NEW EDUCATION POLICY - 2015

(Recommendations to Govt. of India)

'Every container becomes tightly packed with what is put in it, except for the container of knowledge, for surely it expands.'

-Ali Ibn Abi Talib

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Students Islamic Organisation of India
New Education Policy - 2015
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Preface

Education and Health are first frontiers as far as the progress of a nation is concerned. It is a matter of regret that even after 69 years of freedom, we have not realized this. Government come & go, policy also changes. Every Government talks of improving education but does nothing. Education at all levels in India continues to be riddled with many problems and no sincere effort has been made to solve these issues.

Progress is a continuous, never ending process. An advance in a particular field of activity leads to the opening of another door to proceed steadily for progress. Government of India drafted the education policy in 1986 and revised it in the year 1992. During this last 22 years, we have slowly but steadily marched on the road of planned progress.

Students Islamic Organisation of India organized around 19 discussions on New Education Policy in different cities, conducted an online survey and consulted around 20 Educationists to draft New Education Policy recommendations.

We deliver our sincere thanks to all the educationists, activists, students and youth for their scholarly contribution in our consultation process (Shiksha Samvad). Our special thanks to Dr. Niranjanaradhya, Prof. Poonam Batra, Dr. Sweta Gupta, Prof. Vidyut Joshi and Mr. Mujahidul Islam.

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President, SIO of India.
'Education is a system of imposed ignorance' says Noam Chomsky. The documents uploaded by the Ministry of Human Resource Development as part of formulating the New National Education Policy endorse the above statement. The website of the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) contains a document titled “New National Education Policy” which includes Annexure-I on “Themes and questions for Policy Consultation on School Education”.¹

A careful scrutiny of this document reveals that there is no theoretical basis for the formulation of new national education policy based on the Constitutional values nor the document analyzed the previous policies of 1968, 1986 and 1992 (Revised Policy) to identify the accomplishments and gaps in the implementation since then to plan the future.

The documents neither recognize the existing disparities, discriminations and inequalities in the area of school education nor address the issues of privatization, commercialization and commodification of education as against the Public good.²

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2. David F. Labaree in his paper entitled “Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle over Educational Goals argues that American education has had three goals that have shifted in importance over time: democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility. Democratic equality supports the idea that education is a public good, necessary for creating informed citizens. Social efficiency also sees education as a public good, but one designed to create workers to fuel a healthy economy. Social mobility sees education as a private good, meant to help people enjoy successful and fulfilling lives. While all three goals have always coexisted, in recent years, writes Labaree, social mobility, the private goal, has eclipsed the others to the detriment of our society. Precedence over other goals, particularly in a depressed economy, education becomes a zero-sum game. Some individuals prosper while others don't, and society as a whole suffers. https://theamericanscholar.org/social-vs-private-good-in-education/#.VbXdgPBCgbY
Further, it fails to take into consideration the recommendations of the Kothari Commission (1966), the National Curriculum Framework (2005) and the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009. These three documents are considered to be the footing documents for the education system in India or any process initiated by the state to formulate policies, programmes and laws as part of building a national system of education. The recommendations of the Kothari commission aim to provide an ideal system of education in the country. These recommendations are yet to be implemented. An in depth study of the recommendations are required to formulate policy documents.

The earlier education policies were formulated on the basis of the Constitutional values affirming to build a National System of Education based on the Common School System³ rooted in the neighborhood school principle based on the recommendations of Education Commission and further referred to in the Review Committee to review National Policy on Education (NEPRC).⁴

The National Curriculum Framework was formulated after extensive discussions of the 21 National Focus Groups.⁵ All

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3. See Para 4(b), 3.2 and 3.3 respectively in the 1968, 1986 and 1992(Revised) National Policy on Education
4. http://www.teindia.nic.in/mhrd/50yrsedu/g/T/HB/0THB0601.htm (The NPERC refers to Common Schools in Chapters 3 and 4 of its Report. In Chapter 3 it states that except for a small number of schools in the Urban Sector, the majority of schools which are in the rural sector are already common schools and neighbourhood schools. Unless the Government and local body schools are upgraded through infrastructural and academic inputs the common school system cannot become a reality and the present division of the country between those who have access to the few privileged schools and those who gain admission in the poor quality schools will persist. Educational policies, including the NPE, 1986 take a stance in favour of the majority but there is little evidence that action has been taken in keeping with these intentions. The NPERC states that all schools in the country should become community schools. Through involvement with the concerns of the community around, the schools would become neighbourhood schools as a first step towards fully entering into a Common School System)
5. The 21 National Focus Groups were constituted to address the following issues: Aims of Education; Systemic Reforms for Curriculum Change; Teaching of Indian Language; Teaching of English; Teaching of Mathematics; Teaching of Science; Teaching of Social Science; Habitat and Learning; Art, Music, Dance and Theatre; Heritage Crafts; Educational Technology; Work and Education; Health and Physical
educationists and social activists consider this as a foundation for the national education system because this document addressed the epistemological questions related to school education and also gave a different perspective on the quality of education. It gives the idea of construction of knowledge and stressed on education to be a transformative tool and education as a means to construct a humanitarian society.

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 is the only piece of legislation at the Centre in India which ensures the fundamental right of children to obtain education. Unfortunately, the documents prepared by the MHRD to initiate a debate on the New Education Policy have failed to recognize and acknowledge the above said documents as the founding documents for such exercise.

The themes and the questions⁶ identified by documents also fail to provide a vision statement for the new education policy. The present themes and questions lack the vision on the core question of “What kind of national education system needsto be built” to address the fundamental problems faced by the current education system in terms of access, retention, quality on the one hand and the contents of education, parameters of teacher education, language of education, equality in opportunities and above all social justice in order to achieve the core constitutional values embodied in the preamble of the Indian Constitution to create an egalitarian society in the long run.

The themes and questions for Policy Consultation on School Education contain 13 themes for school education along with some questions for each theme. A careful scrutiny of the themes and questions indicates that the questions are designed in a way to elicit a specific response to implement the larger agenda of privatization and Public Private Partnership (PPP). This is popularly known as “Manufacturing Consent” with vested interests as advocated by Noam Chomsky⁷ to advance the agenda of Neoliberalism.

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Education; Early Childhood Education; Problems of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Children; Gender Issues in the Curriculum; Education with Special Needs; Education for Peace; Curriculum, Syllabus and Textbooks; Teacher Education for Curriculum Renewal and Examination Reform.

http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/focus_group.html#

6. Visit http://mhrd.gov.in/overview-se for more details
7. http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/1992----02.htm (When we talk about
In a nutshell, a very careful scrutiny of this document indicates that the Central Government is making this exercise with a deliberate attempt to open the system of education to the market and also to involve big corporates in the management of schools. It lacks vision and fails to build the very foundation of such debate on the core values of Constitution like Equality, Social Justice and Equity. One could smell the larger agenda of the Central Government to introduce an education system based on conservative values and principles in the place of progressive, secular and democratic values as embodied in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution.

In this backdrop, there is an urgent need to raise the following questions in the context of formulating new national education policy:

1. What should be the foundation of building a national system of education based on the principles of neighborhood common school system fully funded by the state to ensure equitable quality education to all children until the age of 18 years?

2. How do we address the ongoing Privatization, Commercialization and Commodification as against recognizing education as a social good?

3. How can the system of education help to build a more humanitarian and egalitarian society based on the core values of the Constitution ensuring social justice to all its citizens?

4. What kind of content needs to be taught in schools to promote religious harmony, national integrity and unity amongst all its citizens in the context of pluralism, multi-linguist, multi-manufacturing of consent, whose consent is being manufactured? CHOMSKY says 'To start with, there are two different groups, we can get into more detail, but at the first level of approximation, there are two targets for propaganda. One is what's sometimes called the political class. There's maybe twenty percent of the population which is relatively educated, more or less articulate, plays some kind of role in decision-making. They're supposed to sort of participate in social life -- either as managers, or cultural managers like teachers and writers and so on. They're supposed to vote, they're supposed to play some role in the way economic and political and cultural life goes on. Now their consent is crucial. So that's one group that has to be deeply indoctrinated. Then there maybe eighty percent of the population whose main function is to follow orders and not think, and not to pay attention to anything -- and they're the ones who usually pay the costs'.
religious and multi-culturalism?

5. What kind of teacher education needs to be promoted to achieve all these goals

6. How best can the system of education contribute to ensure social, economic and political justice to all its citizens and also to build a socialist, secular, democratic, sovereign republic as envisaged from the Constitution which was the product of freedom struggle reflecting the aspirations of the nation?

7. How do we use education as tool for larger social transformation instead of equating it to learning 3Rs; Reading, writing and numeracy.

This concept note makes an attempt to build a vision document to build a NSE based on the values of the Constitution to initiate a genuine debate across the country.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Indian society, based on caste division and hierarchy, was known for the exclusion of the vast majority of the masses from access to formal education. The shudras, the fourth estate, and the Antyajjas, the untouchable or the lower castes, were deprived of access to formal education. Even among superior castes, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, the second and third estates respectively in the Chatur Varna System received only some form of elementary and professional education. Thus, access to formal education in the past was determined by birth.⁸

It is appropriate to note Naik’s description of the situation at the end of 18th century - “The Indian society was then highly stratified, hierarchical, and in-egalitarian. There was a small group of well-to-do persons at the top consisting of the feudal overlords and their dependents and supporters... the bulk of the people, however, were poor and under privileged... the Scheduled Castes who were treated as untouchables and the Scheduled Tribes who were not integrated into mainstream society formed the lowliest, the poorest, and the most exploited groups... the educational picture broadly reflected this socio-economic background of inequality... the access to the formal system of education was ascriptive, mostly based on birth, and restricted to the literary and priestly castes or classes, well-to-do landlords, money-lenders, and traders.”⁹

During the course of the freedom struggle to overthrow colonial rule, and consequent to the growth of national consciousness, basic education was gradually recognized as an important prerequisite for the creation of an independent and united India. The demand for free and compulsory education (hereinafter referred to as FCE) was one of the early demands of the freedom struggle. For instance, in the evidence placed before the Education Commission (Hunter Commission) appointed in 1882, Dadabhai Naoroji and Jyothibha Phule had demanded state sponsored free education for all children.¹⁰

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⁸ See Dr.Niranjanaradhya. V. P, Universalisaon of School Educaon: The Road Ahead(Bangalore: Books for Change,2004)at 2
⁹ See Naik. J. P, Equality,Quality and Quantity,the Elusive Triangle in Indian Educaon(New Delhi: Allied Publishers,1975)
¹⁰ Dr.Niranjanradhya and ArunaKashyap, The 'Fundamental' of the Fundamental Right to Educaon In India (Bangalore: Books for Change,2006)at 3
As the freedom movement grew in strength, the idea that it was the duty of the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children found acceptance, and FCE was recognized as a necessary and important goal of independent India. Thereafter, many initiatives were undertaken on the part of the Indians - sometimes to provide for FCE and other times to demand for a policy or legal framework in order to ensure FCE to all children. These efforts as a part of the freedom struggle finally culminated in a landmark development in the history of FCE in India where the Post War Development Plan recommended the introduction of FCE for children up to the age of eight years.¹¹ Therefore, the demand for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of fourteen years in the Constitution was the product of the freedom struggle - the people's mandate.

India achieved its independence from the foreign rule and became an independent nation in 1947. In the words of Austin - “Indians were at last free to shape their own destiny, to pursue their long-proclaimed aims and aspirations, and to create the national institutions that would facilitate the fulfillment of these aims. These tasks the members approached with remarkable idealism and strength of purpose born from the struggle for independence”.¹²

The process of building a new India on values foreseen during the freedom struggle became the guiding vision for drafting the Constitution of newborn India. As a result, while drafting the Constitution, “Indian founding fathers and mothers established in the Constitution both the nation's ideals, and the institutions and processes for achieving them. The ideals were national unity and integrity and a democratic and equitable society. The new society was to be achieved through a social-economic revolution persuaded with the democratic spirit using constitutional, democratic institutions”.¹³

However, the founders of the Constitution failed to provide a due share to the children of India in general and a right to education as a 'fundamental right' in the Constitution in particular. As a corollary, the people's demand for FCE that echoed throughout the freedom struggle as one of the most prominent demands put forth at various

¹¹ ibid.3
¹² Granville Austin, Op.cit, p xviii
¹³ ibid.
stages did not translate itself into a fundamental right in the Constitution and thereby deprived the children of India an opportunity to have a fundamental right to education at the time of the drafting of the Constitution of India. Instead, the right to education which before was a justiciable right was transformed into a non-justiciable right - i.e., the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Nevertheless, the inseparable linkages between the provisions pertaining to the right to education and other provisions in the draft Constitution put forward by Ambedkar during the Constituent Assembly Debates is something noteworthy in itself. After shifting the FCE provisions from the fundamental rights chapter to the non-justiciable rights chapter, draft Article 36 was taken up for debate in the Constituent Assembly on 23rd November 1948. In the course of debating draft Article 36 relating to FCE, there were two amendments proposed; one of the members (Pandit Laksmi Kanta Maitra: West Bengal–General) proposed that the reference to free primary education be deleted so that it does not contradict the reference to the completion of the age of fourteen years. Another member (Naziruddin Ahmad: West Bengal–Muslim) had also contended that, in view of the expected resource crunch, the reference to the age of fourteen years be reduced to the age of ten years and the commitment of the state be limited to only primary education.

B. R. Ambedkar responding to the proposed amendments opined that “I accept the amendment proposed by my friend, Mr. Maitra which suggests the deletion of the words 'every citizen entitled to free primary education'. But, I am not prepared to accept the amendment of my friend, Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad. He seems to think that the objective of the rest of the clause in Article 36 is restricted to free primary education. But, that is not so. The clause as it stands after the amendment is that every child shall be kept in an educational institution under training until the child is of fourteen years. If my honorable friend, Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad had referred to Article 18,

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15. In fact, the subcommittee of the constituent assembly on Fundamental rights placed free and compulsory education in the list of fundamental rights under clause 23. But the advisory committee of the constituent assembly rejected it and sent it to non-justiciable section.
which forms part of the fundamental rights, he would have noticed that a provision is made in Article 18 to forbid any child being employed below the age of 14. Obviously, if the child is not to be employed below the age of 14, the child must be kept occupied in some educational institution. That is the object of the Article 36 and that is why I say the word primary is quite inappropriate in the particular clause, and I therefore oppose his amendment”¹⁶ Finally, Article 36, as amended, was to be part of the Constitution of India as Article 45.¹⁷

It is evident from this analysis that there were different perspectives during the Constituent Assembly Debates on issues pertaining to children including the making of education as a fundamental right, the length and scope of FCE, increasing the age of the child, etc. However, the Constituent Assembly as a whole had failed to provide a due share to the children of India and had denied them the right to education as a ‘fundamental right’ in particular. This was in fact a great injustice done to the children of India.

17. Article 45 reads as “The state shall endeavor to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, free and compulsory education to all children until they complete the age of fourteen years”.

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POST-INDEPENDENCE DEVELOPMENTS

“By independence we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong, we will have nobody to blame except ourselves” said Dr. B.R. Ambedkar at the time of adopting the Constitution.¹⁸

Constitution of India intends to put forth the goal of building a new India on the lines of the ideals and goals embodied in the Constitution - created by her own people and representing the masses; adopted to secure the ideals of social justice, equality, and equity.¹⁹

These ideals are applicable in all spheres and form an essential facet of development in India. Building a National System of Education is no exception to this. Rather, a national system of education on the principles of social justice and equality creates the necessary ground for achieving the ideals of the Constitution.

The present Indian school education system is paralyzed by gross inequality, discrimination, and multilayered hierarchical structures that breed further inequality. Furthermore, a new problem haunts the school education system in India; the spectra of privatization, Public-Private Partnership (PPP), school nurturing programs, corporate social responsibility, voucher system, and so on and so forth that encompasses the Indian school education system to dismantle and discard it in favour of free market forces and thereby to dissipate the core principles of 'social justice' and 'equality' embodied in the Constitution.

Rather, the 'right to education' has to be conceived in a broader constitutional framework especially to understand the 'right' in its broader perspective as a prerequisite for National Development²⁰ in the manner recommended by the Education Commission.

¹⁸. Quoted from Granville Austin, The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) at 308
¹⁹. Quoted from Granville Austin, The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) at 308
Neither justice of any kind nor liberty of any sort nor equality and fraternity can be practiced in the absence of meaningful education. A society steeped in ignorance and illiteracy or a society with glaring disparities, inequalities and discrimination on the lines of caste, religion, gender, language, social status etc., can hardly ensure and practice the ideals embodied in the preamble.

Therefore, the right to education is the means to achieve the ideals of the Constitution. Furthermore, basic education as an entitlement of each individual nurtures the capabilities of each individual to protect the other rights guaranteed under Part III and to demand the incorporation of the provisions provided in Part IV as a part of the development process. Therefore, education is an end in itself.

It is important that the ideals of social justice and equality of opportunities form an integral part of the right to education in the Constitution. This is further specifically linked to Article 21 of the Constitution to give broader meaning to the right to life saying that it is not just the right to a life but the right to a dignified life. In light of this, the notion of a 'right to education' in the Constitution is a conglomeration of various provisions provided in Part III and Part IV of the Constitution. However, as we discussed earlier, the values enshrined in the preamble to the Constitution form the central thesis of the right to education.

Therefore, right to education in the Constitution means - the core principles of the preamble – i.e., social justice and equality, Article 14 - equality before law, Article 15 - prohibition of discrimination, Article 16 – equality of opportunities, Article 21 - right to dignified life, Article 21A – right to education, Article 23 – prohibition of human trafficking, Article 24 - abolition of child labour, Article 39(e) & (f) - protection of children, Article 41 – right to education, Article 45 - early childhood care and education, and Article 46 - promotion of the educational interest of SC/STs and other weaker sections of society.

To sum up, it is important to locate the discussion on the right to education and the Constitution in its historical perspective in order to better understand the paramount importance of the right to education in the context of the aspirations and ideals of the Constitution. Furthermore, the Constitution of India is itself a
byproduct of the freedom struggle and reflects the common aspirations of the people.²¹ The education system in any society is a prerequisite for building such a society and also becomes a dynamic driving force to achieve the ideals of the Constitution.

Therefore, the Constitution is subservient to the larger aspirations and ideals of the people that constitute the people's mandate and the right to education is an integral part of the Constitution as per such a mandate. The implementation of the Constitution of India is nothing but realization of the goals and ideals that guided the freedom struggle to create an egalitarian society on the principles of social justice and equity. Therefore, the building of a national system of education on the principles of social justice and equity is a prerequisite to give a meaningful effect to the implementation of the Constitution.

Therefore, there is reason to state that it is education and education alone that can translate constitutional ideals into practice. Therefore, the right to education should be a prerequisite for the translation of the goals and ideals in the preamble into concrete realities.

of the education system in the country began its report with paragraph saying “the destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. This, we believe, is no more a rhetoric. In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of our schools and colleges will depend our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction the principal objective of which is to raise the standards of living our people”.

²¹ Justice R. C. Lahoti, op.cit, at 4
THE ROAD AHEAD

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land and all other laws must conform to the same in order to be valid and binding.²² The Constitution of India is the guiding document for the building of modern India on the ideals of the Constitution. Having adopted the core philosophy of justice - social, political and economic; equality of status and of opportunities; fraternity that ensures the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation itself, the Constitution of India strives to build an egalitarian society in modern India.

According to Justice Lahoti - “justice has three facets; social, economic and political, again in that order of significance. Without social justice the Constitution would not be able to secure economic justice to the people. It is only such citizenry which has been able to secure social justice and economic justice for all its citizens that would deserve, claim and assert political justice for all its citizens”.²³ If one goes on the principle that social justice determines the extent of economic and political justice then it implies that a necessary condition has to be created to secure social justice and equality as a precondition to secure the other forms of justice.

When goals are clearly stated then one should adopt proper means to achieve this goal. There is no room for confusion or justification for vacillating from the desired goals - the prescribed constitutional mandate. As rightly expressed by Austin - “when considering the effectiveness of a Constitution, it must first be understood that it has real existence only in the way it is used. A Constitution can be judged only by its adequacy to the situations it was designed to meet and by the extent to which the situation it might reasonably be expected to meet was foreseen and by the extent to which it commands the allegiance of those who are to govern themselves by it”.²⁴

The allegiance of the ruling class to the Constitution in relation to the creation of a National System of Education that is the corner stone

²². Justice R. C. Lahoti, op.cit,1
²³. ibid.10
for the final achievement of the ideals enshrined in the Constitution is almost zero. Even simple measures like the adoption of the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-1966) to create an education system on the lines of the Common School System (CSS)\textsuperscript{25} would have taken India to new heights in terms of social justice and equality. Unfortunately, many such recommendations were deliberately neglected by the ruling class that must be blamed for the sorry state of affairs in the education system at present.

It is worthy to recapitulate some of those recommendations at this juncture. To begin with, back in 1949, the University Education Commission had emphasized the need for clear knowledge of the social order for which the youth is being educated. The social order sought to be created by the Constitution of India is an order based on equality and social justice.\textsuperscript{26}

Later, in 1964-66, the Education Commission in unequivocal terms recommended the common school system. The Commission had warned policy makers about the tendencies for segregation based on inequalities in the school education system. The gravity and objective of this recommendation was aptly summarized by Naik - 'the recommendation of the commission regarding the common school system is the integral part of the programme to promote the education of the poor, reduce its dual character in which haves receive one type of education and have-nots another, and to create a socially cohesive and egalitarian society".\textsuperscript{27} (Emphasis added)

Furthermore, an official policy commitment was made by the government in the 1968 Policy on Education. The government

\textsuperscript{25} For the clarity of the term CSS, I quote the latest definition of CSS used in the Report of the Common School System prepared by the Common School system Commission of Bihar which defines the Common School System as “a system of education providing education of an equitable quality to all children irrespective of their caste, creed, community, language, gender, economic condition, social status and physical or mental ability”. In fact, the report says that the above definition draws heavily from the Report of the Education Commission of 1964-66.

\textsuperscript{26} Tope. T. K, Protective Discrimination and Educational Planning in Sharma GS (ed), Op.cit., at 56

committed itself to take strenuous efforts to equalize educational opportunities. Elaborating further, the policy document states that to promote social cohesion and national integration, the CSS as recommended by the Education Commission should be adopted”.²⁸

The commitment for the CSS was reiterated in the 1986 Policy on Education and the Revised Policy on Education, 1992.²⁹

The idea of the CSS was advanced through the efforts of the Commission appointed by the State Government of Bihar to recommend a framework for the CSS from the standpoint of ensuring children's fundamental right to free and compulsory education under Article 21A of the Constitution of India. The Commission did a commendable job of contextualizing the CSS in the context of Bihar on various issues like - the teachers in the CSS, positions of the different types of schools in the CSS, the administration of school education & the management of schools in the CSS, teacher education, curriculum and pedagogy, norms and standards, the financial implications of the CSS, etc. These efforts advanced the debate on the CSS after a considerable gap of almost 20 years since the 1986 Policy on Education.³⁰


29. Government of India, National Policy on Education 1986-As modified in 1992 (New Delhi: Ministry of Human resource Development, 1998) at 5; Para 3.2 of the policy document reads as “The concept of a National System of Education implies that, up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of a comparable quality. To achieve this, the Government will initiate appropriately funded programmes. Effective measures will be taken in the direction of the Common School System recommended in the 1968 Policy.

EPILOGUE

Despite several official policy commitments, the ruling class and the bureaucracy continued to ignore the recommendation for the CSS in order to create a national system of education and in its place sought to promote a blatant unequal, multilayered and unfair school education system that not just breaches constitutional mandate but also promotes privatization and commercialization of education itself. The present education system all said and done is widening the gap between the rich and the poor through glaring discrimination and in this manner practices a new form of apartheid - an apartheid based on caste, class and economic status. Those that are affected the worst through this practice are the poor in general and the SC/STs, minorities and other subaltern communities in particular.

There is an urgent need to restructure and rebuild the Indian education system on the lines of the CSS to ensure equitable and quality education to children irrespective of their sex, caste, place of birth, social and economic status, and the type/s of management in which they are being educated, in order to adhere to the values and principles embodied in the Constitution.

In an unequal and unjust society such as ours it is not surprising if children are born unequal but it is a crime to deny these children their right to education of equitable quality. The problem doesn't lie in the Constitution but lie with the people who seek to implement it and the masses that are not demonstrating their unity in order to demand the CSS as a matter of constitutional right.

The true reason for our failure to build a national system of education based on the values of social justice and equality since the implementation of the Constitution or more evidently after the recommendation of Education Commission followed by the official policy commitments in 1968, 1986 and 1992 is the lack of political will and the sheer negligence of the ruling class. To add further, the lack of vibrant political constituencies that could demand the implementation of the CSS as an unconditional and non-negotiable demand is also the reason for the non commitment and non-implementation of the CSS. The masses that are sending their children to government, government aided and local body institutions are
socially, politically and economically very weak and voiceless as compared to the elite, rich, upper middle class and the middle class that are comfortable with the present system as their interests are least affected in the present free market economy.

The only way forward is to build a national system of education on the lines of the CSS where the different players irrespective of their affiliation to type and nature of management can co-exist as long as they are committed to providing an equitable quality education to all children - genuinely free, honestly empowering and truly nation building on the principles of egalitarianism.

This is the right time to mobilize the Indian masses to protect the gigantic public education system and to restructure the same in order to ensure equitable quality education to all children on the principles of social justice and equity, and thereby to uphold our constitutional values and to protect and promote the sovereignty and integrity of the nation. The only option available is the immediate implementation of the common school system.

It is appropriate to conclude this draft note by quoting J.P.Naik who said - “The Indian society, especially the Hindu society, has been extremely in-egalitarian and this is one value on the basis of which this society can be humanized and strengthened. In fact, the issue is so crucial that the Indian society cannot even hope to survive except on the basis of an egalitarian reorganization”.

Annexure

DRAFT SKELETAL FRAMEWORK FOR NATIONAL POLICY ON SCHOOL EDUCATION

Prologue


Chapter-IV: The question of epistemology – Knowledge based society – the essence and role of education.

Chapter-V: Education as a tool for building an egalitarian society – it is a tool for social transformation and social change.


Chapter-VII: Aims and objectives of Building a National System of School Education.

Transgender – Education of children of Sex workers – Out of School Children.


Chapter - IX: Language Policy in Education.

Chapter - X: Teachers 'Education.

Chapter - XI: Information and Communication Technology in school education.

Chapter - XII: Examination and Evaluation Process – Continuous and Comprehensive evaluation – No detention Policy.

Chapter-XIII: Organizational Structure and Authorities.

Chapter-XIV: Planning, Administration, Monitoring and Redressal.

Chapter-XV: National Authority for School Education.

Chapter-XVI: Resources (Finances).

Chapter-XVII: Review Mechanism.

Epilogue
Specific Recommendations

- Educational policy should aim to imbibe the constitutional values, particularly the core principles of constitution.
- The policy should aim to provide equitable quality education to all children without any stratification and discrimination.
- To achieve social inclusiveness and national integration, curriculum should reflect the plural culture of India. It should cultivate scientific temper.
- The policy should aim to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 18 years.
- New Education Policy should ensure that physical activities in school are promoted for the health and wellbeing of pupils.
- Mother tongue should be the medium of education in primary school.
- New Education Policy should aim to address the issue of commercialization of education.
- Protection of environment & natural resources should be the major objective of school curriculum.
- Restructure and rebuild the Indian education system on the lines of the Neighborhood School System to ensure equitable and quality education to all children irrespective of their sex, caste, place of birth, social and economic status.
Teacher Education

Three of the 13 themes discussed in the MHRD document have a close bearing on issues with regard to reform in the sector of teacher education. These are: concern about learning outcomes; reforming the school examination system and revamping teacher education. Low learning outcomes are evidently the single most important concern for policy makers. This concern is largely based on ASER reports of the last decade that indicate stagnant or declining percentage of children that attain age appropriate levels of learning. While the concern is very real, urging policy makers to move towards concrete solutions, of equal concern is the fact that ASER reports cannot be relied upon alone to conclude about learning levels of children, as there are several questions around the methodology followed by the ASER Survey.

One of the key stated concerns is the need to understand why learning achievement levels are low and how can they be enhanced. Therefore some of the questions listed under the theme - Learning Outcomes are important questions, such:

1. What could be the specific reasons for poor learning outcomes?
2. How can we ensure that children learn?
3. How can we improve teaching-learning processes through the education of teachers?

In stating them thus, there is an acknowledgement that children's learning outcomes are significantly linked to the quality of teaching-learning processes children experience and how this is deeply related to how teachers are trained and supported during pre-service and in-service programmes.

Under the theme reforming the school examination system, there is concern about how CCE is implemented and whether it is helping to enhance learning levels. More specifically, the questions asked are:

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1. What are the experiences of government schools in implementing CCE?

2. Has CCE helped in academic performance?

3. What is the feedback from students, parents and teachers with regard to the no-detention provision?

4. Can assessment be designed to focus on assessing conceptual thinking, problem-solving and critical thinking abilities in children?

The above questions are particularly relevant for developing evidence-based policy measures as well as appropriate intervention. The MHRD document thus clearly acknowledges the crucial link between teacher training, teaching-learning processes and learning levels. However, it is not quite able to see how this link unfolds in the practice of education, the key mechanism for which could be Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE).

Therefore, a pertinent question to ask would be: How best can teaching-learning processes and learning outcomes be 'enhanced' and what role can CCE play to enable this? Since the implementation of CCE is largely dependent on how teachers understand CCE in concept and its dimensions of implementation, it is critical that the preparation of teachers through pre-service education and professional support to teachers in service includes a concerted focus on how to implement CCE in everyday schooling.

Concerns under the theme of revamping teacher education include a focus on issues of teacher motivation, competence and accountability; the acute shortage of teachers and the wide prevalence of teacher vacancy across several states. Questions posed relate to the need to understand why teacher training programmes have failed to bring about improvement in the quality of teaching-learning processes and the need for evolving measures of teacher performance assessments. Specifically the questions are:

1. Why have teacher training programmes failed to bring about improvements in the quality of teaching-learning processes?

2. What are the workable solutions towards this?

3. Are teacher performance assessments necessary to build a
4. Should promotion among teachers be contingent on their performance?

5. Should there be mandatory yearly in-service training for teachers?

Some questions also relate to the issue of filling up teacher vacancies and evolving computerised methods for teacher transfers. It is nevertheless clear that the focus is on creating systemic methods of accountability driven by the belief that this would ensure quality improvement in processes of teaching and learning.

Even though the first section begins with the acknowledgement that children's learning outcomes are significantly linked to the quality of teaching-learning processes children experience and how this is deeply related to how teachers are trained and supported, it is evident that the kind of questions posed in the following sections belies this understanding.

If the GoI is genuinely believes that “…quality issues and determinants thereof such as ensuring availability of trained teachers, good curriculum and innovative pedagogy that impact upon learning outcomes of the children need to be addressed on priority basis”, it would be best to develop a more critical understanding of how all these aspects converge to create conditions for enhanced teaching-learning processes, an environment for learning leading to achievement of learning amongst children. The teacher is clearly the most significant link in this process. Therefore, a close look at the specific problems with the sector of teacher education (pre-service as well as in-service) and the recommendations suggested by the Justice Verma Commission to address these would be a necessary way forward and a critical focus of the new education policy.

Some pertinent questions to ask are the following:

1. Can the poor quality of teachers (as evidenced by poor results on TET), which is a result of sub-standard teacher education proliferating in the private space (over 95 percent), be circumvented/overcome by several policy level measures being suggested, such as the following:

   a. Doing away with the provision of no-detention in the RTE Act

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and detaining children within elementary grades, thus diluting RTE.

b. Letting low fee paying private schools proliferate without adequate regulation, on the assumption and without adequate evidence that 'private' schools offer 'quality' education.

c. Reducing 'quality' education to mean 'learning outcomes' rather than focusing on offering quality 'learning experiences' and ensuring the implementation of CCE to enhance teaching-learning processes.

d. Positioning ICT as the key to improve 'quality' of teacher-learning and learning outcomes

1. How can measures of teacher accountability and teacher performance assessments alone without enhancing the quality of teacher education programmes - both pre-service and in-service - enhance teaching-learning processes?

2. Will not assessment as designed in ASER Surveys keep teachers away from 'assessing conceptual thinking, problem-solving and critical thinking abilities in children, as the theme note suggests?

Systemic Concerns of Teacher Education

Teaching for Diversity

The proliferation of sub-standard private teacher education institutions and the current state of teacher education programmes are both serious impediments to fulfilling the objectives of the Right to Free and Compulsory Education. The programmes have come under severe criticism for not addressing the needs of contemporary Indian schools and not preparing teachers to teach for diversity. They train teachers to adjust to a system in which education is seen as mere transmission of information and the learner is viewed as a text-book child.

Two kinds of exclusion are prevalent in schools largely because of an inadequate preparation of teachers to address diversity in the classroom. The first is the exclusion of the children with disabilities of
different kinds and learning difficulties. Neither does the teacher understand their needs nor what s/he can do to make learning possible for them. The Persons with Disabilities (PWD) (Equal Opportunities, Protection and Full Participation) Act, 1996 provides for free and compulsory education up to the age of 18 years for all children with disabilities. To enable the implementation of this Act, teacher education institutions will need to reframe their programme courses to include the perspective, concept and strategies of inclusive education.

The second and more insidious pattern of exclusion is the social exclusion of children who come from socially and economically deprived backgrounds Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), minority and other communities, girls and children with diverse learning needs. There is a dire need to equip teachers to overcome their biases in this regard and to develop professional capacities to address these challenges. Teachers will have to be equipped if social deprivation has to be overcome through education and Constitutional goals of social justice are to be achieved.

Inclusive education refers to a philosophical position as well as an arrangement of institutional facilities and processes. This is to ensure access to and conditions of success in education for everybody, including those in the margins, either with learning difficulties because of physical or mental disabilities or because of their social position. The aim is to create an integrated school setting, providing equal opportunities to children with special abilities, varied social backgrounds and diverse learning needs. It is necessary that teachers who teach and manage the classroom are sensitized and made aware of the philosophy of inclusive education and oriented to the different kinds of adjustments that schools have to make in terms of infrastructure, curriculum, teaching methods and other school practices to relate teaching to the needs of all learners.

Education has a crucial role to play in promoting values of peace based on equal respect of self and others. Teachers need to re-conceptualize citizenship education in terms of human rights and approaches of critical pedagogy; emphasize environment and its protection, living in harmony within oneself and with natural and social environment; promote peace, democratic way of life,
constitutional values of equality, justice, liberty, fraternity and secularism, and caring values. For this, teachers need to be equipped to understand these issues and incorporate them in their teaching. The National Teacher Education Curriculum Framework (NCFTE, 2009) integrates these perspectives in its formulation and suggests ways of including them in the preparation of and academic support for teachers.

**Duration of Pre-service Teacher Education Programmes**

The issue of quality teacher education is closely tied up with the concern for the duration of initial teacher preparation (pre-service) programmes. This has been addressed adequately by the recent revisions in the norms and standards of teacher education programmes, based on the Justice Verma Commission recommendations, notified in November 2014. It is critical that the process of redesign of teacher education programmes in line with new norms is supported through well-established institutionalised mechanisms. It is also important to resist attempts at substituting pre-service long duration programmes with short-term training programmes extending for a few weeks, such as the model being advocated by Teach for India (TFI). TFI is part of a global network and is extremely inappropriate for Indian society that is highly iniquitous and faces the challenge of educating first generation learners and teaching for social diversity.

**Forge Linkages of Teacher Education with Higher Education**

Given the complexity and significance of teaching as a professional practice, it is imperative that the entire enterprise of teacher education should be raised to university level and that the duration and rigour of programmes should be appropriately enhanced as per the JVC recommendations.

Initial training of elementary teachers in particular continues to suffer from isolation, low profile and poor visibility in view of it being a non-degree programme. There is grave need to upgrade initial teacher education by enhancing the entry qualification and duration of training making it equivalent to a degree programme and locating the management and control of elementary teacher education within Universities.
Another instance of neglect of elementary teacher education is the non-recognition of the need for specially qualified teacher educators in elementary education. The difficulty is exacerbated by the absence of degree and post-degree programmes in primary/elementary teacher education.

The M.Ed. programme in its current form cannot meet the requirements of elementary teacher education as it is designed primarily on the requirements of secondary education. The preparation of teacher educators for the elementary stage needs the inclusion of a variety of scholarship from the sciences, social sciences, mathematics and the languages as per the JVC recommendations.

There is also a dire need to critically review the secondary teacher education system. With the proliferation of B.Ed. colleges, particularly with privatization and commercialization, the one-year B.Ed. programmes had become weak both in theory and practice. It is desirable within a finite time frame that the existing one-year second Bachelor's (B.Ed.) degree programme is structurally transformed to a two year one, with deeper and more protracted engagement with school-based experience and reflective and critical engagement with theory, as recommended by the NCFTE, 2009 and JVC, 2012. This requires a re-imagination of the education of teachers using an interdisciplinary focus. It is critical therefore to resist attempts at creating 'isolated' universities of teacher education (as is the case in Gujarat and TamilNadu) and locate the pre-service education of teachers in existing undergraduate colleges and post-graduate university departments of education.

**Teacher Educators and School Education**

The profile and role of teacher educators are to be conceived primarily with reference to the philosophy and principles that govern the various aspects of school education – aims of education, curriculum, methods and materials and the socio-cultural context in which the school functions – and the role of the teacher in translating educational intents into practical action. The difficulty is exacerbated by the absence of established mechanisms to create a professional cadre of teacher educators, especially at the pre-primary and elementary stage. At present elementary teacher educators in their bid to upgrade their professional qualifications pursue M.Ed. But the
M.Ed. degree cannot meet the requirements of primary teacher training unless it is redesigned to impart the needed focus.

M.Ed. is the dominant post-graduate programme in education offered by Indian universities. MEd graduates are employed by the Boards of School Education, Directorates and Inspectorates of Education, schools, SCERTs, teacher training colleges and as teacher educators. The assumption seems to be that the omnibus M.Ed. can create a professional capable of contributing meaningfully to the varied role expectations which is not the case.

Although M.Ed. is generally accepted as the requirement for one to become a teacher educator, the programme as offered in most universities is simply an extension of the B.Ed., seriously lacking in inputs focussed on the preparation of teacher educators, secondary or elementary.

It is important to look at the specialization profile required for teacher educators especially in view of the fact that a variety of foundational and school subject disciplines are required to be represented. Data reveals that most teacher educators who have obtained a high first division in MEd have typically obtained less than 55 percent in an MA/MSc programme and therefore are not eligible to take the NET examination in the parent discipline. Thus all teacher educators are recruited on the basis of clearing the NET (or state equivalent) examination in Education. This is a structural problem that disallows the entry of talented faculty with specialisation in social sciences, sciences, languages and mathematics at the master's level, thus leaving a vacuum in specific school subject specialisations.

The JVC recommendation of increasing the duration of the MEd to two years with provisions for specialized areas in the development of scholarship in education and applied fields, such as teacher education, curriculum planning, evaluation, counselling, sociology and philosophy of education have been notified in the new NCTE norms. Apart from addressing the immediate needs of preparing teachers, two-year post-graduate courses of education will contribute towards building the discipline and the knowledge-base of education especially within the Indian context. Universities need to be encouraged to offer post-graduate studies in education with an orientation for interdisciplinary study of educational practice and a
sound grounding in the relevant subject – example a deep understanding of sciences for science educators and language for language educators.

This necessarily means that in addition to revamping the existing M.Ed. programme, we need to create multilateral entry points for the study of educational studies as a pursuit in higher education. Permit graduates from various courses apart from B.Ed. to seek admission into M.Ed; broad-base the profile of teacher educators by including persons who have knowledge of the foundational disciplines of teacher education, such as psychology, philosophy, social sciences without necessarily having a MEd degree.

**Encouraging Innovation for Preparation of Teacher Educators**

Any system in order to be forward looking must be bold in encouraging experimentation and innovations and also be involved with constant review of the outcomes of such efforts. The field of teacher education should be no exception.

An innovative experiment in point is a collaborative post-graduate programme of M.A. Education (Elementary) launched by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai a decade ago. It is the first of its kind, pan-Indian programme intervention in elementary education at the post-graduate stage. Its interdisciplinary and collaborative design and dual mode operation (online learning and student contact) makes it a bold and novel venture.

**Enhancing the Status of Education as a Discipline and the Professional Development of Teacher Educators**

Isolation of education as a discipline from the system of higher education is identified as one main cause for the continued low status of educational studies and practice. There is need to diversify specializations into areas of curriculum and pedagogic studies in mathematics, languages, social sciences and sciences and encourage students to pursue post-graduate studies in a chosen discipline along with the option of specializing in a select curriculum and pedagogic study course.

It is also suggested that undergraduate students be provided with a variety of routes to pursue studies in education like the four-year integrated course in elementary such as, the Bachelor of Elementary
Education (BEIEd) Programme and secondary education such as the BSc/BA Education-BEd offered at RIEs; electives in educational studies in undergraduate programmes of general education, followed by a range of post-graduate studies in education, social sciences, sciences, humanities, mathematics, language studies and the liberal arts. Such diverse routes are likely to tap talented and motivated young people to enter into education and pursue options such as teacher education, research, curriculum, pedagogy.

**Need for Change and Road Map for Transforming the Quality of Teacher Education**

Specific structural arrangements in terms of institutional and curriculum design will need to be addressed squarely in order to bring about the radical shift being proposed in the education and development of teachers. Each of these are elaborated below as recommended by the Justice Verma Commission:

*Monitoring Teacher Education Institutes and Augmenting State Institutional Capacity for Pre-service Teacher Education*

Currently more than 90 percent of pre-service teacher training institutes are in the private sector which is largely sub-standard and unregulated. On the other hand, over 90 percent of children enrolled in state schools are the direct responsibility of the State as per the RTE Act. A market demand for a large number of teachers in the growing sector of school education over the past decade has led to the proliferation of sub-standard teacher education institutes. Many of these have been established by private players who have no credible capacity in the field of education. One consequence of this is visible in the abysmally low rate of qualification in CTET/STET by teacher candidates who have a teacher education degree.

This misbalance will need to be corrected by *increasing manifold the state stake-holding* in teacher education. States need to take necessary concrete steps to ensure the building of *institutional capacity* for pre-service teacher education in a phased manner within a stipulated time frame.

**Specific Recommendations**

1. Undertake monitoring exercise in a mission mode across states to inspect teacher education institutes and make
recommendations within a stipulated time frame.

2. Assist states in developing realistic estimates of requirement of institutional capacity to meet the growing demand for professionally qualified teachers at all levels of school education.

3. Take necessary steps to ensure that states augment institutional capacity for pre-service education through the expansion of the state system of DIETs and more importantly through the undergraduate system of higher education.

Redesigning Entry into Teacher Education

Who chooses to become a school teacher needs to be addressed if we want to attract talent into the school teaching profession. Research has consistently demonstrated that teaching is usually a last resort of young people and in many cases a safe fall-back option. In order to change this situation it would be necessary to evolve appropriate strategies to attract talent in the teaching profession. There will need to be multiple ways of doing this. One key method would be to ensure the entry of candidates in teacher education programmes, who have sound subject-knowledge and minimum levels of language proficiency. Both these can be made essential first level screening for selecting candidates for teacher education programmes.

Specific Recommendation

Subject-knowledge and language proficiency considered to be the hallmarks of good teaching must be made essential first level screening for entry into teacher education programmes. Replacing the TET with a pre-entry test for pre-service teacher education will also safeguard pre-service education from succumbing to pressures of ‘training’ teachers for qualifying TET rather than for teaching.

Restructuring Pre-service Teacher Education

Apart from augmenting the required institutional capacity to prepare teachers, pre-service programmes will require a radical shift in curriculum and institutional design. Current teacher education institutions are essentially stand-alone institutes. Therefore these remain severed from activities of knowledge generation and a culture of research and interdisciplinary studies, characteristic of universities
and centres of higher education.

States will need to prepare for the transition of elementary teacher education to university-based colleges, via a series of measures such as phase wise up-gradation of DIETs into undergraduate colleges; introduction of four-year integrated models of teacher education after 10+2 or two-year programmes after graduation in existing undergraduate colleges and departments/schools of education.

The locale of pre-service teacher education will therefore need to shift from isolated institutional set ups to multi-disciplinary institutional arrangements integrated in higher education centres of learning. Appropriate measures will need to be evolved to ensure that existing teacher education institutes develop structural linkages with the system of higher education.

**Specific Recommendations**

1. All new teacher education institutes should not be stand-alone. They should be located in colleges of undergraduate studies and in universities. In a recent initiative, Bihar has invited undergraduate colleges of education in the state to offer teacher education programmes.

2. Existing institutions that are essentially stand-alone will be required to make the transition within a stipulated time frame of a maximum of 3 years. Support will need to be provided towards such a transition within each state.

3. Deployment of faculty from departments of social sciences, sciences and other fields should be encouraged so that teacher education does not remain stand-alone even within undergraduate college and university campuses.

**Redesigning Teacher Education Programmes**

The professional development of teachers needs to be located in the larger socio-cultural, economic and political context of contemporary Indian society. This requires pre-service programmes to include in-depth inter-disciplinary engagement with contemporary issues of the Indian society. This is largely absent from current programmes or is dealt with in a disconnected and fragmented manner.
States will need academic support to redesign *teacher education programmes* in the light of NCFTE, 2009 and moving to four-year integrated programmes after 10+2 or 2 year programmes after graduation within a stipulated time frame.

**Language Policy***

Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in primary school. Many studies have shown that children who study through the mother tongue medium do not suffer any disadvantage, linguistic or scholastic, when they compete with their English medium...
counterparts. The mother tongue as a medium of instruction can eliminate the linguistic & cultural gaps caused by the difference between school language & home language. A smooth transition from home language to school language in terms of discourse can be ensured if the mother tongue is the medium of instruction. The NCERT in its 1986 report recommends that the medium of early education should be the mother tongue of the learners because it enables people to participate in national reconstruction, it frees knowledge from the pressures of limited elites, it builds interactive & interdependent societies, it provides greater opportunity for the advice & consent of a great number of groups & thus is a better defence of democracy, it leads to the decentralization of information & ensures free as opposed to controlled media & it gives greater access to education & personal development through greater number of people.

*** Position paper of NFG on Teaching of Indian Languages (NCERT) & Sansad Mein Shiksha report published by SIO of India
Vocationalization of Education

- Vocationalization must begin with developing positive attitude towards work. Our education system as a whole instead of developing love for work, it has resulted in fostering a tendency that work is some other's job.

- Students in rural areas after contributing 10-12 yrs. of school education do not find fit for manual labours in agriculture. So, Vocationalization for agriculture, self established work for agro-based activities to be encouraged in rural areas so that students can grow crops scientifically.

- Approx. seven crore of children are out of school at all. Such population need to be trained for vocation. Such population may use their energy for destructive purpose unless we provide channel to utilize their energy for constructive work. Hence, vocational education needs to be integrated in education as a whole.

- Vocational technical training at high school and senior secondary may be provided to students at x, XII, and undergraduate level in cosmetology, food production, management services, law enforcement, horticulture, automotive repair, tools and machine, building construction, graphic and commercial arts, drafting, electronics, health related fields, child – care etc. This will increase enrollment and reduce dropouts. Every Student should be send for industry experience for at least two years at this level so that they may develop taste for work and identify their interest before they enter higher and professional education. This will also reduce wastage of time and undue wandering in higher education.

- Continuous scanning of market need and adaptive training programme should be prepared continuously.

- Medical, IIT departments to come forward to prepare vocational courses with flexible duration. Corporate professional may be invited for training in universities and colleges.

- Students from technical and professional courses may be assigned task to give training to students on well designed vocational courses.

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Technology in Education

Rather than directly investing on bringing technology in school education we would recommend bringing everything through the teachers who plays the most active role in school education. Most of the direct technology (especially Information and Communication technologies) interventions in schools have failed miserably, if we look at the body of research on this theme done by various institutions in the last two decades. Also there shouldn't be a forced push towards digital technologies, rather an organic integration so that the teachers don’t resist these interventions. Also technology shouldn't be placed at the center of solving educational problems, rather it should only act an as enabler, where the goal is not forcing technology in education but providing access to quality education to everyone in the country. Most of the failure in ICT implementation is because first technologies are fixed before identifying the problems in imparting quality education. In many cases there may not be the need for any digital technology to solve educational problems and that's the reason we have to be very careful in our approach towards strategizing and moving ahead without any mental block and technological biases.

1. Teachers' Training and Capacity Building:
   a. Investing more on teachers’ training and utilizing the power of ICTs (digital technologies) in scaling and reaching to every teacher of the country.
   
   b. Blended form of pre-service and in-service program using physical as well as virtual means for teacher training workshops and courses can be developed and offered to in-service teachers.
   
   c. Integrate ICTs across all subjects in the Teacher education programs. This will give both, in-service and pre-service teachers a first-hand experience of meaningful use of technology. “Do as I do”. By integrating of ICTs into regular subject teaching learning can create ownership and commitment amongst teachers which also creates desire to learn Computers/Internet. Emphasis on TPACK (Technology

*****Mujahidul Islam, Educational Technologist, Azim Premji Foundation, Bengaluru
& Pedagogical Content Knowledge) rather than mere computer skills.

2. **Connecting and Collaborating:**
   a. Through web based platforms ('net in the pocket' through mobile phones) to share classroom practices among the student teachers, teacher educators and in-service teachers thereby bridging the isolation suffered by teachers at remote places.
   b. Resource sharing: Localized and contextual resources accumulation and spreading it faster and wider.

3. **Resource Creation:**
   a. Teachers and students should be the collaborative creators of educational resources. At present most of the digital resources are being spoon-fed which undermines the power of ICTs in the form of commercialized smart classes and e-learning. It is very important that teachers and students come at the center of resource creation which is far easier using the current digital devices and tools.
   b. Teacher education should provide hands-on experience on creating digital learning resources which can be integrated with the program.

4. **Evaluate and Use:**
   a. Develop the expertise to pick the right kind of ICTs which would be used in classrooms. Also learn to judge the good and bad aspects of the resources that come as 'canned content' and pick what's relevant to one's curriculum and class, rather than suit the way one teaches to fit the ICT resource that s/he has.
   b. Resource review as a learning process: Review and critique of the resources used in the teaching and learning process (similarly resources created by peers and experts) is itself an important learning process. Sessions for reviewing and critiquing the digital resources will also help to build capability of the student teachers to judge what type of ICT tools to use in the classrooms.
5. **Planning and Management**

a. Educational Management Information System (EMIS) which is being used in many schools and colleges these days will help in managing data pertaining to students, teachers, administration easily.

b. Data management of teacher education programs can help in saving time and effort. Learning Management System (like moodle) could be integrated with the teaching education program.

c. All the training programs conducted could be administered using some management system tool (Training Management System) so that all the data related to these programs are available which can further help in planning future programs.

d. A central database of the competency level of teachers and teacher educators in various related field should be used which can help to know their present professional status and development needs.

e. In addition to this teachers (pre-service and in-service) should be familiarized with the ICT tools they can use to manage their professional work. They should be trained on how they can use EMIS in their schools to manage student enrollment data, mid-day meals’ data, drop-out number data etc.

f. Continuous and comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) has been made compulsory by RTE, for which ICTs can be an effective means. CCE should become a part of Teacher Education Program to help student teachers experience them practically, which will further motivate them to apply in their professional practices.

g. Feedback mechanism for every course and training programs is needed and ICTs can be used for recording related data. These data can later be used by everyone to learn and improve the programs.
6. **Providing Infrastructure support:**

a. Low cost good quality or subsidized good quality digital devices (mobile phones, tablets etc.) should be provided to the teachers. Rather than providing the devices for free, it is better to let the teachers spend some amount on the devices.

b. **Power and bandwidth:** These two factors and most important for the digital devices to meet their potential. Devices which can be charged using alternative energy sources can be an ideal solution. Also a good internet infrastructure at least in the schools is very important where teachers can use them in their classes as well as for their own professional development after the schools.

c. **Open Source Software:** Whatever the devices, it is cost efficient if we don't invest any amount on proprietary software. Also using open source software makes us more skilled in utilizing the digital devices. Budget constraint in public school education is a practical consideration and we shouldn't also become a corporate agenda to sell technologies even if they aren't needed. A cost efficient approach which tries to minimize the investment in its selection of technologies, platforms and devices is far better than being blindfolded and burn your hands with no return.

Rather than creating a centralized uniform push towards creating the digital infrastructure in a school to see a successful implementation of ICTs in School Education, which is not informed through the teachers, let there be a demand from teachers to create the technological infrastructure in their schools where they decide what all kind of technological (not only digital) platforms and investments are required to effectively teach their students.
Higher Education

In the last 69 years of Independence, The Indian Higher Education system has undergone a remarkable metamorphosis from an elite system, nurtured by colonial roots, to an egalitarian system attempting to meet the aspirations of a young vibrant democracy. At the time of Independence there were only 20 universities & 500 colleges in the country with 2.1 lacs students in Higher Education. The transformation marked by a near 37 times increase in the number of universities, a 73 times increase in the number of colleges and a 113 times increase in the number of students, is unprecedented (UGC Report 2013-14). Today, India has a number of academic institutions, spread over the entire country, covering diverse physiographic, cultural and socio-economic environments. Consequently, there is a great variation in infrastructure, human resources and ethos. There are myriad problems including those relating to quality, access and equity. The position is by no means satisfactory. Yet it has to be remembered that the expansion has taken place in a socio–economic scenario in which over 30 per cent of the population is illiterate.

Education is not a static phenomenon: it is an organic entity that recognises the changes in the environment, responds to new demands and keeps developing within the society of which it is a part. Many countries have responded adequately to new demands & new challenges: their education system has incorporated such changes, effected such improvements, added such features and brought about such reforms as may be needed to meet the emerging requirements of a competitive world. An assessment of our performance in this respect leaves us sad and somewhat perturbed.

The system has expanded considerably in all aspects. We have drawn heavily from the curriculum models of advanced countries. However, we have not developed a management system capable of making such changes, as may be needed to relate education to the social and economic needs of the country. The communication revolution, which has broken all geographical & national boundaries, did not enter for a long time and even now has entered only partially, the classrooms in India. The curriculum no doubt has changed beyond recognition, but the methods and practices of instruction remain the same. We have had numerous committee reports, commission
documents and policies, they made many valuable recommendations: but the higher education system remained unchanged, almost unaffected (V.C. Kulan dai Swamy).

Madrasa students are not able to continue their education in Universities except some of the central universities. Because there is no provision to admit Madrasa background students in State Govt. run Public Universities & no Arabic or Islamic Studies departments. Arabic Chair has to be opened in all the State Govt. run Public Universities. All the Universities should commence undergraduate & post graduate courses in Arabic. As Arabic attains prominence even in terms of the geo-political situation of Middle Eastern & African Countries including all Muslim Countries, The Government must make provision to include Arabic in language selection at intermediate & University level education. Madrasa students must be made eligible to join these courses.

1. Sansad Mein Shiksha Report published by SIO of India.
Quality of Technical Education

- Quality of teachers—choosing alternative career not a career prospects: most of the teachers choose teaching as a second option if they don't get a job in industry their priority is not teaching because they get less paid, job is less competent (boring) that is the reason for most of core engineers go to industry not teaching.
- Teachers shortage - even in premier institutes IITs: according to survey reports faculty shortage is about 40% in state universities, 35% in central, 25% in deemed and 40% in colleges (Reference presentation of RUSA-Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan)
- Research opportunities for Teachers: more research opportunities to be provided, sponsorships, research funding and scholarships for teaching fraternity to increase their quality.
- Washington accord- Though India has joined and more likely to be permanent member of Washington accord that accredits graduates but still even IITs and premier institutes are not passed evaluation criteria. We have to think about tier-2 and tier-3 Indian engineering institutes.
- Nasdaq—the major reason why engineers, even from reputed institutes, are not easily employed because they lack hands-on skill
- Nascom-National Association of Software and Services Companies' (NASSCOM) survey of 2011 showcased that over 75% of IT graduates are not ready for jobs and further brought into notice how India's $60 billion outsourcing industry is spending almost $1 billion a year training them to be fit for jobs
- India's business, engineering graduates lack skills: manpower survey
- According to Aspiring Minds, an employee assessment service provider's 2012 National Employability Report about 83% of engineering graduates are unfit for employment.
- AICTE – Permissions are given to engineering colleges even though the seats were vacant in old engineering college, lack of infrastructure in tier-2 and tier-3 colleges and opening of new colleges raises the question on recognition and affiliation process.

• NBA - NBA is a signatory body of Washington accord which accredits the engineering colleges, many colleges in India are not accredited by NBA because it is optional. Mandating will improve the quality of technical education.

• UGC and AICTE tussle- The unclear role and regulation and power sharing between UGC and AICTE adversely affected the engineering education.

• Industry orientation- campus connect programs of Infosys, mission 10x program are some initiates of industry for improving industry relation with academia. Further this gap between industry and engineering college can be reduced by such initiatives

• Value based- an alien word in engineering

• Subjects like Indian constitution and environment engineering are taught as option without any emphasis.

• Innovative-curriculum must be the part of course.

• Entrepreneurship- cell need to formed at college and university level. STEP (science and technology Entrepreneurship Park) is good initiative in some institutes.

• Startup incubation centers to increase innovation and give a leading hand to curious minds.

• e-labs- learning on web.

   It is important for us to recognise that there is a quiet crisis in higher education in India which runs deep. Of course, the process of reform and change is continuous. And there is more to be done.
Specific Recommendations:

Higher education should be focused in developing primarily the 'core competence', i.e. the skills necessary to live in a complex, very interacting and continuously changing society. Core competences are the capability of learning, listening, interacting, communicating, proactive, solving problems, understanding other cultures & religions, etc.

Curricula and the teaching methods need to be changed and shaped for the new objectives. A greater flexibility in curricula is necessary, as well as more personalised interactions between students and teachers. Education must not remain a theoretical learning but the transfer of knowledge must be integrated with practical experience.

Development of all young people is the National responsibility, be they in state run institutions or central institutions and there cannot be any discrimination between the two. All benefits are thought to be essential for a central university should be made available to the state universities (YPC 2009).

Private initiatives in the field of Higher Education are not driven by the sole motive of profit. They should confine themselves only to commercially viable sectors of education such as management, medicine & accounts etc but should also encompass areas of social and natural sciences by establishing comprehensive universities (YPC 2009).

The system of higher education must recognise that there is bound to be diversity and pluralism in any system of higher education and avoid a uniform one size fits all approach.

Universities should be required to revise or restructure curricula at least once in three years (NKC, 2006).

Examinations, which test memory rather than understanding, should be supplemented with internal assessment system.

We should nurture the tradition of philanthropic contributions through changes in incentives for universities.

The UGC supports access & expansion by financing development of the central universities, recognition of new State Universities and
Colleges, regulation of private and deemed to be universities & establishment of community colleges. According to UGC data there are total 39671 Govt. & Private Colleges are functioning in the country (data 2013-14). There is a need to examine the match between requirement, expansion of Higher learning institutions & quality of these institutions.

Since Government financing will remain the cornerstone, government support for higher education should increase.

There must be a well funded & extensive National Scholarship Scheme targeting economically underprivileged and students from socially disadvantaged groups.

The elements of infrastructure that support the teaching – learning process, such as laboratories, libraries and communication technology, need to be upgraded on a regular basis.

The government must facilitate and fund more research in humanities and social sciences to educate people to foster the personal & social growth.

NEP should aim at enhancing equity & inclusion in higher education by establishing more higher learning institutions in minority and backward community dominated areas.

Research

Research, technology and growth are 3 inseparable dimensions of higher education. We do not have original research infrastructure that will help our development process. A country that does not develop its research base is unable to solve its problem on its own. We recommend following actions:

The institution of JRF and SRF has to be strengthened and should be extended to various other corners.

Cluster approach will have to be adopted so far as research infrastructure is concerned. Every district should have a laboratory, equipments, library and Data Processing unit.

2. Vidyut Joshi, Former Vice Chancellor, Bhavnagar University, Gujarat
SURVEY REPORT

521 individuals participated in the online survey
Which is the better way to increase the medical seats?

- Open Medical education departments in each and every state government run public universities
- Free license to private players to open institutions
- Provide scholarship
- I don’t know

Why the government run Kendriya Vidyalayas are best schools but not state government run public schools?

- Less Fund
- Corruption
- Carelessness
- All are correct

Do you think Education in Neighborhood schools will end discrimination?

- Yes
- No
Regulation of Private institutions?

- Yes: 70%
- No: 30%

Skill development?

- Vocational training: 30%
- Job oriented courses: 40%
- Inclusive Curriculum: 12%
- None of the above: 18%

Lack of teachers is the reason for poor learning quality?

- Yes: 27%
- No: 73%
Education sector should get 6% GDP?

- Yes: 93%
- No: 7%

The content of the text books should promote religious harmony, national integrity & unity among citizens?

- Yes: 93%
- No: 7%

No detention policy in schools is necessary?

- Yes: 68%
- No: 32%
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at Hyderabad

Resource Person:
Prof. K. Laxminarayan,
University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.

INTRODUCTION:
Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) has semester system introducing credits instead of marks to the students.

This also provides free choice to students to choose any course from any university.

Courses are divided as:
- Core courses
- Foundation courses
- Elective courses
Students are free to choose from above provided courses i.e., “student free system” students can move anywhere, need not stay at only one place.

Government has asked suggestions for caste based credit system without any guidelines provided.

UGC is consulting academic bodies for suggestions

Govt. has not given any clarity regarding formulation of policy internal intensions are not revealed

Job oriented education policy is suggested.

1. Single syllabus:
   - If the syllabus is same throughout the nation students are restricted to study single committee designed curriculum, forcing student to choose newly designed syllabus only in fact there will be no choice left to students to select.
   - Designed three type course syllabus disciplines may not fulfill in its entire aspect
   - Who decides what courses are core/fundamental/elective...?
   - There is strong objection that syllabus would be restricted and limited.
   - National syllabus will not change easily/updated firstly.
   - Accommodation of recent/latest things is not possible by central unit.
   - Regional subjects and concerns will be overlooked and neglected. So loosing diversity...

2. Value education:
   - Central government is saying they will impart value based education in new policy but what values are meant?? Is it the implementation of Bhagavad-Gita.
   - There should be no saffronization in the name of Indianisation Hindu scriptures should not be imposed in the curriculum.

3. Assessment:
   - In this CBCS, 50% marks in end of semester will be evaluated by external examiner. Question paper is also prepared by examiner.
How come examiner can justify the student he was not a teacher, only on the assessment day student cannot be understand to his full knowledge and sincerity etc...

- Delay of making papers, evaluation and results...
- Online universities will be prevalent and more causes in saving of money by closing schools, colleges and universities.
- Grievance cell is also absent. (Even if it is provided it cannot be easy to handle.)

4. Mobility of students:

- As system says students need not to stay at any single university for study. This makes much difficult to poor and economically backward people will be deprived. This will be possible to only to rich.
- Regional universities will lose their status, will lead to closure also. If students move to central universities.
- Virtual knowledge / online learning will be just information gathering, each individual has his own way to learn teacher can impart in his own learning style. Real class learning cannot be neglected.

5. Employability:

- Education system only cannot create employability economic policy will create employment.
- Capitalism is creating unemployment
- Business economics / business studies are introduced instead of literature, humanities and history etc...in the name of job – orientation humanities negligence is threat to humanism
- Skilled labor will be prepared to work only just to earn money and more money. Machine like just work oriented individuals are created in society by this system.
- Hampering of real knowledge and creativity in present and coming generations.
- It is market oriented – skill laborers will be produced. It serves only corporate sector. It is anti-real education, anti - poor, anti - nation and anti - minorities.
➢ Our local universities may become branches of foreign universities serving for their cause forming just an education business.

Note points:

1. Europe has already introduced this cbcs method but failed horribly.
2. Credit system is available but choice base credit system may destruct our diversity in whole.
3. Closure of local universities and making real state universities such as Gitam University etc...
4. Fundamentals of education are lost.
5. Threat to public education.
6. Public intellectual should be generated not corporate labors.
7. Access should be to available to all poor and deserving students.
8. New education policy should change with new economic policy.
9. Linking higher education to societal development is must else students feel no social responsibility.
10. Cultural integration is to be maintained by regional and local universities and public education support is required instead of private education system.
11. Higher education should be public, No PPP.
12. Higher GDP is to be allocated in budget of nation, full financial support to higher education.
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at University of Rajasthan

: Resource Persons :

Dr. Sweta Gupta,  
Department of Education,  
University of Rajasthan

Dr. A.V.S. Madnawat,  
Department of Psychology,  
University of Rajasthan

Education policy is a new style of discrimination not value based education.

In rural area 90% of the students studied in govt. schools but now only 30-35% students at govt. school.

Education should develop skill in students and provide service and idea for society.

Students spend their energy for jobs and exams till 30-35 years.

Let UGC, AICTE, NCTE, ICSSR and all such APEX body of higher education prepare in national level agenda in construction with experts scientist.

There has to be some incentives for those who are actively involved in research.
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at Aligarh Muslim University

Resource Person:
Prof (retd.) Madhu Prasad,
Dr. Zakir Hussain College, DU.

As New Education policy is being drafted by GoI and suggestions are being invited from individuals and organizations for making a good draft of the policy and the same may be passed from Parliament of India.

There are 33 themes- 13 themes for School education and 20 themes for higher education.

RTE Act 2009 came into existence in 2010 and there is no mention of this Act in the Draft of New Education Policy.

As per RTE Act 2009, 25 % free seats are to be provided to weaker sections of society.

There is regular closure of Govt. schools in all states and schools are being run on PPP model to transform them slowly into a complete private entity.

In 1964, Kothari commission gave a concept of Neighbourhood schools.
50,400 medical specialists are produced every year and none go to rural areas to practice. There is constant privatization of medical education, resulting in less no. of Doctors from Rural areas and seats are sold out in the market in private medical colleges and only rich can afford them.

At the very outset, she said that our society is being pushed towards a dangerous path.

There was 11% literacy during the British rule in India. Now, those things are being repeated which we did not accept during the British period.

How can we make India Adunuk Rashtra? By giving each citizen-rich, poor, male, female equal opportunity for education.

Religious education should not be taught in Govt schools.

The women in India got right to vote much before the women in many European countries but unfortunately they did not get right to equal opportunities in education.

Why there is Reservation of seats for NRI in Govt Institutions? How merit will be maintained by giving admission to NRI without any merit criteria?

Kothari Commission report is worth implementing in education system.

No child is blank slate; she/he has some knowledge/skills.

Students learn by Heart because they do not understand the language they are taught in.

First the child should learn in his mother tongue. Three language formula is good.

In 1980s, it was realized, that something is wrong with our education policy.

Now the Govt has adopted a World Bank way of Drafting Policy.

There are 33 points in New Education Policy draft on different Themes.

By 2020, 50% of children going to school will pay fee for education.

80% population in India is living at Rs. 20/day.
As per new Child labour law, children below 14 years of age can work in family business.

On Skill Development. Only 8-10 % will get opportunity for skill development education.

During 11th Century, Turks brought Sewing system to India, before that there was no sewing system in India.

In India, 57 % of the people are from lower castes.

Allahabad High Court judgment is very crucial as far as school education in India is concerned, it said that, Govt Officer's children should also attend Govt schools, it will improve the quality of these schools.

5 % Corporate Tax is reduced by BJP Govt at the Centre and the burden of this is imposed on primary, secondary and higher education by reducing the budget for education. There is no proportionate increment in budget as students enrolment is increasing.

This 5 % tax would have provided free education to all children in India.

In the last one and half year, 1.5 lacks schools have been closed down and subsidies are cut down.

Govt is going to make 100 smart cities, from where the money will come; it will come from education and other social welfare schemes.

Few Years ago, Finland was poorest achiever in education but since last 5 years Finland is No. 1 in whole of Europe in education. It is very sad to know that, in 5 lacks Schools, there is only one Teacher.
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at Delhi

Resource Person:
Mr. Rajeevkumar,
founder, Paradarshita, Delhi.

Our Government is responsible for providing free and qualitative education for every child up to Class VIII. But government schools suffer from corruption and malpractices. The infrastructure and system of education is not serving students properly. These views were expressed by Rajiv Kumar, an educationist who runs an NGO Pardarshita while addressing a meeting on 'Shiksha Samvad' organised by Students Islamic Organisation of India at its headquarters in New Delhi on 16 May.

Talking on the condition of Right to Education in Delhi, the learned speaker said that despite RTE which guarantees free education, government schools were charging fee from pupils under different heads.

“We wrote to the National Commissions for Protection of Child Rights, against it. NCPCR did nothing in this regard. Finally we move to the court and won the case. The court ordered the government that it should return the entire fee charged so far to the students,” said Kumar.
On the faulty system of education in Delhi, he said the overall situation of education is very bad. First of all, seeking admission in a government school is a path-breaking task. “Seeking admission in an MCD school is somewhat easy but in a Delhi government school, it is very tough. They practice dillydallying. If a child could not get education or drops out because of any reason, he can get admission in any class according to his age. It is the duty of the government to get him admitted in any class as per his age and make him capable of studying for that class through bridge course,” he said.

The number of migrant workers living in Delhi has increased. Practically, one who has no residential proof is not allowed to seek admission for his child. The rule however says that if one has no resident proof, nevertheless he has right to get admission. The rule also has to say that if one has not date of birth certificate, the parents can write his date of birth on a plain paper as an affidavit and that will be valid. But the ground reality is quite opposite.

Yet another point is that despite the availability of seats in Delhi government schools, they don't take admission in one to fifth classes. They advise the parents to go to MCD schools. The learned speaker also said that for the last many years, a number of schools have been closed. But not a single new school has been opened as is required by the law.

On the condition of schools in rich and poor areas, Mr. Kumar said in well developed areas infrastructure and teachers are available but these schools lack students, for people there do not send their wards to government schools. The condition of government schools in poor areas is very pathetic. These schools lack proper infrastructure, ventilation and sanitation. Even drinking water is not available there.
Following issues were been raised by Dr. Khandai:

1. According to article 45 of constitution of India, it is the sole responsibility of government of India to provide free and compulsory education to children between 6 years to 14 years of age, but the question is that is education is being provided to the needy or not?

2. It is easy for any government to frame its policy on education but they don't focus on the implementation of the policy. The policy is being thrown on the public; you have to just follow it.

3. For past few decades, each government used to frame its new education policy but unfortunately none of the policy is being perfectly implemented. Today, the destiny of our country is being shaped in our classrooms.

4. Education today is creating more and more division in the society which may lead to a new type of discrimination. The purpose of education is to bridge the gap and eradicate the divisions among the society.

5. Present education system has no respect towards teachers and trainers, India is a country where students used to respect their teachers and Gurus. The policy is of no use unless it brings back the respect that teachers deserve to have.

6. Education policy should be made such that education must reach from urban areas to rural areas, from slums to tribal people living in jungles. Is vote being given only by the urban? Is the value of vote more for urban public than the rural one? why there is difference in quality of education between rich and poor?
Further Mr. Anwar Jaffer questioned the policy makers on what is the responsibility of a democratic government on education?

To bring social equality serious changes are need to be done in present education policy Mr. Jaffer also added the problem of malnutrition in children and shows grave concern towards the issue and asked the authorities to consider this issue as well. Since, the malnutrition is also directly associated with the education as a healthy body and mind is capable of achieving good education. Education nowadays is most important to improve one's financial and economic condition. Good education is the one which makes a student morally strong along with its technical knowledge, education should develop the feeling for society and motivate students to get socially engage as much as possible. Which means the basis of providing knowledge and education is to develop good and socially responsible human beings. It's good to develop our human resource in advanced technologies but not on the cost of moral degradation.

Few concerns were also been shown by the attendees in the meeting. These points are:

1. Lack of reviewing in government agencies and corruption is the root cause of improper implementation of government policies. Unless the concerned authorities or departments are not being questioned, proper outcome cannot be achieved. For example, the performance of a particular hospital can be improved by CCTV camera installation which keeps an eye on all the staff and officers.

2. In private schools, teachers are more punctual and
responsible than government school teachers reason is proper reviewing of their duties. Other than this government school teachers were also overburdened due to other responsibilities than teaching like mid-day meal, election duties, etc.

3. Government should provide 2.3% of its budget for health education also.
The Government of India (GOI) has expressed its readiness to allow educational traders from all over the world i.e. 160 member-nations of World Trade Organisation (WTO) to establish colleges, universities and other technical or professional institutions in India as commercial ventures. This is done in form of submitting 'offers' to WTO. Once India's education sector comes under this regime, the people's right to education, for which the GOI must be democratically accountable, will be completely dismantled. The unbridled privatization and commercialization demanded by the WTO-GATS regime would not only deny access to the poor but also to those who may afford to purchase it in the market since even they would not get it worth the name. This is because thorough commercialisation will result in degradation of the very purpose of education, course content and pedagogical practices. Again, the academic autonomy, independent research and democratic spaces in our educational institutions will be eroded. The WTO regime considers education as a tradable service and a commodity and student a customer in clear legal terms. Once, the global commitment for market access in education comes into force, essentially speaking, the GOI would be bound to protect the interests of foreign and domestic corporate houses who pursue trade in education against the interests of the students and teachers of the country. If the people of India, particularly students and teachers, fail to bring pressure on the GOI to withdraw the 'offers' given to WTO in higher education sector immediately, our education system will be entangled with the WTO regime forever and be doomed.

Technically speaking, the GOI has submitted its 'offers' for 'Market Access' in 'Higher Education Sub-Sector' to WTO way back in August 2005 as a part of Doha Round Trade Negotiations which started in 2001 in Doha, Qatar. However, they have not yet become 'commitments' as the trade negotiations could not be concluded for the last 10 years. But, now there is a fresh momentum in the negotiations. Plans are on
to expedite the process of the ongoing trade negotiations in WTO from the forthcoming July onwards and successfully conclude them in the ensuing Tenth Ministerial Conference to be held at Nairobi, Kenya from 15th to 18th December this very year. This Conference aims at significantly widening the jurisdiction and scope of WTO. If GOI do not withdraw its 'offers' given to WTO in Higher Education Sector well in advance of the Conference, these would automatically become irrevocable 'commitments' on the part of the nation with far-reaching implications.

**Onward March of Imperialism:** The countries of the world are classified by WTO as 1) Developed; 2) Developing; and 3) Least Developed. Economic inequalities among countries referred to as 'developed' and 'developing' are a product of the imperialist exploitation of the latter by the former. WTO was constituted to protect the interests of the developed countries; it is detrimental to the interest of the developing world. Developing countries like India joined WTO intending to use this membership for the benefit of its corporate houses, and promising subsequent 'trickle down' benefits for the people. The class and social inequalities (caste, ethnic, gender, disability-related, linguistic) in all countries and inequalities among nations stand aggravated due to different agreements operating under the WTO regime for the last two decades. With the proposed expansion of WTO operations at the Tenth Ministerial this process will be further intensified. Ironically, this 'Doha Round Trade Negotiations' is also called Doha Development Agenda as it has got some palliatives for the poor nations in order to woo them.
GATS-Education: Three Integrated Multilateral Agreements viz., 1) General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT-1994) which includes Agreement on Agriculture; 2) Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS); and 3) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) together constitute the main body of WTO. Education, reduced to one of tradable services, is brought under GATS which is one of the three integrated multilateral agreements under WTO regime as stated above. Ironically, the trade in education is governed by GATS Council (Council for Trade in Services) along with and at par with services such as recreation clubs and night pubs under the same set of rules, though with some variations due to domestic regulations of member-nations! The 'offers' and ultimately the 'commitments' in 'Market Access' are to be given by a member country in Mode-wise and Sector-wise format for operationalisation of GATS in the country.

Foreign Providers: We need not oppose foreign universities if they are coming to India on the basis of educational and cultural relations between our country and a foreign country in order to exchange and spread knowledge. This has been a prominent feature throughout India's history and was promoted by leaders of the freedom struggle including Gandhi and Tagore. But, that is not the case at all under WTO regime. Now, the foreign universities are coming under global trade agreement to make profits. Again, under this agreement, it is not a must that only well-established good quality foreign universities come here and provide comparable education and research facilities. Any provider can establish a new sub-standard university in the country of origin and then establish a branch here. A report of a survey by World Bank in 2000 on foreign educational providers is on record stating that 'well-known universities of Developed Countries established low standard branches in backward countries'.

Domestic Regulation: Accredited bodies formed under the Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM), one of the legal instruments under WTO, would annually review the trade policies of different countries and 'suggest' to the countries to change their respective policies. This regulation of domestic policies by WTO bodies will prove to be an outright infringement on freedom and sovereignty of the nations in formulation of their respective public policies. In all possibility, the public policy perspective of member countries would be controlled by
WTO regime. The developing and the 'least developed' countries would fall victim in an incremental manner to this provision. The TPRM personnel with full authority meet the ministers and secretaries of the HRD Ministry on yearly basis and enquire year after year about the implementation of the so-called reforms agenda in education. The HRD Minister would be more accountable to TPRM personnel than to the people of India! The HRD Ministry in UPA regime introduced six Higher Education Bills in the Parliament to change the Domestic Regulations in conformity with WTO demands. Though all the bills now got lapsed, there is every possibility that the present BJP lead NDA regime introduce their equivalent ones and try to pass them. Thus, the 'domestic regulation' by WTO and its organs can lead to infringement on sovereignty of the member countries, more particularly of the developing and the 'least developed' ones.

Independent Regulatory Authorities (IRAs): In recent times, Independent Regulatory Authorities (IRAs) have been established in many service sectors. We have IRA for Power, for Water, Insurance, Tele-communication and other services. Following the model of market oriented enterprises promoting corporate values that was provided by the Ambani-Birla Report for Higher Education reform (2000), the report of the Sam Pitroda-led National Knowledge Commission (2006), suggested that an 'Independent Regulatory Authority of Higher Education' (IRA for HE) be established. Prof. Yash Pal's report on 'Renovation and Rejuvenation of Higher Education (2008)' recommended establishment of an overarching body, 'National Commission for Higher Education and Research' (NCHER), by either abolishing or subsuming existing all-India educational bodies like UGC, AICTE, NCTE, MCI, BCI etc. Such IRAs are clearly intended to divest existing statutory bodies of institutions of higher education of their autonomy, and representative central and state governments of their legislative responsibility and accountability. Establishment of such IRAs can only be understood as a compliance of the 'Additional Commitments' provision under GATS. In higher education, like the already established IRAs in different services, an IRA would be 'independent' of public pressure and would be free to 'regulate' the sector in favor of domestic and foreign capital. The previous UPA government's reform Bill to establish the NCHER may have lapsed along with its other higher education reform Bills, but the present BJP-led government has already announced its commitment to establish a similar body in its Election Manifesto (2014).
Students Islamic Organisation of India had organised a program “Shiksha Samvad” to discuss on the new education policy to be framed by central government at Srinivas College, Mangalore.

Speaking on the occasion, resource person Dr. Niranjanaradhya said, new national education policy should be framed based on the constitutional values i.e., Equality and justice rather on any political ideology. He expressed concern that still government has not implemented national curriculum framework properly in the country and also still there is lot of inequality in our education system because of privatization. He also condemned the process of collecting the suggestions for the new education policy from public which is not seriously followed and there is hardly any importance given to quality of education. Mr. Renny D'souza child rights activist, Dr. P.S Aithal, Principal, Srinivas Institute of Management Studies and Mr. Tauseef Madikeri, National Secretary of SIO India were also present at the occasion.
Students Islamic Organization of India had organized a program “Shiksha Samvad” to discuss on the new education policy to be framed by central government at SIO Gujarat Suffa hall, Ahmadabad.

- Initially he gave one word on New Education policy is that “Sarv Samaveshak”.
- He indicates four pillars of education:
  1. To know
  2. To Do
  3. To be
  4. To live with others

- Primary Education
  - Each and every student goes to school from village to city in all country.
  - Religious leaders have to promote school education.
  - Build educational NGO’s to create awareness in society.
• **Secondary Education**
  - Attitude measurement test should be implementing.
  - This stage is most neglected in previous policy.
  - This section should be build with value based and quality based education because this stage of students have to understand the what is right and wrong

• **Higher Education**
  - Higher education should categorize by three points
    - To generate
    - To impart
    - To implement
  - Need to insert research policy in higher education policy.
  - Sound research policy to generate good research work with scholarship.
  - Clarifying every concept of teaching in education.
  - Analytical teaching.
  - Need to develop creativity
  - Extension: it means to work after completing education.
  - Need to think scientifically not emotionally to resolve issues in education policy
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at Nagpur

: Resource persons :

Mr. Jaspal Singh,
Principal Guru Nanak College,
Nagpur

Mr. Sahid Shareef,
Chairman of RTE Action Committee, Nagpur

On 25th of October, 2015, SIO Maharashtra North organized a table talk to discuss the educational policy put forth by the MHRD in the city of Nagpur. The program was started by the tilawat-e-Quran i.e.; recitation of Quran by Br Siddique. Later to throw some light on the topic Br Thouseef Madikeri (National Secretary SIO of India) introduced the topic to the cadre and presented his views on the new educational policy. He highlighted the importance of it and while presenting his views on the topic he said “The present educational policy could hardly return the expected result as it is not fulfilling the objectives of the education but instead promoting commercialization”. Further while discussing on the policies he stated some flaws with suggestions to overcome it. Some of which are as follows:

1) RTE is just limited to one claw from that of 38 which is it to provide 25% of seats in private school to the poor students and remaining claws are far away from practical implementation.

2) The concept of neighborhood school should be implemented on a large scale as per Kothari commission of 1964.

3) By bringing skill development act the needs of the corporate are given more priority and child labor act is being modified.

He also added that 33 themes put forth by the MHRD for consultation lacks vision. These discussions are been carried throughout the nation in about 20 cities and it would be published in the form of a suggestion booklet to MHRD.

After Introductory words there were speeches of the two dignitaries Mr Shahid Shareef (Chairman of RTE action committee Nagpur and educational activist) and Mr Jaspal Sing (Principal Guru Nanak Jr. College Nagpur). Mr. Shahid Shareef said on the occasion that “Our educational strata is just like a cast system which is promoting
inequality and injustice, where higher class goes with the ICSE and CBSE schools, Middle class goes with State board Schools and lastly the lower class goes with the Corporation Schools” As a member of RTE action committee he highlighted some of the practical problems in the implementation of the RTE act.

Mr. Jaspal Sing discussed the practical problems regarding quality teaching as follow:

1) Due to the overburden of non educational work (such as census duty, survey, etc.) on teachers they are unable to concentrate on their pupils.

2) The strength of 30-40 students per class should be maintained for a better quality teaching.

3) Paradigm of teachers and student relation is shifted from teaching and learning to client and salesman.

4) He further added that 'no detention' policy is one of the reason behind poor quality of teaching in education. The punishment should be there, but with a well defined criterion.

5) The new education policy is lacking the promotion of values among the students.

After the enlightening talk of the dignitaries the house was kept open for the discussion. The participants discussed about the policy
and presented their suggestions to improve the policy. Few concerns which were discussed are-

1) National curriculum framework of 2005 must be the part of the policy so that the saffronization of syllabus is avoided and it should be implemented properly.

2) Privatization of education has its own pros and cons but a check has to be kept by the Govt.

3) The commercialization of education is a topic of great concern and the new policy is being channelized to fulfill it, as education can't be a commodity if it is so then it decreases the quality and increases discrimination.

4) Quality education is a big challenge before us some steps are been taken and still lots has to be taken.

Concluding address was presented by Br. Rehan Fazal (Zonal President SIO MNZ). He said that new policy should address the deficiency of ethos in students and should produce leaders rather than products for MNC's. At the end program was concluded with the vote of thanks given by Dr Adnanul Haque Khan (PR Sec SIO MNZ).
As we Indians race towards setting up a new education policy there were many terms that had to be studied in depth, understood and worked upon. Some of them were Neo-Liberal policies, Human Resource Development, Employability, Communalization of education etc. Now when we say 'studied', it means under expert guidance, with those people who have an encyclopedic knowledge and decades of experience in that field, and hence we at SIO Mumbai conducted the 'Shiksha Samvad' here at our Mumbai headquarters in Kurla with renowned speakers and social leaders Mr. Sudheendra Kulkarni, Mr. Arvind Vaidhya, Br. Thouseef, Br. Anwar Shaikh and Br. Mohammed Salman.

The program started with Tilawat-e-Quran, following which the guests were felicitated and then Br. Thouseef took hold of the dais going forward with the inaugural words, an in depth explanation followed highlighting the reasons for organizing such an event. Fifth out of the twenty odd events to be held across the nation it brought a
huge amount of facts forward, discussing the pathetic conditions of 
the government run public schools inspire of the 10 long yrs of 
implementation of the policies like RTE, SSA, RMSA Etc. Apart from 
this he also stressed the need for conducting primary education in the 
mother tongue after providing miserable details of the 'three language 
formula' adopted since the independence.

Focusing on the new draft of policies to be taken up by the 
government in the field of education under the HRD ministry the 
discussion saw 2 presentations by Mr. Kulkarni and Mr. Vaidhya each. It 
is such a shame that the HRD ministry which invites the Indian citizens 
for taking active part in shaping the educational policies on its website 
has 33 teams looking into the matter but non of them look into the 
core issues and worse, the policies to be drafted will be done by 
bureaucrats and not by seasoned and senior educationists. 
Mr. Vaidhya the Mumbai President of The All India RTE forum put light 
on the idea of a social state wherein the weaknesses of an individual 
and the effect of those weaknesses on the society would be taken care 
by the govt. Hence he voiced the need for a subsidy based policy for 
the deprived caste, linguistic and religious minorities. He further 
ruled that the govt. sponsored privatization of education will lead to 
private fundamentalism or 'Social Darwinism' where the rich will rule 
the nation. The next point he put forward was when the Govt says 
'fundamental' right to education it should be the same across the 
entire country, it should not have a budget or limited funds, else it will 
be like the police asking money for solving a case, one should be 
allowed to go to the court of law and not the Child right commission 
and last the govt. should protect the citizens from foreign nationals. He 
also shared his knowledge on how the govt. manipulated the 
Unnikrishna report of 1993 to suit its own interests. Lastly he 
avocated strongly common education in common schools under one 
roof for both the rich and the poor by improving the condition of govt. 
educational institutes.

Mr. Kulkarni, President ORF Mumbai and ex-aide of PM Vajpayee 
started with congratulating SIO on organizing such an important 
discussion in 20 different cities to create new values that are the 
fundamentals of education. He then conveyed his message for Indians 
on this 69th Independence Day- To pledge towards bridging all gaps
between all communities. On the day India got divided we should show commitment towards refining ourselves and show high levels of humanity through achieving great amounts of education. Coming to the Samvad—the dialog he asked people to strive towards letting the truth come out. He then emphasized the difference between privatization and commercialization. Explaining the huge gap between Democracy and Communism he guided the attendees through the fine line and asked to let the private schools prevail, at least the ones built by community based groups for social upliftment. Explaining the importance of value education he said it would lead to man making which in turn would lead to nation building. Another point he stated was secular and religious education should not be separated. Humanism and patriotism should also be promoted through education.

After the presentation the house was thrown open for the attendees and other guests as well as the media to question the experts and chalk out possible paths to be followed and suggestions that could be given to the govt.

Things that came out of the discussion were the constantly decreasing subsidy by the govt. towards education since the govt. signed the WTO paper declaring education salable in the conference at Thailand. This was the reason for the marked shift towards the corporate sectors entry into the field.

Other questions raised were how free is free education? How to differentiate between privatization and commercialization? How to curb the menace of coaching classes and tuitions? Most of these questions went unanswered. Still many that were answered led to conclusions like “Schemes made for the poor become poor schemes”. And there is very little that can be expected from the govt. which is not led by educationist, and it should be solely dependent on neighborhood councils and ground level democracy. Common schools for the rich and poor would eliminate the divide in quality of institutions. The HRD was only preparing the youth as raw material for industries. We should strive towards establishing good institutes not for business greed but at the same time they should run on viable basis. The reservation policy for teaching jobs was also contested as it was blamed for poor quality teachers.
Finally Br. Salman gave the vote of thanks urging all cadre of all the units to discuss and debate the entire topic with the masses and at micro level in their localities. With a vision for establishing India on the global map as a leader in education he concluded with the 4-E formula asking for 'Expansion' for the prevalent infrastructure and schemes also demanding adult education for aged people. 'Excellence' was the next point. Following it was 'Equality' in education for the rich and poor. Then came 'Employability' which indeed is not the sole purpose for providing education but even it serves as the catalyst for improvements. He further thanked all the guests and the attendees and asked for future assistance.
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at University of Davangere

Resource Person:
Dr. Sukumara Gowda
Director, Centre for Studies in Education, Makkala Mantapa, Puttur

SIO Davangere has organized an "Interactive Workshop on Upcoming New Education Policy" (Shiksha Samvad) in collaboration with MSW Department, Davangere University & AIFRTE on 15th October 2015 @ Davangere University, Davangere.

- Five common orientations to curriculum are
- The development of cognitive processes
- Curriculum as technology
- Self actualization or curriculum as consummatory experience
- Curriculum for social reconstruction-relevance
- Academic rationalism

The long term goals of school curriculum, for example, ability to think clearly and independently, develop scientific temper, citizenship, social competence and tolerance and appreciation of other religions & cultures, are a part of educational philosophy and sociology.
Only 63% of Govt. schools have a pupil – teacher ratio as per RTE norms (30:1 primary, 35:1 upper primary). Prescribed norm had to be reached by March 2015.

We have shortage of trained teachers as well as training institutes. There 6 lakh posts of teachers vacant under SSA. Recruitment of teachers is the urgent need.

All citizens of India should have equal access to education. The specific needs of the disadvantaged sections of the society ought to be met through the education.

The process of evaluation should be continuous and comprehensive. If education is to succeed in its tasks, curriculum as its core should be restructured around the four pillars of learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be.
SIO South Assam Zone Organised a symposium titled 'Shiksha Samvad' on 20th October 2015 at Hailakandi Junior Science College in Hailakandi District of Assam. The event was a part of the nationwide symposiums and seminars organised by SIO about the upcoming education policy of the Central Govt. The objective of the symposium was to discuss about the new education policy of Govt. of India. The guests present in the program were Thouseef Ahmed Madikeri, National Secretary, SIO, Dr. Hifjur Rahman, eminent educationist & Nirmal Das, Human Rights Activist, Israfil Hussain, Zonal Organiser, SIO Assam.

Nirmal Das said that accurate history of the nation should be included in the syllabus so that a student can know about the plurality of the nation. He criticised the central and state Govt. for their pro-corporate and anti-people policies.

Dr. Hifzur Rahman said that writings of Ram Puniyani and Irfan Habib should be the part of syllabus. He also said that the practical applicability of the present syllabus is hardly visible in the society.
Open Discussion:

Some of the suggestions were

- Inclusion of moral science along with practical works
- Giving importance to practically applicable curriculum
- Reconsidering the recommendations of Kothari Commission and Knowledge Commission
- Awakening the public about all the clauses of the education policy
- Giving high importance to the knowledge of the Indian Constitution and rule of law etc.

In concluding speech, Zonal Organiser Israfil Hussain said that the curriculum should change the mind & heart of a student. He said that policies are made but there is no proper monitoring and coordination. Citing the example of South Assam, he said that, here only one central University is there and no state university, so students have to take a journey of nearly 12 hours to go to Guwahati for higher education. So policy should be made in such a manner that students can easily get access to higher education in the native place. He also said that education policy should be job oriented. He said that people should not limit themselves in participating in this type of symposiums and rather become aware about the ongoing discussion on education sector and try to improve the system and hence the society.

Finally, the program was concluded by vote of thanks from Tariq Aman Mazumder, Campus Secretary, SIO Assam South Zone.
Our education system is oriented for only 6 - 10% students. Learning to live together was not fulfilled. The communal violence is common in India. Our Education system includes No detention policy, outdated syllabus, Mid-day-meal etc but no quality. The rationale behind no detention policy is not being justified. Hence there is no quality. So the demand for private institution is growing. This is creating a huge discrimination in society. Mythology is being incorporated in the name of history.

Privatization grows more in PPP model. In 1947 Literacy rate was 12.7%. After Independence, Govt. of India didn't make any serious attempt to improve the education system.

Main spirit of education should be on the basis of constitutional values.
Prof. Ruprekha Verma in her presentation on New Education Policy 2015 said that more than half of the population of our country is based on students while policies are made by selected people which are benefiting only few people. She criticized the closure of government schools and the financial aid which is given to private institutions in the name of 25% reservation through RTE. She said that through this financial aid Government should develop public school. She added that new education policy should not include political ideology rather it should be based on constitutional values.

Taiyyab Ahmad Baig (ZP, SIO UP Central) in his address said that today politics is completely based on majoritarianism while in a democratic country every citizen has equal right for his progress.
As of today our teaching technique is only lectures, this is a pathetic method and good teaching should have only 50% lectures and remaining 50% should be covered through semesters, assignment and other interactive techniques.

We mainly teach information in our higher education institution, where as other three stages of concept is learning, analytical learning and creative learning are absent. We did not teach information it is only matter of studying not understanding. We should begin teaching by clarifying concept through creative learning. Every student achieving a master's degree should develop some creativity on their own so that he/she can solve problems.

The technique of remembering and MCQ has to reduce the level of 50% and applying concepts and techniques requiring logical solutions should be incorporated in remaining 50%.
SHIKSHA SAMVAD at Bangalore

: Resource Persons :

Dr. G Haragopal,  Dr. Niranjanaradhya,
University of Hyderabad,  National Law School,
Hyderabad  Bangalore

The format of the discussion was that two eminent speakers, Prof. Niranjanaradhya and Prof Haragopal, expressed their opinions on the national educational policy, followed by an open discussion. This report records the proceedings of the discussions and includes at the end a summary of the important points of the discussion.

Prof. Niranjanaradhya

Background:

It is a norm that every new Government has initiated new changes in educational policy. The first educational policy was framed in 1964-66 by the Kothari Commission; then again in 1986 we had a new educational policy. Now the current Govt. has initiated a discussion on a new “national educational policy”. It's important in such situation to discuss about the content and framework of the new policy in the light of the previous policies — their implementation, their lacunae and new challenges of today.

Basis of the policy:

Educational policy should have a constitutional basis, as Sec 39 of the Education Act says that educational policy should aim to imbibe
the constitutional values. The aim should be to achieve the below constitutional values by the educational policy.

- To ensure the sovereignty of the country.
- To ensure justice social and economical to all. To address the inequality in the society where certain communities are lagging behind the rest, as shown in Sachar committee report on educational status of Muslims.
- To achieve national integration and social inclusiveness. This needs education secular and scientific education, cultivating scientific temper is also a constitutional value.
- To achieve non-discrimination and equal opportunity for every child we need a sound educational policy. Education is the basis for any development. Therefore education needs to create a level playing field.

**Kothari commission 1966:**

The commission brought out a landmark report on educational policy directions, most which are also relevant today. It said “the destiny of our nation is being shaped in our classrooms”. It made some far reaching recommendations like

- It recognized the fundamental problem that state failed to provide equal opportunity at all levels. So the first priority should be to provide equitable education to every child.
- All schools public and private should form a cohesive network to build national system of education. Unlike the private vs. Govt. schools competition today, resulting in deliberate attempt to demean Govt. schools as low quality.
- Basic characteristic of education policy is to imbibe constitutional values through equality, quality and neighbourhood school system. To ensure equal opportunity to every child.
- To bring social harmony and national integration, in the light of enormous diversity of the nation, it recommended all measures to improve quality in general schools.
- To bring these changes it was recommended to allocate resources of about 6% of GDP. But currently barely 3% of GDP is put for education. For example KendriyaVidyalaya, which are state funded
are doing extremely well, but doesn't want to extend the similar level of funding to all other schools.

Current Govt. policy documents put in the public domain focuses more on the process – the how and who involved in forming the policy rather than specifying the thematic or framework of discussion. Neither an analysis of the earlier policies is done nor is the reason of going for new policy articulated by the Govt. The policy direction and political intents are till now not very transparent. More of these discussions are needed to come up for the benefit of getting clarity on framework of new educational policy.

Prof. Haragopal

Constitution as basis:

Constitution is a product of people's struggles; it reflects the aspirations of the people. It is not just a legal document but a philosophy which holds a direction as to what type of society India should be. Therefore the Constitution of India should be the basis of the new policy.

- Preamble of the constitution says that we will have a society that is a democratic, republic, secular, socialist, these form the fundamental principles of Constitution of India. No educational policy can be formulated without reflecting these values.
- Article 28 says we will build India where we will reduce inequalities in income, status, opportunities and facilities.
- Article 29 says wealth of the nation shouldn't be allowed to concentrate; it has to subvert the common good and not be detrimental to common good.

The question arises is how much have we moved in the direction as mandated by the people through the constitution, or have we drifted away, then by how much?

Analysis of previous educational policies:

1. Till 1964, no framework was put, only continued the colonial system, but at least the education was free. In fact never in history was education ever sold.
2. 1964 Kothari commission is an important document in the evolution of education in India.
a. Education is defined as “conscience of a nation”. It is a critical assessor of way of life of a society.

b. Education has to respond to the social needs, not its wants or market demands. The masses may not be able to articulate these needs, the educated have the obligation of speaking for them, till they are able to do so by themselves.

c. Purpose of education is to produce men and women who look at life critically. To question if this is how Indian society should be? If not what is wrong with this society? Is it a humane and democratic society?

3. 1985-86 policy was in response to the 1983 World Bank agreements, the bank not only came with loans but also with policies.

a. It talked about duality, separate quality schools whereas every school in India should have been a quality school.

b. Mother tongue had been demeaned at the for the sake of English. The whole of mythology that English and English alone can liberate us is nonsense. Every language has the capacity of carrying the modern ideas.

c. Every child requires a teacher, a class teacher, subject teacher, drawing master, drill master etc. By bringing one teacher for 2-3 classes we have completely destroyed primary education. Once you destroy the primary education that nation can never prosper.

4. 1990’s policies brought the burden of neo-liberal policies of privatization and commercialization of education.

a. It brought different kinds of public, private, international, concept schools, though education needs of every child is same.

b. Commercialization ruptures the relation between educated man and society; it makes people self-centric. Say in commercialized medical education, what comes out is a businessman not a doctor as he has invested heavily for the degree. On the contrary, if society educates it will
produce people who owe an obligation to the society.

c. Education should let human inside us be alive. Education should not just give the ability to lead comfortable life but a meaningful life.

5. Current policy is to open up education sector to global market. The changes such as FYUP in Delhi University were being brought to match the international needs rather than the social needs of Indians.

Educational policy should imbibe constitutional values, humane values, responding to social needs not global with an aim to make produce humans who critically reflects on the society and is socially responsible to make it a good society.

Open Session

**Question:** In India there are many people who due to acute poverty, only aspire for earning livelihood and don't think of education. Should there be discussion on economic policy along with this.

**Response:** the concept of common school education is specifically meant for addressing this inequality. During early days of independent India beggar's son and landlord's son could go to same school (case of Prof. Hargopal's school), today that's unimaginable.

**Suggestion:** To bring about social responsibility, affinity to societal needs should be included in the national educational policy.

**Response:** In US even medicine graduates are needed to take courses of sociology, political courses, to make them aware of society. We need to emulate that here too.

**Question:** The current Govt. shows scant respect for the constitution and academic bodies like ICHR, IITs, in such bleak scenario what can we do?

**Response:** We need to cautious here. Govt. has not come up with any framework, not even an analysis of educational scenario – critiquing the present policy. On the other hand it's mentioning about PPP model without reflecting on the current needs. Current discourse is to destroy everything and move on, without articulating where to go. No transparency there but only a vacuum.

We need to ask for non-negotiable fundamental points. Constitution is
an aspiration of people; it represents our collective conscience, which must be non-negotiable.

**Question:** We talk of so many changes have happened and education has degraded, is going back possible?

**Response:** No, it’s not about going back but going forward. First we need to do critical evaluation of current policy and its shortcomings. Then looking forward about where do we want to go? What we want to become. Education needs to make people not just to perpetuate the current system, then it would be able correct it.

**Question:** Problem is with the dilemma that society needs people who know right and wrong and individual would go for secure future and career in the commerce. Shouldn't we completely undo the structure and rebuild it rather than fixing the specifics.

**Response:** Individual has two sets of needs, one for livelihood he needs skills that could get him job and second is his spiritual or social needs which also needs nourishment from education. What we have now is singular focus on skills; we need education that gives vision of a society along with satisfying the needs of commerce. Education needs to give a character to individual; character is the concern for others, which leads to a humane society.

**Summary**
As a first step we need to justify the need for a new education policy, there should be a critical evaluation of existing or earlier policy, its extent of implementation and shortcomings.
No concrete framework for policy discussion has been articulated by the Govt. This discussion cannot take place in a vacuum, so we need to go based it on the fundamental values of the Constitution of India. Educational policy should aim to imbibe the constitutional values, particularly the four core principles of constitution – democracy, sovereign, secularism and socialism.
The policy should aim to provide equitable quality education to all children without any stratification and discrimination.
To achieve social inclusiveness and national integration, curriculum should be secular. It should cultivate scientific temper.
Education policy has to respond to the social needs, not to the market demands.
Purpose of education is to produce men and women who look at life critically and are socially responsible to pursue an alternate vision for a better society.

The objective of education should be to build a humane democratic society as envisaged in the Constitution of India.

The commercialization of education and surrendering to global market forces must be vehemently opposed.
Journalist Meet on Indianisation of Education at New Delhi
Press Conference on New Education Policy at Press Club of India

The Students Islamic Organisation of India has said the themes selected for consideration while framing the new National Education Policy “lack vision” as these neither recognise existing discriminations and inequalities in the education system nor address the issues of privatisation and commercialisation.

The consultation themes suggested by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) for school and higher education are “selective” and focus on the agenda of what the government is inclined towards, said Thouseef Madikeri, National Secretary of Students Islamic Organisation (SIO) of India, the students' wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Hind.

“Consultation themes suggested by the Ministry of Human Resource Development for school and higher education are selective and are focusing the agenda of what government is inclined towards instead of addressing the very serious concerns of growing communalization and market-oriented needs which are on high priority,” Thouseef Madikeri said at the national level consultation on New Education Policy 2015.

He said skill-based education for marginalized sections of society is discriminating citizen against getting basic needs and pushes the deprived people as “certified labours”.

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The government is not executing all the clauses of the RTE Act but instead is sponsoring private schools with finance by admitting students and supporting private players, he claimed.

Ms. Sucheta Dey, National President of All India Students Association (AISA) said that we are losing the sovereignty of our Nation by allowing WTO-GATS and also she criticize the common university bill by saying that it is going to damage the diverse identity with historic background of Central universities as AMU, JMI, DU, JNU, BHU etc. She said that today the curriculum is forcibly intend to design on false information's as done by Dina Nath Batra in Gujarat.

Inam-ur-Rahman, national secretary of All India Ideal Teachers Association, said they were carrying out policy consultation at national level and will suggest for an inclusive policy both in higher and school education.

Layeeq Ahmed, national secretary of the SIO of India, said final recommendations after incorporating various opinions will be compiled by the organization's National Education Strategy Cell and forwarded to the MHRD by September-end.
National Education Policy should ensure the quality in all levels of Education. Providing Education to each and every one of one sixth population of the globe will lead the country to be the leader of the world. The Cultural Originality and Purity which ensures the Unity in Diversity should be remained as it is. Otherwise it will harm the real Idea of India.

Alif Shukoor
General Secretary, SIO of India

Teachers need to re-conceptualize citizenship education in terms of human rights and approaches of critical pedagogy; emphasize environment and its protection, living in harmony within oneself and with natural and social environment; promote peace, democratic way of life, constitutional values of equality, justice, liberty, fraternity and secularism, and caring values.

Prof. Poonam Batra,
University of Delhi, Delhi