations of this commission regarding the appointment of Vice Chancellors, structure and composition of university grants etc. which gave the state a greater control over the administration of higher education, corresponded to the ruling classes interest and hence was implemented.

The increasing general drive towards authoritarianism in the country, by the ruling class and its government, penetrated even the field of education. Also recognizing the *need* to effectively control education and educational institutions, one of the 'najor developments carried, was the Constitutional amendment during the Emergency to remove education from the state list and place it in the concurrent list.

The formation of the Janata Government, after the defeat of the Congress in the 1977 elections, saw another attempt at tailoring the educational system with the Draft Education Policy of 1979. This emphasized among other things non-formal education, giving the Gandhian model as the ideological support to its argument. With the early fall of the Janata Party, this education policy was not adopted by the government successfully.

An attempt to study various aspects dealt by the Draft National Policy of Education (1979) is important, since it is the only policy at the cent**, which was framed by a political party other than Congress, even though it survived for a short period.

Draft National Policy on Education (1979) :

The Draft National Policy on Education 1979 states that an ideal system of education should enable individuals to know and develop to the fullest their physical and intellectual potentialities, and promote their awareness of social and human values, so that they can develop a strong character, live better lives and function as responsible members of the society. It should strengthen values of democracy, secularism and socialism. Education should promote national unity, pride and cultural heritage, and faith in the country's future. The effort must be to inculcate scientific and moral values and facilitate the pursuit of knowledge.

The impact of Gandhiji's "Basic Education" was very much there on the Draft National Policy 1979. It talked about moral education and socially useful productive work as part of education. It said that the content of education at all levels needs to be recast so as to make the educational process functional in relation to the felt needs and potentialities of the people". It should bridge the gulf between educated classes and masses and overcome feelings of superiority, inferiority and alienation.

Regarding elementary education, it proposed universal elementary education up to the age of 14, as laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution, to be achieved through formal and non-formal methods. At the elementary stage the curriculum must be capable of catering to the requirements of a wide range of learners and learning circumstances and built around local situations. Incentives such as mid-day meals free textbooks, and uniforms should be provided to poor pupils. Special attention should be given to the education of girls and children of scheduled castes and tribes. It proposed the common school system. The main feature of it was the neighborhood school plan to promote common interests and social integration apart from providing quality education.

Much emphasis was laid on Adult Education, which the policy treated as an integral part of the Revised Minimum Needs Programme (RMNP). It is aimed at not only acquisition of literacy and numeracy, but also functional development and social awareness with a view to cultivating the habit of self-education.

Secondary Education :

It suggested improving the quality of secondary education to enable a student to enter life with self-reliance and confidence. At this stage diversification of education programmes is desirable. Secondary education should be comprehensive both to be

terminal, for those who do not want or cannot proceed for further education, and to have a strong academic foundation for higher studies, for those who show intelligence and aptitude for that education. It suggested earlier foundations of vocationalization of secondary education through socially useful productive work with an accent on practical work becoming an integral component of the elementary school curriculum.

Higher Education :

Higher Education assumed importance in view of its contribution to national development. It preferred relieving pressure OR higher education, containing the proliferation of non-viable institutions and establishment of centers for excellence.

Apart from these major aspects, it also dealt with agricultural education, medical education, physical education, three language formula, examinations reform, role of teachers and teachers' education. Though it recognized the importance of financial inputs, it gave more importance to human intellectual contribution and suggested a review every five years to modify in light of past experience. It was more or less an ideological prop to the short-lived Janata regime. Apart from its thrust on Adult Education there was no break through in this policy if it was compared either to the past or present.

If we look into the status of education in the light of the above discussions, it reveals that though much was claimed by policy makers about educational development in the post Independence period, the scenario is far from satisfactory. Indian education system, which is a relic of the colonial past, is characterized by low levels of development and persistence of disparities in the social as well as economic structures. There are disparities between regions, sexes and the fruits of education have not reached the down-trodden. Enrollment and retention of girls and children belonging to the Scheduled Caste* and the Scheduled Tribes is not encouraging. The budgetary allocations for education are gradually on the decrease and the achievement of universalization of elementary education has remained a distant dream. The Indian education system is not only quantitatively small but also qualitatively inadequate and dysfunctional. The changes in the world economic order and in technology have necessitated the policy makers to overhaul the present educational system. In this background, the Indian government released a document on educational development "Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective" in 1985, to discuss the challenges before education and to formulate a new policy that can cope with the challenges.

To assess the development in education in the post Independence period [1947-1985], here an attempt is made to discuss the salient features of what has been accomplished and what remains to be accomplished. (The summary of the document, final policy and comparison is done in the subsequent chapter). The major variables, which have been discussed here, are a) Literacy growth, b) Growth of Institutions by levels c) Enrollment in different educational sectors (See Table 1), d) plan wise Budgetary allocation (See Table 2).

The document "Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective" says India has made considerable progress in terms of increase in all types of institutions, enrollment, sophistication and diversification of educational programmes. The number of children going to middle, high and secondary classes has increased from 24 lakhs in 1947 to 340 lakhs in 1983, and the country in 1985 has 175,000 schools for these levels as compared to 13,000 in 1947. The number of girls and boys successfully completing the higher secondary stage has risen from 2.37 lakhs in 1960-61 to 8.40 lakhs in 1981-82. According to the document, at the time of Independence there were only 700 colleges and 20 universities with an enrollment of 4 lakhs. In 1985 it has risen to 5,246 colleges and 146 universities with an enrollment of 33.60 lakhs of which 9.76 lakhs are girls.

According to the document itself, we are still far from fulfillment of the goal of universalization of elementary education, which was envisaged in the Constitution to be achieved by the year 1960. One of the principal reasons for this is the high drop-out rate in classes I- VIII which continues to be above 75%. This rate is much higher amongst girls, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It rightly pointed out that effectiveness of enrollment could be judged by examining dropout rates. Low retention and high drop-out rate continues to erode the gains from educational expansion. It quotes World Bank estimates about the magnitude of illiteracy in India. "India would have the largest concentration of illiterate population by the year 2000 A.D. The country will have 54.8% of the world's illiterate population in the age group of 15- 19." An All India Educational Survey of 1978 shows that many primary and middle schools do not have even basic amenities.

Table 1
Sex-Wise enrollment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes since 1971

Particulars	Years		
	1970-71	1980-81	1983-84
Scheduled Castes			
Male	56	88	103
Female	23	44	55
Total	79	132	158
Scheduled Tribes (Male).	22	37	45
(Female)	9	17	23
Total	31	54	68
Grand Total	110	186	226

Source:
 Ministry of Education, Trends of Educational Development of SCs and STs in India,
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Table!
Expenditure on Education in the Five Year Plans

	Current Price	At constant (1970-71) Prices	Percentage of Total Plan Outlay
1 2	3		4
First Five Year Plan	153	304	7.86
Second Five Year Plan	273	526	5.83
Third Five Year Plan	589	966	6.87
Fourth Five Year Plan	786	764	5.17
Fifth Five Year Plan	912	585	3.27
Sixth Five Year Plan	2835*	1047	2.59
Seventh Five Year Plan	6383		1894 5.55

Includes 'actual' expenditure for the first 2 years, 'revised' expenditure for 1983-84, and outlay for 1984-85. Outlay (Draft).

Source : Indian Journal of Public Administration, July- September 1986, P.729.

In so far as primary schools are concerned, 9% had no buildings whatsoever, 41.5% had no blackboards, 72% had no library facilities and about 53% had any playgrounds. In the rural areas 89% of primary, 70% of middle and 27% of secondary and 10% of higher secondary schools had no urinals, and no laboratory facilities.

According to the document itself in absolute terms there were more illiterates in 1981 (437 million) than there were at the time of Independence (300 million). And there is great disparity in the progress made not only between men and women but also between regions. Though the document says that India has made considerable progress in education since Independence, it has, however not been possible to meet the nation's aspirations from the viewpoint of overall coverage, equitable distribution and quality of education. In terms of literacy, India is still amongst the most backward countries with literates in 1981 accounting for only 36.2% of the population, and with women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes still at the level of 24.9% and 16.4% respectively. Even within Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes there is a lot of gap between male and female coverage (see table 1). The document rightly mentions that the most important reason for the slow progress has been an acute paucity of resources. The percentage of total plan outlay for education in the first plan was 7.86% and it was reduced to 3.55% in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. (See Table 2).

The above analysis shows that even after 40 years of Independence, India is lagging behind in the field of education. The colonial legacy still dominates the education policy. Education in India, from the beginning has been catering to the needs of the ruling sections of the community. The people's language, their needs and aspirations were never considered. There were attempts to change the education system whenever there was a crisis in the economy. In the ancient, and post Independence periods it received the same type of treatment, which resulted in further inequalities in the society. This is partly a result of the way the policies have been formulated.

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CHAPTER - IV

PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION ROLE OF DIFFERENT AGENCIES

Public policy making is the principal function of the state¹. Since its formulation is a complex and dynamic process, no theoretical model is adequate to explain the policy formulation totally. According to Vehezkel Dror public policy making is a complex, dynamic process whose components make different contributions to it. It decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by the governmental organs. These guidelines [policies] formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means². Public policy can be authoritative allocation of values by the political system³, a slight variation from the previous or existing policy, equilibrium reached out of the competing group struggle, a rational choice or the preference of the governing elite. It can also be a combination of these processes⁴. In policy formulation various agencies participate directly or indirectly. The role of the governmental agencies is direct while the role of the non-governmental agencies indirect. Some of the agencies which take part in policy formulation are legislature, cabinet, state governments, civil servants, judiciary, boards and commissions mass media, political parties, pressure groups and public. It is essential to examine the role of these agencies in the formulation of an educational policy in India.

Legislature :

In a democratic form of government, the role of the legislature as the prime policy making body is significant⁵. Since it is the representative body, it deliberates on various issues and formulates the policies. Yet, it is now widely accepted that the power of the legislature is more real in a constitutional sense than in terms of practical politics. Legislatures in the 20th century have declined in power in relation to the executive despite the fact that they still have many functions⁶. It is now regarded as a constitutional procedural device for legitimizing the policies and decisions of government, rather than as an independent policy making unit. The members of the ruling party, having the majority, push through various policy initiatives, which are formulated by the Cabinet, having planned within the respective ministries after consultation with affected interests or concerned communities. It is observed that there is a high level centralisation of policy initiative and policymaking, at least so far as major policy initiatives are concerned, and what is more, nearly all the functionaries and institutions involved in policymaking have implicitly accepted the role of the Prime Minister. The New Educational Policy approved by the parliament in 1986 Budget Session, is the Prime Minister's handwork and so is the policy of liberalisation⁷. Similarly, in case of the education policy, the basic framework

of policy is formulated by the administrators, further strengthened by the union Education Ministry sent for the consideration of the Cabinet and finally for the approval of the legislature. Thus, the initiative does not emanate from the legislature.

Cabinet:

In the democratic form of government, it is the constitutional task of the Cabinet to decide the policies which are to be placed before the legislature for its sanction. Members of the Cabinet are the immediate and proximate policy makers⁸. Within the Cabinet it is said that, the power of the Prime Minister in recent times has increased. It is also stated that the Prime Minister exerts strong influence over policy decisions if he has the majority support of members of the union legislature. Same is the case with the Chief Minister at the state level. The Cabinet and the Cabinet Committees play only an advisory and deliberative role while the real decisions are taken by the Prime Minister himself⁹.

The Union Cabinet endorsed the 'Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective' a status paper meant to provide the basis for the formulation of the 'National Policy on Education 1986' (NPE 1986). It is worth mentioning here that the initiative for the formulation of the NPE 1986 was taken by the then Prime Minister, himself, although he was not holding the portfolio of education¹⁰.

State Governments :

In a federal polity like ours the Union Government and the State Governments participate in policy making. The State Governments formulate policies and make laws on items mentioned in the state and concurrent lists. At the state level, the state legislature and council of ministers under the leadership of the Chief Minister and other advisory bodies participate in the formulation of policies. However in most of the federations the role of the state governments got reduced to the minimum owing to various domestic and international political and economic factors¹¹. S.R. Maheshwari observed that since the financial resources are concentrated in the Central Government the states have necessarily to look to the center for funds. It is axiomatic, according to the centres mode of thinking, that one who provides money also exercise control and the states are thus made to look to the centre more and more, especially since the adoption of the socio-economic planning in the fifties¹².

In India, also, education which was originally in the states list was transferred to the concurrent list through the Constitutional amendment. This enhanced the dominant role of the Union Government.

Boards and commissions: (Permanent)

Various boards and commissions attached to different ministries like the Railway Board, the University Grants Commission(UGC), and the Union Public Service Commission(UPSC) assists the respective ministries or the cabinet as a whole in policy formulation when public policy is not in its final stage¹³.

Commissions or Expert Committees : (Ad hoc)

Apart from Boards and Commissions, which are permanent in nature, the government also constitutes ad hoc expert committees or commissions to seek recommendations regarding administrative reforms and policy initiatives. For example, in the field of education, the Government of India constituted the University Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and the Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Sri L.S. Mudhuliar¹⁴ and the Indian Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Sri D.S. Kothari¹⁵. The recommendations of these commissions in the field of education provided the basis for various policy initiatives by the government. Notable among the policy initiatives was the NPE-1968. It was almost a precedent in the field of education to formulate the policies based on the recommendations of the commission. The only exception is the formulation of National policy on education 1986, which was formulated after a public debate on the status paper 'Challenge of Education - A policy Perspective 1985' by the government itself. The formulation of the NPE-1986 was shouldered by the union Education Ministry¹⁶.

Bureaucracy:

Public servants at the top management level assist the ministers in policy making. They are recruited, in theory, to serve ministers by carrying out their decisions. Yet, in reality, they exercise much more power in the making of public policies than the formal description of their responsibilities suggest. The administrator who is concerned with the ends and not merely with the means, is called upon increasingly to provide the rational

elements in policy process¹⁷. The administrator's role in policy making is to clarify the choices open to politicians and to anticipate their consequences. The bureaucracy, in the developing countries, plays a dominant role in policy making, because of the underdeveloped nature of the political system¹⁸. Administrators, both specialists as well as generalists, are part and parcel of various policy making bodies like the Union Education Ministry, the Planning Commission, the UCC and other expert bodies. One can notice the fact that in the case of formulation of the NPE 1986 also, the bureaucracy played an important role because of the non-constitution of a full fledged commission. It is noticed that policy (in general) is being increasingly made at the level of the Prime Minister's office. When the latter takes the initiative in an area, other bodies become merely ratificatory organs and many among them have been forced to remain idle as a result¹⁹.

Judiciary :

The Judiciary is also regarded as an important agency in the policy making process. In the United States and India, constitutions entitle the Supreme Courts to exercise judicial review. Policies in many areas have been influenced by judicial decisions²⁰.

Mass Media :

In an ideal situation, mass media is an important means of communication between the citizen and the government, and so helps in shaping their reactions to each other's decisions. It communicates information to the citizens about the decision of the government. On the other hand, the media helps the public to articulate their demands and communicates them in political terms. It is a source of information for the government on the public reactions to contemporary problems and issues²¹. In the context of formulation of the NPE 1986 also, mass media specifically print media, i.e., newspapers played a significant role.

Political Parties :

Political parties are an important part of the machinery for policy-making. The party system is itself a source of policy making in many democracies, especially the Western ones. But no such claim can be made in the Indian context. Political parties, including the Indian National Congress, have no recognizable organ within themselves to undertake systematic investigations and researches to formulate, in coherent terms, policy alternatives,

and strategies for adoption²². They generally present their programmes, goals, values and policies to the people with a view to gain their support. Since the government is formed by the leaders of the political party with a majority of seats in the legislature, the party leadership engages in the formulation of public policy. The political parties also provide a mechanism through which people can participate in public activities which is supposed to influence the policy making²³. One determinant of public policy is thus the election manifesto of a political party. In the context of formulation of the NPE 1986, the political parties and their affiliate front organizations like students¹ and teachers' organizations participated in the debate on the proposed policy and expressed their views on different aspects of education.

Pressure Groups :

Organized groups or association of workers, farmers, teachers, students, traders, civil rights groups, environmental action groups and other non governmental organizations articulate their demands through various channels. Influential groups pressurize and adopt lobbying techniques to influence the policy decisions²⁴.

Public Opinion :

Democracy is defined as the government by public opinion. Popular response to government policies provides input in policy making. Public participation also helps in effective implementation of the policies. Peoples participation is a *sin-qua non* for the success of government policies, which is even more so in the case of education. Since the public is not a homogeneous unit, the concerned public actually responds to the specific policy initiatives²⁵. In the context of formulation of the NPE the concerned public i.e. parents, academic administrators, academicians, students, students' and teachers' organizations expressed their views.

Yehezkel Dror says that planning and policy making are closely interrelated. Planning is also a species of decision making and often overlaps policy-making. Planning is a major means of policy making characterized by being relatively more structured, explicit and systematic and by presuming to be more rational²⁶.

Policy initiatives of the government are in response to the priorities set by planning. The formulation of the educational policies like NPE 1968 and NPE 1986 are the direct

responses of the planning or development strategy adopted by the government at that time.

With the advent of Independence, the policy makers felt the necessity of accelerating socio-economic change and ensuring balanced economic development of different regions. Item No.20 of concurrent list deals with socio-economic planning²⁷. It implies that the planning process is the same both at the union and state levels. But the responsibility of preparing a national plan and providing guidelines for the preparation of state plans lies with the planning commission. The Planning Commission is an agency created by an executive order of the Central Government and functions under the control of central government, with Prime Minister as its chairman²⁸. Owing to the federal framework of polity, and the necessity of involving state governments in plan formulation, the creation of state planning boards are also suggested²⁹. In fact, the National Development Council which approves the five year plans provides representation to state government and thus symbolizes the spirit of co-operative federalism.

Educational planning is a sectoral exercise. It comes into the picture only when a broad range of decisions at the macro level are taken. Educational planning will be done by the education division of the planning commission. It works in close collaboration with various central ministers like the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD), the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Law and also with the state governments³⁰. It should be remembered that MHRD is not the sole ministry which looks after education. The various above mentioned ministries and their affiliated research agencies or field agencies are also involved in educational administration at the central level. At the central level, a national plan of educational development is prepared which contains two parts firstly, a central plan which deals with direct responsibilities to the union government, and; secondly, an integrated summary of state plans of educational development³¹. The higher educational planning and administration is further looked after by the agencies like UGC, All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR), Indian Council for Social Sciences Research (ICSSR) etc. The central government is also assisted by research bodies like the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA), National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and autonomous agencies like Navodaya Vidyalaya Samithi (NVS) and Central Board of

Secondary Education (CBSE). Because of the involvement of numerous agencies apart from the educational division of Planning Commission and MHRD in the field of higher education at the union level, it is suggested to have a national body to co ordinate the working of different agencies in the field of higher education³².

The M H R D, the educational division of the Planning Commission and other agencies along with different ministries are involved in planning of higher education in the central sector. Simultaneously at the state level, the state education department, prepares a detailed educational plan within the allocation of funds indicated by the state planning department. The draft educational plans of the central and states are discussed in the education division of the planning commission which is assisted by the panel on education. They are put together to form the draft plan of educational development³³.

The criticism is in spite of the pronouncements in favour of decentralized planning, the plan formulation is top-down. The machinery at the central level has strong ministerial component and acquired political complexion, while very few states have state planning boards, machinery at the state level lacks professional expertise. Plan formulation at the state level is routine and mechanical because the guidelines are already stipulated by the planning commission and financial allocation is remarked by the state planning board. The state governments have a lesser role in the field of higher education because the UGC provides guidelines to universities and universities also prepare their own annual plans, based on the finances available to them from the state governments and UGC. Similar to the arrangements at the union level, various ministers like Technical Education, Agriculture with their respective field agencies, the secretariat, directorate and Inspectorate constitute the administrative apparatus of education at the state level.

Educational Administration at the Union Level :

The union government plays a significant role in policy formulation, educational planning and administration. The ministries involved in these tasks are MHRD, Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Law and Science & Technology. There are few advisory and deliberative bodies at the national level like Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), National Development Council (NDC), Education Ministers Conference, etc. which bring union state co-ordination in policy formulation. There are expert bodies like Association of Indian Universities (AIU), Vice-Chancellors Conference etc. which provides advice to MHRD or the union government regarding new policy initiatives. Various agencies at

the national level like UGC, AICTE, CSIR, ICAR, All India Medical Council, ICMR, Bar Council, ICSSR, NVS, CBSE, NCERT, NIEPA, research agencies attached to different ministries (some of them are autonomous) also play a pivotal role in educational management³⁴. Now the union government, primarily through the MHRD is playing a pivotal role at national level in spearheading policy formulation, implementation rather than mere extending central assistance and leaving implementation to the states³⁵. It is trying to integrate different levels and spheres of education with conceptual, structural and functional linkages established among advisory bodies and national level institutions. This direct role, it is argued, will not erode the state government initiative but only reflects the greater commitment of the union government for reorganizing the educational system as a catalyst for national transformation which is a product of the contemporary national environment rather than a desire on the part of the union government to lead³⁶. The then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, justified it as a meaningful partnership, not infringing the rights and autonomy of the states³⁷. The role of different agencies in educational policy formulation and management is described in the following pages.

Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) :

The proximate nature of the central government's efforts to formulate and implement National Educational Policy by coordinating federal units, can be illustrated by the activities of the CABE in a few notable policy areas. The CABE was established under the British Raj in 1920 to bring about union state co-ordination in education³⁸. The idea that there should be a CABE, was first put forward by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) which felt that the Government of India could perform an invaluable function by defining the general aims of educational policy, by giving advice and assistance to local governments and to universities³⁹. In view of the widespread demand through out the country, in the context of formulation of New Education Policy for more effective role of the central & state governments as well as other agencies which can contribute to educational progress, Government of India reconstituted and redefined the role of CABE⁴⁰. The Government of India revived and reorganized the CABE in 1986 after a gap of nearly sixty years⁴¹. CABE played a major role in the development of every national policy and programme since its inception e.g., Plan Of Post -War Educational Development, National Policy On Education, 1968, National Policy on Education 1986, its Programme of Action as well as their revision⁴².

The Government of India recognized the need for greater coordination in areas of

education between the central and state governments and local bodies and non-governmental agencies and the importance of human resources development, in the context of the formation of New Education Policy. Accordingly, the government of India redefined the functions of the CAGE.

The revised functions of the CAGE would be

- a) to review the progress of education from time to time,
- b) to appraise the extent and manner in which the educational policy has been implemented by the central, state governments and other concerned agencies, and to give appropriate advice in this matter,
- c) to advise regarding co-ordination between central and state governments union territories, state governments and non-governmental organizations for educational development in accordance with the educational policy; and
- d) to advise, su motto, or on a reference made to it by the central government, or any state government, or a union territory administration, on any educational question.

For the discharge of these functions the board is authorized to take up necessary steps⁴³. The Union Minister of Human Resource Development is the Chairman of CAGE and the Minister of State for Education and Culture is the Vice-Chairman. It also provided representation to other central ministers, state governments, union territories, members of parliament, professional bodies like UGC, AIU, Planning Commission, AICTE, etc⁴⁴. Many expert committees like Sarkaria Commission, recognized the significance of co-operative federal polity and various federal processes based on consultation and consensus. In this context consultative bodies like the CAGE, NDC occupies a significant place in policy making. Today the CAGE is emerging as the principal federal forum for formulating and reviewing National Educational Policy on a continuous basis. The recommendations of Sargent Plan, the report of the University Education Commission 1948, the report of the Education Commission 1964-66, the NPE 1986, the NPE Programme of Action etc. came before the discussion in the CAGE⁴⁵. CAGE constituted committees to probe into specific issues pertaining to education⁴⁶. It is also considering the reorganization of structure of education and seeking the compliance of all states⁴⁷.

CABE is too large a body to deliberate important issues with the Planning Commission and NDC entrenched in their positions and strengths, the CABE is relegated to the background, and, functions more as a general endorsing body of issues irrevocably and finalized elsewhere⁴⁸. It also lacks legislative authority and financial means. Like the *ad hoc* conferences of State Ministers for Education, Chief Ministers and Vice-Chancellors, it provides a context in which the National government can persuade and be persuaded by state governments and universities. The CABE recommendations are articulated to Education Ministers and universities for information and compliance. The responses to CABE recommendations are recorded in the reports of the CABE proceedings⁴⁹.

Undoubtedly, the CABE is an important body in the light of the present constitutional position of education. The subject education became part of the concurrent list with the enactment of 42 constitutional amendment. The center and states can meet a common platform during the deliberations of this body. It provides a forum where joint decisions on policy matters may be taken. The Kothari Commission has observed that among the various advisory bodies of the Ministry of Education, the most important is the CABE. It further recommends that this organization with its standing committees be functionally strengthened⁵⁰. (See Kothari Commission). If better and fuller representation is given to the states, the CABE can become a forum where the states voice can be heard. The CABE can also become an effective policy making institution if it concentrates on a few major educational issues in which co operation between the center and states could be promoted and conflicts resolved.

Undoubtedly, the CABE acts as a co-ordinating body to bring about union state co-ordination in deliberating various key policy issues in the field of education. The efforts of the CABE are further strengthened and complemented by the State Education Ministers Conferences, Vice- Chancellors Conference and the Conferences of AIU.

State Education Ministers Conference :

CABE took the initiative in organizing the Conference of State Education Ministers in 1949. These are *ad hoc* conferences. This conference provides a forum for the state governments to put forward their views. It is a more compact body compared to the CABE because its representation is confined to union and state governments.

The State Education Ministers Conference has not acquired an organized form so far. The criticism is that it only serves to endorse the decisions and thinking of the CABF. But these conferences acquired prominence because of the emergence of opposition parties and subsequent formation of governments by them at the state level. The State Education Ministers Conference played a crucial role in airing the views of state governments in the context of formulation of the NPE 1986⁵¹.

Vice-Chancellors Conference :

The Vice-Chancellors conference got off the ground around in 1957. It is an important forum for the deliberation of issues pertaining to higher education. It brings together not only Vice-Chancellors but also members of UGC, Planning Commission and representatives of various ministries of the Government of India. The UGC is assisted by this forum in the co-ordination and maintenance of academic standards⁵². It should be noted that a committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. Srivastava (Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University), was constituted much before the formulation of the NPE 1986. Some of the recommendations of this committee provided the basis for the formulation of the NPE 1986⁵³. Vice-Chancellors of different universities also participated in the debate meant to provide the basis for the formulation of the NPE 1986.

Association of Indian Universities (AIU) :

It was previously named as Inter university Board. It acts as an inter university organization and is a useful channel of communication, through which the union government, state governments and UGC know the opinion of Vice-Chancellors and the rest of academic community. It is represented in various bodies like CABE. In the context of formulation of the NPE 1986 and discussing the implementation strategy i.e. Programme of Action AIU plays an ideational role.

The AIU expresses at the highest intellectual and academic level, its views on the educational problems and progress of the country and on the state of society, which produces such problems and conditions such progress. It functions as an academic consultant and policy critic. A few social scientists are of the view that it is a foil to the UGC. In spite of such a relationship there is absence of consultative and collaborative relationship between the two⁵⁴.

University Grants Commission (UGC) :

In the pre-independence period, the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) and the Sargent Report suggested the creation of University Grants Committee. Based on the recommendations of these bodies University Grants Committee was constituted in 1945. In the post-Independence period the Government of India had setup an interim UGC in the year 1952, and it started functioning from 28th December 1953. The UGC Act was passed in 1956⁵⁵.

The UGC is a statutory body of the union government to discharge its constitutional responsibilities viz. coordination and maintenance of standards of University and Higher education⁵⁶. It was conceived as a professional arm of the Ministry of Education, whose recommendations and guidelines were binding in nature⁵⁷. The organization was also made autonomous in view of the highly professional and academic expertise needed to perceive programmes and activities in fulfillment of co-ordination and maintenance of standards⁵⁸. As William Richter pointed out it has resembled independent regulatory commission in America in regarding itself responsible especially to its clientele. Here it is worth mentioning the views of the Kothari commission also. To quote "University autonomy might be adversely affected when the ministry has close and direct relationship to university teaching and research. It is not desirable that the government should deal with the universities. It is always a great advantage to interpose between the government and University, a committee of persons selected for their knowledge and study rather than political affiliation and official status⁵⁹. UGC includes a Chairman, a Vice- Chairman and other members. The UGC Act 1956 specifies the powers and functions of the UGC. The power and functions of UGC were further modified with the enactment of the UGC amendment Act of 1972. At present the functions of UGC are:

- a) To inquire into the financial needs of universities.
- b) To allocate and disburse out of the commissions funds, grants for the maintenance, development or any other general or specified purpose of the central universities.
- c) To allocate or disburse, out of commission funds, grants to other universities as may be necessary for their development, or for any other general or specified purpose,

provided that the commission takes into account their financial needs, standards attained and national purpose served.

d) To recommend to any university the measures necessary for improvement of university education and action to be taken by way of implementation.

e) To advise the central or state government on the allocation of grants to universities for any general or specified purpose out of the consolidated fund of India or the consolidated fund of the state as the case may be.

f) To advise any authority, if such advice is asked for, on the establishment of a new university or expansion of existing ones.

g) To advise the central or state governments on any question referred to it by these bodies.

h) To collect information on all such matters relating to university education in India and other countries, as it thinks fit and makes the same available to any university.

i) To require a university to provide it with such information as may be needed, relating to the financial position of the university or courses of study undertaken, along with regulations pertaining to standards of teaching and examination.

j) To perform such other functions necessary for advancing the cause of higher education in India.

The UGC sends visiting teams to central and state universities. It organizes conferences and seminars from time to time on various issues pertaining to the field of education. It constitutes committees on different aspects of education and seeks suggestions". Various policy initiatives taken by the UGC represents the delegation of institutionalization role of Union Education Ministry. It plays a pivotal role as a policy making body. The role of the UGC is considered important because of the presence of the central sector in education and the subsequent transfer of education from state list to the concurrent list through 42nd amendment.

Though the UGC is the principal agency, it is not the sole body that takes care of co-ordination and maintenance of standards in the realm of higher education. There are other Central Ministries working through their agencies that are involved in a similar activity. This adds to the intricacies of federal system and makes for many complications in the funding and management of higher education⁶¹.

While the UGC takes charge of general higher education in arts, science, and commerce, professional education in subjects like agriculture, medicine and technology which are not under the universities is outside the purview of UGC. This is because the central government while it works primarily through the UGC in its task of co-ordination of higher education, also permits several ministries and their councils to handle subject-wise various professional disciplines. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture through (ICAR) takes care of the discipline of Agricultural Sciences and Research⁶². Engineering and Technology come under the Ministry of Education assisted by AICTE⁶⁶. Medical education is funded by Ministry of Health and supervised by AIMC and ICMR. The Legal Education is under the charge of Law Ministry and supervised by All India Bar Council (AIBC), Scientific Research is taken care by CSIR in the department of Science & Technology.

The resulting dispersal of authority and resources makes the formulation, co-ordination, and implementation of national policies on education more difficult. The University Education Commission of 1948 and the Education Commission (1964-66) deplored this dispersal. The latter observed that fragmentation unaccompanied by any effort at effective co-ordination is a serious weakness in the present pattern of higher education and recommended that the entire spectrum of higher education be brought under the aegis of the UGC⁶³. This may be a correct reading but simultaneously the dispersal of authority increases standards, provides different approaches to education and the technical orientation of concerned ministries that have responsibility for education may encourage more professional concern for university programmes^{*4}.

All India Council For Technical Education (AICTE):

The Government of India's determination to restructure the national economy on the basis of rapid industrial development and to make scientific and technological education as a major instrument in promoting development necessitated the creation of an advisory body for technical education at the national level. In their plan for post war educational

development in India, the CAGE suggested the establishment of an AH India Body "to stimulate, co-ordinate and control the provisions of technical education facilities". It accordingly recommended the establishment of a National Council to control policy in technical education and to deal with all the technical institutions above the higher school stage except the technical departments of universities. They were also of the view that as a corollary to this proposal, the whole cost of technical education, apart from the exceptions mentioned above should be borne by the central government⁶⁵.

Envisaging it as an advisory body, the CAGE proposed the following functions for the National Council, i.e. surveying the needs of the country as a whole for higher technical education with special reference to the prospective post-war needs, to advise in which areas technical education, should be established, for which branches of technology each should provide and up to what standards they should operate⁶⁶. The CAGE also suggested that it should be a representative body assisted by an executive committee and other subordinate bodies. These recommendations were endorsed by the Government of India and the AICTE was set up in 1946 with same constitution and functions suggested by the CAGE in 1944.

The chairman of the AICTE is the Union Minister of Education and the technical division of the Ministry of Education serves as its secretariat. The council has official and non official members. Its members includes members of parliament, representatives of central ministries, state departments of governments concerned with technical education, approved organizations of Industry, commerce and labour, universities, CAGE, UGC, professional bodies and associations of principals of technical institutions etc. The council works through committees at national level as well as regional levels. This enabled a certain amount of decentralization. It also has a co-ordinating committee at the national level which co-ordinates the work of committees and also the regional committees. This co-ordinating committee functions as an executive committee of the AICTE.

In comparison with the other All India advisory bodies in education, it is generally believed that the AICTE has been singularly effective in handling technical education. The AICTE also established a very good working relationship with the UGC. The increasing role of the AICTE indicates the fact that the Ministry of Education of union government is providing an interventionist and a leadership role in co ordination and management of technical education⁶⁷.

Council of Scientific And Industrial Research (CSIR) :

The CSIR was constituted in 1942, by a resolution of the then central legislative assembly. It is an autonomous body registered under the Registration of Societies Act 1860. The important functions of the council are:

- 1) Promotion, guidance and co ordination of Scientific and industrial Research in India.
- 2) Establishment or development of and assistance to special institutions.
- 3) Establishment and award of research studentships and fellowships.
- 4) Utilization of the results of the research conducted under the auspices of the council towards the development of industries in the country.
- 5) Collection and dissemination of information in regard not only to research but also to industrial matters generally.

The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in the Ministry of Science and Technology provides the administrative link between the Government of India and the CSIR. The CSIR today has an integrated network of 39 research laboratories and institutes with over 100 regional centers spread all over the country⁶⁸.

The other important agencies in the field of science and technology are Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), National Committee on Science & Technology (NCST) Science Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, etc⁶⁹. The CSIR along with these agencies will be consulted by the union government in the formulation of educational policy.

The UGC is planning to link the universities with these agencies in order to promote Research and Development in the country.

Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) :

As it was stated elsewhere in this chapter the higher education at the union level is being monitored by the Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Department of Science and Technology etc. in addition to the well organized MHRD. Agricultural education and research is monitored by the Ministry of Agriculture though agriculture is a state subject.

The Ministry of Agriculture is assisted by the ICAR. In the pre-Independence period, the Royal Commission on agriculture headed by Lord Linlithgow proposed an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to promote, guide, fund and co-ordinate agricultural research. The Government of India accepted this recommendation and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was set up by the resolution of 23rd May 1929. The present ICAR the successor of this council⁷⁰.

The ICAR is an autonomous organization responsible for the national policy on agricultural research and for promoting research programmes in the country. The ICAR is analogous to the UGC. Its mode of operation, organizational setup and relationship with state governments in matters of providing guidelines, planning and financial allocation is similar to those of UGC. The Chairman of the ICAR is Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation while the Minister of state dealing with ICAR will be its vice-chairman. The ICAR works through committees like regional committee, the standing finance committee, the norms accreditation committee, etc. There are also 18 scientific panels. It gets grants from the Government of India.

Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) :

Health like agriculture, is a state subject. Even so medical education is controlled by the center through the ICMR and the APMC.

The ICMR was registered in 1949 under the Registration of Societies Act 1860. It functions as the apex body for the planning, organization, implementation and co-ordination of medical research in India. The union minister of Health and Family Welfare and union Health Secretary are the President and Vice-Presidents of the councils respectively. These two along with seventeen other members (both official and non official) constitute the governing body of the council. The Director General of the ICMR is the member secretary of the governing body. In framing medical research programmes, and in scrutinizing research projects the governing body is guided by a Scientific Advisory Body (SAB) of which the Director General ICMR is the member secretary. ICMR operates on an all India basis with hardly any linkages at the state level. But it has close collaboration with other national and international agencies like CSIR, ICAR, World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF etc⁷¹.

The All India Medical Council(AIMC) :

This is a powerful co-ordinating agency set up in 1933, through a law enacted in the center according to entry 26 of list III. Among its notable powers are recognition of medical qualifications granted by universities or medical institutions, laying down minimum standards for medical education and other supervisory functions. This professional body has been able to maintain harmonious relations with universities and medical colleges. It interacts with the central government and states concerned continuously⁷².

Research in Social Sciences and Humanities is promoted by research bodies like Indian Council for Social Science Research(ICSSR), Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR), Indian Council for Philosophical Research (ICPR). These bodies supplement the efforts of the VGC. While the UGC concentrates on departments, these bodies concentrate on individual researchers.

Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR) .

In the beginning Research Programme Committee of planning commission had taken care of Social Science Research. Later it constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. V.K.R.V. Rao which recommended the setting up of ICSSR in its report of November 1967. The Government of India accepted this recommendation and the council was established under the Societies Registration Act of 1960 and started functioning as an autonomous body from 1st August 1968⁷³.

The council is composed of 25 to 30 members including the chairman and member secretary all nominated by the government. It is reconstituted once in three years. Representatives of certain government departments, research bodies are also co-opted as ex-officio members. The remaining seats are filled by social scientists.

The ICSSR is to promote research in social sciences, identify and develop research talent, provide support to research projects, build up the infrastructure facilities for social science research and development of professional organizations of social scientists.

The ICSSR decentralized its administration and set up six regional centers and proposes to set up state centers. The ICSSR review committee of 1973 had explored the

possibility of collaborative action with **UGC**, **CSIR**, **ICHR**, **ICMR**, **ICAR**, etc. It is observed that as in the case of the **UGC**, so also with the **ICSSR**, a strong apex body has weak or negligible operational mechanism at the state level.

Like the **ICSSR**, in the field of research in history. Indian Council for Historical Research (**ICHR**) and in the field of philosophy Indian Council for **Philosophical** Research (**ICPR**) are playing a pioneering role⁷⁴. The **MHRD** and other **ministries** receive inputs from these advisory bodies in formulating different policies and programmes.

Navodaya Vidyalaya Samithi : (NVS)

It is **universally** recognized that children with special talent and aptitude **should** be provided opportunities to proceed at a faster pace. The **NPE 1986** envisaged that pace setting schools intended to serve this purpose should be set up in various parts of the country on a given pattern with full scope for innovation and experimentation. Accordingly a scheme was formulated under which it was decided to set up co-educational residential schools, called Navodaya Vidyalayas, on an average one in each district, during the Seventh Five Year Plan. The main objectives of **Navodaya** Vidyalayas are;

- a) to provide good quality modern education with latest technical facilities for all round development of talented children without any regard to their **family's** socio-economic condition,
- b) to ensure reasonable competence in three languages as envisaged in the three language formula ,and
- c) to **serve** as focal points for improvement in quality of school education in **general** through sharing of experience and facilities `.

The **Navodaya** Vidyalas are run by the **NVS**, which is an autonomous society under **MHRD**. The **Samithi** was registered as a society on 28th February 1986 and is affiliated to the **CBSE**. Setting up of Navodaya Vidyalayas is one of the major goals of the **NPE 1986**. The administration of Navodaya Vidyalaya is done by the **NVS**⁷⁶. This move is significant because these schools are being funded directly by the central government. This has added significance in view of the education being transferred to concurrent lists

With this one **more** agency was included in the educational management under the aegis of union government through which union government makes inroads to **the school** education which was previously in the state sector.

Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE):

It is a national body functioning at the all India level in the field of **secondary** education since **1962**. The CBSE endeavored to make significant contribution towards raising the standards through better methods of examination, evaluation, improved curricula, syllabi, text books and systematic inspection of schools affiliated to it. When the school education was reorganized during **1970's**, the CBSE diversified its activities. It took initiative in conducting of examinations in all courses including technical education at the **secondary** level, orientation of teachers of affiliated **schools**, introduction of job oriented vocational courses. With the introduction of 10+2 system, CBSE undertook the preparation of syllabi and courses for 10+2 stage, devising the new examination **system**, preparation of text books in Indian languages etc. The CBSE emerged as an autonomous yet subordinate organization of Ministry of **Education**⁷. Though the union government justified the creation of the **CBSE** for school education based on promotional and **ideational** leadership of a stimulative nature, it also **amounted** to making **inroads** into the school education which was hitherto in state sector.

The efforts of the union government in educational planning and administration is supplemented by the efforts of expert bodies like the NCERT and the **NIEPA**. In curriculum development, training of teachers the NCERT plays a significant **role**. In educational planning and in providing inputs to union Ministry, the **NIEPA** plays an **important** role. The NIEPA also provides training to educational administrators. In the context of formulation of the NPE **1986**, the NIEPA played an important role. It compiled the opinions of the state governments, educational institutions, **non-governmental** organizations, press and public on Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective. It also assisted the **MHRD** by providing the opinions or responses of different state governments, organizations and the public⁷.

Policy formulation and implementation at the highest level is not **characterized** by an effective co-ordination and co-operation. This is **more** so in the field of higher education. It is **suggested** that we should have a national apex body to coordinate the activities of different agencies at the national level and a state council of higher education

at the state level to coordinate the activities of different agencies and **institutions** at the state level⁷⁹. The plethora of institutions at the national level **under** the aegis of the union government alone cannot ensure effective policy formulation as well as implementation. What is required is a vertically coordinated plan from the grass root level to the national level in view of the federal dimension of the **polity**⁸⁰. It is also necessary to recognize that the clientele and other sections affected are involved both in generating the ideas and also **carrying** the operations of the educational programmes. The absence of these factors in the present system can be seen in the subsequent chapters.

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CHAPTER - V

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATION - A POLICY PERSPECTIVE 1985 AND THE NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1986

The approach adopted by the Union Government in formulation of National policy on Education - 1986 is different on many counts. Before the formulation, the Prime Minister of India in a national broadcast expressed the desire for a national debate on education and asked the academic community and others interested to give their suggestions in formulating a New National Policy on Education¹. He also formally expressed his views at various official conferences². Consequent to the Prime Minister's appeal, the Union Education Ministry published a document the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' intended to serve as the basis for national debate. It is described as a status paper not a final document.³ (In spite of this claim the document and approach paper to seventh plan provided the pointers to the formulation of a new policy). As part of the nation wide debate on the New Education Policy the Union Education Ministry as well as its agencies organized 12 national seminars and 17 sponsored seminars⁴. Following this initiative many state Governments, educational institutions, teachers, students organizations also conducted seminars on the status paper. Here an attempt is made first to present the summary of the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' and the 'National Policy on Education 1986' (NPE 1986). Secondly a comparative analysis of both the documents is attempted to analyze the similarities and dissimilarities. Finally a critical evaluation of the whole exercise and its relevance for policy formulation is attempted.

Challenge of Education A Policy perspective 1985.

This document consists of four chapters.

1. Education, Society and Development.
2. An Over View of Educational Development.
3. A Critical Appraisal
4. An Approach to Educational Orientation.

Education - Society and Development:

The document states that India is standing on the threshold of 21st century. To prepare the present generation to face with unprecedented opportunities, challenges and to make the nation a dynamic and cohesive one it is necessary to reshape the education system⁵. Education should make self confident individuals with commitment to democratic and national values. it should also reduce all types of disparities and act as an investment

in Human Resources Development. It has a large role in all national endeavors in democratic societies⁶. This can be achieved only by modernizing education, changing curricula and other basic changes in teachers training⁷. The document says that elementary education is the most crucial stage of education because it lays the foundation for human beings all round development and strengthens the fabric of democracy⁸. Vocational education, the document says, provides technical man power required for economic growth and also provides the linkages between production function, employment and educational processes⁹. Higher education provides ideas and men to give shape the future, sustain other levels of education, provides historical, ideological perspective to society, supplies a wide range of sophisticated manpower required in Industry, Agriculture services and Administration¹⁰.

The document says, education is a subsystem of social system, its excellence and democratic character cannot be preserved if the quantitative and qualitative objectives are not spelt out by those responsible for nations development¹¹.

The document says, that cost benefit ratio should not be applied in educational planning, and the educational goals should not be postponed on the grounds of the high cost of implementation while deciding this 'no-change' option is seldom taken into consideration. It observed two streams in education - a small minority with excellence comparable to the best of the world and a preponderant majority of sub-standard education with little sense of social or national responsibility. It regretted that even the gifted do not always show evidence of the expected commitment to social responsibility.

The document identifies various pitfalls in contemporary educational scenario. It is largely the excessive emphasis on degrees and on unscientific examination system which made education dysfunctional, producing a large number of unemployable young men and women. Hence it pleaded for a new approach¹³.

The document opines that pride in national identity has to be rebuilt to counteract divisive forces which are affecting the national integration¹⁴. It says, education now being in concurrent list, it is necessary to demarcate the responsibility to be borne by the central and state governments in respect of various aspects and levels of education¹⁵. The document recognizes the fact that the NPE has to emerge from the perceptions, active participation of states, local bodies, voluntary agencies, peoples representatives,

teachers, students, parents and the members of the fourth estate, etc¹⁶.

An Over-View of the Educational Development:

The document mentions about progress in the field of education in terms of increase in all types of institutions, enrollment, sophistication, diversification of educational programmes. It also mentions where India was lagging behind¹⁷.

A critical Appraisal:

The document calls for a new approach in the context of changing values it identifies two formidable tasks for coping with the challenge; one of providing quality education to all to develop his fullest potential and the other of simultaneously transferring the context and process of education to meet the emerging needs of tomorrow¹⁸. It says, that education with all its ramifications, cannot be altered materially, unless the over all socio-political system requires such alteration for its survival.

It suggests that the provision of minimum outlays required for achieving the constitutional goals in respect of elementary education should be regarded as a national responsibility. The terms of allocation of resources between the centre and states should not be allowed to cloud the issue¹⁹. It also suggests community involvement in the school system.

The document suggests a common core curriculum with some flexibility to include regional variations and culture is necessary to ensure quality, national cohesion and inter regional mobility²⁰. Non-formal education should be accorded priority to achieve universalization of elementary education²¹. It also recognizes the importance of adult literacy." It observed a phenomenal expansion in secondary education and called for a careful planning²². It also observed the urban bias of scientific and technological professions. It advocated pace setting schools with a provision for reservation for the students of rural areas to ensure quality education²⁴. Regarding vocational education it suggested a strong vocational base at the 10 plus stage, the pre-vocational and work experience programmes in Class IX and \ will have to be reconstituted²⁵. The document opines that the important indicator of a country's future is state of its higher education,

though there are conflicting views among educationists regarding school education versus higher education. It observed two different sets of institutions i.e. the centers of excellence and others of sub-standard²⁶. It also observed disparities among various sections and lack of encouragement for technical and other professional courses²⁷. It suggests various measures for effective improvement of institutions of technical education like establishment of networking arrangements between different types of institutions and strengthening the linkages of technical education with manpower planning²⁸. It also admits that there is no justification for subsidizing higher education, to the extent that is being done today, at the cost of the tax payer²⁹. University autonomy, creative role for teachers, teachers training, depoliticization of educational institutions are also suggested to clear the present educational system³⁰.

In its conclusion, it observed that there are wide disparities in the system of education from the view point of access, equity and impact. It says that the people from rural areas, girls, children from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are still at the lowest ladder of educational attainment³¹. It also observes the continuance of the colonial impact which divided people into elite-men of letters who lack skills and a majority of the people who will have professional skills but lack knowledge³².

The document said the failure to improve the education system was because the real initiative for planning is entirely in the hands of state governments and it felt that because of the state governments control over planning, national expert bodies like National Council For Educational Research and Training (NCERT), National Institute For Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) and University Grants Commission (UGC) failed to meet with the expected response³³.

An Approach to Educational Reorientation:

The document emphasizes that some of the time worn concepts and patterns should be replaced by new thrusts and institutions from time to time, in view of the sweeping changes in the world. It observes that “education is an instrument of all round development of individual and a critical input in the developmental process”³⁴. But the education system cannot be improved by marginal changes and it requires a radical transformation.

The document, in its approach, touches upon various issue like access, equity, quality and a new management to make the system work.

It says that the outreach and effectiveness of education can be enhanced by the use of new technologies and through a major role to Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)³⁵.

It favours the formulation of New Education Policy in an atmosphere of realism which takes into account various constraints. It says that self seeking politicians and individuals oppose depoliticization and various economic, technological legal constraints also effect the educational reform³⁶.

The document justifies the need of education being in the concurrent list. It says that "if the management of universities is to be restructured to align them to the realities of the day, state and central governments will have to amend their laws. The much debated issue whether or not the central government should assume some powers for depoliticizing and modernizing universities will also have to be discussed through consultations³⁷. It also favours constitution of joint commission of states and centre to study the problem of resources and working out a strategy for mobilizing them on a long term basis. It also states the Indian society does not always respond warmly to new initiatives and change oriented measures. The intellectual sophistication nurtured through centuries of philosophical debate is misused by the bureaucracy³⁸.

As stated earlier the new approach looks into the problems of (a) access (b) equity and minimum threshold (c) quality, social relevance, diversification (d) methodology and management.

It says educational coverage and retention which constitutes the core of universalization of elementary education requires to be matched with hard financial decisions. In addition to this, non- formal, distance education strategies have to be worked out to make the society a learning society. The document also pleads for behavioral, conceptual, methodological and organizational modifications³⁹. It favours de-linking degrees from jobs though appropriate machinery such as National Testing Service (NTS) and a moratorium on the expansion of traditional pattern of colleges and universities⁴⁰. It favours socially relevant returns from technical education and network for sharing facilities among centres of excellence and other educational institutions and promoting research for the development of unorganized sector. It favoured quality education which makes individual capable and confident concomitantly a value system which is conducive to

harmony, integration and the welfare of weak and disadvantaged⁴¹.

Overhauling of the education system particularly higher education, according to the document requires, examination reform, teachers training, code of conduct for teachers, evaluation, introduction of multi disciplinary courses, autonomy and accountability of educational institutions with participant relationship between universities and colleges, depoliticisation of educational institutions;.

It also favoured effective educational infrastructure at the central, state, regional, and district levels⁴². In brief, the new approach envisages a strategy for universalization of elementary education, production of sophisticated man power in adequate number. Vocationalization and other measures to improve the quality and output of all other educational sectors. Hence it is an inescapable need for setting up and maintaining institutions of excellence at all levels to tap the best talent and nurture with care and competence. It is inevitably a response to modernization and globalization of the economy⁴³.

National Policy on Education 1986

The NPE 1986 is divided into twelve parts. It almost covered all the aspects of education from primary education to higher education, role of teachers, students services, amenities, curricula, management and resources. Since it was a policy statement unaccompanied by a report it lacks in details. After some preliminary observations in the first two parts, the document deals with certain issues which are already mentioned in the document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective'.

The NPE 1986 is approved by the Parliament in May 1986. It stated that the general formulation of 1968 policy had not been translated into action. This had caused serious problems concerning access, quality, quantity and utility of education. In this context the policy called a new design of Human Resources Development, education is described as an investment in the present and future which was to further the goals of crucial values, apart from developing man power to serve the economy⁴⁴. It says "there are moments in history when a new direction has to be given to an age old process⁴⁵. The policy favours a National System of Education. It implies that the provision of access to education of a comparable quality up to a level without discrimination on ground of caste creed, location or sex. It also envisages a common educational structure 10 2+3 and a common core

curriculum. This common core curriculum will not be rigid it also allows the regional variations to be introduced in it. The curricula and processes of education will be formulated in such a way that they bring about a fine synthesis between change oriented technologies and the countries continuity of cultural tradition⁴⁶. It favours at the secondary level, conscious internalization of a healthy work ethos and of the values of a composite culture through appropriately formulated curricula. It says education should foster universal and international values oriented towards the unity and integration of the people of the country with a view to eliminate obscurantism, religious fanaticism, violence, superstition and fatalism⁴⁷. Education, according to the NPE 1986, should also promote environmental consciousness and work ethos⁴⁸.

With the 42nd constitutional amendment of 1976, education was brought under the concurrent list. Hence the policy called for a new sharing of responsibility between the Union Government and the State Governments. The inclusion of education in the concurrent list of the Indian Constitution was interpreted as a meaningful partnership which enabled the union government to accept larger responsibility without eroding the roll of the states⁴⁹.

The policy envisaged education for equality and advocated for carrying to the specific needs of those who had been educationally disadvantaged i.e. SC and ST, Minorities, the Handicapped and Mentally Retarded⁵⁰.

It recognizes the need for the entire nation to pledge itself to the eradication of illiteracy particularly in the 15-35 years age group, and, favours a vast programmes of adult and continuing education^{*1}.

The new thrust in elementary education will be on two aspects universal enrollment and retention up to 14 years of age and a substantial improvement in the quality of education. Elementary education is to be child centered and activity based. It recommends Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) to be integrated with pre-primary education^{*2}.

Non-formal education is devised to supplement the efforts of formal education. The policy statement says that highest priority is to be given to solve the problem of children who dropout of school⁵³.

The main emphasis, with regard to secondary education, is on consolidation at the same time widening access to cover areas that remained uncovered. Children with special talent were to be provided opportunity to proceed at a faster pace and pace setting schools-Navodaya Vidyalayas with reservation to the children of rural areas will be established in each district for that purpose⁵⁴.

Regarding vocational education, the NPE 1986 says "vocational education is to facilitate enhancement of employability, reduce the mis-match between the demand and supply of skilled man power." It is proposed that vocational courses will cover 10% of higher secondary schools by 1990 and 25% by 1995⁵⁵.

In the field of higher education, the emphasis is on consolidation and expansion of facilities in existing institutions. The strategies for improvement of higher education are: development of autonomous colleges, redesigning courses and programmes, establishment of State Councils of Higher Education, enhanced support for research, creation of a National Council for Higher Education to coordinate general, agricultural, medical, technical and other professional fields of education, the open university system as an instrument of democratizing education, delinking degrees from jobs except in case of occupation specific courses and concomitantly an appropriate machinery National Testing Service will be established for this purpose, consolidation and development of rural universities for the development of rural areas⁵⁶.

Regarding technical and management education the policy says that the reorganization of technical and management education will take into account the anticipated scenario corresponding to changes in the economy, social environment, production and management process, science and technology. Continuing education covering established as well as emerging technologies will be undertaken by all higher technical institutions. The All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) was to be vested with statutory authority in order to make it effective in regulation of standards in technical education⁵⁷.

The strategy envisaged for making the system work is to ensure that teachers will teach and students study. Teachers will be given a better deal, with greater accountability. Student services will be improved. A system of performance appraisal will be created⁵⁸.

Another important element of the NPE 1986 is the call for an overhaul of the system

of planning and management of education. The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) is to play an important role of reviewing educational development. In the states there were to be State Advisory Boards on the model of CABE⁵⁹. District Boards of education are to be created to manage education up to higher secondary level and school complexes are to be promoted on a flexible pattern. In due course of time they will take over much of the inspection and functioning. Local communities will be involved in programmes of school improvement⁶⁰. There will be consultations with the states in the matter of establishment of India Education Service.

The NPE 1986 consider education as a crucial area of investment for national development and survival. It called for stepping up of outlay on education to the extent essential for policy implementation in the Seventh Plan. It also envisaged that from 8th Five Year Plan onwards it should uniformly exceed to the six percent of the national income while resources mobilization from the beneficiaries is also contemplated. The main task for the future advocated by the NPE 1986, is strengthening of the base of the pyramid of education, at the same time ensuring that those at the top of the pyramid are amongst the best in the world⁶¹.

The Parliament after adopting the NPE' 1986, constituted 23 task forces to prepare a Programme of Action (POA). Each Task Force was assigned a specific subject covered by the NPE 1986. Educationists, experts and senior officials of Central and State Governments were associated with these taskforces. The subjects assigned to Task Forces were as follows⁶².

1. Making the system work
2. Content & Process of School Education
3. Education for Women's Equality
4. Education of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Sections
5. Minorities Education
6. Education of the Handicapped
7. Adult & Continuing Education
8. Early Childhood Care and Education
9. Elementary Education (including non-formal education and operation blackboard)
10. Secondary Education and Navodaya Vidyalayas
11. Vocationalisation
12. Higher Education
13. Open University and Distance Learning

14. Technical and Management Education
15. Research and Development
16. Media and Educational Technology
17. De-linking **degrees** from Jobs and Manpower Planning
18. The Cultural Perspective and Implementation of Language Policy
19. Sports, Physical Education & Youth.
20. Evaluation process and Examination Reform
21. Teachers & their training
22. Management of Education
23. Rural Universities and **Institutes**

The above described subjects of the NPE — POA were covered by NPE 1986 **also**. The NPE — POA deals with the modalities of the implementation & the other details. Since the study **covers** only the policy formulation the details regarding **the POA were** not covered in this chapter.

A Comparison:

Both the 'Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective 1985' and the 'NPE 1986*' have many common things to say. For **example**, both suggested appropriate provisions for an integrated programme of education like common core curriculum, common educational structure, modernization of education, changing curricula, **basic** changes in teachers training, code of conduct for teachers, developing **new** devices for achieving universalization of **elementary** education like non-formal education, adult education and education through open universities, etc. Both the documents suggested a new model of universalization of **elementary** education which ties up **the** anganwadis with **primary** schools and provide for **pre-primary** education up to classes V.

Both the **documents** emphasized vocationalization of education a systematic linkage with manpower planning and establishing networking arrangements among different institutions.

The '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**' provided the pointer for concurrency to ensure certain reforms. NPE 1986 took a **very** firm stand on concurrency **and** justified education being in concurrent list to ensure a larger **responsibility** for Union Government and for a meaningful partnership. **It** is quite understandable that the Union

Government requires the legal authority to ensure the implementation of common core curriculum, **common** educational structure and other programmes.

Model Schools or Navodaya **Vidyalayas**, which are opposed by some academicians and the State Governments ruled by opposition parties, **prominently** figured in the New Education policy. One of the members of CAGE and many bureaucrats in the Education Ministry confided with the researcher that but for the model schools, there is nothing **new** in the New Education policy. The '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**' after making a critical appraisal of education system proposed pace setting schools to ensure quality in education.

Curtailment of higher education is the common concern of the '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**¹ and the NPE 1986. To ensure a systematic curtailment of higher education and restricted access, de-linking degrees from jobs though an appropriate machinery known as National Testing Service was introduced. **While** the '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**' suggests moratorium on further expansion of traditional pattern of institutions, the NPE 1986 **suggests** the consolidation of **facilities** **with** in the existing institution. It is apt to quote Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in this context "Higher education is producing a **large scale of unemployed** and unemployable youth."

The '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**' visualized more effective **use** of new technologies in the distance education method which would be a boon for those who, for economic and other reasons cannot have access to formal higher education. Corresponding to this the '**NPE 1986**' envisaged open university system which adopts a multimedia approach to ensure access to education for more people **who** have hitherto could not **get** through conventional and formal **stream**. According to the policy statement open **university** **system** democratizes education.

Both the documents aimed at describing a strategy which looks into the problems of (a) access (b) equity to minimum threshold (c) social relevance and (d) **methodologies** and **management**.

The '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**' has elaborately dealt with teachers, code of conduct for teachers, training and evaluation of teachers and problems of politicization of educational institutions. It suggested **various remedies**. The final policy

though, approves these issues indirectly did not mention the same clearly and elaborately. Unlike the status paper it concentrated more on how to make the system work.

It is observed that diagnosis made by the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' is correct regarding the state of affairs of education. But the remedies, or correctives recommended by it are inadequate⁶³. It is also observed that the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' suffers from a few contradictions. For example, it observed two streams in education or two sets of institutions i.e. institution of excellence and institutions which are substandard. It also observed absence of expected commitment from higher educational institutions like IITs and IIMs. But it advocated one pace setting school with larger allocation of funds for a district. These model schools also reinforce elitism⁶⁴. The document itself admits that there is urban bias in scientific and technological professions and only the affluent urban populace have garnered the benefits of the professions. Then it suggests a moratorium on higher education⁶⁵. This further distances the rural people from having access to these institutions, because the limited seats from having in these institutions will be governed by people of urban areas. Another vital question is whether the people with urban socialization will show concern for the development of a research which is useful for the unorganized as advocated by document.

The conclusion one can draw is that there is not much that is new in the policy statement i.e. the 'NPE 1986' when compared to 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985'. Some of the social scientists have observed that there is nothing new at all in the NPE 1986 when compared to the previous policies⁶⁶. For example establishment of rural university was suggested by Dr. Radhakrishnan Commission, pace-setting institutions, autonomous colleges existed in pre- Independence period. Even pace setting institutions or centers of excellence were advocated by the Kothari commission. The 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' and the 'NPE 1986' acknowledges the contribution of Kothari Commission on various issues like three language formula, common educational structure, resources allocation etc⁶⁷. Various political factors like political instability, secessionism, communalism, casteism, regionalism, alienation of youth, compelled the union government to formulate a New National Policy on Education, with emphasis on common core curriculum which promotes national integration and expected to contain divisive tendencies and confer more powers on central government to facilitate intervention in the functioning of state governments in the crucial area like education. Economic factors, like modernization and liberalization, also compelled the government



to have a limited highly qualified man power. The New Education Policy thus is a product of several factors social, economic and political.

Though releasing the document for public debate is a healthy beginning, the views expressed by the State Governments and the concerned public did not provide the basis for the formulation of the policy. The document was released for the sake of legitimacy. The responses of the State Governments and the public are analyzed in the subsequent chapters.

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CHAPTER - VI

THE RESPONSES OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS ON THE NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1986

In a democratic polity, public policies should reflect the aspirations of the public in general, and the concerned public in particular. This presupposes the consent of the public to a particular policy when it is formulated. Policy makers in the Government should take the opinion of the public into consideration and they should elicit its views through debates, consultations and by receiving memoranda, petitions and reports. The views of the State Governments in a federal polity, and those of elected representatives at all levels ought to be considered in policy formulation. The role of the Union legislature, State legislature, elected bodies at the grassroots level, consultative bodies like Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), conferences of Chief Ministers and other ministers and deliberations in highest policy making (approving) bodies, like the National Development Council (NDC), acquires significance in this context. This chapter discusses the responses of the Union Government as represented by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Human Resources Development, and the responses of the three State Governments i.e. Uttar Pradesh (ruled by Congress Party), West Bengal (ruled by an opposition party Communist Party of India (Marxist)), Andhra Pradesh (ruled by another opposition regional political party Telugu Desam) in the context of formulation of the NPE 1986.

Many developing countries represent low level of political participation by the people because of the underdeveloped nature of their political systems and other democratic institutions. James Manor observed that there is a divergence between State and society in countries like India. As a result of this divergence, two trends have become significant. Each is a reaction to the other. The first, a tendency among those near the apex of the political system to move towards statism, which follows logically from the increasing separation of the State and the society. The second is growing grass roots political apathy which follows from the increasing separation of society and the State¹. The above said process resulted in the public policies being the preferences of the elite² and not as the choice of the public. The public are not real participants, public policies very often represent the dominant interests and perceptions of the ruling elite. The ruling elite (managerial elite) might or might not perceive the needs of the people correctly. Sometimes they might formulate the policies in the interest of the people, but the people will play a peripheral role in policy making. The elite perceives itself as the bearer of rationality which, in its view, is lacking among the unlettered masses of India. They often regard open competitive politics as an inconvenience, a source of great untidiness and of dysfunctionality. They prefer a smoothly running centrally administered system³. Sometimes policy makers initiate a public

debate for the sake of legitimacy. But the measure of representative character of a political system depends upon the support it gets from the public. Sometimes the public might be sensitive, but the Government need not respond to the demands of the public with the same sensitivity. David Easton says that the public provides the demands (inputs) into the political system, political system converts the same inputs into outputs (policy outcome), and gets support from the public, if the inputs are within the critical range of the political system⁴. In spite of this limitation public policy in an ideal situation, is supposed to be formulated based on public opinion, i.e., the opinion of State Governments, political parties, pressure groups, opinion makers, the public and the fourth estate (Press).

In the Indian context, public policies are formulated by a small group of politicians and bureaucrats at the higher levels, with the peripheral participation of the concerned communities. The charismatic leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the one party dominance of the Indian National Congress, which monopolized the credit for winning Independence, the one party rule both at the Centre and in the States for a long period of time, the underdeveloped nature of political culture of the large populace, and less creative role of the political parties, reduced the entire process of social change merely to the electoral processes. The above factors seriously undermined the policy processes.

However, this scenario is slightly changing because of the rising consciousness of the people and also because of the changing power equilibrium in the federal polity. The rise of regional parties like Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Assam Gana Parishad in Assam, Sikkim Gana Parishad in Sikkim, Dravida Munnetra Kazagam, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagam in Tamilnadu, Janata Party (a coalition of various splinter groups like Janasangh, Bharatiya Krantidal, Socialists and Congress men) in few pockets, rise of left parties like Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala changed the power equilibrium⁵. Subsequently these opposition parties captured power at the State level and the Janata Party ruled the country for a short period. The rise of opposition parties and the formation of Governments by them at the State level provided them an opportunity to assert themselves and to bargain for more role and autonomy to the State Governments in governing their own activities.

The assertions of the State Governments for some role in governance are reflected in some of the initiatives of political parties and State Governments. Major initiatives like Anandapur Sahib Resolution by Akalis, West Bengal Memorandum on centre-state

relations by West Bengal Government, Rajmanner committee on centre-state relations constituted by the D.M.K. Government in Tamilnadu and the various conclaves of opposition chief ministers are the indications in this direction⁶. The Union Government also started responding to meet the challenge to its supremacy and imposed Emergency as a major response. During the Emergency the Constitution was amended and the 42nd amendment gave more powers to the Union Government in various areas. One of the implications of this amendment was the transfer of education from the state list to the concurrent list.

In this backdrop when Congress came into power under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi (after Mrs. Indira Gandhi), the central Government while responding to the changes in the global economy introduced a New Economic Policy. Subsequently a new National Policy on Education (1986) popularly called as New Educational Policy (NEP) was formulated. This was an offshoot of New Economic Policy,

There were two deviations in the formulation of the NPE 1986. The first was the non-constitution of a commission for the formulation of the policy. Both in pre and post Independence period it is the only exception where a major initiative for policy formulation was being taken by the Ministry directly on its own shoulders. Another departure was the preparation of a confessional document for public debate by Ministry of Education entitled 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985'. This document is a status paper meant for the debate.

Initiating a public debate to provide the basis for the formulation of a policy was welcomed by one and all. Few people expressed the doubt regarding the effectiveness of a public debate. Both the then Prime Minister and the Education Minister had announced in various forums that the new policy would be formulated based on the debate on this status paper. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his inaugural address at the Conference of Education Ministers of States and Union territories held on August 29th 1985 informed the meeting that the document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' is a status paper to provoke a debate⁷. The Minister of Education, Mr. K.C. Pant, while accepting the lack of time to appoint an education commission to proceed at the pace of the Sixties for the formulation of a new policy, had observed that the formulation of New the NPE 1986 was a formidable task. He stated that sufficient data, research and reports are available to raise various issues relating to the educational reorganization⁸. He has also stated that the

document does not contain the final views of the **Government**, but raises issues as clearly and candidly as possible. He further informed the house that the Government intends to involve the State Governments, political parties, mass organizations, voluntary agencies **and educational**, cultural, scientific and research institutions **actively**". It is reported in the minutes of the same meeting that the participants expressed their appreciation of the fact that the document, "**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**" had for the first time set forth the constraints of the formulation and implementation of educational policies and against this realistic backdrop had provided an array of new ideas for evolving measures for educational reorganization through a process of consultation across the length and breadth of the country¹⁰. The State Governments belonging to **opposition** parties also responded positively to the debate. Prof. **Shambu** Ghosh, Minister for Higher Education, Government of West Bengal said: "**It** is heartening that a document containing an overview of the State of education and pointers to the direction of future initiatives and programs has been released by the Ministry of Education Government of India¹¹. The Education Minister of Tripura had observed that his Government is in agreement with the diagnosis and elaboration of the malady of education made in the document¹². **The Minister** of State for Higher Education, Government of Madhya Pradesh welcomed the initiative of the Prime Minister in the formulation of the educational policy¹³.

Against this backdrop, the **study** attempts to examine the role of the three State Governments in policy formulation and determine the impact of their views on the formulation of the final policy. These three State Governments were Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. At the time of study (1985-86) these three State Governments were ruled by three different political parties. Uttar Pradesh was ruled by the Congress Party. The same party formed the Government at the Union level also. **West** Bengal was ruled by the Communist Party of **India** (Marxist) (**CPIM**) and its allies. Andhra Pradesh was ruled by a regional political party, i.e., Telugu **Desam**.

The Congress Party has ruled at the Center and many of the States for a long period. It advocated the centrist ideology and tries to harmonize diverse **interests** within the framework of consensus political culture. The State **Governments** ruled by the **Congress** tried to redress their grievances and bargain for more **resources** in the party forums but not in the Government forums. Thus the one party dominance to that extent influenced the policy formulation and policy outcomes. The consultative bodies in a **federation** became dysfunctional because of the one party dominance. The State Governments **were** not

expected to take a different stand on the important policy questions.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its allies captured power in three States, viz. **Tripura**, West Bengal and Kerala. It has been governing West **Bengal State** continuously from 1977 onwards. It advocates more autonomy to the State **Governments** in legislative, administrative and financial matters. The West Bengal State Government emerged as a powerful bargainer par excellence. It is the best governed State. The policies and programs are social democratic in nature rather than Communist¹⁴.

As regards Andhra Pradesh, it is being ruled by Telugu **Desam**, a regional political party. The political party which came into power in **1984**, represents the political aspirations of the regional bourgeoisie who found better influence and patronage under a regional political party. The political instability in the State owing to frequent changes of Chief Ministers and the related factionalism proved advantageous to the Telugu **Desam** Party. Not surprisingly, the party demanded greater autonomy to the State Governments.

Here an attempt is made to present the responses of the three State **Governments**, i.e. Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Andhra Pradesh on various aspects of the NPE **1986**. The profiles of these States are also presented to enable us to draw certain inferences on policy questions.

PROFILES OF STATES (Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh).

UTTAR PRADESH :

Uttar Pradesh is one of the biggest States in India¹⁵. It is bounded by Tibet and Nepal in North, **Himachal** Pradesh in North West, Haryana in West, Rajasthan in Southwest, Madhya Pradesh in South and South west and Bihar in East¹⁶. Unlike other States of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh is purely an administrative unit having no distinct natural features of its own. It is divided into four regions. Each of the four regions has not only geographical but cultural contiguity with the neighbouring States¹⁷.

Agriculture is the main occupation of almost 78 percent of population. Uttar Pradesh is the largest producer of food grains, sugar cane and **oil** seeds. It is also one of the principal sugar producing States in the country. **Handloom industry**, cotton and woolen textiles, **leather** and foot wear are some of the important **cottage** industries. The State has some of the oldest canal systems and various major irrigation projects and power projects are also started^{1*}.

According to 1991 census **Uttar Pradesh** has an area of 2,94,411 sq. **kms.** The total population of Uttar Pradesh was 139,112,287 million. The rural population was **111,506,372** million and urban **population** was **27,605,915 million**¹⁹. In the year **1981**, the literate population of Uttar Pradesh was 33.55 million and in 1991 it rose to 41.60 million. **Its** rank remained 26th in terms of literacy rate both in 1981 and 1991. In 1981, literacy rate among males was 47.45 percent and among females 17.19 **percent**. In **1991**, the literacy rate among males was 55.73 percent and among females 25.31 percent²⁰.

The total population of scheduled castes was 29,276 million which was 21.65 percent of total population. And total population of scheduled tribes was 288 million *which was* 6.21 percent of total population. The literacy rate of total population was 41.60 percent. Literacy among scheduled castes was 26.85 percent and among scheduled tribes was 35.70 percent. The literacy rate among males was 55.73 percent and among males of scheduled castes was 40.80 percent and scheduled tribes 49.95 percent. The literacy rate among females, in general, in the State was 25.31 percent, and among females of scheduled castes it was 10.69 percent, and among females of scheduled tribes 19.86 percent²¹.

The work participation rate (total workers as percentage of total population) in Uttar Pradesh was 32.20 percent and among scheduled castes was 35.29 percent and among scheduled tribes was 43.42 percent. Total participation of males in the work was 49.68 percent and among **the male** members of scheduled **castes** it was 50.80 percent and scheduled tribes 53.04 percent. Participation of female members in work was **12.32** percent and among females of scheduled castes was 17.61 percent and scheduled tribes **was 12.90** percent".

Hindi is the language spoken by **majority** of the people and it has three dialects the **Bhojpuri**, the **Awadhi** and the **Braj**. There are six religious **communities** in the State; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and Buddhists. Among the Hindus, the most numerous caste is that of Chamars. They are mentioned in the list of scheduled castes and are at the bottom of social ladder, both ritually as **well** as economically. Next to Chamars the numerous castes are Brahmins, Ahirs, Rajputs and **Kurmis**²². **Uttar Pradesh** is one of the states which witnessed the **politicization** of caste very **intensely**. Uttar Pradesh also witnessed a powerful communal political mobilization for the **construction of Ram Temple** at **Avodhy**²⁴.

The majority of the working people are engaged in cultivation. The Zamindari abolition in the State brought little change in the agrarian structure and the land continues to be distributed among the cultivators as inequitably as before. Various initiatives like Community Development, and National Extension Service were introduced with a view to raise the living standards of farmers, they however strengthened the upper strata of **peasantry** and erstwhile **Zamindars**²⁵.

Major political parties which are active at present in the State are: Indian National Congress Bharatiya Janata Party, Janata Dal, Samajwadi Party, **Bahujan** Samaj Party, Communist Party of India, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The State had fallen behind in economic development and modernization. Coalition Governments, political fluctuations, and violence based on caste, community and religion, social and economic backwardness, are the dominant traits of **Uttar Pradesh**²⁶.

West Bengal :

After the Moghuls, the **history** of modern Bengal begins with the advent of European and English trading companies. The Battle of Plassey, in 1757, changed the course of history when the English first gained a strong foothold in Bengal and subsequently in rest of India. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned by the Britishers to achieve some political returns, but the growing **people's** movement under the auspices of **Congress** led to its **reunion** in 1911²⁷. This triggered off hectic movement for freedom which culminated in Independence and partition. After 1947, the merger of native settlements began which ended with its final reorganization in 1956, when some neighboring Bengali speaking areas were transferred to **West Bengal**²⁸. Land frontiers of Bengal touch Bangladesh in east and are separated from Nepal in West. Bhutan lies in north west while **Sikkim** is in north. On west and south west are the States Bihar and Orissa respectively. The Bay of Bengal washes its Southern **frontiers**²⁹.

Agriculture contributes almost 50 percent of the **State's** income and between 70 and 80 percent of population is directly or indirectly involved in agriculture. Total irrigated area stands nearly 40 percent of the total cropped area. It is also one of the major industrial States in the country with 8,064 registered working factories in 1986. Number of registered small scale industries up to March 1989 was 2,79,769. Important multi purpose irrigation and power schemes are implemented in the State since 1947³⁰.

According to the 1991 census, West Bengal has an area of 88,752 sq. kms. with a population of 68,077,965 millions. The rural population is 49,370,364 millions and urban population is 18,77,601 millions³¹. In 1981 the literate population in West Bengal was 48.65 millions and in 1991 it rose to 57.70 millions. It ranks 18 in terms of literacy rate. In 1981 the literacy rate among males was 59.93 percent and females was 36.07 percent. In 1991 the literacy rate among males was 67.81 percent and females was 46.56 percent³². The population of scheduled castes was 16.089 millions (23.62% of total population) and the population of scheduled tribes was 3,809 million (5.59 percentage of total population). The literacy rate among scheduled castes was 42.21 percent, scheduled tribes was 27.28 percent. The literacy rate of males in the State was 67.81 percent (among the literate population) out of which literacy rate among males of scheduled castes was 54.55 percent and among males of scheduled tribes was 40.17 percent. The total literacy rate of females in the State was 46.56 percent and among females of scheduled castes it was 28.97 percent and scheduled tribes 14.98 percent³³. The participation in work (total workers as percentage of total population) was 32.19 percent. Among scheduled castes it was 33.31 percent and among scheduled tribes it was 47.66 percent. The participation of males in work (against the total population of workers) is 51.40 percent. Among the scheduled castes the work participation was 52.03 percent and among scheduled tribes it was 54.05 percent. The total participation of females in work was 11.25 percent. Among females of scheduled castes it was 13.22 percent and scheduled tribes it was 41.03 percent³⁴.

Politics in West Bengal is partly conditioned by its social environment. The tug of war between Center and State, which is a normal feature of classical federalism, is true in the case of West Bengal. The CPI(M) took the State along the path of ideological hostility with New Delhi during United Front rule and made itself a vehicle of Bengali regional sentiment. Chief Ministers emerged as bargainers par excellence for more food aid, financial assistance from New Delhi, because of built in 'Politics of Scarcity' in the State³⁵.

The major Political Parties which are active in the State are: Indian National Congress (I), Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)), Communist Party of India (CPI), Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), Forward Block (FB), Socialist Unity Center of India (SUCI), Janata Dal (JD), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and other Marxist Leninist groups. Political Parties like Bahujau Samaj Party (BSP) is also trying to form its base in the State. Caste and religion play a marginal role in the politics of the State.

West Bengal is the fortress of Left politics. It has seen the foundation of the British

rule in India, the replacement of the Raj by the Congress regime, and the ousting of the Congress by the United Front of the Left parties³⁶.

After a period of initial instability, from 1977 onwards, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has repeatedly been elected under the leadership of Mr Jyoti Basu. For the past two decades, West Bengal has been relatively well governed in spite of the **moderate** levels of political mobilization (some States are stable because of low levels of political mobilization and one party dominance). Now it is considered as an exception **in India's contemporary** political landscape because many States are presently experiencing political instability. The party's policies and **programmes** are more social democratic in its ideology rather than communist. The party's pragmatic policies and disciplined and effective organization have minimized the deliberate elite mobilization and counter mobilization which is so common in some other States. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has also consolidated a coalition of middle and lower peasants by implementing some modest redistributive programmes like the land reforms, devolution of power to local bodies etc. The **systematic** incorporation of the poor has reduced the attractiveness of **populism** and its emphasis on de institutionalization. Finally, the CPM has adopted a non threatening approach towards the property owning groups whose roots in production and economic growth remain essential for **the** long term welfare of the **State**³⁷. The other factors which contributed for the stability of Communist Party of India (Marxist) (**CPIM**) led Governments are the coalition that supports the CPI(M) is relatively stable, the gap **between** the Government's commitments and capacities is modest, political **violence on caste or** religious lines has been **minimal**³⁸.

Andhra Pradesh:

Andhra Pradesh is the first State to be formed on the linguistic principle in 1956³⁹. Andhra Pradesh is bounded on north by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the west by Maharashtra and Karnataka on the south by Tamilnadu and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. The State has a sea coast of about 914 km⁴⁰.

Andhra Pradesh has an area of 2,75,045 sq. **kms**. The total population of Andhra Pradesh was 66,508,008 million with a rural **population** of 48,620,282 millions and urban population of 17,887,126 million⁴¹. According to 1991 census, **44.09 millions were literate**. **55.13** percent among the literate population was males and 32.72 percent among the

literate population was females⁴². Among the total population, **10,592,000 million (15.93 percent)** was scheduled castes and 4,200,000 million (6.31 percent) was Scheduled tribes. **Literacy** rate among scheduled castes was 31.59 percent and scheduled tribes was **17.16** percent. The literacy rate among the **male** and female members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was less than the literacy rate of the general public. **Among** the male members of scheduled castes the literacy rate was 41.88 percent and among the scheduled tribes the literacy rate was 25.25 percent. Among the females members of scheduled castes the literacy rate was 20.92 percent while it was mere 8.68 percent in the case of **female** members of the Scheduled **tribes**⁴³. Work participation rate of the State (total workers as percentage of total population) was 45.05 percent. Among scheduled **castes** it is 51.08 percent and among scheduled tribes it is 54.03 percent. The work **participation** rate among male members of scheduled castes was 55.31 percent against the total male population of 55.48 percent. Among scheduled tribes was 57.30 percent. The total **female** work participation in Andhra Pradesh state was **34.32** percent. Among scheduled castes it was 46.7 percent and scheduled tribes it was 50.63 percent⁴⁴.

Andhra Pradesh is popularly referred to as a 'river **State**' as Godavari and Krishna, two important rivers of India, flow through it. Agriculture is the main occupation of about 70 percent of the people. Thirty five percent of cultivated area is irrigated. The State has surplus production in food grains, particularly rice. Several **major** industries are located in Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam.

Andhra Pradesh can be divided into three distinct regions on the basis of cultural identity, economic development and geographical features, viz., Coastal Andhra, **Rayalaseema**, and Telangana. Coastal Andhra is agriculturally developed, **whereas** the two other **regions** are backward in many respects⁴⁵. The major religious **communities** in the State include Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The Hindus, as elsewhere, are divided into several castes. The important castes in the State are **Brahmins**, Reddis, **Kammas**, **Velamas**, Kshatriyas, Kapus, Yadavas and the Other Backward Castes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were placed below the social hierarchy⁴⁶. From the beginning, the politically dominant castes are **Kammas** or Reddys. Of late, the backward Castes and Harijans are also politically organized. In **few** pockets of the State, particularly the Telangana districts, communist parties and Naxalite groups are also active.

Andhra Pradesh was described as the citadel of Congress Party up to 1983, after

which a competitive two party political system involving the Congress and the Telugu **Desam** came into existence. Factors like caste, community, and religion started influencing the political panorama of Andhra Pradesh, since the late **1980's**, which is a broad reflection of the political

processes at national level. The capital city, Hyderabad, witnesses communal disturbances occasionally.

The major political parties in the State are the **Indian** National Congress, Telugu Desam (TDP), Communist Party of India (**CPI**), Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata Dal, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Majlis Itehudul Muslim (**MIM**), Marxist and Leninist groups. For a brief period, the Telangana Praja Samithi, a regional political party demanding a separate State for Telangana was also in existence.

In 1977, when the Congress was routed from power by the Janata Party, at the center as well as in **most** of the north Indian States, Andhra Pradesh **remained one** of the **few** strongholds **of the** Congress Party. Within six years (this is after 1976 elections) in **the year 1983**, (nearly after three decades of continuous rule since **Independence**), Congress **lost** power in Andhra Pradesh to a regional political party. After that Andhra Pradesh was one of the few Indian States that was not swept by the Rajiv wave in 1984 and 1985⁴.

The decline of Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh was caused by factors like repeated central intervention in the **State's** politics, the selection **of Chief** Ministers by Mrs. Gandhi, factionalism and the changing political sympathies during the late **1970's** and **1980's** of the **State's** important socio-economic groups the **Kammas** and Other Backward Castes who account for nearly half **of the State's population**⁴⁸.

The other explanation for the emergence of Telugu Desam Party was the **changes** in the political processes of federalism. Firstly, a section **of the** big bourgeoisie favoured the grant of some power or powers to the States in order to accommodate the demands of rising regional bourgeoisie and make them fully integrated with **all** India capitalist development. Secondly, the rising bourgeoisie and rich peasants in different parts **of the** country sought considerable expansion of powers for the State Governments by restructuring the center State relations which would enable them to exercise power in their respective areas. The rising middle class with linkages either with the emerging

bourgeoisie or rich peasantry also demanded autonomy to protect its cultural identity. The **Akali** Dal in Punjab, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Dravidian Parties in Tamil Nadu, Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) in Assam were examples of this trend which dominated the contemporary discourse⁴⁹.

The Telugu Desam Party and its leader not only took the advantage of factionalism in the Congress, but also used powerful cultural and mythological symbols. N. T. Rama Rao emphasized Telugu nationalism and highlighted the corrupt political culture of the Congress and stressed how repeated interventions from Delhi had destroyed the Telugu **people's** pride and capacity for self Government⁵⁰. N. T. Rama Rao promised various welfare schemes for women and youth. He introduced the populist schemes like mid day meals, Rs. 2 kg rice for poor, and concessions to the farmers⁵¹. Reservations designed to improve job and educational opportunities for backward classes won him the support of backward castes⁵². Well oiled party machinery, personal charisma, support of powerful media (regional news papers) also contributed to the success of Telugu Desam Party. The Telugu Desam **Party's authoritarian rule**, corruption in the administration, growing unrest in the villages paved the way for the victory of the Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh in 1989⁵³.

Responses of the State Governments :

Any educational reform or a new policy initiative should clearly define the purpose and goals of an educational system without which attempts to reform it becomes meaningless. There can be differences in the perceptions regarding the purpose of educational system. These differences might be due to the divergent value preferences. Various Commissions in the post independence period and policy makers both at the Union and State levels have defined the purpose of the education system. In the context of the formulation of the NPE 1986, the responses of the State Governments were not clear enough regarding the purpose of an educational system. But the Union Government felt that the purpose of an educational system is the development of human resources⁵⁴.

The **observation** of the Education Commission (1964-66) that the destiny of India is now being shaped in her class rooms is no more a mere **rhetoric**. In a world based on science and **technology**, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare

and security of the people. Education is concerned with national development which means the development of physical and human **resources** of the nation. **In** a traditional society like ours it is an instrument of modernization and an agent of social change⁵⁵.

Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective **1985** and {National Policy on Education **1986** had observed that the purpose of educational system is the development of human resources. They had observed that in the history of **mankind** education has formed a continuum and basis for the development of human society.

The **Review** Committee on NPE did not regard the purpose of an educational system as mere human resource development. **It** felt that the purpose of **an** educational system is value formation and empowerment, i.e., providing a techno- informative or sound knowledge base, empowering the person through knowledge on which one can build later on. Education must also play an interventionist and catalyst role too for promoting national cohesion **and** unity by empowering the students to become agents of social **change**⁵⁶.

Though various Committees, Commissions and status papers clearly revealed the purpose of an educational system, the State Governments ruled by both the Congress and the opposition parties could not state **comprehensively** **what** is the purpose of educational system. The development of human resources is the **primary** purpose of an educational system was stated by the NPE 1986. The then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv **Gandhi** **stated** that the purpose of an educational system is to build **the character of an** individual **and** prepare him to **face the world**⁵⁷. The then Minister of Human Resources Development had observed that the twin **problems** of poverty and unrestrained population growth cannot be tackled unless functional literacy and social awareness **were** provided to all persons in the age group of 15-35 **years**⁵⁸. **It** is evident from his **observation** that the purpose of educational system is to tackle the above said socio-economic problems.

Many State Governments seem to be endorsing the stand of the NPE 1986 regarding the purpose of an educational system. The West Bengal Government Stated that the purpose of an educational system should be linked with **the socio** economic development. The Andhra Pradesh State Government recognized the human resource development as the important function in the educational process and **development**⁵⁹.

No policy can be formulated in isolation as its implications affect other policies also. For example, the New Economic Policy of the Government influenced the reforms in the educational system too. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Human Resource Development admitted this fact indirectly. The State Governments did not discuss this issue directly, **while** discussing vocational education, technical education and other aspects of educational policy, they tried to establish the **linkage**.

Both the Central Government and the State Governments had given importance to the universalization of elementary education. The Directive Principles of Indian Constitution also mentioned about universalization of elementary education as one of its **goals**⁶⁰.

The Committee for Review of NPE 1986 had observed that the continued failure of the Government since independence to fulfill the constitutional directives of providing education to all children up to the age of 14 years is a teasing reality. Undoubtedly, this problem qualifies for being ranked as the most fundamental problem of our educational system. It recommended that, for effective realization of universalization of **elementary** education, the right to education, should be examined for inclusion amongst the fundamental rights guaranteed under the constitution of India. Simultaneously other socio-economic measures also should be taken⁶¹.

Due to the magnitude of the problem, central Government, State Governments expressed their views on universalization of **elementary** education. These responses are classified into four categories, for the sake of clarity, though there is overlapping and similarities in these responses. The four categories **include**: (i) the views of the Central Government as expressed by the then Prime Minister and Minister of Human Resource Development; (ii) the views of Congress ruled State Governments (though **Uttar Pradesh** was taken as a case study some of the similar or **otherwise** important **recommendations** of other State Governments are **also** included) (iii) the responses of non-Congress and non Left ruled State Governments; (**iv**) the responses of Left Front ruled State **Governments**.

Any strategy for educational planning will have to deal with the problems of: (a) access (b) equity and minimum **threshold**, availability of good quality elementary education to all children⁶². Universalization of elementary education, which was a commitment enshrined in the Constitution, ought to deserve the attention of both the central and the

State Governments. The NPE 1986 had observed that the new thrust in elementary education will emphasize two aspects (i) universal enrollment and universal **retention** of children up to 14 years age **and** (ii) a substantial **improvement** in the quality of education. To achieve universalization of **elementary** education by 1995 it resolved to adopt a child centered approach and focused on provision of minimum school facilities **which** was symbolically called "Operation Blackboard" a co-ordinated effort with non-formal education⁶⁵.

The Conference of the CAME to consider the NPE 1986 had observed that there was a general consensus almost the total agreement on giving priority to eradication of illiteracy and **for** achieving universalization of elementary education⁶⁴.

The Uttar Pradesh Government felt that it is the Constitutional responsibility of the Government to provide the facility of primary education to the children below fourteen years by 1990. Regarding universalization of **elementary** education it had made the following recommendations:

- a) **New** schools and non formal education centers to be opened for **unserved** and under served population groups and regions, viz. girls, children belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims.
- b) More middle schools for girls need to be opened and where ever necessary residential schools be provided for them in a block.
- c) Likewise, talented children from inaccessible areas and with no middle school facilities to be brought to the residential schools.
- d) No **new** schools and centers to be opened **without** teachers and adequate physical **infrastructure**⁶⁵.

It had further suggested that in realizing universalization of elementary education people's participation has to be ensured, the school **campus** to be developed as **cultural** centers of villages, and mid-day meals scheme to be introduced (as it implemented in other States) for better enrollment and retention⁶⁶.

The Governments of Bihar, Manipur, and Rajasthan also recommended the **development** of minimum facilities in schools, pre primary education, anganwadis, people's

participation, mid day meal scheme for better enrollment⁶⁷. The Rajasthan Government went a step further and suggested that to make free and compulsory education more effective, education should be transferred from the concurrent list to the central list, and for next fifteen years education should be brought under compulsory education Act⁶⁸. The recommendations of these State Governments regarding universalization of elementary education did not contain anything novel and at the same time failed to focus on the other linkages **like** poverty and illiteracy.

The Andhra Pradesh Government, ruled by the Telugu **Desam** Party, had accepted many points made in the NPE 1986. It had observed that there is a heavy dropout rate at the elementary school stage **due** to various **socio** economic reasons. **In** order to achieve cent percent enrollment, the dropout children should be covered under ~~the non formal~~ education programme as an alternative to the formal system. The Government of Andhra Pradesh had mentioned the steps it had **taken** to universalize elementary education like opening of new primary schools, schools in less inhabited areas, strengthening of single teacher schools by providing second teachers and upgrading primary schools to **upper primary** schools. **It** had also taken steps like providing uniforms and textbooks, encouraging education through audio visual methods and mid day meals. **It** Stated that minimum infrastructure facilities were ensured under '**Operation Blackboard**' scheme to achieve universalization of elementary education⁶⁹.

One can discern similar trends in the recommendations of State Governments of Pondicherry, Karnataka, Union Territory of Delhi. They recommended the introduction of mid day meals, free uniform, textbooks, compensation to poor parents (opportunity cost compensation) for sending their children to schools, flexibility in school timings, attaching pre **primary** and nursery schools to primary educational centers and **multiple** entry system during the elementary stage⁷⁰.

As regards West Bengal, it opposed many aspects of ~~the~~ NPE 1986. **It** tried to provide a lead to the other State Governments ruled by the non-Congress parties in opposing the NPE 1986. It was more assertive in demanding greater autonomy to the State Governments and higher allocation of financial resources by the center to the States⁷¹. Regarding universalization of elementary education, it **felt** that adequate finances must be **made** available to the States and the Union Government must participate in cost sharing. It also suggested that **non** formal education should no, ~~be~~ treated as a

supplementary to the formal education in achieving universalization of elementary education⁷².

The economic constraints arising from the nature of production relations, rural urban disparities and skewed distribution of income is significantly contributing to the enrollment and retention pattern in education. The enrollment and retention of students, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels is greatly affected by poverty which necessitates young people to take activities for augmenting their family incomes.

The 'Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective' had rightly observed that in relation to equity and quality of education, economic constraints play an even more important part. The growth curve of enrollment has flattened out in recent years mainly because of the non participants belong to the hard core of poor and illiterate⁷³. Though alleviation of poverty and other socio-economic measures, like opportunity cost compensation, contribute significantly to change the present scenario, the Union Government suggested non formal education as one of the **instrumentalities to achieve the** Constitutional goal, i.e., universalization of **elementary** education. The non formal education, adult education, distance **education** are the various instrumentalities envisaged by the NPE 1986 to equalize and democratize educational **opportunities**⁷⁴.

The realization of the universalization of elementary education was emphasized by many State **Governments**. As it was stated earlier, equity in education has acquired the center stage in educational reform. The non-formal education as a viable alternative to the formal education, and as a supplementary, **complementary to the formal education** are the two areas which figured in the debate amongst the State Governments.

The Uttar Pradesh Government opined that non formal education should be featured as an independent educational system rather than treating it as a **supplementary to the formal education system**⁷⁵. Apart from that, it also felt that so long as the adult literacy programme does not acquire a resolution form, illiteracy cannot be wiped out, the benefits of Science and technology will not reach the people and the people **will not overcome** superstitions and **will not** be motivated to work in the absence of literacy⁷⁶.

Some State Governments like Orissa, Rajasthan, Manipur, Gujarat favoured the role of **nonformal** education to achieve universalization of elementary education". For example, the Rajasthan Government felt that **nonformal** education should not be allotted

meager funds as in the past which led to poor facilities and **standards**⁷⁸.

The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh felt that **nonformal** education requires more intensive training and more competent people to impart **elementary education** to **non** entrants and school dropouts⁷⁹.

The Education Minister of West Bengal cautioned that non formal education should be treated as a complementary to elementary education and not as a cheap substitute for formal elementary education. **While stating this** the Government has taken a stand that "so long as we fail to achieve the constitutional obligation to impart formal schooling to all children up to the age of fourteen years the need for non- formal education will **continue**"⁸⁰.

The recommendations of the State Governments, ruled by both ~~the~~ Congress and non Congress parties, and the emphasis given by the Central Government indicates the fact that there is a general realization regarding the urgency of having a learning society. Though the concern is genuine, the recommendations suggested by them are less adequate.

In recent years, there has been an increasing realization of the importance of **distance** education to meet the growing needs of the society. Equalizing educational opportunities and democratizing education, making education more accessible and cost effective to the large population, are the concerns of educational reform today. The **New** Educational Policy of **1986** raises an important question of equity in education. One of the possible alternatives suggested in this context for augmenting educational opportunities to many is distance education which provides an alternative institutional arrangement which uses multimedia approach to make education accessible to different sections of society.

The minutes of the meeting of the Conference of State **Education** Ministers, convened by Ministry of Education to discuss the '**Challenge** of Education- A Policy Perspective' reveals that establishment of the Open University **received** the support of all State Governments. A number of **participants** mentioned that the Open University is cost effective for reaching people who want higher education **but** can neither get admission into the institutions of higher learning nor have the time and opportunity to do so⁸¹.

The participants also expressed the need for flexibility at all stages. ~~They called for~~ adoption of a **multi** media approach and mentioned that apart from the regular courses,

the Open Universities should also organize programmes of continuing education for the work force. The needs of the economically weaker sections were also stressed. The Union Education Minister generally supported the idea of States setting up open universities, but underlined the need for ensuring the quality of education imparted by these universities even if this meant a longer preparatory period. There **was** a general agreement that there was a great merit in discouraging the opening of new colleges and universities on the conventional pattern. They unanimously favoured diversification of courses and initiation of composite courses **comprising** modules of theoretical and vocational oriented practical **courses**⁸². It is further evident from the stand taken by the central Government regarding the establishment of the Open University. To quote the CAGE proceedings "The Open University had been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education as an instrument of democratizing education. The Indira Gandhi National Open University, established **in** 1985 in fulfillment of these objectives would be strengthened. The instrument of open and distance learning will have to be developed with care and extended with caution⁸³." The Union Government favoured the **role of** various instruments and systems like distance learning, open universities, non-formal education, adult and continuing education, mass media and technology to augment educational opportunities and to democratize **education**⁸⁴.

The responses of **all** the State Governments (belonging to **both** the **Congress** and non Congress parties) are in favour of setting up of open universities. The Uttar Pradesh Government opined that the open system of learning should include open universities and correspondence courses. The idea of open universities and correspondence courses was strongly supported to stop the flow of students to colleges⁸⁵. There was no opposition to the idea of setting up an Open University from the Andhra Pradesh State Government. In fact, Andhra Pradesh is a pioneer in setting up of Open University much before the introduction of the NPE **1986**⁸⁶. The State Governments **of** Tamil Nadu and West Bengal took a slightly different stand, though they did not oppose the concept of the Open University. Both of them wanted to convert one of their existing universities Into an open university⁸⁷.

The major thrust of the NPE **1986** is on setting up of Navodaya Vidyalayas. The NPE **1986**, says "It is universally accepted that the children with special talents or aptitude should be provided opportunities to proceed with a faster **pace**, by making good quality **education** available to them, irrespective of the capacity to pay for it"⁸⁸. The goal is

document further says **"Pace"** setting schools intended to serve this purpose will be established in **various** parts of the country on a given pattern, but with scope **for** innovation and **experimentation**. Their broad aims will be to serve the objective of excellence coupled with equity and social justice (with reservation for SCs and STs), to promote national integration by providing opportunities to talented children largely from different parts of the country to live and learn together, to develop their full potential, and most importantly, to become a catalyst of a nation wide **programme** of school **improvement**. These schools will be residential and free of charge"⁸⁹.

The then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, emphasized the need and significance of Navodaya Vidyalayas while touching upon the important issues of the **NPE 1986**. To quote him: **"Excellence** has been lost in our drive for mass education; everything is reduced to mediocrity. We have developed a scheme of model schools points of excellence which **we** hope will be able to put up in each district during the next five **years**"⁹⁰." He further proclaimed that Navodaya Vidyalaya is the first major egalitarian step that has been taken in imparting good education to the poorest and the weakest **sections**. It is a quest for equality and quality; the best schools for the best children no matter what their background economic, cultural or social is."⁹¹ He also repudiated the charges that Navodaya Vidyalayas do not ensure equality and promote elitism⁹². In **spite** of assertions regarding the egalitarian and non elitist nature of model **schools** by the then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and Education Minister, a storm has been raised on model schools. One of the members of the CAGE, (an educationist) who was closely associated with the formulation of the NPE 1986 and the senior bureaucrats in the Education **Ministry** confided to the researcher that, in spite of the opposition to the Navodaya Vidyalayas, the Central Government and more specifically the Prime Minister is interested in this scheme **because** for the first time the central Government would **get a foothold in** the State sector **of** education. It is quite noteworthy to mention that before the enactment of the Constitutional amendment in **1976**, when education was *in* the State list, the role of the central Government was confined to the central sector, namely higher education, where **the central** Government was a mere guide **and** *coordinator*. *Other than this*, they observed that **without** Navodaya Vidyalayas, there is nothing much new in the so called "New Education Policy".

The CAGE in its meeting held on 24-28 April, 1986 to consider **the document**. The NPE 1986 A Presentation had maintained that "most of the members welcomed the **establishment** of Navodaya Vidyalayas as pace setting institutions in various parts of the

country on a given pattern but with full scope for innovation and experimentation⁹⁻¹. It is also recorded in its minutes **that** the Education Minister **of** West Bengal, expressed strong **reservations** about the proposals as serving **the** needs of small elite groups". **The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh** suggested the use of regional language as the **medium** of instruction in Navodaya Vidyalayas⁹⁵.

There was a lot of unanimity among the Congress ruled State Governments regarding the model schools, hence no concrete recommendations have been put forward by those State Governments. They welcomed the concept of model schools in each district⁹⁶.

The State Governments ruled by regional parties, like Telugu **Desam**, Assam Ganaparishad, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra **Kazagam (AIDMK)**, had more or less similar views on medium of instruction or the language policy to be followed in Navodaya Vidyalayas. For instance, the Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh had suggested that in Navodaya Vidyalayas, regional language should ultimately be the medium of instruction from the kindergarten stage in accordance with the declared policy of the Government of India. For students from the other States, options can be given to choose from either English or Hindi or their mother tongue. The Minister had informed that Andhra Pradesh has implemented the three language formula in letter and spirit with the result that **very** large number of students failed in secondary school certificate exam (SSC) only because of Hindi. If the students are denied opportunity to learn through their mother tongue in the proposed **Navodaya** Vidyalayas it would do a great injustice⁹⁷.

The same **view** was endorsed by the Education Minister of Assam, who wanted the Navodaya Vidyalayas to be under the control of State Governments with the **financial** support from the **center**⁹⁸. The Minister for Education Government of Tamil Nadu said that Government of his State was in broad agreement with the NPE 1986. **Regarding** Navodaya Vidyalayas, he suggested that the mother tongue is the best medium at the school. The emphasis on Hindi/ English medium from standard 8-9 is a moot point, because migration of pupils at tender age from one State to another State thousands of miles away is not practicable. Navodaya Vidyalayas in non Hindi speaking States should have medium of instruction only in regional language along with the English medium, if necessary, for the benefit of linguistic minorities and migrants from other States. The language taught in Navodaya Vidyalaya should be in step with the mainstream of schools in Tamil Nadu which follows the '**Two Language Formula.**'⁹⁹ The same stand was taken

by the then Chief Minister late. M.G. Ramachandran at the **NDC** meeting on April 29, 1986.¹⁰⁰

The West Bengal, ruled by the Left Front, opposed the idea of Navodaya Vidyalayas or the model schools. It had observed that these schools would have an elitist bias. These are some centers of excellence. It had asked the Union Government to hold discussions on this issue with the State Governments.¹⁰¹ Prof. **Shambu** Ghosh, Minister of Education observed : "in our country there are still two nations the rich and the poor, the privileged and under privileged each with a separate culture and way of life. Cultural and economic domination of privileged few over vast multitude **creates** a schism and weakens social cohesion. The so called public schools and the proposed model schools in each district and the centers of excellence for higher education will perpetuate the traditional hierarchical structure of society and will erode democratic values and social justice for which we stand."¹⁰² Another Left Front ruled State, Tripura also opposed Navodaya **Vidyalayas** as institutions meant to train up excellently "a privileged **few**' for **securing** the interest of not of the country as a whole but particular section of the **society**, that is national and international bourgeoisie."¹⁰³

The **Review** Committee on **NPE: 1986** noted that the Union Government decided to go ahead **with** the scheme of Navodaya Vidyalayas in spite of objections and words of caution from eminent educationists, officials, and experts. These objections **were to** the effect that the principles of nurturing a small number of children on high per capita cost would not be **appropriate**. that entrance tests were not capable of being designed in a class neutral or culture **free way** and the selection system itself was likely to discriminate against the children from the under- privileged backgrounds.¹⁰⁴

The **Review** Committee also **noted** that three major States, Assam, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal had declined to accept the scheme on the following grounds:

1. The scheme with its heavy per capita expenditure and small coverage was too elitist to be accepted.
2. The insistence in the scheme to switch over, after class **VIII**, from the respective State language to English for Science and Hindi for Social Sciences was not acceptable on educational grounds, as it would have an adverse impact on the development of students.
3. Being a centrally- sponsored scheme it entered an arena which legitimately belonged to the States.¹⁰⁵

The Review Committee had suggested that the existing 261 Navodaya Vidyalayas may be transferred to the State sector, and the States should run them on the lines of residential schools as in Andhra Pradesh. The Navodaya Vidyalaya scheme may be transformed into a Navodaya Vidyalaya programme of broad based talent nurturing and pace setting.¹⁰⁶

Another issue which the NPE: 1986 envisages is national system of education. The national system of education envisages a common educational structure i.e., 10 2 3. It is also based on a national **curricular** framework which contains a common core along with other components that are flexible. The common core includes the history of India's freedom movement, the Constitutional obligations and other contents essential to nurture national identity. These elements will cut across subject areas and are designed to promote values such as **India's** common cultural heritage, **egalitarianism**, democracy, secularism, equality of the sexes, protection of the environment, removal of social barriers, observance of small family norms, inculcation of scientific temper, international co operation and peaceful co existence.¹⁰⁷

The emphasis given to national curricular framework, by the Central Government, is clearly **evident**. The then Minister of Human Resource Development, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao had observed the need for a national curricular framework with a core to look after the qualitative and integrative aspect of education along with a sizeable component of State and local inputs and initiative. He further said that the national curricular framework is not intended to be uniform or inflexible. But it is a / system in which common national values are imbibed to all learners, with ample scope for variations depending on the regional and local cultural milieu, requirements of **environment** and the needs of the **learners**.¹⁰⁸

The State Education Ministers conference, to discuss the “Challenge of Education A Policy **Perspective**”, endorsed the importance of moving towards a national system of education. Such a system, they emphasized, would include universal access to education for children and adults, improvement of standards, vocationalisation, promotion of national integration through educational programmes, etc. It is reported in the minutes of the CABE that a number of Ministers made pointed references regarding advisability of having a **common** core curriculum within an overall framework characterized by a great degree of flexibility in respect of content and innovative creation with the environment and in relation to the teaching learning process. With the exception of the Education Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura, the idea of **evolving** and introducing a common

core curriculum **was** welcomed by the rest of the **ministers**¹⁰⁹. Though it is not reported in the minutes of the meeting, a section of the press reported that Education **Minister** of Tamil Nadu had opposed national core curriculum¹¹⁰. It is also reported in the minutes of the same meeting that a national core curriculum would be an important means for establishing certain national learning terms, augmenting **mobility**, and instilling nationally shared perceptions and values. It was agreed that a strong mechanism for regular review, impact study and continuous improvement of curriculum was necessary not only for school education but also for vocational, technical and higher education.¹¹¹

There is a consensus among the various State Governments **regarding** the national core curriculum with the exception of Tripura, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. However, the State Governments ruled by Congress Party came with more details while endorsing the desirability of having a national core curriculum.

The **Uttar Pradesh** Government favoured primary school curriculum to be **activity** oriented. It favoured a uniform curriculum for elementary education **all** over the country for ensuring national unity, integrity and for development of scientific temper, secularism and understanding of the environment of the child. Even at the higher level there should be a uniform curriculum for the whole country and teaching of Sciences and mathematics should get due care. Curriculum and textbooks should be designed in such a way as to make the students familiar with the cultural **heritage of the** country, apart from introducing them to the other languages of the other States, classical languages and familiarizing them with the social and economic conditions of the society. The curriculum should also develop in them the need for the tolerance for the other religions. The proportion between national and regional curricula should be in the optimal ratio of Seventy to Thirty percent (70 : 30). The regional curricula should give emphasis to the immediate environment of the **child**.¹¹² The same view was endorsed by the Governments of Arunachal Pradesh, Pondicherry and the Union territory of **Delhi**.¹¹³

As mentioned earlier, in the minutes of State Education **Ministers** conference and the CABE, the Governments **of** West Bengal and Tripura opposed the national core curriculum. The West Bengal Government opined that the concept of a **core curriculum** should never be a mechanical, but it should act as a model to be adapted to the peculiar social, economic, geographical, and **regional** characteristics of our country. The basic objective should be to evolve the best standard for the entire nation which may be **FK** uniform yet would never be identical¹¹⁴. The West Bengal Government further

recommended that the **curriculum** and syllabus should be framed with an eye on national integration with scope for regional variations and should be relevant to life **situations**.¹¹⁵

With regard to higher education divergent views were being expressed. ~~While~~ few were arguing for further expansion of higher education others favoured **consolidation**. The restructuring of higher education will not be possible unless the policy **makers** take the factors like access, equality, quality, social relevance, resources and management of higher education into cognizance. Education in general and higher education in particular acquires a crucial role in national development. It is worth recalling the words of Jawaharlal Nehru who had observed that if **all** is well with the universities, all will be well with the nation. Despite the key role assigned to the higher education, the development in this field has been extremely uneven. ‘Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective **1985**’ had observed that only 4.8 percent of the relevant age group are enrolled in higher education¹¹⁶. The proportion is even more adverse in the case of some regions, women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled **Tribes**. The rural areas have been touched only marginally by higher education of quality. A recent report brought out by the Ministry of Human Resource Development further reveals that students enrollment is of the order of four million 88% of the enrollment being for graduate courses, 9.5% for post graduate courses and **1.1%** for research work. Among this, forty percent of the enrollment is for Art **courses**, 21% for Commerce courses and 19% for Sciences. Women ~~account for the 1.3~~ million of the enrolled.¹¹⁷ It had further observed that "proliferation of universities and colleges has been rather unplanned and the infrastructure facilities are grossly inadequate. There is a marked mismatch between education and employment. Wastage in the system in terms of failures the incidence of low pass percentages is very high. Examination reforms have been slow. There are serious complaints at all levels about the lack of responsiveness in the system. Added to it is the lack of maintenance of standards in higher education".¹¹⁸

Consolidation of facilities within the existing **institutions** instead of opening new institutions in the field of higher education is the emerging trend of the NPE: 1986.

Restrictions on the subsidies for higher and professional education is broadly favoured by policy makers. For example, the then Prime Minister while addressing the **meeting** of National Development Council had observed that “~~we~~ we have to see how far ~~we~~ we want to subsidize higher and professional education, the scale at which ~~we now do it~~ it is

totally disproportionate if we look at the primary education and secondary education. People must pay a reasonable proportion of the actual costs involved. At the same time, we must see that weaker sections are helped and are not isolated **because of economic reasons**".¹¹⁹

It is reported in the minutes of the Conference of State Education **Ministers**, except West Bengal and Tripura, advocated that there should be regulation of admission to higher education. However the conference favoured regulation of admission to go side by side with; a) effective diversification of courses at the secondary level; b) **establishment** of a satisfactory system of testing and screening on the basis of capabilities and aptitudes; c) provision of alternate arrangements to pursue further studies through **correspondence** and other means of distance learning; d) provision of sufficient safeguards for persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes and weaker sections.¹²⁰ The Education Ministers of States and Union Territories felt that **the** present system of examination was in danger of losing its credibility. This resulted in the dysfunctionality and irrelevance of educational programmes. With a view to ensure the reliability and objectivity of examinations, / urgent reforms involving assessment of students on a continuous FR basis in place of reliance on annual examinations was emphasized. The CABE identified the thrust and direction of the NPE: 1986 regarding **higher** education. The conference emphasized the need for taking urgent steps to protect the system from degradation. **It** made the following recommendations:

- (i) Autonomy to few colleges and departments on selective basis in the place of present system of **affiliation**.
- (ii) Constitution of State Councils of higher education for an **effective** coordination of higher **education**.
- (iii) developing appropriate mechanism between the **UGC** and the State councils to bolster the educational **standards**.¹²²
- (iv) research in the **universities** should be provided enhanced support and **steps** should be taken to ensure its quality.
- (v) efforts may be made to encourage the setting up of national research facilities within the university system with proper forms of autonomous management and;
- (vi) in the interests of greater co-ordination and consistency in policy, sharing of facilities and developing **interdisciplinary** research, a national body covering **higher education** in general, agricultural, **medical**, technical, legal and other professional fields in particular need to be set up.¹

The conference further observed that research, as a means of renovation or renewal of educational processes, **will** be undertaken by **all** higher technical institutions. High priority should be given to modernization and removal of **obsolescence**.¹²⁴

Higher education has been an area of concern for all the states, except **Haryana**, which has confined itself only to school level. A study done by the National **Institute** of Educational Planning and Administration on '**State Responses**' had **pointed** out a few issues which were highlighted by the states (the researcher also attempted to present the information from other sources independently). These issues are; '**access** to higher **education**', delinking degrees from jobs'; '**role** and structure of the UGC'; governance of higher education, democratization of university administration and participation of teachers, students and non teaching staff in politics **etc.**¹²⁵

The State Governments, ruled by both Congress and non Congress parties, expressed their views on various issues pertaining to higher education. The **Uttar Pradesh** and West **Bengal** governments were more vocal and explicit in their views. The views of the Andhra Pradesh government were not that forthcoming. It is to be noted that there is **similarity** (with a marginal divergence) in the views of other states ruled by **Congress** Party like Orissa, Rajasthan, Bihar, etc.

The Uttar Pradesh government felt that selective admission into colleges and universities should be based on **entrance** examination.¹²⁶ It also recommended the need for strengthening the existing research **base** in higher education by introducing **research** orientation and facilities at the under graduate level. **It recommended** the development of both applied and **fundamental**, research. To avoid duplication, a system of dissemination of research in higher education to all parts of the country was also recommended*¹²⁷

Regarding the *UGC* the **U.P.** government had observed that its **role and** structure needs to undergo a change to enable it to maintain its standards more effectively. It suggested establishment of counterparts of the UGC, at state and district levels, for **regulation** of curriculum and standards. It pleaded for a **major** role to the Central Government to **lay** down a national framework in administering and determining the structure and curriculum of higher education.¹²⁸ If one observes the **recommendations** of the Uttar Pradesh government one can discern that these **recommendations are** broadly in consonance with the stand taken **by** the Central Government on the NPE: 1986. For

instance, while pleading for equalization of educational opportunities among different groups and regions, the Uttar Pradesh government pleaded for a freeze ~~on~~ further opening of general education colleges and closure of non viable colleges. Instead of opening more colleges, the existing colleges should be provided with the necessary facilities like laboratories and libraries.¹²⁹ It is worth quoting from the report brought out by the **NIEPA** which says: “a large number of groups in Uttar Pradesh felt that there should be a freeze on opening of new institutions of higher learning **and instead** the emphasis should be on upgrading and introduction of courses of applied nature with bias in favour of sciences, technology and development.”¹³⁰

The Uttar Pradesh government felt that the aim of higher education should be to enable the total development of an individuals personality and the realization of basic ideals of humanity, in addition to technical advancement. It also felt that the higher education should prepare the students to meet the requirements of a region and the nation.¹³¹ Regarding the structure of higher education, it favoured a uniform structure for the whole country and called for uniformity of standards. It strongly recommended that the cadre of **All** India Education Service should be created and **10+2+3** system should be applied in Uttar Pradesh.¹³² More or **less** similar views were expressed by other State Governments ruled by the Congress **Party**.¹³³

The Andhra Pradesh government had mixed responses to various issues pertaining to the NPE 1986. It favoured consolidation of facilities within the existing **institutions**.¹³⁴ It also demanded that a branch of University Grants Commission be **established in** South **India**.¹³⁵

The State Governments ruled by the Congress Party endorsed the stand taken by the Central Government on various issues pertaining to higher education. They favoured the restricted access to higher education, and consolidation of facilities within the existing institutions. Not only the State Governments, even the Science Advisory Council to the Prime Minister had stated that “the universities turn out a large number of graduates many of whom end up by being unemployed or underemployed, being perhaps even unemployable.”¹³⁶ The then Prime Minister also shared the **same** view.

The opposition of the West Bengal government to the New Education **Policy** is relatively substantial while the opposition of other non Congress governments is **peripheral**

The Chief Minister of West Bengal **felt** that the proposed policy of discouraging higher education in the name of protecting quality was counter productive. The **number** of persons receiving higher education is not so high as to warrant restrictions, **in** fact this restriction may be due to the fear of educated unemployed.¹³⁷

It is further observed that the curtailment of higher education is unjustified as it has no bearing on unemployment. The researchers and social scientists have proved that there is less expansion in higher education in that specific age group and concluded that higher education should not be blamed for **unemployment**. Unemployment is the result of wrong economic policies and planning pursued by the government.

On the issues related to literacy and higher education, the Education Minister of West Bengal presented the full statistics which disproves the view that higher education is expanding. While addressing the State Education Ministers Conference on the NPE 1986, held at Hyderabad, he wished to draw the attention of Education Ministers and other guests to the melancholy situation prevailing in the domain of higher education. To quote (i) only 36% of our people are capable of signing their names whereas the percentage is 45 in African countries; (ii) 16% of the world's population is in our country, but over 40% of the world illiterates are living in our country. As reported in the '**Challenge** of Education: A Policy Perspective' **at** the beginning of **the** 21st century, we shall have 54.8% of the world illiterate people; (iii) the world average percentage **of** enrollment in colleges and universities to the population of relevant age group (17- 23 yr. of age) is 17.2% against the Indian percentage of 4.8. (In Africa it is 5.6%; in Asia it is 10.1%; and in Latin America **22.2%**). **The** Minister further mentioned that compared to other developing countries India spends less on education. He quotes the UNESCO's report **w** **hich** reveals the expenditure of various countries on Research and Development, To quote "all the countries of the world would spend an average of **2.4%** of GNP for Research and Development, countries of Asia spend 1.08% and **India** spends **0.6%** only. As a result, in India 45% of Ph.D's and 69% of Masters in Engineering are engaged in activities unconnected with Research and Development". (See Challenge of Education A Policy **Perspective**). **The** ratio of the scientists to the population in India is only 47 per million, it is 57 in Indonesia, 63 in Pakistan, 97 in Philippines, 159 in **Iran**, **109** in Sri Lanka, and 418 in South Korea.¹³⁸ The West Bengal government broadly **felt** that there should be no ban or moratorium on opening of new colleges. Its Minister for Higher Education had observed that, though there has been a great **deal** of expansion of education in our **country**, the percentage continues to be small in **comp.arison** with other

developing **countries**.¹³⁹ It also felt that greater dependence on private sector for expansion of higher education would not be in consonance with the declared national goals.¹⁴⁰ The NPE:1986 pleaded for the institution, and Industry **and** beneficiary agencies linkages. Significantly another state **government Sikkim**, opined that there should be no moratorium on opening of new colleges.¹⁴¹

It is observed by the social scientists and academicians that the NPE:1986 is in response to the New Economic Policy. Pursuant to this '**challenge** of education vocational training through special institutions are essential to provide man power for economic growth, particularly for the maintenance of the infrastructure and for the production technologies. It observed that in many ways, the vocational dimension of education provides the link between the production function, employment and educational **process**. In the process of imparting vocational skills, the school system has to be integrated with its immediate environment and the community in which it is located.¹⁴² The document **felt** the need for a radical reconstruction with sufficient financial backing. **It** suggested work experience component. In Secondary education at the ten plus stage or the pre vocational and work experience programmes in 9 and 10 classes. It pleaded for the better linkages between the vocational streams and industries to augment the **opportunities** for self- **employment**.¹⁴³

The concept **of vocationalisation** as presented in the NPE 1986 reflects the thrust of '**Challenge** of Education. A Policy Perspective¹ and its link with secondary education. The Policy statement says: "**Vocationalisation** through **specialized** institutions and through the refashioning of secondary education can provide valuable man power for economic **growth**".¹⁴⁴

Recognizing the significance of vocational **education**, the **C.A.BE** endorsed the following resolution. "Vocational Education should be a distinct stream and these vocational courses should ordinarily be provided after the secondary stage, in order to ensure more flexibility and also be made available after class **8th**". It favoured the establishment of vocational institutions by the government as well as the employers in the public and private sectors. The government **should**, however, take several **steps** to cater to the needs of women, rural and tribal students and deprived sections of the society.¹⁴⁵ The Conference also endorsed the proposal to cover **10%** higher secondary

students under vocational courses by 1990 and 25% by 1995. It **emphasized** that all necessary steps must be taken to ensure a substantial majority of ~~the~~ products of the vocational courses to acquire a certain minimum level of professional skills and competence as it would facilitate their employment and **self**employment. A review **of** the courses offered should be regularly undertaken. The government shall also review its recruitment policy to encourage diversification at the secondary level.¹⁴⁶

The CAGE had observed that it is desirable to strengthen links between education and development through the mechanisms like work experience and **vocationalisation, etc.**¹⁴⁷ The emphasis given to vocationalisation was reflected in the Programme of Action **of the NPE: 1986**. The Programme **of** Action identified inadequate organizational structure as the single most important aspect of the unsatisfactory progress of vocationalisation. Building upon this, the Programme of Action made the following suggestions:

- (a) constitution of a Joint council of Vocational Education as an apex body at the national level;
- (b) establishment of a Central **Institute** of Vocational Education to ~~undertake~~ Research and Development, monitoring and evaluation;
- (c) constitution of State Councils and Institutes of Vocational Education; and
- (d) setting up of District Level Coordinating Committees.¹⁴⁸ No State Government either ruled by the Congress or the opposition parties had any difference of opinion regarding the role of vocational education. They only differed with respect ~~to~~ minor details and emphasis.

The **Uttar Pradesh** government favoured diversification and **vocationalisation** of general and secondary education for making education responsive to the development needs of the nation as well ~~as~~ region. It desired that every secondary school should be converted into a community polytechnic gradually. The aim of general and vocational education should be to prepare youth for **self**employment and entrepreneurship. It observed that vocational courses should be designed to cater to the work force of the unorganized sector, because only **10%** of the **work force** is in the organized sector. Secondly, education should be preparatory and terminal.¹⁴⁹

The Andhra Pradesh government had opined that the present system of education is not in a position to throw open employment avenues to the students coming from colleges. With a **view** to link employment source with studies, the Andhra Pradesh government, desired to introduce vocationalisation of education not only at the secondary stage but also at the intermediate (+2 stage) stage.¹⁵⁰

The Minister of Education in his address had observed that adequate incentives must be given to the students who take up vocational courses. They should be given lateral entry into the appropriate courses in the Polytechnic, Industrial Training Institutes and other professional institutions. He had further observed that the introduction of audio visual education is beset with difficulties because of high cost of equipment. He suggested that the **government** of India may give tax exemptions on the goods used purely for the educational purposes.¹⁵¹ The Tamil Nadu Education Minister felt that vocationalisation of education from secondary stage is desirable but has not been implemented in correct spirit. He informed the CABE that the government of Tamil Nadu had already taken steps under the scheme of Life Oriented Education.¹⁵²

The West Bengal government suggested that vocationalisation of education should take into consideration the linkages between vocational education and self **employment**. It observed that there is inadequacy of funds for existing laboratories and workshops to promote vocational education. The attraction towards vocational education is less as employment opportunities are limited.¹⁵³

Apart from making some minor recommendations and modifications regarding various aspects of the NPE: 1986 including vocational education, the minister in charge of higher education government of West Bengal dealt with the significance of vocational education and its limitations in detail. To quote “**there** is no doubt about the fact that the most important reform is to transform educational system, to relate it closely to the life and needs of the people and thereby to make it a powerful instrument of social economic and cultural transformation which is necessary for the **realization** of our national goals. This purpose can be achieved by relating education to productivity”.

It is desirable to move towards the provision of a direct **link** and to **evolve** the system where a student passing the secondary stage may opt for some job oriented training which can assure him an earning in future. Educational reforms should **start** at this base proposition and should be linked with overall economic planning. The governments, both at the center and the state, are aware of this **problem**. Unfortunately we are yet to explore the ways to provide such education to young boys and girls as will qualify them to have by having a specific job to do and to enable to participate effectively in the national developmental programme. Vocationalisation of secondary education cannot be implemented if employment opportunities are not expanded. Educational courses for Agriculture and Industry through polytechnics are useful steps for this

purpose. But these steps can be fully carried out if students are assured of jobs after the completion of the courses. In order to avoid wastage and stagnation, **periodic investigation** should be carried out in co operation with industry aimed at job analysis and specifications in terms of levels and clusters of skills and responsibilities for technicians.¹⁵⁴

The '**Challenge of Education**' A Policy Perspective,' the NPE 1986 and '**Programme of Action**' discussed various issues related to the **role** of the teacher. Many State Governments including State Governments ruled by opposition parties do not have any major difference of opinion with the Central Government but have little difference of opinion regarding the code of conduct.

The '**Challenge of Education*** A Policy Perspective' had observed that teacher performance is the most crucial input in the field of education. It found fault with the nature of selection, promotion, training etc. It observed that there is a paradox of having better books and research but paradoxically more indifferent **teachers**.¹⁵⁵ The NPE 1986 insists on recruitment of competent teachers and in service **training**. It also suggested an over **haul of teacher education**.¹⁵⁶ The then Prime Minister **Mr. Rajiv Gandhi** favoured a teacher who **inspires**.¹⁵⁷ To quote "a mediocre teacher explains; a superior teacher demonstrates and an exceptional teacher inspires. He further observed that no **attempt** to reform the education policy will succeed, if the teacher who is the key in any educational process is not brought up and given attention that he truly deserves and brought up in terms of training and social standing.¹

The State Governments like those of Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, **Rajasthan**, Karnataka, Bihar, Pondicherry and union territory of Delhi expressed their **views** on teachers training. Views of these State Governments **are** almost in total consonance with the Central Government irrespective of their different party back grounds. For example the CAGE deliberated on teachers training. To quote the minutes of CAGE "The role of the teacher especially the performance of multiple roles like teaching, research and development, preparation of resource material, extension and **administration** or managing the institution was emphasized by the members. **It** suggested that initial and in service training may be made mandatory for faculty members and **adequate training** reserves provided. It also suggested the Staff Development programmes at the state level and integration of the same with regional and national **levels**.¹⁵⁹ The Uttar Pradesh State Government opined ,that at all levels of education the duration of teacher's training

should be of two years. It had further suggested a common core curriculum for teacher training and a refresher course for in service teachers for every five years. **It** also felt that the teacher should be guided about value education, so that **he could** impart the same to the students.¹⁶⁰

The Andhra Pradesh government claimed credit for implementing certain **ftspt** of the NPE 1986 prior to its formulation by the Union Government. It favoured a massive teacher **orientation** programme by making the State Council for Education and Research and Training (SCERT) as a nodal agency at the state level and the constitution of the District Institute of Education and Training (DIET) to look after pre service and in service training programmes of primary school teachers. It also suggested training for teachers for a period of three **months**, in teaching methodology, educational psychology, etc., and refresher courses for every five years through collegiate cells.¹⁶¹ Like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka also attached a lot of importance to in- service training to stem the tide of **falling** standards.¹⁶²

Training of the teachers through DIETS and upgrading one of the DIETS into a State Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (**SIEPA**) on the lines of the **NIEPA** and establishment of Academic **Staff** Colleges for conducting refresher courses for university teachers also figured in the recommendations of the Government of West **Bengal**.¹⁶³ Echoing the same response, the Education Minister of Tripura **informed** the meeting of the CABE, that under the national scheme of in service training of school teachers about 1,500 teachers of the state have oriented through State Institute of Education to enhance the competence of teachers in the context of the NPE 1986. But he felt that the success of this programme depends upon the availability of funds made by the Central **Government**.¹⁶⁴

• **Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective**', while discussing internal constraints observed that education, like all other systems, has a set of beneficiaries **who** would lose many of their special and unjustified privileges if the education system is changed and if its functioning is revamped to secure greater efficiency, equity and objectivity. It further observed that the need for depoliticization of education in schools, colleges and universities has been stressed by students, parents, guardians, teachers and administrators on the ground that it will not be possible to cleanse the universities and establish a suitable environment for work. It is however recognized that political education is essential for

preparing future citizens for participating in the process of democracy. This would mean that political issues might be debated with, in the precincts of university at the intellectual level, but the administrative system of the university should not be used or subverted for the ends of any political party. This view could necessarily be predicated by **all** concerned i.e. the Central Government, the State Government and by also other **political** parties not in power. There is an urgent need for having a consensus and a legislative measure in this regard.¹⁶⁵

The State Governments ruled by the Congress Party supported the move of depoliticization. The Andhra Pradesh government took a moderate stand on depoliticization. But the State Governments ruled by the Left Front dubbed this move as smacking of authoritarianism.¹⁶⁶

The Uttar Pradesh government favoured depoliticization and felt that the present form of students union is destructive. The college and universities should be separated from politics and the active participation of teachers in politics should be banned. It also suggested constitution of advisory councils in the place of elected student unions for academic improvement.¹⁶⁷ More or less similar views were expressed by the governments of **Bihar, Rajasthan**, Pondicherry and the union territory Delhi, Goa, Daman and Diu etc.¹

The Andhra Pradesh government did not straight away suggest that teachers and lecturers need to be depoliticized. It recommended a code of conduct, accountability and professional ethics must be formulated and followed by the teachers. If necessary, a legislative shape to the code of conduct of teacher is required.¹⁶⁹ The West Bengal and Tripura governments opposed the idea of depoliticization. While **participating** in the meeting of the CABE, the Education Minister of West Bengal had observed that the proposed action plan would strike at the very root of democratic norms of education and ultimately the very purpose of **education in** a democratic society **like** ours will be absolutely frustrated.¹⁷⁰ It favoured a code of conduct for teachers evolved by teachers **themselves**.¹⁷¹

Another important issue raised by the '**Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective**' and the NPE 1986 is de-linking of university degrees from recruitment to services. Concomitant to this the Programme of Action envisages establishment of National Testing Service to conduct tests on voluntary basis to determine the suitability

of candidates for specified jobs and to pave the way for evolving schemes to judge comparable competence. The NPE 1986 had stated that the proposal can not be applied to occupation specific courses like Engineering, **Medicine**, Law, Teaching etc. **Similarly**, the **services** of specialists with academic qualifications in the humanities, social **sciences**, sciences etc will continue to be required in various job positions. De-linking will be applied in services for which a university degree need not be a necessary qualification. Its implementation will **lead** to a refashioning of job specific courses and afford greater justice to those candidates who, despite being equipped for a given job, are unable to do it because of unnecessary preference for graduate candidates.¹⁷²

The then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, favoured de-linking of degrees **from** jobs which **will** reduce the pressure to start colleges which give degrees of dubious value and standards and which **will** really bring the best people to work in the government, the best people to serve the country.¹⁷³

The **CABE** endorsed the proposal to de-link degrees from jobs and **constitution of** National Testing Service. No opposition is reported to this move officially in the CABE meetings proceedings.¹⁷⁴ The views of Congress ruled State Governments, namely Orissa and Pondicherry, are in favour of de-linking degrees from the jobs. The response of Uttar Pradesh is **not** known. Among the opposition ruled State Governments West Bengal and Tripura opposed the move to delink degrees from the jobs.

The West Bengal government had expressed serious reservation about the efficacy and modus operandi of the proposed National Testing Service and the experiment of de-linking degrees from jobs. **It** observed that in a country **like** India, where most **of** the jobs are generated in private sector, the utility of such a service is highly restricted. The composition of service has not been spelt out. Even its utility in a country **like** USA has been called in question.¹⁷⁵ The Tripura government had observed that the introduction of National Testing Service and de-linking degrees from jobs should not be designed as a means to minimize enrollment in the Universities and institutions of higher learning. The Minister of Education apprehended that the **National Testing Service is likely to** prove useless, since the employers cannot be forced to recruit technical and non technical hands from amongst the people who have passed the Test. Moreover the expenditure on this service ultimately prove to be a sheer wastage of our scanty financial **resources**.¹⁷⁶

The NPE 1986 advocates the constitution of Indian Education Service. But this

move is even opposed by some of the Congress ruled State Governments also. The Central Government justified the constitution of Indian Education Service on the following **considerations**. modernizing educational administration, promoting national integration, checking divisive tendencies within the national system of education, ~~efficient~~ implementation of **All** India Policies, securing uniformity in the approach to education, and educational standards **all** over the country, interchange of experience between the centre and states. To quote the NPE 1986, "A proper management structure in education **will** entail the establishment of Indian Education Service as an **All** India Service. **It** will bring a national perspective to this vital sector". The basic principles, functions and procedures of recruitment to this service will be decided in consultation with the State Governments.¹⁷⁷ This was further elaborated in the '**Programme** of Action'. Many Commissions and Conferences favoured the constitution of the Indian Education Service.¹⁷⁸ A few State Governments opposed on the grounds that it interferes with the autonomy of the State Governments.

It is reported in the minutes of the CABE that many state governments expressed the view that the establishment of Indian Education Service as an **All** India Service **will** bring a national perspective to the management of education. It is further reported that the Education Ministers of Punjab, Tamil Nadu & Gujarat did not support *the proposal*.¹⁷⁹ It is clearly evident from this that many Congress ruled State Governments (barring Gujarat & Punjab) including **Uttar** Pradesh supported the establishment of Indian Education Service.

The Conference of State Education Ministers convened by the Andhra Pradesh Government on September 12, 1986 which was attended by West Bengal, Karnataka, **Tamilnadu & Sikkim** had endorsed the resolution proposed by the Karnataka Education Minister opposing the proposal for constitution of the Indian Education Service. The Conference felt that since the State Governments are responsible for **implementing** policies and programmes, field officers should possess a feel of the local culture, traditions and local talent should be allowed to implement the educational policies. The constitution of the Indian Education Service would only further the process of centralization of educational administration and dilute the responsibility of State Governments and reduce their initiative.¹⁸⁰ On another occasion it was observed that the proposal to create an Indian Education Service would **lead to** a greater regimentation and centralization in the **field** of education. The Action plan, it is stated, proposes to go ahead with this **scheme**.¹⁸¹ without giving any importance to the views of a large section of this community.

Languages are central to education. Education policy **should**, therefore spell out in clear terms the manner of their use and development.¹⁸² The Review Committee of the NPE **1986** had observed that in our pluralist society the use and development of languages in the context of education is riddled with complexities. **It** quotes the census data which reveals that there are 1652 mother tongues in India. There are over **100** languages spoken by about 662 million people* Ninety percent of these languages are spoken by 19,000 people or more. Those who speak the languages mentioned in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution number 632.3 million i.e., nearly 96% of the total population. The **languages** belong to the four principal families, namely, the **Indo** Aryan, Dravidian, Astro -Asiatic and Tibeto- **Burman**. However these languages, having been in close contact for centuries, have come to develop and share commonalties in idioms, metaphors, images and semantic constructions. Languages which are used as media of instruction in the schools, as of now are sixty **seven**.¹⁸³ It is in the backdrop of these complexities that educational planners in India have evolved a policy for teaching and learning for languages in the policy set out in the NPE 1968. The NPE 1986 commended the implementation of the policy of 1968. It observed that the educational policy of 1968 had examined the question of the development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the policy has, however been uneven. The policy will be implemented more energetically and **purposefully**.¹⁸⁴

It is reported in the minutes of the Conference of State Education Ministers that all the ministers who referred to **the** three language formula supported it **with** the **exception** of the Education Minister of Tamil **Nadu**.¹⁸⁵ The Tamil Nadu Education Minister said that due to political as well as educational reasons they were **in** favour of two language formula. Tamil Nadu government took this stand consistently as it is evident from the minutes of the various meetings convened by MURD, Government of **India**.¹⁸⁶ **It** is reported in the education ministers Conference that, a number of ministers pointed out the non implementation of this formula with seriousness and emphasized the need for its effective implementation which is a factor for strengthening of unity and integrity of the nation.¹⁸⁷

Though there is a unanimity, State Governments including the State Governments ruled by the Congress came with more details regarding the three language formula. The **Uttar** Pradesh government recommended that the mother tongue should be taught at

the primary level and in class 1st and 2nd from class 3rd to class 5th the mother tongue be the medium of instruction, and regional (or state) language should also be taught as a subject. At this level, (6th to 8th) the national language should be taught as a subject and in states where the state language is **Hindi**, some other Indian languages should be taught as a subject. At the secondary level, medium of instruction should be regional (or state) language. At the higher secondary level (classes **11th** or 12th) the medium of **instruction** should be regional language and there should be a provision for teaching an international language. **In** the Hindi speaking states, provision for one Indian language (mentioned in the Indian constitution) teaching should be made and it should be a compulsory subject to pass.¹⁸⁸

While addressing the meeting of the CABE the Minister of **education**, Government of Andhra Pradesh had informed that his state is implementing the three **language** formula. The Minister of Education Government of Assam favoured a little flexibility i.e., four language formula to meet the regional requirements.¹⁸⁹

The West Bengal government had taken a different stand. It observed that it would be harmful to insist on teaching of three languages to the students of tender age. It had further observed that the proposed model schools aimed at imparting education, through the medium of English and Hindi had ignored the accepted policy of education through mother tongue **Thus**, language policy of model schools is against the language policy of the State Governments and against the recommendations of different Committees and Commissions on education.¹⁹⁰ Education Minister, Government of West Bengal, had stated that his government was opposed to the three language formula as there is no necessity for it in the practical life of the people as it will hinder the learning of other subjects. He stated that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at **all** levels of education. The **attempt** of the Union Government to superimpose Hindi throughout the country is unfortunate. Its apathetic and negligent attitude **towards** the development of any other language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution except Urdu is an indication of the future peril. At this moment the question of national integration is of vital importance and we should contribute whatever we can for strengthening national unity and integration. However, the venture of Union Government in education, especially on language, is not conducive to it,¹⁹¹

There will be various constraints on policy making like internal constraints, technological, economic legal and financial. Among these the **impact** of allocation of

financial resources **will** be more formidable in the context of educational planning. The question of equity or coverage, quality or diversification, universalization **of elementary** education, or of the establishment of institutions of excellence will not be realized unless a system is evolved for allocation of funds on the basis of an objective determination of norms per unit cost in various streams.¹⁹²

The review Committee on NPE 1986 had observed that "Education has tended to be given comparatively lower priority in the matter of sectional allocation of resources. Allocation for education cannot be treated either as an investment outlay or as consumption outlay. The **gestation** period for investment in education to yield results is also too long. Difficulties are encountered in accurately estimating or **quantifying** the returns on investment in education, since the functional relationship between inputs and outputs in education is indeterminate. The net result is, in India like in other developing economies, education is treated as a social service and often gets the residual resources after allocation to the so called productive sectors has been made."¹⁹³

The NPE **1986** calls for a meaningful partnership between the states and the **center** in this regards to education. It observed that, the Education Commission of 1964-66, the National policy on Education 1968 and practically all other Commissions on education have stressed the egalitarian goals and the practical developmental oriented objectives of Indian society which can be realized only by a meaningful investment in education commensurate with the nature and dimensions of the task. Resource mobilization can be done through donations, financial support from the beneficiary communities, raising of fees at the higher levels of education, through savings by the efficient use of facilities, through involvement of user agencies in the development of **science &** technological research and levying an educational cess. Though these measures contributes marginally to the total funding, the government and community **will** find funds. Because the deleterious consequences of non investment or inadequate investment in education are indeed very serious. In view of these imperatives education will be treated as a crucial area of investment for national development and survival.¹⁹⁴ The NPE 1986 **affirms** that from 8th plan onwards 6% of the National income will be spent on education.¹⁹⁵ Elaborating the stand of the Central Government Prof. M.G.K. **Menon** member **Planning** Commission informed the meeting of the CABE that regarding the resources a big step up is not possible during the 7th plan, but it will possibly be increased in the last two years of the seventh plan on the basis of a mid term review. He informed the meeting that

in respect of research and development, resources should come from the used **agencies**.¹⁹⁶

The Conference of State Education Ministers and Union Territories had observed “in regard to the resources, the state **will** have to increase their allocation, and undertake a fresh examination of the **non plan budget**”. It was also felt that the **possibility** of raising resources through processes such as levying cess on agricultural holdings and urban property, increase in the fees, particularity, at the higher **educational level**, and encouragement of private investment in education should be explored. The Conference also recognized the need for effective community participation for raising resources for education.¹⁹⁷ There is unanimity among the State Governments to raise the resources for **education**.¹⁹⁸

The Uttar Pradesh government felt that there should be some criteria for allocation of funds to education in different states. This should be based on per capita income as well as per capita expenditure. The entire expenditure for **universalization** of elementary education should be born by the center. Tuition fee at the middle level and higher educational level should be raised and 10% of the profit of Industrial houses should be utilized for education.¹⁹⁹ The Uttar Pradesh government further suggested the involvement of voluntary organizations, village panchayats and an imposition of educational tax.²⁰⁰

The State Governments ruled by opposition parties **also** joined the issued regarding resources for education. There is a move on the part of the southern states to **strike** commonalty in their demands regarding educational reforms. For example southern states like Andhra Pradesh, financial assistance to states by University Grants Commission on the basis of population. The Education Minister Government of Andhra Pradesh had urged the Education Ministers Conference to deliberate on the subject of financial assistance to take final decision. The minister said in view of financial constraints faced practically by all states in the field of education, the centre should consider giving financial assistance from the Life Insurance Corporation and nationalized banks for the construction of school buildings. He **also** suggested setting up of School Grants Commission on the pattern of the **UGC**.

There is a general discontent among the southern states regarding the financial allocation. The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh informed the press that Education Ministers of southern states are preparing to lodge a protest with the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi about the **raw** deal they are getting by way of less funds and facilities.

He complained that the northern universities particularly the Central Universities, are cornering 90% of the UCC grants, leaving barely 10% to **be** shared between the universities in south.²⁰¹

The two State Governments, West Bengal and **Tripura came** out with concrete proposals regarding resources for education. They felt that the present budgetary allocation for education is less. For example, the West Bengal government had felt that for effective universalization, adequate finance must be made available to state and the Union Government must participate in sharing the cost.²⁰² The Education Minister of Government of West Bengal further observed that there is an insignificant allocation of resources which is 2% in the budge. This amount is less compared to a **country like** Bangladesh which earmarked 16% of its budget for education. He recalled the recommendations of various Committees which pleaded for allocation of 10% for education in the central budget.²⁰³ The Tripura government also demanded a minimum of **10%** of Centers annual budget if it is really serious in implementing a through reform in the vital area of Human Resource Development.²⁰⁴

It is observed that Indian polity witnessed creeping centralization tendencies during the 70s. Emergency **was** the culmination of this process. During the **emergency** the 42nd amendment was enacted and one of the implications of this amendment was the transfer of education from the state **list** to the concurrent list. One of the contentious issues between the State Governments and the Central Government is the educational planning in a federal **setup**, namely the desirability of education either being the in the state **list** or concurrent list. While the Central Government justified the move of transfer of education to concurrent list as it would facilitate the meaningful partnership between the center **and** the states, the State Governments ruled by the opposition parties viewed this **as** a smack of centralization and authoritarianism. It appears that many State Governments (as it is reported in the minutes of state education ministers Conference and the CAGE) except Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Tripura, Punjab and Karnataka supported the central government.²⁰⁵ It implies that the State Governments ruled by Congress Party supported education being past of the concurrent list. ~

The then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the minister of Human Resource Development justified education as being a part of the concurrent list. The rule of the same political party both at union and state level had its impact on **the federal** process.

The then Prime **Minister**, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Minister of Human Resource Development justified education being **part of** the concurrent **list**. According **to the** then **Prime** Minister it is not infringing the rights and autonomy of the State Governments but it is only a meaningful partnership.²⁰⁶ The State Governments ruled by opposition parties both left and non leftist parties opposed education being in the concurrent list. The Chief Minister of West Bengal and its Education Minister **took the** lead on this aspect. Elaborating on the need for Education as part of the state list, the Minister for Higher Education, Government of West Bengal had observed that the NPE 1986 can never be the product of Central Government **alone**. to quote "In a Nation of many languages many cultures, regional disparities and immerse geography, the NPE 1986 cannot be the product of the central government alone as the State Governments also have a vital role to play. The evolutionary role and responsibility of the State Governments and their universities should be viewed against the unfolding drama of our nation building. Nowhere is the influence of state is more important that our education. We have always urged the transfer of education to the state list so that the states are in a **position to develop**, educational pattern according to their needs and aspirations."²⁰⁷ He further observed that "at present in India the number of universities is **150** and number of colleges is 2000 and India has a great variety of institutions. The needs of various sectors of this country are so diversified that their overall planning and coordination is difficult. The UGC coordinates the distribution of federal funds, but cannot provide leadership and guidance to the vast number of universities and colleges located in remote places. Moreover, the distant centralized authority **brings** rigidity and unhealthy regimentation which is detrimental to the varied interests and aspirations and diverse cultures of our country. The problems of each state can be tackled best by state itself. The country has to remedy the maladies of illiteracy, communalism, fanaticism and economic backwardness that plague as and the was our **real development**. **These** can be successfully fought if the states are entrusted with legislative, financial and administrative powers so that they can evolve their own educational plan best suited to their circumstances, requirements, traditions and aspirations. The planning and co ordination process for higher education should be the joint responsibility of the states and the center. The state governments should be responsible for **legislation** and administration while the federal government for the finances."²⁰⁸

Another Minister, Government of West Bengal, for Primacy Education pleaded for the decentralization of education of a natural method of human development. He

emphasized that education should be under the state list and Central Government should act a source of funds and also as a coordinator.²⁰⁹ More or less similar views were expressed by the other State Governments ruled by the opposition parties. For example, representatives of Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Tripura (in addition to West Bengal) wanted education to be reverted to the state list.²¹⁰ The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh had observed that the success of the N P E 1986 would depend upon the spirit of co operation between the center and the states. Inclusion of education in the concurrent list will lessen its justification of the views of the State Governments are not given due recognition.²¹¹ While other ministers preferred the need for adequate financial contribution by the central government and regular consultation between center and the state governments on all matters affecting them.²¹²

It appears to us that the Congress ruled State Governments did not plead for education being in the state list. They supported the line of the Union Government as it is reflected in the minutes of the CABE and other deliberative bodies. The State Governments ruled by the opposition parties demanded that education to reverted from the concurrent list to the state list. This study also notes the extreme posture taken by the Rajasthan government (Congress I) which pleaded that education should be transferred from the concurrent list to the central list. to make free and compulsory education more effective. It had further suggested that for the next 15 years primary education should be brought under Compulsory Education Act.²¹³ In the Indian context, public policies are formulated by a small group of politicians and bureaucrats at the higher levels with the peripheral participation of the State Governments and the concerned communities. One party rule both at the center and the states for a long period of time, the underdeveloped nature of political culture of large populace and the less creative role of political parties gave more role to the Union Government in policy formulation. However, this scenario is slightly changing because of the rising consciousness of the people and also because of the changing power equilibrium in the federal polity. In this backdrop when the Congress came into power under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Union Government wanted to formulate a New National Policy on Education based on a public debate on the status paper 'Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective prepared by the Ministry of Education.

State Governments ruled by the Congress as well as the opposition parties responded to the various issues mentioned in the 'Challenge of Education- A Policy

Perspective' along with the Union Government. While the State Governments ruled by the Congress Party supported **all** the policy initiatives **of** the union government regarding the **NEP 1986**, the State Governments opposed the certain aspects of ~~the~~ **NEP 1986**. The State Governments **didn't** favour the lead role of the Union Government in the field of education. They wanted the Union Government to be the main financial agency and coordinator of the activities of state governments. But the Union Government is determined to establish its hold on vital sectors like education. This became much easier for the Union Government after the 42nd Constitutional amendment through which **education** was transferred from the state list to the concurrent list. At present the Union Government is trying to integrate different levels and spheres of education (which are hitherto *in state* sector) with the conceptual, structural and financial linkages established among advisory bodies and national level institution. This indicates the political expediency of the Union Government. Though State Governments ruled by the opposition parties opposed some aspects of the NPE 1986, their impact on the formulation of the policy is marginal.

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CHAPTER - VII

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1986

This chapter examines aspects such as what is public opinion? How is it formulated, what are the agencies that mould public opinion and the role of public opinion **in** policy **formulation**. It also deals with review of public opinion **on** New Education Policy **and** finally examines whether there is any impact of public opinion on policy **making**.

In any ideal situation, all public policies and, indeed, all historical events are shaped by the opinion of the members of the political communities involved. The legitimacy of the government and its public policies depends upon the popular opinion it enjoys. Public policies deal with a wide variety of substantive areas like defence, welfare, education, etc. There are many agencies, which generate the public opinion i.e. family, peer group, mass media, school, temple, political party etc¹.

There are some general assumptions about the role of public opinion in a representative democracy. They are:

- a. That the public is interested in public policy.
- b. That the public is informed.
- c. That it would deliberate and would reach rational conclusions.
- d. That rationally conceived individual opinions tend to hold uniformly throughout the social order.
- e. That the public, **having** reached a conclusion would be enabled into law or policy.
- f. **That** continued surveillance and constant criticism would ensure the maintenance of an enlightened public opinion and consequently a public policy based upon the principles of social morality and justice **will** be formulated .

The above mentioned exist in an ideal situation. Even in advanced **liberal** democratic countries like United States of America, it is observed that public opinion is not playing its due role in the formulation of public policy. James Bryce, came to a conclusion that **the average American citizen is** not particularly aware of the prevailing issues of public **policy**, until they are brought to his or her attention by the small energetic groups bent upon promoting a specific issue². **Yehezkel** Dror says that policy making depends on political feasibility and various variables including public opinion **shapes politi** feasibility¹.

Though there are some limitations, public opinion has to play a major role in the formulation of public policy. Prof. V.O.Key Jr. Stated succinctly that, “**unless** mass views have some place in shaping public policy, all **talk** about democracy is nonsense”⁴. In fact a democratic form of government is defined as a government by public opinion. According to experts it has three important properties i.e. direction, intensity **and** stability or salience.

The question whether the government responds to public opinion while making public policy or not largely depends upon the effectiveness of public opinion and channels of access or linkages between public opinion and the decision making machinery. Always a relatively small proportion of the public is believed to participate directly in the formulation of public policy. Generally, the criteria for identifying these attentive public are information and knowledge, an interest in participation in political action and the motivation to do so, and a social position and status that permit access to government decision makers. **In** this context the public may be divided into three segments⁵.

(a) The mass public, which constitutes perhaps 85% of the people, and generally possess a low coefficient of concern for public affairs.

(b) The attentive public are which is around 10% having a high degree of awareness of the political environment, who are called as opinion holders.

(c) And the thin top layer of **‘influentials’** or **‘opinion makers’** who actually formulate the public policy.

In this context an attempt is **made** to analyze how the public, even if it is a sensitive minority, or attentive public, responded when the government intended to **introduce** a new policy. **It** would be naive to regard that public always constitutes the majority. On many occasions the majority are apathetic unless the issue is such emotional and drives every **one**. Otherwise, only the intense minority (concerned communities) will participate actively in the articulation and decision making processes.

Many student organizations, teachers organizations, a few political parties, national leaders, academicians, professional bodies, teachers and enlightened public expressed their views on the document **‘Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective 1985’** and National Policy on Education 1986 (NPE 1986) The following issues are debated by the academic community and concerned public a) releasing the document **‘Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective’** for public debate, b) universalisation of elementary education c) the role of non-formal education, open university, distance learning, and

audio visual teaching **methods**, d) introduction of model schools or Navodaya Vidyalayas
e) introduction of common core curriculum throughout the country f) role **and** status
of higher education g) vocational education h) teachers training and code of conduct
i) delinking degrees from jobs j) **depoliticization** of educational institutions g)
resources for education h) place of education in the constitutional division of powers
between union and state governments.

The academic **community**, students, teachers organizations, and political parties expressed their views in their organizational forums, public meetings, leaders of various organizations wrote articles, published appeals in the journals, conducted seminars, workshops etc. A few student organizations even held rallies against the NPE 1986, and expressed their views through graffiti. Governmental bodies like the University Grants Commission (**UGC**), National Institute of Educational Planning and **Administration** (**NIEPA**), Professional organizations like the Association of Indian Universities (**AIU**), universities and research institutes also conducted seminars. Enlightened public, academicians, educational administrators either shared their views by participating in the debate conducted by these organizations, institutions or through their writings in mass media like news papers and research journals.

A few academicians felt that the document was intended to generate public debate. They welcomed the debate and felt that "the debate and discussion ~~are~~ vital chords of democracy and reaching a consensus is essential for formulating the public **policy**". It is also felt that releasing a document for public debate is a radical departure from the past and an unorthodox exercise in policy formulation⁶. The document on "Citizens Perceptions" on education brought out by the NIEPA had observed that the success of a good policy depends on the extent to which it satisfies the **people's** aspirations. This is even more so in the field of education **since** education is not only a significant attribute of human development but is also a dominant factor in shaping the process of development⁷. Some academicians felt that in any **country** if people leave the policies of public interest to the **mercy** of rulers, there is a danger of rulers adopting the (policies in a way so as to serve their own **ends**". The then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi welcomed an extensive debate on the document to enable the formulation of new policy capable of leading India to the forefront of development. While addressing the National Development Council (NDC) the Prime Minister observed that education is very much a part of the **development** process... **It** cannot be separated from the development. They are not two separate things

Education does lead to development⁹. The document, which was meant for public debate, was well received by the academic community including a few foreign scholars who ~~expressed~~ **expressed** interest in education. One of them had observed that "the document was fascinating, full of provocative and stimulating ideas about Indian education, and about India itself, a great nation whose commitment to democratic values stands as a beacon in a troubled world"¹⁰. One of the former vice chancellors said that the commendable feature of the document is that it links educational policy with certain immediate imperatives of national development such as national integration and the need for scientific and technological preparation for the 21st century'. Furthermore, the general assessment of the achievements and failures and the **lags** of development in the educational sphere is refreshingly **objective**¹¹. The **NIEPA** in its publication on national debate entitled "**Citizens** Perception" had observed that "**popular** response to governmental policies provides an invaluable feedback, which would guide the implementation of the policies in the deserved direction. The **people's** involvement, which is an index of popular response, provides the basis for the success of the government policies. Such a process could, in the long run become a self-propelling mechanism for in the implementation of governmental policies and programmes as envisaged and planned initially. Popular response is an **invaluable** input anti ~~peoples~~ **peoples** participation a ~~sinqanon~~ **sinquanon** for the success of government polices¹². This is even more so in the case of education. The recent stress of national leadership underscores this principle. Some of the teachers organizations like the United Teachers Federation (**UTF**) and some students organizations like National Students Union of India (**NSUI**) also welcomed the release of the document for debate¹³. The eminent Jurist V.R. Krishna Iyer had observed that the central government has imposed the NPE 1986 without undertaking any meaningful consultation with the academic community¹⁴.

A **few** academicians expressed reservations about the practical utility of such a debate. They felt that the government had already taken a decision on some of the major policy issues mentioned in the document; for example both the houses of parliament have already adopted a **bill on the** open university named after Mrs. Gandhi on 2nd September **1985**¹⁵. Similarly the so-called delinking of degrees from jobs has been almost finalized and a moratorium on the opening of new universities and colleges has been decided upon and a plan to have a central model school in each district was about to be implemented¹⁶.

Prof. Dinesh Mohan felt that the debate was a national shame since the NEP has no **new** idea to offer. The main thrust is the same as announced by the Prime Minister in

January 1985, before the publication of **'Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective 1985'** by the Ministry of Education. The Prime Minister had announced the establishment of model schools in each district, establishment of an Open **University**, delinking **degree** from jobs and modern methods in education. Prof. **Dinesh** Mohan felt that this alone constituted the core of the proposed new policy¹⁷. The policy stated that it drew heavily upon two National Commission on Teachers which are not debated by the public¹⁸. It is further observed that policy is taken beyond the public knowledge and then the public is asked to legitimize it. Many students and teachers organizations criticized that the debate is manipulative¹⁹. While some other organizations felt that it was inadequate and regarded it only as a confessional document which codified the merits and demerits without having any perspective²⁰.

A section of the academicians reacted sharply to the character of the document. P.N. Haksar & G.S. Bhalla were of the view that identification of priorities of social development should precede the formulation of priorities of education. Haksar and others felt that the document itself was a standstill and was a pathological report on a seriously ailing system. He further wanted a clear statement of the objectives of the national **development**, from the government whose credibility among people was low²¹.

Many academicians felt that the **efforts** to achieve universalization of elementary education have remained unsatisfactory because of the following reasons:

- a. **Children's** limited access **to** schools
- b. **Inadequate** facilities and inaccessible schools
- c. Inadequate teaching aids, shortage of teachers
- d. Absence of new teaching methods
- e. Lack of motivation among parents
- f. Paucity of financial resources.

The working groups of the national seminar on elementary education held at Shillong deliberated on the three main aspects of elementary education viz. **planning**, management and finance. They felt that a realistic time framework to achieve the goal of universalization of elementary education should be decided and there should be legislation on the universalization of **elementary** education and banning of the child labour. It suggested that all habitations with a minimum of 300 population should be provided school facilities within a distance of one kilometer. They also favoured a multiple approach to **achieve** the

universalization of elementary education like non-formal education, short duration courses, earn while you learn schemes etc.

The participants at a state level workshop on the NPE 1986 held at Chandigarh recommended provision of free supply of uniforms, textbooks, **attendance** scholarships and payment of opportunity cost compensation to parents of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and lower income groups who forego the support of children while they are at school to fulfill the constitutional obligation and to bring the uncovered hard **core** child population especially girls in the stream of formal education system²².

A few observed that poverty or economic backwardness is the main **reason** and unless some thing is done favourably to change this universalization of elementary education cannot be achieved. Another academician lamented that universalization of elementary education has unfortunately not been the primary concern of the ruling classes all these years. He further added that the root cause of this distressing situation is poverty, which is largely wrap and woof of our socio economic fabric. Moreover, political will to achieve universalization of elementary education is also very much important. One of the distinguished social scientist and educational administrator felt the need for a Gandhian type of mass movement for education as it took it's course in pre independence period²³.

Students and teachers organizations also **expressed** their viewpoints on universalization of elementary education²⁴. All India Democratic Students Organization (**AIDSO**) opined that universalization of elementary education is possible and effective only with opportunity cost compensation method but not with non-formal education. Another organization felt that the lack of political will is the reason for not realizing the objective²⁵. The problem of poverty was recognized as one of the main reasons for not achieving universalization of elementary education which was neither attendee! **to** nor focused upon by the policy **document**²⁶.

The UTF opined that universalization of elementary education is the responsibility of both the central and state governments and they should put proper effort to achieve the same. The Andhra Pradesh Teachers Federation (APTF) observed that the solutions offered by the government to achieve universalization of elementary **education** are not practical²⁷. At another state level seminar, conducted the Bhagalpur University, the participants had observed that elementary education is the most **important** stage of learning. **It** constitutes the bedrock supporting the whole edifice of **education**". **It**

expressed its deep sense of regret that the goal **of universalization of elementary education** could not be achieved even after about four decades of Independence due to the lack of political will, proper supportive strategy and resources. The seminar suggested the accomplishment of the universalization of elementary education through two major approaches a. Formal through primary and middle schools b. Non -formal through voluntary **agencies, public trusts, social organizations and government agencies** and through community participation²⁸. One of the teacher's organizations favoured the role of the non-formal and adult education in achieving the universalization of elementary education²⁹. Forging pre primary education, through integration of Balwadis, and Anganwadis as an **integral** part of primary education to ensure success of universalization of elementary education was suggested by the educational institutions³⁰.

The role of the non-formal education, open universities and distance education (audiovisual teaching methods) was recognized by one and all in achieving universal literacy. But they differed in respect to the **role** they have to play.

A few reasons for dropout at elementary stage were also identified by a researcher³¹.

Reasons for dropping out at elementary stage:

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Percentage of dropouts</u>
a. Poverty and social backwardness	71
b. Carelessness	15
c. HI health of children	4
d. Helping parents in their work	3
e. Long distance from school	3
f. Physically handicapped	2
g. Attending household work	2
h. Indifferent attitude of parents	<u>3</u>
	<u>100</u>

Some academicians strongly opined that the non-formal education should play a complementary role rather than an alternative role³². It is further observed that to recognize **non-** formal education as an alternate to formal education will mean farewell to the hope of even having a functioning accountable system **of elementary education**. Prof. G. **Ram**

Reddy, Vice Chancellor of Indira Gandhi National Open University and architect of open university system in India proclaimed that Open Universities are a boon for Ekalavyas (persons who are deprived of instruction). With the establishment of **Open** Universities there is going to be a qualitative change in the situation because the universities adopt a **multi** media approach, and the modern technology. The point to be noted here is that a highly motivated student can learn without the personal supervision of a teacher, **with** great ease in a much shorter time, not only for his satisfaction but also for the betterment of the society in general and today's society, cannot, and must not, tolerate whims of Dronacharyas³³.

The National Conference on Distance Education recommended the development of the open non formal education systems using the mode and methodology of distance education to ensure equality of educational opportunity by offering a variety of need based self instructional **materials** to a fairly large body of learners. Thus, distance education can be helpful in extending and equalizing educational opportunities at a minimum cost, thereby enabling us to attain the objective of the socialistic pattern of **society**³⁴. Some of the academicians are **also** of the view that National Open University as envisaged by the new policy is expected to make a qualitative difference in the development of man power and pleaded that the courses should have social relevance³⁵. Others felt that audio-visual **methods** including print media is accessible only to 20% of the population. Hence this will not be effective³⁶.

Student and teachers organizations expressed their viewpoint on this issue. A few student organizations opined that non -formal and distance education could only **play a complementary role**³⁷. While **another** student organization nurtured a **belief** that this **method** can play a major role if it is properly implemented³⁸. It is observed by one student organization that the proposed distance learning only ensure the distance of people from learning and dialogue is not possible through this method which is actually very important³⁹. Another student organization opined that non-formal and distance education did not contain drop-out and absenteeism **rate**⁴⁰. While another teacher's organization set forth that **non-** formal education should not be a short cut and pretext for government to achieve universalization of elementary education through it. This should only strengthen the professional skills for absentees and adults⁴¹. The STU also felt that non- formal and other methods should play **only** a complementary role and it opposed the idea of open school, **which** according to it is against the equalization of educational **opportunities**. **!!**

favoured the use of Radio, TV as effective teaching aids only for Teachers Educational Programme. Some participants at a national seminar on education favoured a mass approach using educated sections of the community as a resource and mobilizing it for the eradication of **illiteracy**⁴². By and large, majority opined that **non-** formal education should play only a complementary **role** not an alternative role.

Opening of model schools generated a lot of public debate. The academicians and representatives of various organizations and the political elite debated the merits and demerits of model schools. The idea of setting up of model school was very much favoured by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He lamented the **loss** of excellence in the drive for mass education. To tackle this problem, a scheme of model schools, which are **centers** of excellence need to be setup⁴³. He further embraced the idea that these institutions will stand for equality, excellence integration and reduces **elitism**⁴⁴. Jerome M Zielger of Cornell University had observed that creation and maintenance of models of excellence would be particularly important and useful in India to establish standards of practice to which other institutions **could look**⁴⁵. A former Secretary of Education, Government of Punjab was of the view that model schools were an effective method to bridge the gap between the town **and** country and would facilitate implementation of government programmes as the quality of education in these schools would **be an** incentive for bureaucrats to stay in remote districts along with their school going children. He contested the charge that any opposition to the model school is anti-rural⁴⁶. L.K. Jha (famous economist) welcomed the idea of the model schools because the doubly handicapped (quality and cost of education) rural poor will be benefited⁴⁷. Another scholar suggested that pursuit of excellence should go hand in hand with pursuit of justice **economic**, social and political⁴⁸.

The Karnataka Chief **Minister** and the Janata Party leader, Mr. R.K. Hegde, opined that proposals like computer literacy, public schools in each district are hardly the answer to the problems confronting children of less privileged sections. He laid more emphasis on fulfilling the constitutional objective of universalization of elementary education and using the present trained manpower⁴⁹. Justice O. Chinnappa Reddy opined that certain aspects of the NPE 1986 are contra constitutional and are a fraud on the people. He equated the proposed Navodaya Vidyalayas with one Doon School in every district. **“It is** a device to perpetuate the class orientation of our education and **culture**. It is a strategy to produce an exclusive group to provide ideological support for bourgeois economics

and politics. The whole **NPE** 1986 is nothing but a negation of Articles 45 and 46 of the constitution⁵⁰. Many educationists, noted public figures including two education ministers of West Bengal and Tripura opposed the concept of model schools. For them model schools only promote elitism. The then Vice President, **Shankar Dayal** Sharma opined that the present form of education benefited only upper and middle classes of society⁵¹. It is further presumed that the concept of model schools contradicts the neighborhood school concept propounded by the **Kothari** Commission. It will be a sky carper in the educational slum and in conflict with the objectives of democratization and **equal** opportunities for the rural folk. Another dominant opinion put forward against model schools is that they aim at mass devaluation and elitist glorification. It is commented that model school is an island of affluence in an ocean of mediocrity⁵². In turn it is advocated by many that quality, equality and quantity should be maintained in education. This view is **also** endorsed by the noted educationalist J.P Naik. The **NIEPA's** report on “**Restructuring** Indian Educational System Suggestions of Educational **Institutions**” pointed out educational institutions favoured diverting the energy and resources of the proposed **model** schools for the improvement of existing schools to stem the further accentuation of rural-elite **divide**⁵³.

Some students and teachers organizations **also** aired their views on this aspect. They opposed the model schools because they help only the elite sections of the society. Other organization suggested the implementation of common school system and upgrading the standards in all schools. Notably, while opposing model schools the **AIDSO** felt that setting up of a model school is a part of a national strategy on education to ensure the **availability** of highly educated-trained manpower for dealing with the challenges, which are inherent in modernization and globalization of the economy. The Students Federation of India (SFI) felt that education has continued to be the privilege of a small minority of the better off, whose position has been further reinforced by the introduction of **elitist** Navodaya Vidyalayas under the New Educational Policy⁵⁴. On the whole, while the advocates of model schools argued the necessity for model schools for promoting **quality**, its critics felt that this move promotes elitism in education.

Introduction of common core curriculum evoked mixed response. A few educationists welcomed it. It was suggested that a sizable part of National Core Curriculum should be built around the local environment and culture. The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi favoured a national core curriculum around which local subjects and issues cultural

and linguistic and others can be added⁵⁵. The report brought by the **NIEPA** had observed that majority of respondents **favoured** uniform curriculum and comparable standards throughout the country. It observed that the plea for uniform content and curriculum stems from the **respondent's** hope for national unity, integrity and comparability of standards and easy mobility of the students⁵⁶. The **Minister** for Human Resource Development (HRD) said that national **curricular** frame work should be flexible to imbibe common national values with ample scope for variations depending on the regional, local and cultural milieu, requirements of environment and needs of the learners⁵⁷.

A few others feared it might lead to centralization and **hegemonization**. Notably, Mr. Kanti Biswas, Education Minister of West Bengal observed that common syllabi, Operation Black Board are trends of centralization and authoritarianism. He said that in the name of strengthening national unity, the attempt to impose **mechanically** a uniform syllabus without taking into consideration the diverse social and economic factors is a wrong move. He further said that the curriculum should reflect the diverse historical developments, social system, traditions and cultures. It should be in such a way that promotes unity in diversity⁵⁸. The Education Minister of Tripura believed that the attempts to dwarf the different cultures of different races and tribes in the name of upholding national tradition and the bid to introduce pseudo sciences in the name of fostering spiritualism should be stopped. Responding to this, the Chief Minister of Karnataka perceived that it is neither necessary nor possible to have uniform curricula. Instead he favoured the **broad** curricular Homework at national level, and insisted that states should be allowed to develop their own syllabus and **material**⁵⁹. Prof. Moonis Raza (Vice Chancellor, Delhi University) contended that the content and syllabi of books should not contain hatred towards different sections of the people⁶⁰. Some sociologists felt that whether this idea can strike roots in a country ridden with linguistic chauvinism and exclusiveness is a moot question. Furthermore, the concept of core curriculum is closely related to the more controversial issue of value component in learning. Fears have already been expressed as to whose values will be incorporated, as education is also an ideological and emotional process. The others observed that curricular offerings have become jejune and irrelevant⁶¹. The **STU** of Andhra Pradesh affiliated to All India School Teachers Federation (**AISTF**) opined that curriculum should be evolved by experts from **all** the states in the **country** with a provision for adding the additional factors according to their local conditions and environment⁶². More or less the same views are **expressed** by the **SFI**. Another student's organization favoured national core curriculum for national

integration⁶³. Thus, the issue of introducing national core curriculum evoked mixed response. While a few favoured it for strengthening national integration others dubbed it as a move of centralization.

From **all** corners different opinions were aired on the state of higher education. While a few educationists and representatives of teacher's organization flayed the new policy's move to curtail higher education in the name of preserving quality, others justified moratorium on new institutions and curtailment of higher education on different grounds.

The Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, indirectly favoured **restrictions** on higher education. While delivering the speech at the Conference of Education Ministers of States and Union Territories, he said that "we lost excellence in the drive for mass education and **every** thing is reduced to mediocrity. To tackle this a scheme of model schools and points of excellence were to be set up."⁶⁴ More or less same views are expressed by the educational administrators and vice chancellors. For example Prof. **Iqbal** Narain member secretary Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR) said that access to higher education and professional institutions must be selective and admissions are made on the basis of scholastic aptitude test⁶⁵. Prof. **K.** Sachidananda Murthy (Vice **chairman** UGC) also favoured restrictions of admission to higher education but **felt** that modality should be very democratic⁶⁶. The Vice chancellor's of leading universities felt that access to higher education should be restricted as far as possible only to meritorious students, stressing the need to open up post graduate and research studies to those who have the aptitude and competence to pursue the studies. They said all others be allowed to pursue education related to their occupation and career advancement. Some of them felt that the **basic** malice of the Indian Education system was the higher education has been **thrown** open even to those who were least competent largely due to political pressures. Consequently, the system has turned out poor products, with disastrous effects on the quality of education in the country⁶⁷. Prof. P.N. Srinivastava (Vice Chancellor **Jawaharlal** Nehru University) felt that education has been allowed to expand in an absolutely unplanned manner without providing basic facilities for it. Dr. Madhuri R. Shah expressed her distress over the present state of higher **education**⁶⁸. She said that the present education is in unsatisfactory state of affairs due to uncontrolled expansion of universities. She says that the painful reality is the general decline of quality in our university education and of **the** low standards of attainment of our graduates in a number of colleges⁶⁹.

The Minister of Education, Government of West Bengal and others have pointed

out that the higher education in India caters to just six percent of those entering the education system and was unevenly distributed among different sections of the people. Hence curtailment of higher education is unjustified. It is argued that curtailment of higher education is nothing but advocating the needs of the ruling classes. From Vice chancellors to the Prime Minister, all are convinced that there are too many students in colleges and universities, which is not true. Per hundred of the population aged 25 years and more, India in 1981 had a stock of 3.12 graduates which is less than the number 10.35 of other developing countries. They cited the document, which also admits the same. (Para 2.21 Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective chapter V). Similarly, as a proportion of the relevant age group, the number of students in higher educational institutions is low in India (4.8%) as compared with 25% in Philippines, 18% in South Korea and 30% in Japan. This proves that there is no over crowding. But the document advocates moratorium on establishment of new institutions. The Education Minister of West Bengal and others observed that the class interest of the ruling classes compelled them to consider educated unemployment as more dangerous than uneducated unemployment⁷⁰.

Further, it is observed that the Indian policy makers are following the footsteps of Raleigh Commission of 1902 appointed by Lord Curzon, which restricted the growth of higher education to curb specifically nationalist upsurge in Indian universities. The other argument presented against the curtailment of higher education is that higher education for a tiny minority based on the principle of merit without any equality of opportunity is necessarily adverse to the achievement of optimum quality that the society is capable of producing. And merit is not absolutely determined at the level of genetics. In a class society it has a generalized co relation with the hierarchy of class relations and a specified relationship with the occupation pattern and income distribution. The following trends were also noticed a). Drastic cut in expenditure on secondary and higher education b). More rigorous application of principle of “merit” in the institutions of higher education. c) Further concentration of higher education (mainly by drastically raising the private cost of education). Further, it is observed that the policy of restricting education and the series of proposals attacking the democratic rights of academic community pose a big danger to the democratic movement, and the danger has to be understood particularly since it is being camouflaged under populist slogans of modernization and preparing the country for the 21st century⁷¹.

It is felt by a few academicians that selective admission to higher education based

on scholastic interests or aptitude which the document propose is only relevant at the post graduate level. But selectivity or selection raises questions regarding the basis and methods of selection, which is not intelligently, sympathetically and effectively **handled**. This mishandling of selectivity would have disastrous consequences as our avowed objective of removing prevailing social inequalities are concerned and defeats the programme of positive discrimination. Further, it is neither practicable nor desirable unless alternative avenues of employment and training are made available to those who are deprived of higher education⁷². A few others are of the view that higher and technical education should be restricted to the existing demands of society and **economy**⁷³.

The view that higher education should be restricted was contested by Prof. G.S. Bhalla, D.R. Choudary, H.S. **Mehta** and **Tanseem** Bahia. They wanted technical education to be streamlined. To support their contention that higher education should be expanded, Prof. **D.R.** Choudary cited a World Bank report. It stated that higher education enrollment had trebled in India during 1960-79. The enrollment had increased 20 times in Kenya, 12 times in Ecuador, 10 times in Dominican Republic, 9 times in Nicaragua, 6 times in Congo and 4.5 times in Liberia. Thus, India lagged behind comparatively with the other backward countries world in the field of higher education enrollment. Prof. Moonis **Raza** and other faculty members of **CRRID** opined that under graduates and postgraduate streams were not properly linked and the link should be strengthened. They felt that a sizable expansion at the undergraduate level had created a vast reserve of people fit to perform only clerical jobs. These jobs were rated highly during colonial times, but the continued creation of a reserve was adding to the number of unemployed and unemployable citizens⁷³.

The curtailment of higher education and **moratorium** on establishing new institutions was criticized by many organizations. It is alleged that **government** is deliberately abdicating the responsibility of providing literacy to the poor. More or less same views were expressed by many participants at a seminar in New Delhi conducted by Asian Studies Information **Center**⁷⁴.

This shows that there are two different *sets* of opinions on higher education. Scholars and persons of prominence who favoured **restrictions** on higher education have put forward the argument that recently higher education has been producing large **number** of unemployed and unemployable men and women and excellence is lost in the drive for mass education. This was contended by some organisations political leaders and

academicians. They felt that higher education is not over crowded (they **have** cited studies also) and products of higher education are becoming unemployed because of lopsided economic policy and manpower planning. Curtailment of higher education is only obstructionist and a dehumanized notion.

Academicians, political leaders, students and teachers **organizations expressed** their views on vocational education. Rajiv Gandhi, while talking about vocational education, said that we should build up the demand in the market for vocational education and then provide the **linkages** within the system and with the societal system as a whole⁷⁵. He favoured vocational education for self-employment. One of the educational administrators had observed that vocationalization of education recommended by the **Kothari** Commission did never take **off** and it is essential for promoting man -power development⁷⁶. Another academician and educational administrator felt that vocationalization should not be linked only with employment and industry, it should be aligned with agriculture, the service sector and with other various programmes of rural development as well. It should also prepare young people for self- employment⁷⁷. While supporting **vocational education**, Justice **V.R.** Krishna Iyer, is cautious about vocationalisation of entire education. To quote “**vocational** education may be acceptable, but vocationalisation of whole education is to make mechanics, make robots, make automations, to prevent this country from providing men of **imagination**”⁷⁸.

The Education Minister of West Bengal, Kanti Biswas raised some points regarding vocational education, which have been supported by the Education ministers of **Tripura**, Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. He opined that vocational education has **failed** because it did not have any access to **employment**, particularly, self- employment. They favoured link between vocational education and production process. He said that it is pointless to discuss **vocationalization** in isolation of overall economic realities. At the same time he suggested changes in curricula, teaching methods and improvement in facilities⁷⁹. The Education Minister of Tripura felt that vocational education is going to be shaped with an eye on its relevance to the wide use of computers and electronic equipment's which are going to be introduced through multi-national companies. He further suggested that practical steps should be taken to ensure employment through self-eniployment schemes and other means after completion of vocational education. The scope for such technical education which benefits society as a whole and which is relevant to practical situation in life should be expanded"⁰. A seminar organized by Department of Education, Government of Meghalaya came with the following recommendations regarding vocational education.

a) It is not feasible to tag the general education with vocational education.

b) It is possible to run vocational courses independently since work experience has been proposed from the lower levels and also because of the introduction of core *curriculum* including for Science and Mathematics to be provided.

c) To ensure flexibility, it may be considered to impart general courses of academic streams to the willing talented in the evening after they have completed the vocational courses in the daytime.

d) Vocational courses should be started only when it can ensure that the students of vocational courses get employment either in some organized sector or able to start **self-employment**⁸¹. A few others suggested greater inputs into vocational education^{1*2}. It is further observed that though much has been proclaimed about vocationalization, it has not made head way, the enrollment in vocational courses at the secondary stage is estimated to be **only** about 9% of the total. It was also noticed that there are not sufficient employment opportunities for vocational certificate and diploma holders and the incidence of **unemployment** among them is already quite high. Unless more jobs are created, the expansion of vocational education may not only be wasteful but also lead students into a blind alley⁸³.

A few academicians had observed the predominance of products of **IIT's** and **IIM's** because of the penetration of **multi** national companies. The products of **ITI's** and Polytechnics are lagging behind because of lack of middle range industries. It is further observed that computerization and mechanization in the name of **modernization** only aggravates the problem of unemployment instead of solving it⁸⁴. A few others felt that focus of an integrated and coordinated national education Policy should be in the **direction** of introducing professional or vocational course right from the stage of elementary education which would **help** in promoting innovative, creative and imaginative talent in the student, community⁸⁵. It **is** conceived that there is growing unemployment due to the dysfunctional relationship between education and works linkages, which can be re established by vocational education, which is also **the** main concern of the New Education **Policy**. The present degrees have **lost** their credibility since they are not capable of ensuring **employment** to their holders. Therefore, there is a widespread feeling that courses should be designed to promote job opportunities. Steps should be taken to remove the stigma

that vocational stream is for the unworthy by improving the quality of courses, by appointing **qualified** persons in respective fields, by making vocational **stream really** vocational without language load and by giving field exposure to the students⁸⁶.

It is also said that vocationalization which is being forwarded as the core of the New Education Policy, however, is not a new concept. The introduction of 10+2 scheme was preceded by the propaganda that the **+2** stage would essentially give vocational training to the students. But the record in this direction is very dismal. With no exception, all the states are suffering from acute shortage of funds for the laboratories and workshops required at the +2 stage. The net result is that these students have neither acquired any vocational training nor are they eligible for formal degree courses. This has resulted in effectively curtailing the entry into higher educational institutions. It is demanded adequate resources for vocationalization and employment guarantee. It is also stressed **that** vocationalization must be linked with employment opportunities or providing support like bank loans, ensuring market etc. for self-employment⁸⁷. One student **organization** felt that more stress should not be laid on vocational education alone, even general education has to be encouraged. In addition, it opined that unless the present economic system is changed no amount of vocational education could ensure employment or self-employment for **all**⁸⁸. Some other organizations felt that though vocational education is desirable it should be linked with proper planning which is very much absent at **present**⁸⁹. The Democratic Students Organization (DSO) suggested that up to secondary education vocational education (which they called as productive education) should be taught and in higher vocational courses general education should be taught **to the students**⁹⁰. The Panchayat Raj **teachers' Union (PRTU)** suggested the introduction of vocational education from the secondary stage⁹¹. The STU suggested that vocational **education** should be an integral part of the school curriculum from the elementary **stage**⁹². Lastly, the **UTF** entertained the idea that vocational education should be part of general education up to school level and then a specialized one at +2 **stage**. It further **felt** that vocational education would be successful only when there is proper industrial and agricultural policy. On the whole, every one favoured vocationalization with few modifications. Majority of **them** felt that it should be properly linked with planning. The status of teachers, the need of in service, pre service training, code of conduct and other aspects were discussed not only by **teacher's** organizations but also by prominent people, educationists, students organizations, teachers organizations etc. Dr. Shankar **Dayal** Sharma (the then Vice president of India) praised the role of Guru who dispels the darkness of ignorance (**GU**

stands for darkness, **RU** stands for removal of darkness) and appreciated the teachers student relationship [Guru Sishya **parampara**]⁹³. The then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi mentioned about the role of teachers and while talking about teachers he preferred a teacher who inspires rather a teacher who explains and demonstrates. He favoured **dialogical** method and suggested in service training for teachers⁹⁴. The then Vice ~~chairman~~ of **UGC** attached great importance to teachers training and said that Indian secular education has been ruined by the concept of a teacher as the **all** knowing one to whom genuflection and prostration are due and whose teaching should be accepted as inherent and final. **He** favoured better pay and treatment for teachers⁹⁵. One of the **Vice-Chancellors** and former Presidents of the **AIU** doubted that whether there are enough dedicated teachers who shape the destiny of the nation in the classroom. He also deplored the pressure tactics of teachers to achieve some of their goals⁹⁶.

Educationists and representatives of various organizations refuted the negative perception of the document. While the need for code of conduct is recognized, the modalities, and the implicit intentions of the policy makers were criticized⁹⁷. It is observed that teachers **will** certainly not **find** much to cheer with the attitude of the document towards them. Teachers alone were made responsible for **lost** credibility and **motivation**⁹⁸. Another educationist had observed that though the document mentioned about the sad state of affairs of teaching, it is vague as to what action should be taken to rectify this situation. He also opined that preparing code of conduct should be entrusted to teachers alone, and in any case, the government is not morally competent to perform this task because it itself lacks a code of conduct. And further in a society where no facet of life is free from the canker of corrosion of the moral fiber starting with government and its hand made bureaucracy, it is unfair to single out teachers for special treatment Mrinmoy **Battacharya** and others felt that '**the** government is clearly in favour of depriving teachers of their political **rights**.' And such an attempt is against recommendations of previous expert bodies like Education Commission, United Nations **Education**⁹⁹, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Labour Organization (**ILO**)⁹⁹.

Teachers and students organizations are equally vocal about **teacher's** status and code of conduct. Many teacher organizations favoured both in-service and **pre-service** training and improving their socio- economic status. The All India Federation of Teachers Organization (**AIFTO**) opined that teachers should be **consulted** on matters such as education policy, school education service, professional **conduct**, disciplinary action etc.

It suggested the establishment of statutory machinery where it is a right of teachers to negotiate through their organizations with employers either public or private. There is a need for setting up of appropriate joint machinery to deal with the settlement of disputes between the teachers and their employers arising out of the terms and conditions of employment. Regarding salaries, it said that teacher's salaries should reflect the importance of the teaching profession in a society. They should be paid on the basis of salary scales established in agreement with the **teacher's** organizations¹

Regarding the rights of the teaching community, the **AIFTO** said that teachers should be allowed to enjoy all civic rights as other citizens. Any system of inspection or supervision should not diminish freedom, initiative and responsibility of teachers. It also expressed that where there is a need for direct assessment of teachers work, such assessment should be objective and should be known to the teachers¹⁰¹. Teachers, student's organizations and some academicians recognized the negative perception of the document about teachers and their services. One teacher's organization regretted the absence of any concrete proposal of service matters of teachers and it favoured experience as the criteria for giving promotions. Every one recognized the need for in- service and pre -service training of teachers¹⁰². While contending the negative perception of the teachers many favoured formulation of code of conduct in a democratic **way** by consulting and involving teachers and their organizations.

As part of the educational reform it is proposed to de-link degrees from jobs. It is **argued** that the present form of university education is not related to the successful performance of many of the jobs, which are manned by graduates after their education. This is particularly in the case of white-collar jobs. This results in a **considerable wastage** of national resources for the individuals. The belief is that the duration of three or **five** years wasted in an unrelated university education could be very well utilized for **specifically** decided training programmes or on the job training programmes, resulting in higher effectiveness¹⁰³.

The other argument is that higher education with all its limitations, still develops certain basic skills and expands the horizons of the youth, which if not explicitly at least implicitly **contributed** to better performance. Further it is said that the university degrees have a certain degree of validity, objectivity and **credibility** and in view of this dispensing with university degrees as a pre requisite for jobs may vitiate the employment process

and **all** extraneous factors may come into operation.

A section of academicians felt that de-linking of certain jobs from degrees should not result in a loss of status and prestige for these jobs. And proper steps should be taken to identify jobs where a large number of university graduates, out of pressure of unemployment, seek refuge even though the job would not require any of the skills or knowledge acquired by these people. One scholar quipped that "we have polluted the social atmosphere by linking jobs to degrees; hence we need a dramatic step to **de-link** them. We have to create an atmosphere where no one will opt for higher education considering it only as a means for a better job. At present we are neither ensured them neither a decent living nor a higher degree of discipline needed for higher education. Many of the students in higher education aspire just for better standard of living than that of their parents. At a national seminar some participants agreed that degree is unnecessary and unwanted for several categories of jobs available in our country at present, except in high-level management service¹⁰⁴. They further felt that insistence on a degree for a job means perpetuation of colonialism. The present education system is a relic of the past and if we stick to the same system, rules and regulations and job requirements, it means that we do not have the capacity and will to come away from the British yoke¹⁰⁵. Another study conducted by the **NIEPA** had observed that "De-linking degrees from jobs is a topical issue in the Indian Education Scene. There is a significant body of opinion which feels that de-linking degrees from jobs **will** answer many problems like **reducing** the rush for university education, innumerable unfair means of acquiring degrees, the loss of purposiveness of higher education, the devaluation of degrees in the job market as **well** as the progressive inflation of qualification with least relation to job **requirements**¹⁰⁶.

The former Vice-Chairman of the **UGC** is of the impression that de-linking degrees and jobs may not be a magical solution to the educated unemployment and overcrowding in institutions of higher education. More than **de-linking**, reorientation of courses in such a way that knowledge and skills needed for different avocations in a developing economy and planned admissions to them may solve the problem to a great extent¹⁰⁷. More or less, similar views are expressed by the **AIU**. It opined that de-linking degrees from jobs is not desirable. Instead, structure of courses should be so oriented that the nexus between degrees and jobs is strengthened and the fresh graduates are more suited to employment market¹⁰⁸.

The then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, favoured de-linking degrees from jobs

which **will** reduce the pressure to set up colleges which give degrees of dubious value **and** standards¹⁰⁹. The then Vice President of India had observed that **de-linking** degrees from jobs is based on the hope that it would ensure reduction of rush to the universities and save huge amounts of youth hours wasted which our country cannot afford¹¹⁰.

The critical view presented in this regard is that de-linking degree from jobs is not a panacea by itself, and may **even** prove to be counter productive. And it is further observed that it is naive to imagine that with the act of "de-linking", the pressure for university seats would be automatically be reduced. On the contrary, it may increase because in the case of recruitment to jobs based on competitive examinations requiring advanced knowledge, irrespective of whether the degree or certificates act as an eligibility criterion. Positive competitors will tend to go to college or university or such other intuitions to enhance their chances of passing the examination. If the competitive **examinations** now in vogue are any indication, they are at best a mirror of university examinations. The opinion of the academicians is that **de-linking will** not decrease student's enrollment in institutions of higher learning but it will also enable those without degree to compete for a job. The abolition of recognition to degrees result in breft of norms. A professor observed that de-linking jobs from degrees could increase the probability of a smuggler working as a customs clerk. A journalist observed that it will further frustrate the young hearts and will give free hand to corrupt structure¹¹¹.

The proposal to de-link jobs from degrees was severely criticized by political elite. They said that it is another way of reserving jobs for those who can **pay**¹¹². it is an authoritarian attempt to centralize the examination system and to deny the validity of **degrees**¹¹³. Further it will create few more tutorial homes. Evaluation of students through National Testing Service will **also** benefit the upper strata¹¹⁴. The other set of opinion is that the rush for degree can only be regulated if jobs are guaranteed. With no job **available**, de-linking degree from job is an empty **slogan**¹¹⁵. A.B. Bardan, **Secretary** Communist Party of India (**CPI**) national council felt that '**de-linking** of degrees form jobs may come to mean neither degrees nor jobs within the present capitalist system'¹¹⁶.

Apart from educationists, political elite, teachers and student organizations **also** made their stand explicit on this aspect. One student organization said that it is a device which de-links student both from degrees and jobs and it **is** a policy of **permanent** unemployability. It further **observed** that it **will** result in large **number** of workers **without** degrees and large number of students **without jobs**¹¹⁷. The SFI opines that this move **will**

only widen the scope for legitimized corruption and nepotism that characterizes the employment **today**¹¹⁸. The **UTF** feared that de-linking may lead to many malpractices and maintained that it is nothing but doubting the credentials of their own products¹¹⁹. Another teachers organization, the **STU** felt that for most of the jobs we **don't** require degree holders except in case of jobs requiring higher **technical**, professional skills and managerial skills, recruitment to all other jobs may be de-linked from degrees. But objective criteria, fool proofness and valid tests may be evolved to select persons for the **jobs**¹²⁰. Some other **student's** organizations also opposed de-linking jobs from degrees. It is felt that unless the employment opportunities are widened, there will not be any impact whether one links or de-links. Further the de-linking may **lead** to malpractices, nepotism and corruption¹²¹.

The forty second the constitutional amendment transferred education from the State List to the Concurrent List. Educationists and representatives of organizations **regarding** the education being in the **Concurrent** List expressed two kinds of **opinions**. Some of the academicians felt that education to be in the Union List to bring about uniformity in the education system but says that one should carefully think of what kind of uniformity it should **be**¹²². The Union government favoured education to be in the concurrent list.

For effective implementation of New Education Policy within time bound framework it is favoured to put education in the Union List. The policy itself revealed that the concurrency did not aim at domination or infringing the rights of the **states** but it is a meaningful partnership in view of the vitality of education. The then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi indirectly **favoured** the concurrency. He said that having education in the Concurrent List, people at the center and state should **involve for the** full implementation to give the best within the constraints that we have. A few felt the need for an enactment of a law for educational **administration**¹²³.

This move and other aspect of the NPE 1986 like common **core** curriculum, **establishment** of Indian Education **Service (IES)** were treated as trends **of centralization**¹²⁴. **Kanti** Biswas and Dasharath Deb, Education Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura demanded inclusion of education in the State List respectively through a proper constitutional amendment¹²⁵. Many academicians also supported devolution of powers to different governmental levels¹²⁶. Organizations **also** aired their views on this aspect, while a few organizations wanted the concurrency and others favoured education to be in the

State List. Participants at a regional seminar on the NPE recommended that **multi** level or area planning on participatory basis should substitute highly centralized and non-participatory planning. Others, while favouring education to be in the state list **pleaded** for more autonomy to the institutions in the state. Though the **STU** opposed **centralization**, it favoured enactment of a law since education is a national concern requiring a national perspective, common national standards and a national motivation for development. Therefore, they thought that national direction is needed in this matter¹²⁷.

A variety of issues pertaining to the whole gamut of educational planning and administration are being discussed by educational institutions. These relate to (a) objectives underlying educational planning (b) the role and extent of **educational** jurisdiction and responsibilities of the center, state, district and other authorities, (c) the levels and extent of autonomy (d) place of education in the range of national activities and its management.

There are divergent opinions on educational management and planning. Neither there is any consensus on the state government's responsibility over education nor is there any unanimity over the extent of the center state jurisdiction. Most of the **educational** institutions supported more **role** to the state governments and total decentralization up to block and village levels. Educational institutions favoured that the **central government** should be concerned with providing the national policy and perspective, providing financial assistance to backward areas and sections, entrusting the states with the task of operationalising national policy with sufficient flexibility to adopt them to the local conditions and needs. Concurrence was favoured in the name of meaningful partnership and shouldering the additional responsibilities by the center in view of national significance of education. It is refuted by others that it is infringing the right of the state governments and a move towards **centralization**¹²⁸.

The depoliticisation of education had evoked an interesting debate. The document itself took a stand on depoliticisation of education. It said without depoliticization of education it would not be possible to clean the universities and establish a suitable environment for **work**¹²⁹. Few academicians supported this argument¹³⁰. In this regard **R.K. Hegde** observed the political interference of policy makers in educational administration **and** suggested that appointment of the heads of the institutions should be on the basis of qualification and competence¹³¹. Dr. Gopal Singh, Lt. governor of Goa **emphasized** that the education must be **depoliticized**¹³². Teachers must restrain **from** participating in party politics. A few social scientists like **Ramshray Roy** expressed

reservations regarding common core curriculum as stated by the **NPE 1986** He observed that the Indian society is characterized by social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversities. The objective of education is to integrate the society. If corrective is sought to be provided by a selective inclusion in school curricula of elements from differentiated cultural traditions for projecting and fostering unity based on commonalty it will **only** politicize the curricula and encourage **filio pietism**. For if traditions unite they **also** divide¹¹³. Prof. **Upendra Baxi** said that though the New Education Policy acknowledges the problem of academic corruption and corruption in general, unfortunately it did not distinguish **between** them, Since this is not done, the report assumed a frightening anti-democratic dimension. The exercise of the fundamental right of **freedom** of speech, expression, conscience, assembly, association are perceived as inimical to intellectual excellence. Institutional policies are seen only in negative terms. He said that the NPE treated what may be good for society **at** large need not be good for the educational institutions¹³⁴. It is further observed that poiiticization and political manipulation was not differentiated¹³⁵. The Educational Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura opposed **depoliticization** and favoured democratization. The political parties like Telugu **Desam** Party (**TDP**) favoured the **amendment** of University Acts to create democratic atmosphere in educational institutions.

Some of the **teachers'** and student organizations opposed depolitization as abrogation of democratic rights of students, teaching and non teaching **community**¹³⁶. One teachers organization opposed the teachers having link with political parties, since this **will** reduce their professional honour. While another teachers organization favoured **politicization** as an **imperative** and felt that the contempt with which some look at politics is cynical rather than practical. Recommendations of regional seminars organized by the **NIEPA** reveals the fact that many academicians favoured participation of students in academic and administrative decision making bodies to ensure more discipline. Many scholars and representatives of organizations wondered how poiiticization, which is instrumental for **societal** excellence, is viewed as inimical to intellectual or academic excellence.

One and all recognize that resources are vital for the success of any policy. Other dominant opinion that prevailed has been that in addition to financial inputs, **non-monetary** inputs such as political **will**, peoples commitment and co-operation are also matters of considerable importance¹³⁷.

The then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi **felt** that apart from financial inputs, change in the attitude is very important¹³⁸. Dr. P.M. Bhargava said that social, political and economic will is necessary to achieve designed goals¹³⁹. Others emphasized the

importance of both political will and financial assistance¹⁷⁹. While participating in a seminar on the NPE, one of the university professors mentioned the following five sources from which resources for education could be mopped up¹⁴⁰.

- i) Ten percent surcharge on all import duties.
- ii) Suitable surcharge on corporate income tax.
- iii) Suitable cess on operational law holdings in excess of legally permitted owner land holdings.
- iv) Matching contribution schemes in village panchayats, municipal committees, market committee's etc contributed along with the state government.
- v) The use of mounting food stocks for mid day meals and construction of school buildings and approach roads through Food for Work **Programme**.

The Southern Regional seminar on Planning and Management **Aspects of the** Education Policy at Ban galore had made concrete recommendations regarding resources.

It had observed that even after the transfer of education from the state **list** to the concurrent **list**, the central government spends as little as 2% of its budget on education. The conference recommended that the central government should spend at least 10% of the total (both plan and non-plan) expenditure on education. The states should spend at least 25% of their respective budgets. It also suggested in the total **plan** expenditure 60% spending of the resources for elementary education, 20% of secondary and adult education, 20% for higher education (including **University**, professional, technical)¹⁴¹.

Others suggested 10% of GNP and levy cess if necessary. The former vice chairman of UGC pointed out that a strong political will is important and favoured 6 to 8% GNP and mobilization of additional resources like levying educational cess on **all** business concerns, collection of fees from the children of economically well off in proportion to their incomes¹⁴². Economists like **Malcom. S Adiseshaiah** called for mobilization of 60% from state funds for education¹⁴³.

The **AISF** observed the decline in allocation of resources from plan to plan and asked for more resources namely 6% of National Income¹⁴⁴. The STU treated education as a process of human resources development and hence pleaded for top priority. At least 10 percent of central annual budget, 30 percent **of** state annual budget should be allotted for education and 7.5 percent of GNP should be invested on education by **1990**¹⁴⁵. The

TDP favoured 5 percent of GNP for **education**¹⁴⁶. While the other organizations demanded 6 to 10 percent of the GNP to be invested in education. Though every one recognized the imperativeness of financial inputs, they also stressed the need to have a strong **political** will to achieve desired educational targets.

The above analysis shows that the nature of public opinion in developing country like India is not uniform, it is highly diverse and heterogeneous. In the absence of any agreed upon societal goals or values, it is easier for the government of a pluralist society to continue existing programmes [with incremental changes] rather than to engage in overall policy planning towards a specific societal goals¹⁴⁷. Since public policy is not totally based on public opinion, it does not reflect the demands of masses but rather prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than **revolutionary**¹⁴⁸. There is a **consensus only** among the elite on the issues like curtailment of higher education, establishment of model schools, framing of a national core curricula, **de-linking** degrees from jobs and depoliticization of educational institutions. Some of the political parties, students, Teachers organizations academicians, state governments ruled by the opposition parties opposed issues like education to be in the concurrent **list**, establishing of **model** schools, undue stress on non formal education, infringing of democratic rights of citizens, non-teaching and students community and paucity of resources (inadequate **allocation** of resources). They advocated equality, quality and quantity in education and proper setting of priorities and financial allocation. They further favoured introduction of vocational education with proper link with economic and employment **planning**.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study i.e., National Educational Policy aims at centralization, depoliticisation, ideological hegemony, privileges to the already privileged and aimed at creating a managerial elite equipped with latest technological skills and techniques of crisis management, asking a minuscule minority to a promised paradise, leaving a large populace to slog in the bullock cart age. It is further observed that the New Education Policy was not formulated in isolation but largely influenced by the New Economic policy of the government. The policy is preconceived and the **government** is not sincere in sticking to its own objective of initiating a debate for providing the basis for the formulation of a policy. Public opinion is fobbed **off** which **is** only for legitimacy. Though the attentive public responded, their impact on the final policy is marginal. It is observed that though the attentive public sensitively responded the representative government did not receive it with the same **sensitivity and honesty**. Though initiating a public debate is a democratic exercise the government should have the political will to take hard political **decisions**.

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CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUSION

The focus of the study is the way public policies are formulated and the **influences** that operate. For this purpose the National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986 is selected as a case study. (Study is confined only to the formulation of NPE **1986**, not the Programme of Action which was **sub-sequently** released). Studying the way the NPE 1986 is formulated is important on three counts. (1) For the first time the Union Government released a document '**Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective 1985**', on the status of the present Indian education to initiate a debate involving academicians, public, press, political parties, organizations and State Governments in the formulation of a new policy based on the debate; (ii) the NPE 1986 is formulated after the enactment of the 42nd Constitutional amendment by which education was transferred from the state list to the concurrent list; (iii) for the first time the Union Government through its Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) shouldered the responsibility of formulating a policy without constituting a commission.

Within the liberal paradigm, the most widely shared view of the Indian State is that of a liberal democratic state with parliamentary model and federal structure of **government**. Thus the parliamentary democracy, federal framework of polity and the welfare state constitute the political ecology of the Indian State. As a part of its welfare commitments, the Indian State has been formulating various policies for national development. The welfare state originated in advanced industrialized nations as a response to the contemporary socio-economic and political requirements. The welfare state is a liberal democratic capitalist state with a human face. The Indian State too has some welfare features, though its welfare role is constrained by many factors like less surplus at its disposal and more people dependent on its services. The welfare ideals **of** the Indian State are mentioned in the directive principles of the state policy of the Indian Constitution.

As part of its welfare functions, the Indian State provides education to the people. It is mentioned in the Constitution that universalization of **elementary** education (free and compulsory education to all the children below the **age** of 14 years.) is the responsibility of the state. However, it has remained a distant goal. There is also a gradual decline in the allocation **of** financial resources to the field of education **over** a period of time. It is hoped that with effective allocation of resources, proper planning, improvements in bureaucracy, the Indian State can ensure welfare and strive to extend education to the people as a matter of their right.

In developing countries like India, state should take an active role in providing education to break the rigidities of social stratification, to equalize opportunities and to ensure development. This calls for the formulation of a realistic public policy involving the State Governments, concerned public and agencies. The Education policy in India at present is a continuum of the past with certain changes. [Policies are incremental in nature.] Education in India in ancient period was confined to a few. It was highly in egalitarian in nature. Education in the ancient period was provided either by enlightened private individuals or by the religious institutions. Sometimes the kings themselves took upon this responsibility. The content was religious in character. This situation continued till the end of the 18th century.

With the advent of the British, the educational situation in India changed as the state assumed greater responsibility. The principal positive contribution of the British administration was giving open access to educational institutions maintained from or, supported by, public funds. The Christian missionaries and reformers also had put in some effort. In spite of the open access and the state support the educational system did not change drastically. In fact, the formal system of education of the **period** was traditional in character and covered only a small proportion of the upper and middle classes of the society. The masses (in large number) were educated only in the non-formal sector. The positive contribution of the British administration was more than counter balanced by their emphasis on the education of the upper classes, downward filtration theory, **the** neglect of education of poor people, the policy of neutrality in social reform, and by the establishment of private independent schools for the well-to-do. Colonial interests governed the **limited** education they provided. The British administration did not accept the principle of compulsory elementary education but stressed its voluntary expansion **only**. Later **they** intended to curb the growth of education because they realized that there is a direct link between the rise of nationalism and the spread of the education among the Indians. They also suggested curbs on the expansion of the secondary and higher education and favoured admission to the educational institutions on a selective basis.

With the advent of Independence, the CABE decided to set up two commissions one to deal with the university education under **the chairmanship** of Dr. S. Radha Krishnan and, the other, to deal with the Secondary education under the chairmanship of L.S. Mudaliar. These commissions were constituted in response to the promises **made to** the people by the nationalist leaders during the freedom struggle. The policy initiatives of the

government based on the **recommendations** of these two Commissions are meant to promote the economic independence and political stability of a newly independent nation state. However significant, the recommendations of the above said Commissions may have been they were not all comprehensive. Hence the Union Government constituted the Indian Education Commission (1964-65) under the chairmanship of **D.S. Kothari**.

The Indian Education Commission aimed at the radical reconstruction of the educational system. This reconstruction included three aspects (a) internal transformation (b) qualitative improvement (c) expansion **of** educational facilities.

Based on the Commission's report the National Policy On Education **1968** was formulated. This was a response to the socio-political and economic **requirements** of the nation. But the policy makers **felt** that the recommendations of the Kothari Commission were not satisfactory with respect to the administration of higher educational institutions. Later the government appointed the Gajendragadkar Commission (1969) to deal with the various administrative aspects of education. The recommendations of this Commission aimed at greater administrative control of higher educational institutions. Subsequently during the Janata Party regime, at the union level, a draft National Policy on Education (1979) was formulated with a major emphasis on adult education. Since the Janata Party government was in power for a very short period, it could not push through the policy. After the draft National Policy 1979, no major policy exercise was undertaken upto 1985. **In** 1985, the Union Government **released** a confessional document (status paper) on education '**Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985**' to initiate a public debate meant for the formulation of a New National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986.

The document deals with certain facts, views and issues relevant to the formulation of the educational policies. The document felt that reshaping the **educational system** was necessary for all individual as well as national endeavors. It stated that education is an investment in human resources **development**. The document presented the progress made in the field of education. **It** also noticed many **dysfunctionalities** like lack of quality, lack of national identity, values and accountability. It called for a new approach for providing quality education to all in order to develop an individuals full potential and of simultaneously transferring the content and process of education to meet the emerging needs of tomorrow. The document admitted that the change in the educational system with all its ramifications is not possible unless the overall **socio-political** system requires

such alterations for its survival. It suggested effective steps for the universalization of elementary education, vocationalisation of higher secondary education, **modernization of** higher education, changes in **curricula**, basic changes in teachers training, de-linking degrees from jobs, depoliticisation of educational institutions, linkages between higher educational institutions with industry etc. The document objectively stated that the NPE has to be formulated with the active participation of the State Governments, local bodies, parliamentarians, political parties, non-governmental organizations, **academicians**, teachers, parents, students and the fourth estate (press).

The debate on the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective' **took** place during August 1985 to August 1986. Later the parliament approved the policy document in the month of May and in the month of August 1986 it approved the Programme of Action to give shape to the new thrusts of the policy. It became evident that there is opposition to the some of the aspects mentioned in the document like the excessive emphasis on non-formal education and distance education to achieve the goal of the universalization of elementary education. There was opposition for the establishment of model **schools**, restrictions on higher education, depoliticisation of educational institutions, presence of education in the Concurrent list, etc. Without taking into account the opposition and divergence of views expressed during 1985-86 debate, the **MHRD** formulated the NPE 1986. This policy clearly advocated a uniform national system of education with common core curricula, universalization of elementary education with the support of non-formal education and distance education, establishment of pace setting schools, curtailment of growth of higher education. It further called for the **de-linking** of degrees from jobs, depoliticisation of educational institutions, concurrency in the field of education etc. The comparative analysis of the '**Challenge Of Education A Policy Perspective 1985** and the NPE 1986*' revealed that there is nothing new in the NPE 1986. The decisions at the highest political level were already taken on certain aspects like the establishment of model schools, creation of **a** national Open University, Constitution of national testing service etc., while the document was still being debated. This suggests that the policy was pre conceived and the debate was a mere ritualistic exercise for the sake of **legitimacy** rather than the real basis for policy making.

Public policy making is the **principal** function of the state. Public policies cover substantive areas **like** employment, health, housing, education etc. In developing countries, like India, provision of **various public** services is important because many people depend

on these services. The government and its various agencies primarily formulate public policies with the **peripheral** participation of the public and other non-governmental agencies. Public policies are invariably state centered.

In the formulation of the educational policy, the **MHRD** plays a pioneering **role**. Various other ministries **like** the Ministry Of **Agriculture**, Ministry of Science and Technology also deal with educational planning and policy formulation of their respective areas. Various deliberative bodies like the CAGE, Conferences of Chief Ministers and Education Ministers of the States and National Development Council are also involved in these deliberations. These deliberations provide the basis for policy formulation. The efforts of the above said ministries and other bodies are supported and strengthened by agencies like the UGC, **AICTE**, **CSIR**, **ICAR**, ICSSR, **ICMR**, **NIEPA**, NCERT, **AIU** etc. The efforts of the MHRD and other Ministries are coordinated with educational division of the Planning Commission. The policy formulation is done within the overall framework approved by the Cabinet.

The role of the State Governments in policy formulation is being marginalised because of the increasing intrusion of the Union Government owing to the transfer of education from the state list to the concurrent list. Even in limited areas, the State Governments are not able to formulate the policies effectively because of lack of expertise and administrative apparatus.

It is recognized that there is a need to have an apex body to co ordinate the different agencies involved in the policy **formulation** at the national level and also a similar arrangement at the state **level**. It is also observed that the top down approach in policy formulation will be far from realistic. Meaningful participation of the State Governments in policy formulation is required if policies ought to be realistic and effective.

In a democratic polity, public policies should reflect the aspirations of the public in general and the concerned public in particular. But in many developing countries like India, because of the under developed nature of the political system, public policies are formulated by a small group of elite (i.e. political executive and its hand picked administrators and academicians) with the peripheral participation of the public and the concerned communities.

In the Indian context, because of the weak foundation of the various democratic representative institutions, policies are formulated increasingly by the Union Government. Another limitation of the policy formulation was the one party dominance both at the union and state levels. This resulted in the peripheral participation of the State Governments. The supremacy of the Union Government continued till the early 70's. Public Policies are seldom formulated based on a debate involving the concerned **communities, student's** organizations, teacher's organizations, political parties and State Governments.

The ideal way of formulating a public policy in a federal polity like India, with parliamentary system of government, is by constituting a broad based commission consisting of academicians from all disciplines, educational planners and administrators. The commission should be entrusted with the responsibility of consulting the Union Government, State Governments, representatives of the union and state legislatures; representatives of local bodies, political parties, students and teachers organizations, academicians, educational administrators press and the **public**. Based on the recommendations of the commission, the political executive should formulate the policy and seek the legislature approval.

There are two departures in the formulation of the NPE 1986. One is the non-Constitution of a commission for the formulation of the policy, and the other is the preparation of a confessional document the 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985', a status paper meant for the debate.

In this context it is analyzed how the union and the State Governments perceive educational reforms and express their views on different aspects pertaining to the educational policy. For this purpose three states, namely Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Andhra Pradesh ruled by (**during** 1985-86 period) three different political parties **Congress-I, CPI (M)** led Left Front and the Telugu Desam respectively were selected.

The healthy beginning of having a public debate on **the** formulation of the NPE was welcomed by one and all. The Union Government and the State Governments expressed their views on issues like the purpose of education; universalization of **elementary** education; non-formal education, open university, and distance learning, Nav odaya Vidyalayas (model

schools), common core curriculum; higher education; vocational **education**. teachers education and code of conduct; de-linking degrees from jobs; depoliticisation of educational institutions; resources; education being in the concurrent **list** etc.

The Union Government felt that the purpose of an educational system is primarily to develop human resources and to solve the socio economic problems. The West Bengal government stated that the educational system should be linked with the socio-economic development While the **Andhra** Pradesh government recognized the development of **human** resources as the important function in the educational process and development.

The universalization of elementary education is one of the **goals** mentioned in the directive principles of the state policy. To achieve the universalization of elementary education by 1995, it is resolved to adopt a child centered approach and focus on the provision of minimum facilities which was symbolically called as "Operation Black Board", a coordinated effort with non-formal education. There was an overall consensus among all the State Governments. They differed only on certain details.

The **Union** Government and the State Governments ruled by the **Congress-i** suggested a child centered approach supplemented by a non-formal education to achieve the universalization of elementary education.

The AP government suggested opening of new primary schools and mid-day meals to achieve the universalization of elementary education. The West Bengal government suggested allocation of adequate finances and the sharing of cost by the union and the State Governments and the complementary role of **non-** formal education to achieve universalization of elementary education. The recommendations of the **State** Governments regarding universalization of elementary education lie within the educational system. They did not focus on other linkages like poverty and illiteracy.

Realization of universalization of elementary education and ensuring equity in education acquired a center stage in the formulation of the NPE 1986. The Union Government favored various instrumentalities like non-formal education, adult education, distance education etc. to achieve this goal. The Uttar Pradesh government considered non-formal education as an independent system. The Andhra Pradesh government also favoured greater role for non-formal education. The West Bengal government stated that

non-formal education should be treated as a complementary to **elementary** education and not as a cheap substitute to the formal educational system. The recommendations of the State Governments (ruled by both the Congress and the Opposition parties) and the emphasis given by the Central Government indicates the fact that there is a general realization regarding the urgency of having a learning society. Though the concern is genuine, the recommendations suggested by them are less adequate. The Union Government as well as the State Governments favoured **setting up** of open **universities**. Neither the Union Government **nor** the State Governments made any concrete recoiimeiidatioiis regarding the proposed role of the Open University in developing countries like India.

The major thrust of the NPE 1986 is on the establishment **of** Navodaya Vidyalayas (model schools). The broad objectives of these institutions were to serve the objective of excellence coupled with equity and social justice in order to promote national integration. The then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi supported the idea of Navodaya Vidyalayas and the same was endorsed by the Congress ruled states. The State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Tamil Nadu wanted the regional language to be ultimately the medium of instruction from the Kindergarten level in accordance with the declared policy of the Government of India. The West Bengal government was opposed to **the** idea of Navodaya Vidyalayas since they are the centers of excellence which further perpetuate the cultural and economic domination of a privileged few.

There is a realization on the part of policy makers that education will act as an integrating force to check the divisive tendencies. The Union Government favoured a national system of education to ensure uniformity along with a national core curriculum with certain amount of flexibility. It is reported in the minutes of the **CABE**, State Education Ministers Conferences etc. that there was a consensus among all the State Governments in favour of a national system of education and a national core curriculum with the exception of the Education Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura. The State Governments ruled by the Congress supported the national system of education and a common core **curriculum**.

The West Bengal government opined that the concept of a core curriculum should never be a mechanical concept but should act as a model to be adopted to the peculiar socio-economic, geographical and regional characteristics of our country. The **West Bengal**

and Tripura governments recommended that curriculum and syllabus should be framed with an eye on national integration and comparability as well as meeting the specific regional requirements.

Consolidation of facilities within the existing institutions instead of opening new institutions in the field of higher education is the emerging trend of the NPE 1986. The Prime Minister observed that subsidizing higher and professional education, (the scale at which we now do it) is disproportionate compared with primary education and secondary education. **It** was reported in the minutes of the Conference of State Education Ministers, that there should be a regulation of admission to higher education, a view that was contested by the Education Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura, The CAGE minutes also indicate the thrust and direction of **the** NPE 1986.

The **Uttar** Pradesh government felt that selective admission into colleges and universities should be based on an entrance examination. It favoured a freeze on further opening of general educational institutions. It **also** favoured developing facilities within the existing colleges and universities.

The opposition of the West Bengal government **to** the New Educational Policy is relatively substantial while the opposition of other non-congress governments is only peripheral. The Chief Minister of West Bengal felt that the proposed policy of discouraging higher education in the name of protecting quality is counter productive. The number of persons receiving higher education is not as high as to warrant restriction. In fact these restrictions may be due to the fear of increasing the number of educated unemployed.

The policy statement favoured vocationalisation of secondary education **to provide** valuable manpower for economic growth. The CAGE favoured vocational **education as a** distinct stream intended to prepare students for identified occupations spanning several areas of activities. The conference also endorsed the proposal to cover 10% of higher secondary students under vocational courses by 1990 and 25% by 1995. No State Governments whether ruled by the Congress or the opposition parties had any difference of opinion regarding the role of the vocational education. They only differed slightly on finer details and the emphasis. For example, the **Uttar** Pradesh government favoured diversification and vocationalisation of general and secondary education for making education responsive to regional and national development needs. The Andhra Pradesh

government opined that the present system of **education** is not **in** a position to throw open employment avenues to the students coming from colleges. With a view to link employment source with **studies**, the **Andhra Pradesh** government desired to introduce **vocationalisation** of education not only at the secondary stage but also at the intermediate stage. The West Bengal government suggested that **vocationalisation** of education should consider the linkages between vocational education and self-employment.

The '**Challenge of Education-A Policy Perspective**' observed that the teacher's performance is the most crucial input in the field of education. It found fault with the nature of selection, promotion, training etc. The NPE 1986 insisted on recruitment of competent teachers and in-service training. All the State Governments endorsed more or less the same views.

The policy makers stressed the need for **depoliticisation** to revamp the functioning of educational system in order to secure greater efficiency, equity and objectivity. The document recognized that political education is essential for preparing future citizens. Political issues might be debated within the precincts of a university at the intellectual level, but the administrative system of university should not be subverted for ~~the ends of~~ any political party. The State Governments ruled by the Congress party supported depoliticisation. For example, the Uttar Pradesh government favoured Constitution of advisory councils in the place of elected councils. The Andhra Pradesh government did not suggest the **depoliticization** of teachers and lecturers directly. It stated that restraint, code of conduct, accountability and professional ethics are to be formulated and followed by them. But the West Bengal government dubbed this move as one which smacks of **authoritarianism**.

The '**Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective**' and '**the NPE 1986**' visualized de-linking of university degrees for the requirement of recruitment to services. The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, favoured **de-linking** degrees from jobs. The CABE endorsed the proposal to de-link degrees from jobs and desired the constitution of a National Testing Service. The Congress-ruled governments voiced no opposition. But the West Bengal and Tripura governments opposed the move to de-link degrees from jobs.

The NPE 1986 advocates the Constitution of the Indian Education Service. The Union Government justified the constitution of Indian Education Service for modernizing

educational administration, promotion of national integrity and for securing uniformity in educational standards. Some state governments ruled by the Congress **party** like Punjab and Gujarat opposed the Constitution of the Indian Education Service. While the State Governments ruled by the opposition parties opined that the Constitution of the Indian Education Service further perpetuates the process of centralization of educational administration and dilutes the responsibility of the state governments.

The NPE 1986 supported the three-language formula as recommended by the Educational Policy of 1968. Most of the State Governments, except Tamil Nadu, supported the three-language formula. The Tamil Nadu government supported the two-language formula. The West Bengal government opposed imparting of education through the medium of Hindi in model schools since this would violate the three - language formula and imparting education through their mother tongue.

There was a general realization that finances play a more formidable role in the context of educational planning to achieve the objectives like equity or coverage, quality or diversification etc. The NPE 1986 affirms that from the 8th plan **onwards** six percent of national income will be spent on education.

The Uttar Pradesh government felt that the entire expenditure for universalization of elementary education should be borne by the center. The Andhra Pradesh government complained that the governments in southern states are getting a raw deal in **terms** of financial allocation. The two State Governments of West Bengal and Tripura favoured ten percent allocation for education in the Union Budget.

Educational planning and administration has acquired a center stage. Education
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was transferred from the state list to the concurrent list through a Constitutional amendment. The Union Government justified this transfer on the grounds that it ensures a meaningful partnership between the union and the state governments. The State Governments ruled by the Congress party supported education being in the concurrent list whereas the State Governments ruled by the opposition parties like Andhra Pradesh, **T**amil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal, Tripura and Punjab opposed education to be in the concurrent list. They wanted education to be transferred back to the state list and the role of Union Government to be that of a coordinator.

The Uttar Pradesh government supported all the initiatives of the Union Government regarding the New Educational Policy. It approved not only the New Educational policy in toto but also favoured a lead role for the Union Government.

The Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh did not put forward any concrete alternatives to the NPE 1986. It only demanded more resources from the center apart from implementation of **three-language** formula and reversion of education to the state list.

The West Bengal government ruled by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its allies favoured more role to the state governments. It opposed some substantial issues of the NPE 1986 like model schools, concept of a common core curriculum, depoliticisation of educational institutions, code of conduct for teachers, de-linking degrees **from** jobs, Constitution of National Testing Service, Constitution of Indian Education Service etc. It also demanded more resources and budgetary allocation from the Union Government and reversion of education to the state list.

It is clearly evident that the State Governments ruled by the opposition parties wanted their sphere of influence and operation not to be diluted by the initiatives of the Union Government. They wanted the Union Government to be the main agency for finances apart from coordinating the efforts of the State Governments.

But the Union Government wanted to extend its sphere of influence and operation to certain sectors, which hitherto belonged to the State Governments for political as well as administrative reasons. The Union Government primarily through the MHRD is playing a pivotal role in the field of education at the national **level** by spearheading the policy formulation and its implementation rather than merely extending central assistance and leaving implementation to the states. It is trying to integrate different levels and spheres of education (which were hitherto in the state sector) with conceptual, **structural** and financial linkages established among advisory bodies and national level institutions,

This direct role of the Union Government has eroded the initiatives of the State Governments to a certain extent. The Union Government shouldered the task of reorganizing the educational system so crucial for nation building as well as national development in a bid to establish its supremacy over the State Governments. This indicates

the political expediency of the Union **Government's** penetration into certain vital sectors like education, which hitherto belonged to the State Governments.

The analysis of the opinion of the academic community, **students, teacher's** organizations, political parties who responded to the public debate reveals very interesting trends.

The academic community, students, teacher's organizations and political parties welcomed the release of the status paper '**Challenge** of Education -A Policy Perspective' for public debate. But some of the academicians and organizations felt that the policy is preconceived and the debate is manipulative. They felt that the debate is conducted only for the sake of legitimacy.

The public opinion is in favour of achieving the goal of universalisation of elementary education. But the majority opined that the non-formal education should play only a complementary role in achieving this goal.

The establishment of model schools was favoured by the policy makers and some of the educationists and administrators. But the public favoured diverting the **energy**^{rt. ?*H} resources of the proposed model schools for the improvement of the existing schools to stem the further accentuation of rural **elite** divide. On the whole, while the advocates of model schools argued the necessity of model schools for promoting quality, its critics felt that the model schools promote elitism in education. The issue of introducing national core curriculum evoked mixed **response**. While a few favoured its introduction for strengthening national **integration**, others described it as move towards centralization.

There are two different sets of opinions on higher education. Some of the academicians and educational administrators favoured restrictions on the further expansion of higher education. They have put forward the argument that higher education has been producing the large number of unemployed and unemployable men and women. They also stated that the excellence is lost in the drive for mass education. Some organizations, political leaders and academicians contended this. They **felt** that higher education is not over crowded and products of higher education are becoming unemployed because of the lopsided economic policy and **manpower** planning. They stated that **the curtailment of** higher education is only an obstructionist and a dehumanized notion. Consensus prevailed

on the vocationalisation of education. Every one favoured vocationalisation with a few modifications. A majority of them felt that it should be properly linked with planning.

The academic community did not have much to cheer regarding the perception of teachers by the policy makers. However every one recognized the need for in-service and pre-service training of teachers. While contending the negative perception of teachers, many favoured formulation of code of conduct in a democratic way **by** consulting and involving teachers and their organizations.

De-linking degrees from jobs was favoured by the policy makers to reduce the pressure on higher education. But it is felt that unless the employment opportunities are widened, there will not be any impact whether one links or **de-links**. Further, the **de-linking** may lead to malpractices, nepotism and corruption.

The place of education in the Constitutional division of powers between the Union Government and State Governments is one of the contentious issues in the educational planning. There are divergent opinions on educational management and planning. Neither is there any consensus regarding the State **Government's** responsibility ~~towards~~ education nor is there any unanimity over the extent of center-state jurisdiction. The academic **community** and most of the students and teachers organizations supported a greater role to the State Governments and total decentralization up to block and village levels. Educational institutions favoured that the Central Government should be concerned with providing the national policy and perspective, providing financial assistance to backward areas and sections and entrusting the states with the task of operationalising national policy with sufficient flexibility to adopt them to the local conditions and **needs**. A few organizations advocated concurrency in the field of education in the name of meaningful partnership and shouldering the **additional** responsibility by the Union Government in view of the national significance of education. But this viewpoint was refuted especially by many student, **teachers'** organizations and political parties. They criticized that the concurrency in the field of education infringes the autonomy of the state governments and perpetuates centralization tendencies.

The document '**Challenge** of Education - A Policy Perspective' identified many internal constraints **in** cleansing the educational system. One of them is politicization. Hence the policy makers advocated strongly the need for depoliticization. But many

academicians and representatives of **various** organizations described it as an undemocratic move. They wondered how politicization, which is instrumental for societal excellence, is viewed as inimical to intellectual or academic excellence. Every one recognized the imperativeness of financial inputs, they also stressed the need to have a strong political will to achieve the desired educational targets.

Further analysis of public opinion reveals that concerned communities i.e., academicians and organizations responded to the debate on the educational policy in spite of their limited access and the feeble influence they wield in policy formulation. While the top elite shared the consensus on issues like establishment of model **schools**, de-linking of degrees from jobs, depoliticisation of educational institutions, education being in concurrent list and so on. While some other **academicians, representatives of** student's, teacher's organizations and political parties opposed the establishment of model schools, decline of financial resources to education, undue stress on non-formal education, lack of autonomy to education, restrictions on the expansion of higher education, infringing the rights of academic community, and presence of education in the concurrent **list** etc. Consensus prevailed among all the sections on issues like vocational education, common core curriculum and common educational structure etc.

Though the concerned community responded to the policy **debate**, the government did not respond with the same sensitivity in spite of its **repeated** pronouncements about its faith in public opinion. This suggests that the impact of public opinion in formulating educational policy is marginal. **It** only reflects the consensus among the top elite but not the general democratic public opinion.

The dominance of the Union Government in the formulation of the NPE 1986 is an emerging **trend**, which is likely to perpetuate the **centralization tendencies** in the area of policy formulation. The Union Government owing to certain internal and external, political and economic compulsions has formulated the NPE 1986. **The** Prime Minister took the initiative and the policy was formulated by the MHRD and its hand picked academicians and administrators. Quite unorthodoxically the Union Government initiated a public debate and sought the suggestions of the State Governments, political parties, student organizations, academicians, educational administrators and so on.

In a changed political context in Indian federal polity with the emergence of a

competitive **multi-** party political system, the State Governments ruled **by** the opposition parties demanded more autonomy and financial support from the Union Government without calling for drastic changes in the educational policy. **In** terms of goals the present policy is incremental in nature. But the Union Government wanted to extend its sphere of influence and retain its hold on as many subjects as possible. Hence it did not heed to the demands of the State Governments even in a limited **sense**.

There was no total consensus among the concerned public on various issues pertaining to the educational policy. **The** goals were set by the elite and these goals will be incremental in nature [the elite means few advisors and administrators chosen by the Prime Minister] The policy reflects the consensus of the elite. In a developing country like India a uniform public opinion is not possible because of the economic, cultural, linguistic and regional diversities. Hence, policy formulation ought to be initiated from below considering the federal dimension of the polity, and the heterogeneous and diverse nature of the public opinion. Therefore, it is established that the impact of public opinion and the views of the State Governments in the formulation of the NPE 1986 are **marginal**. The Union Government initiated the debate involving the State **Governments** and the concerned public and agencies only for the sake of obtaining legitimacy. Thus policy formulation is characterized by the predominant role and political expediency of the Union Government.

Effectiveness of the public policy depends on the creative involvement **of the** State Governments, educationists, concerned public and organizations. A **pragmatic alternative** for effective policy formulation is the constitution of a broad based commission (as in the case of the National Policy on Education 1968) to discuss and consult the State Governments, the concerned public and organizations. The role of the Union Government should be more in the realm of higher education and professional education. **It** should provide certain guidelines to the State Governments to ensure uniformity. The State Governments, concerned agencies and the public should be made to effectively participate in the policy formulation to meet their diverse needs. The Union Government should provide professional, technical guidance and resource support to the State Government. **Instead** of a linear and top down approach, a **decentralized** or bottom up approach **in** policy formulation and implementation ought to be followed to ensure effective policy formulation and efficient implementation.

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