

EDUCATION POLICY

A Historical Overview

(1947 to date)

**FROM
CONSTITUTIONAL
FRAMEWORK TO
MARKET
HEGEMONY**

By : Prof. Anil Sadgopal

National Policy Framework

- **University Education Commission (1948)**
- **Secondary Education Commission (1952)**
- **Educations Commission (1964-66).**
- **National Policy on Education-1968.**
- **National Policy on Education-1986 (NPE-1986) and Programme of Action-1986 (POA-1986);**
- **NPE-1986 (As modified in 1992) and POA-1992.**

UNIVERSALISATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (8 Years)

SHIFTING GOALS

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| • CONSTITUTION | 1960 |
| • NPE-1968 | NONE |
| • NPE-1986 | 1995 |
| • NPE-1986 (modified in 1992) | 2000 |
| • DPEP (18 States, 280 Districts)* | 2000/02 |
| • Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (2000) | 2010 |
| • Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (2008) | NONE |
| • UNESCO GLOBAL REPORT (2002)* | Not even
by 2015! |

*Limited to only Primary Education of five years.

NPE-1986, 1992

COMMITMENT TO MOVE TOWARDS
COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM

BUT

INTRODUCES

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

AS A PARALLEL STREAM

BELOW MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

FOR HALF OF 6-14 AGE GROUP CHILDREN

NPE-1986, 1992

ALSO BUILDS UP
ANOTHER PARALLEL LAYER OF
NAVODAYA VIDYALAYAS
ABOVE MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

•
INTRODUCES
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
AS A PARALLEL LAYER
AT PLUS TWO

**‘World Conference
on Education for All (EFA): Meeting
Basic Learning Needs’
Jomtien, Thailand, 1990**



- ***World Declaration on Education for All.***
- ***Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs.***

**UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and
The World Bank**



1990

JOMTIEN CONFERENCE



2000

DAKAR CONFERENCE



2001

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY 1991



NEO-LIBERAL AGENDA



IMF-WORLD BANK LOANS



**Structural Adjustment
Programmes**



Social Safety Nets

JOMTIEN DECLARATION



First Policy Department



Under World Bank's umbrella



1993-94: External Assistance accepted
for the first time for Primary Education



**DISTRICT PRIMARY EDUCATION
PROGRAMME (DPEP)**

Some Policy-related Documents

Promoting Market, Violating Constitution

- **Jomtien Declaration, 1990.**
- **Education For All, 1993.**
- **District Primary Education Programme, 1995, 1997, 1998.**
- **Para Teacher Scheme, 2000.**
- **Ambani-Birla Report, 2000.**
- **National Curricular Framework (NCF), 2000.**
- **Education Guarantee Scheme and Alternative & Innovative Education , 2001.**
- **6,000 Model Schools & Higher Education in PPP Mode – 13 Sept. 2007.**
- **School Vouchers – December 2007.**
- **Right to Free & Compulsory Education Bill, 2008.**

Constitution

Jomtien 1990

Committed to children up to 14 years.	No such commitment.
Early Childhood Care & Pre-Primary Education.	Ambiguous reference to ECCE.
<i>Elementary</i> of 8 years.	<i>Basic (primary)</i> of 5 or less years.
Guarantee of <i>free</i> education.	No reference to <i>free</i> education.
Education of Equitable Quality.	Varying quality thru parallel layers.
Aimed at <u>education</u> .	Education equated with <u>literacy</u> and <u>skills</u> .
State obliged to ensure <u>reprioritisation</u> of <u>internal</u> resources.	State's obligation substituted by <u>external</u> assistance.
<i>Equality</i> in and through education.	<i>Equality limited to access.</i>

1986 Policy

Jomtien 1990

Early Childhood Care & Pre-Primary Education.	Only ambiguity.
<i>Elementary</i> of 8 years.	<i>Basic (primary)</i> of 5 or less years.
Committed to children up to 14 years.	No such commitment.
Common School System.	No such commitment.
Equality in <i>access and conditions of success</i> .	Equality <i>limited to access</i> .
Education defined <i>holistically</i> .	Education <i>reduced to literacy & skills</i> .
<i>State is obliged</i> to ensure free & compulsory elementary education.	State's obligation <i>being shifted</i> to communities, NGOs, religious bodies etc
State obliged to mobilise <i>internal</i> resources <u>exceeding</u> 6% of GDP.	State's obligation substituted by <i>external</i> aid.

**1986 POLICY: BEGINNING OF
NEO-LIBERAL AGENDA**



**VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTIONAL
PRINCIPLES OF
EQUALITY & SOCIAL JUSTICE**



**INTRODUCED A SOCIO-POLITICAL
FAULT FOR NEO-LIBERAL FORCES
TO PROMOTE PRINCIPLE OF
PARALLEL STREAMS**

NEO-LIBERAL AGENDA: POST-JOMTIEN POLICY SHIFTS IN NINETIES

- **Parallel educational streams: a separate track for each social class/group.**
- **Parallel institutional structure.**
- **Discourse on purpose, relevance and quality replaced by “*Basic Learning Needs*” in terms of literacy & skills oriented to market needs.**
- **Gandhi’s concept of Basic Education replaced by an ambiguous category of “*Basic Education*”.**
- **State’s obligation to mobilize adequate resources internally is substituted by external resources.**
- **Abdication of State’s obligation.**

POST-JOMTIEN POLICY DILUTIONS: INFRASTRUCTURAL & QUALITY NORMS

- Operation Blackboard norms diluted – from 3 teachers-3 rooms per primary school to 2 teachers-2 rooms per primary school.
- Regular teacher replaced by under-qualified, untrained, under-paid *Para-teachers* appointed on short-term contracts.
- EGS – No provision for school buildings or teaching aids.
- Multi-grade Teaching institutionalised.
- Correspondence courses for 6-14 age group.
- Selling or outsourcing government schools.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS



- Common School System replaced by a multiple track system.
- A deliberate policy of *“letting the mainstream school system deteriorate”* so that it may be gradually replaced by the market-driven private unaided school system – this is heralded as either *‘REFORMS’* or *‘RATIONALISATION’!*

1986 Policy On Education For Women's Equality

“Education will be used as an agent of basic *change in the status* of women. In order to neutralize the *accumulated distortions* of the past, there will be a *well-conceived edge in favour* of women. The National Education System will play a positive, *interventionist role* in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values This will be an act of faith”

Programme of Action (1986) on Women Empowerment Parameters

- **enhance women's self-esteem & self-confidence;**
- **build their positive image by recognising their contribution to society, polity and economy;**
- **develop their ability to think critically;**
- **enable them to make informed choices in areas like education, employment and health, especially reproductive health;**
- **ensure equal participation in developmental processes.**

MAHILA SAMAKHYA: Basic Process

Collective reflection by women groups on their experience of patriarchal oppression



Conceiving a programme of *action-cum-critical reflection*



Building up knowledge, *transforming consciousness*, engaging in social action



Rise in *girl child's participation in school education*; Demand for adult education by women groups.

MAHILA SAMAKHYA
THE ONLY WOMEN'S EDUCATION
PROGRAMME BASED ON POLICY

BUT

- **Operating in a few dozen districts.**
- **Allocated merely 17 paise out of every Rs. 100 allocated to elementary education in Union Budget 2008-09.**
- **DPEP States: reduced to only increasing enrolment numbers on school registers.**

Women's Education Policy: Conceptual Roots of Dilution/Distortion

- **Jomtien-Dakar Framework (1990-2000):** Recognising neither patriarchy nor need for critical reflection.
- **World Bank (1997):** Viewing women's education in terms of literacy & productivity; emphasis on turning them into transmitters of fertility control, health & nutritional messages.
- **UNESCO (2003):** Parameters on 'Gender Parity' restricted to Girls:Boys Enrolment Ratios.

AMBANI-BIRLA REPORT (2000)

- Education not a component of social development but an investment for 'information society' & market competition.**
- State support to be withdrawn from disciplines having market value: Market will determine the nature of knowledge.**
- Elementary education juxtaposed against higher (partly secondary also) education for State support.**

FRAGMENTATION OF KNOWLEDGE



**Minimum Levels of Learning (1990)
at primary stage.**



Breaking up knowledge into competencies with following features:

- **Cognitive domain separated from affective domain.**
- **'Observable and Measurable' competencies.**
- **Each competency viewed in isolation of another ➔ negating a holistic understanding.**
- **Competencies related to marketable skills.**

ARTICLE 19 (a) IN JEOPARDY

- **Undermining children's languages.**
- **Ignoring multi-linguality as a foundation of learning.**
- **Destroying mother tongue as a component of multi-linguality.**
- **Equating mother tongue with state language.**



Children without identity.



Children losing capacity to learn, think and create.



LOSS OF RIGHT TO EXPRESS & ARTICULATE

INTERFERENCE WITH CONSTITUTION

86TH AMENDMENT

- Snatched away right to early childhood care & pre-primary education for 17 crore children below 6 years of age.
- Made right to 6-14 age group conditional with phrase "*as the State may, by law, determine*".
- Shifted State's obligation to "*provide opportunities for education*" to parents.
- Guarantee of resources reduced by 30% by compromising infrastructural & pedagogic norms.

WHY 86TH AMENDMENT?

- **TO DILUTE THE IMPACT OF SUPREME COURT'S UNNIKRIISHNAN JUDGEMENT (1993).**
- **TO MOVE TOWARDS ABDICATION OF STATE'S OBLIGATION.**
- **TO FULFILL IMF-WORLD BANK'S DICTATES ON STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME.**

SARVA SHIKSHA ABHIYAN (2002)



“All children in school, Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) centre, alternate school, ‘back-to-school camp’ by 2003.”



Rationale for inadequate investment.

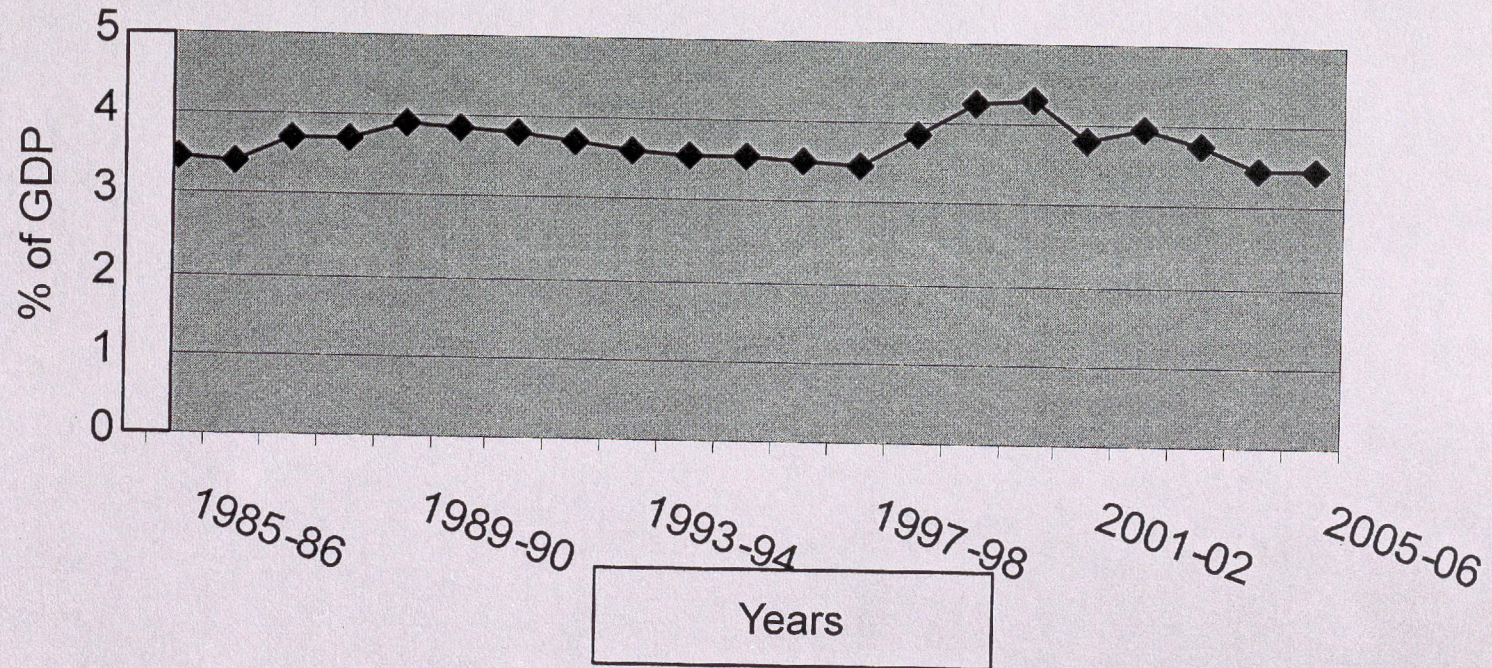


Allows continuation of the UEE FARCE.



AWAITING TO BE LEGITIMISED BY
RIGHT TO FREE & COMPULSORY EDUCATION
BILL, 2008

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS % OF GDP



Dilution of Quality Norms

Norms	Expert Group	SSA
Pupil:Teacher Ratio	1:30	1:40
Av. Monthly Salary of Teachers	Primary – Rs. 5,000 Upper Primary – Rs. 6,000	Rs. 3,000
Enrolment in Private Schools	NIL	15%

Dilution of Quality Norms (contd. . .)

Norms	Expert Group	SSA
Parallel Layers of Inferior Quality Schools	NIL	A major role for EGS Centres
No. of Additional Teachers Required	35.6 lakh	11.5 lakh
Total No. of Classrooms Required	43 lakh	11 lakh
Free Uniforms, Scholarships, DIETs	Provision made	Not provided

Dilution of Quality Norms (contd. . .)

Norms	Expert Group	SSA
Integrated Education Development: Cost per Disabled Child	Rs. 3,000	Rs. 1,200
a) Grant per School	Primary – Rs. 3,000 Upper Primary – Rs. 5,000	Rs. 2,000
b) Grant per Teacher	Primary – Rs. 500 Upper Primary – Rs. 700	Rs. 500

WHAT HAPPENED TO NPE-1986, 1992



**DISTORTED INTO *AD-HOC* SHORT-LIVED SCHEMES
AND STRATEGIES**



**RESTRUCTURING OF SCHOOL SYSTEM
GIVEN UP AS A NON-ISSUE**



**INCREASING DOMINANCE OF MARKET FORCES IN
DECISION MAKING WITH "INCIDENTAL ADVICE".**



**POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS MADE
ARBITRARY, UNDEMOCRATIC & OPAQUE**

Miniscule Investments - Disproportionate Influence

Years	Total Exp. Education (Rs. in crores)	External Assistance (Rs. in crores)	External Assistance as % of GDP	External Assistance as % of Total Exp. Education
1999- 2000	74,816	682.8	0.039	0.91
2000-01	82,486	858.3	0.045	1.04
2001-02	79,866	1,100.0	0.053	1.38

**QUESTIONABLE
THEORETICAL PREMISES**

HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY



RATE OF RETURN

&

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS



**HUMAN BEING AS RESOURCE IN GLOBAL MARKET
WITHOUT**

**CRITICAL THINKING
& POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS**

WORLD BANK'S AGENDA

- **Demolition of public-funded school system
⇒ Floodgates for privatisation and commercialisation.**
- **Increasing inequality, hierarchy & exclusion.**
- **India becomes supplier of cheap skilled workforce & pays heavily for new knowledge from elsewhere – Back to colonial model.**
- **Control of character of knowledge by market.**
- **Imperialism determines development model.**



KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY!!

**MIND YOUR LANGUAGE:
REMEMBER CHOMSKY**

NOT REFORMS

BUT

HIJACKING

•

NOT KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

BUT

**APPROPRIATION OF
KNOWLEDGE**

LATEST NEWS ON EDUCATION

- **Schools Under Sale!**
- **Schools Being Outsourced!**
- **Tenders Invited for Setting Up Schools!**
- **Education Hubs Coming Up!**
- **One Teacher, Several Classes – A Powerful Mobile Company Advertisement.**
- **Public Funds & Resources Given to Companies, NGOs & Religious Bodies for Setting Up Schools Under PPP!**
- **Computer Firms Making Curriculum!**
- **Policy Making Handed Over to Corporate Houses!**

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

**LEARN TO DECONSTRUCT
POLICY, PROGRAMME DESIGN,
PUBLIC FINANCE & LAW**



SHARE YOUR ANALYSIS WITH THE PEOPLE



**SEEK SUPPORT FROM ALL DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING JUDICIARY**



**GANDHIAN STRUGGLE FOR RESTORING
INDIA'S SOVEREIGNTY
& BUILDING A PRO-PEOPLE
EDUCATIONAL AGENDA**

A. Thematic Package No. 1

Decoding
Education Policy (38 SLIDES)
- Anil Sadgopal