CHAPTER - VI

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

Many developing countries represent low level of political participation by the people because of the underdeveloped nature of their political systems and other democratic institutions. James Manor observed that there is a divergence between State and society in countries like India. As a result of this divergence, two trends have become significant. Each is a reaction to the other. The first, a tendency among those near the apex of the political system to move towards statism, which follows logically from the increasing separation of the State and the society. The second is growing grass roots political apathy which follows from the increasing separation of society and the State. The above said process resulted in the public policies being the preferences of the elite and not as the choice of the public. The public are not real participants, public policies very often represent the dominant interests and perceptions of the ruling elite. The ruling elite (managerial elite) might or might not perceive the needs of the people correctly. Sometimes they might formulate the policies in the interest of the people, but the people will play a peripheral role in policy making. The elite perceives itself as the bearer of rationality which, in its view, is lacking among the unlettered masses of India. They often regard open competitive politics as an inconvenience, a source of great untidiness and of dysfunctionality. Sometimes policy makers initiate a public
debate for the sake of legitimacy. But the measure of representative character of a political system depends upon the support it gets from the public. Sometimes the public might be sensitive, but the Government need not respond to the demands of the public with the same sensitivity. David Easton says that the public provides the demands (inputs) into the political system, political system converts the same inputs into outputs (policy outcome), and gets support from the public, if the inputs are within the critical range of the political system. In spite of this limitation public policy in an ideal situation, is supposed to be formulated based on public opinion, i.e., the opinion of State Governments, political parties, pressure groups, opinion makers, the public and the fourth estate (Press).

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

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

The assertions of the State Governments for some role in governance are reflected in some of the initiatives of political parties and State Governments. Major initiatives like Anandapur Sahib Resolution by Akalis, West Bengal Memorandum on centre-state
relations by West Bengal Government, Rajemannar committee on centre-state relations constituted by the D.M.K. Government in Tamilnadu and the various conclaves of opposition chief ministers are the indications in this direction. The Union Government also started responding to meet the challenge to its supremacy and imposed Emergency as a major response. During the Emergency the Constitution was amended and the 42nd amendment gave more powers to the Union Government in various areas. One of the implications of this amendment was the transfer of education from the state list to the concurrent list.

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

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

Initiating a public debate to provide the basis for the formulation of a policy was welcomed by one and all. Few people expressed the doubt regarding the effectiveness of a public debate. Both the then Prime Minister and the Education Minister had announced in various forums that the new policy would be formulated based on the debate on this status paper. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his inaugural address at the Conference of Education Ministers of States and Union territories held on August 29th 1985 informed the meeting that the document ‘Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective’ is a status paper to provoke a debate. The Minister of Education, Mr. K.C. Pant, while accepting the lack of time to appoint an education commission to proceed at the pace of the Sixties for the formulation of a new policy, had observed that the formulation of New the NPE 1986 was a formidable task. He stated that sufficient data, research and reports are available to raise various issues relating to the educational reorganization. He ...
document does not contain the final views of the Government, but raises issues as clearly and candidly as possible. He further informed the house that the Government intends to involve the State Governments, political parties, mass organizations, voluntary agencies and educational, cultural, scientific and research institutions actively. It is reported in the minutes of the same meeting that the participants expressed their appreciation of the fact that the document, “Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective” had for the first time set forth the constraints of the formulation and implementation of educational polices and against this realistic backdrop had provided an array of new ideas for evolving measures for educational reorganization through a process of consultation across the length and breadth of the country. The State Governments belonging to opposition parties also responded positively to the debate. Prof. Shambu Ghosh, Minister for Higher Education, Government of West Bengal said: “It is heartening that a document containing an overview of the State of education and pointers to the direction of future initiatives and programs has been released by the Ministry of Education Government of India. The Education Minister of Tripura had observed that his Government is in agreement with the diagnosis and elaboration of the malady of education made in the document. The Minister of State for Higher Education, Government of Madhya Pradesh welcomed the initiative of the Prime Minister in the formulation of the educational policy.

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

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

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its allies captured power in three States, viz. Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala. It has been governing West Bengal State continuously from 1977 onwards. It advocates more autonomy to the State Governments in legislative, administrative and financial matters. The West Bengal State Government emerged as a powerful bargainer par excellence. It is the best governed State. The policies and programs are social democratic in nature rather than Communist\(^\text{14}\).

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

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

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

**UTTAR PRADESH**

Uttar Pradesh is one of the biggest States in India\(^\text{15}\). It is bounded by Tibet and Nepal in North, Himachal Pradesh in North West, Haryana in West, Rajasthan in Southwest, Madhya Pradesh in South and South west and Bihar in East\(^\text{16}\). Unlike other States of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh is purely an administrative unit having no distinct natural features of its own. It is divided into four regions. Each of the four regions has not only geographical but cultural contiguity with the neighbouring States\(^\text{17}\).

Agriculture is the main occupation of almost 78 percent of population. Uttar Pradesh is the largest producer of food grains, sugar cane and oil seeds. It is also one of the principal sugar producing States in the country. Handloom industry, cotton and woolen textiles, leather and foot wear are some of the important cottage industries. The State has some of the oldest canal systems and various major irrigation projects and power projects are also started\(^\text{18}\).
According to 1991 census Uttar Pradesh has an area of 2,94,411 sq. kms. The total population of Uttar Pradesh was 139,112,287 million. The rural population was 111,506,372 million and urban population was 27,605,915 million. In the year 1981, the literate population of Uttar Pradesh was 33.55 million and in 1991 it rose to 41.60 million. Its rank remained 26th in terms of literacy rate both in 1981 and 1991. In 1981, literacy rate among males was 47.45 percent and among females 17.19 percent. In 1991, the literacy rate among males was 55.73 percent and among females 25.31 percent.

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

The work participation rate (total workers as percentage of total population) in Uttar Pradesh was 32.20 percent and among scheduled castes was 35.29 percent and among scheduled tribes was 43.42 percent. Total participation of males in the work was 49.68 percent and among the male members of scheduled castes it was 50.80 percent and scheduled tribes 53.04 percent. Participation of female members in work was 12.32 percent and among females of scheduled castes was 17.61 percent and scheduled tribes was 2.90 percent.

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

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

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

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

West Bengal:

After the Moghuls, the history of modern Bengal begins with the advent of European and English trading companies. The Battle of Plassey, in 1757, changed the course of history when the English first gained a strong foothold in Bengal and subsequently in rest of India. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned by the Britishers to achieve some political returns, but the growing people's movement under the auspices of Congress led to its reunion in 1911. This triggered off hectic movement for freedom which culminated in Independence and partition. After 1947, the merger of native settlements began which ended with its final reorganization in 1956, when some neighboring Bengali speaking areas were transferred to West Bengal. Land frontiers of Bengal touch Bangladesh in east and are separated from Nepal in West. Bhutan lies in north west while Sikkim is in north. On west and south west are the States Bihar and Orissa respectively. The Bay of Bengal washes its Southern frontiers.

Agriculture contributes almost 50 percent of the State’s income and between 70 and 80 percent of population is directly or indirectly involved in agriculture. Total irrigated area stands nearly 40 percent of the total cropped area. It is also one of the major industrial States in the country with 8,064 registered working factories in 1986. Number of registered small scale industries up to March 1989 was 2,79,769. Important multi purpose irrigation and power schemes are implemented in the State since 1947.
According to the 1991 census, West Bengal has an area of 88,752 sq. kms. with a population of 68,077,965 millions. The rural population is 49,370,364 millions and urban population is 18,7.7,601 millions\(^1\). In 1981 the literate population in West Bengal was 48.65 millions and in 1991 it rose to 57.70 millions. It ranks 18 in terms of literacy rate. In 1981 the literacy rate among males was 59.93 percent and females was 36.07 percent. The population of scheduled castes was 16.089 millions (23.62% of total population) and the population of scheduled tribes was 3,809 million (5.59 percentage of total population). The literacy rate among scheduled castes was 42.21 percent, scheduled tribes was 27.28 percent. The literacy rate of males in the State was 67.81 percent (among the literate population) out of which literacy rate among males of scheduled castes was 54.55 percent and among males of scheduled tribes was 40.17 percent. The total literacy rate of females in the State was 46.56 percent and among females of scheduled castes it was 28.97 percent and scheduled tribes 14.98 percent\(^4\). The participation in work (total workers as percentage of total population) was 32.19 percent. Among scheduled castes it was 33.31 percent and among scheduled tribes it was 47.66 percent. The participation of males in work (against the total population of workers) is 51.40 percent. Among the scheduled castes the work participation was 52.03 percent and among scheduled tribes it was 54.05 percent. The total participation of females in work was 11.25 percent. Among females of scheduled castes it was 13.22 percent and scheduled tribes it was 41.03 percent\(^34\).

Politics in West Bengal is partly conditioned by its social environment. The tug of war between Center and State, which is a normal feature of classical federalism, is true in the case of West Bengal. The CPI(M) took the State along the path of ideological hostility with New Delhi during United Front rule and made itself a vehicle of Bengali regional sentiment. Chief Ministers emerged as bargainers par excellence for more food aid, financial assistance from New Delhi, because of built in ‘Politics of Scarcity’ in the State\(^35\).

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

West Bengal is the fortress of Left politics. It has seen the foundation of the British
rule in India, the replacement of the Raj by the Congress regime, and the ousting of the Congress by the United Front of the Left parties.\textsuperscript{36}

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

**Andhra Pradesh:**

Andhra Pradesh is the first State to be formed on the linguistic principle in 1956.\textsuperscript{39} Andhra Pradesh is bounded on north by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the west by Maharashtra and Karnataka on the south by Tamilnadu and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. The State has a sea coast of about 914 km.\textsuperscript{40}

Andhra Pradesh has an area of 2,75,045 sq. kms. The total population of Andhra Pradesh was 66,508,008 million with a rural population of 48,620,282 millions and urban population of 17,887,126 million.\textsuperscript{41} According to 1991 census, 44.09 millions were literate. 55.13 percent among the literate population was males and 32.72 percent among the
literate population was females\(^4\). Among the total population, \(10,592,000\) million (15.93 percent) was scheduled castes and 4,200,000 million (6.31 percent) was Scheduled tribes. Literacy rate among scheduled castes was 31.59 percent and scheduled tribes was 17.16 percent. The literacy rate among the male and female members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was less than the literacy rate of the general public. Among the male members of scheduled castes the literacy rate was 41.88 percent and among the scheduled tribes the literacy rate was 25.25 percent. Among the females members of scheduled castes the literacy rate was 20.92 percent while it was mere 8.68 percent in the case of female members of the Scheduled tribes\(^4\). Work participation rate of the State (total workers as percentage of total population) was 45.05 percent. Among scheduled castes it is 51.08 percent and among scheduled tribes it is 54.03 percent. The work participation rate among male members of scheduled castes was 55.31 percent against the total male population of 55.48 percent. Among scheduled tribes was 57.30 percent. The total female work participation in Andhra Pradesh state was 34.32 percent. Among scheduled castes it was 46.7 percent and scheduled tribes it was 50.63 percent\(^4\).

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

Andhra Pradesh can be divided into three distinct regions on the basis of cultural identity, economic development and geographical features, viz., Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema, and Telangana. Coastal Andhra is agriculturally developed, whereas the two other regions are backward in many respects\(^4\). The major religious communities in the State include Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The Hindus, as elsewhere, are divided into several castes. The important castes in the State are Brahmins, Reddis, Kammas, Velamas, Kshatriyas, Kapus, Yadavas and the Other Backward Castes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were placed below the social hierarchy\(^4\). From the beginning, the politically dominant castes are Kammas or Reddys. Of late, the backward Castes and Harijans are also politically organized. In few pockets of the State, particularly the Telangana districts, communist parties and Naxalite groups are also active.

Andhra Pradesh was described as the citadel of Congress Party up to 1983, after
which a competitive two party political system involving the Congress and the Telugu Desam came into existence. Factors like caste, community, and religion started influencing the political panorama of Andhra Pradesh, since the late 1980’s, which is a broad reflection of the political processes at national level. The capital city, Hyderabad, witnesses communal disturbances occasionally.

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

In 1977, when the Congress was routed from power by the Janata Party, at the center as well as in most of the north Indian States, Andhra Pradesh remained one of the few strongholds of the Congress Party. Within six years (this is after 1976 elections) in the year 1983, (nearly after three decades of continuous rule since Independence), Congress lost power in Andhra Pradesh to a regional political party. After that Andhra Pradesh was one of the few Indian States that was not swept by the Rajiv wave in 1984 and 1985.

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

The other explanation for the emergence of Telugu Desam Party was the changes in the political processes of federalism. Firstly, a section of the big bourgeoisie favoured the grant of some power or powers to the States in order to accommodate the demands of rising regional bourgeoisie and make them fully integrated with all India capitalist development. Secondly, the rising bourgeoisie and rich peasants in different parts of the country sought considerable expansion of powers for the State Governments by restructuring the center State relations which would enable them to exercise power in their respective areas. The rising middle class with linkages either with the emerging
bourgeoisie or rich peasantry also demanded autonomy to protect its cultural identity. The Akali Dal in Punjab, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Dravidian Parties in Tamil Nadu, Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) in Assam were examples of this trend which dominated the contemporary discourse.

The Telugu Desam Party and its leader not only took the advantage of factionalism in the Congress, but also used powerful cultural and mythological symbols. N. T. Rama Rao emphasized Telugu nationalism and highlighted the corrupt political culture of the Congress and stressed how repeated interventions from Delhi had destroyed the Telugu people’s pride and capacity for self-government. N. T. Rama Rao promised various welfare schemes for women and youth. He introduced the populist schemes like midday meals, Rs. 2 kg rice for poor, and concessions to the farmers. Reservations designed to improve job and educational opportunities for backward classes won him the support of backward castes. Well-oiled party machinery, personal charisma, support of powerful media (regional newspapers) also contributed to the success of Telugu Desam Party. The Telugu Desam Party’s authoritarian rule, corruption in the administration, growing unrest in the villages paved the way for the victory of the Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh in 1989.

Responses of the State Governments:

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

The observation of the Education Commission (1964-66) that the destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms is no more a mere rhetoric. In a world dominated by science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare
and security of the people. Education is concerned with national development which means the development of physical and human resources of the nation. In a traditional society like ours it is an instrument of modernization and an agent of social change.

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

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

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

Many State Governments seem to be endorsing the stand of the NPE 1986 regarding the purpose of an educational system. The West Bengal Government Stated that the purpose of an educational system should be linked with the socio-economic development. The Andhra Pradesh State Government recognized the human resource development as the important function in the educational process and development.
No policy can be formulated in isolation as its implications affect other policies also. For example, the New Economic Policy of the Government influenced the reforms in the educational system too. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Human Resource Development admitted this fact indirectly. The State Governments did not discuss this issue directly, while discussing vocational education, technical education and other aspects of educational policy, they tried to establish the linkages.

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

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

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

Any strategy for educational planning will have to deal with the problems of: (a) access (b) equity and minimum threshold, availability of good quality elementary education to all children. Universalization of elementary education, which was a commitment enshrined in the Constitution, ought to deserve the attention of both the central and the
State Governments. The NPE 1986 had observed that the new thrust in elementary education will emphasize two aspects (i) universal enrollment and universal retention of children up to 14 years age and (ii) a substantial improvement in the quality of education. To achieve universalization of elementary education by 1995 it resolved to adopt a child centered approach and focused on provision of minimum school facilities which was symbolically called "Operation Blackboard" a co-ordinated effort with non-formal education.

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

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

a) New schools and non-formal education centers to be opened for unserved and under served population groups and regions, viz. girls, children belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims.

b) More middle schools for girls need to be opened and where ever necessary residential schools be provided for them in a block.

c) Likewise, talented children from inaccessible areas and with no middle school facilities to be brought to the residential schools.

d) No new schools and centers to be opened without teachers and adequate physical infrastructure.

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

The Governments of Bihar, Manipur, and Rajasthan also recommended the development of minimum facilities in schools, pre-primary education, anganwadis, people's
participation, mid day meal scheme for better enrollment. The Rajasthan Government went a step further and suggested that to make free and compulsory education more effective, education should be transferred from the concurrent list to the central list, and for next fifteen years education should be brought under compulsory education Act. The recommendations of these State Governments regarding universalization of elementary education did not contain anything novel and at the same time failed to focus on the other linkages like poverty and illiteracy.

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

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

As regards West Bengal, it opposed many aspects of the NPE 1986. It tried to provide a lead to the other State Governments ruled by the non-Congress parties in opposing the NPE 1986. It was more assertive in demanding greater autonomy to the State Governments and higher allocation of financial resources by the center to the States. Regarding universalization of elementary education, it felt that adequate finances must be made available to the States and the Union Government must participate in cost sharing. It also suggested that non formal education should not be treated as a
supplementary to the formal education in achieving universalization of elementary education.\textsuperscript{72}

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

The ‘\textit{Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective}’ had rightly observed that in relation to equity and quality of education, economic constraints play an even more important part. The growth curve of enrollment has flattened out in recent years mainly because of the non-participants belong to the hard core of poor and illiterate.\textsuperscript{73} Though alleviation of poverty and other socio-economic measures, like opportunity cost compensation, contribute significantly to change the present scenario, the Union Government suggested non formal education as one of the instrumentalities to achieve the Constitutional goal, i.e., universalization of elementary education. The non formal education, adult education, distance education are the various instrumentalities envisaged by the NPE 1986 to equalize and democratize educational opportunities.\textsuperscript{74}

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

The Uttar Pradesh Government opined that non formal education should be featured as an independent educational system rather than treating it as a supplementary to the formal education system.\textsuperscript{75} Apart from that, it also felt that so long as the adult literacy programme does not acquire a resolution form, illiteracy cannot be wiped out, the benefits of Science and technology will not reach the people and the people will not overcome superstitions and will not be motivated to work in the absence of literacy.\textsuperscript{76}

Some State Governments like Orissa, Rajasthan, Manipur, Gujarat favoured the role of nonformal education to achieve universalization of elementary education. For example, the Rajasthan Government felt that nonformal education should not be allotted
meager funds as in the past which led to poor facilities and standards. The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh felt that nonformal education requires more intensive training and more competent people to impart elementary education to nonentrants and school dropouts.

The Education Minister of West Bengal cautioned that nonformal education should be treated as a complementary to elementary education and not as a cheap substitute for formal elementary education. While stating this the Government has taken a stand that "so long as we fail to achieve the constitutional obligation to impart formal schooling to all children up to the age of fourteen years the need for nonformal education will continue." The recommendations of the State Governments, ruled by both Congress and non Congress parties, and the emphasis given by the Central Government indicates the fact that there is a general realization regarding the urgency of having a learning society. Though the concern is genuine, the recommendations suggested by them are less adequate.

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

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

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

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

The major thrust of the NPE 1986 is on setting up of Navodaya Vidyalayas. The NPE 1986 says "It is universally accepted that the children with special talents or aptitude should be provided opportunities to proceed with a faster pace, by making good quality education available to them, irrespective of the capacity to pay for it."
document further says “Pace' setting schools intended to serve this purpose will be established in **various** parts of the country on a given pattern, but with scope for innovation and **experimentation**. Their broad aims will be to serve the objective of excellence coupled with equity and social justice (with reservation for SCs and STs), to promote national integration by providing opportunities to talented children largely from different parts of the country to live and learn together, to develop their full potential, and most importantly, to become a catalyst of a nation wide **programme** of school **improvement**. These schools will be residential and free of charge”.

The then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, emphasized the need and significance of Navodaya Vidyalayas while touching upon the important issues of the **NPE 1986**. To quote him: “**Excellence** has been lost in our drive for mass education; everything is reduced to mediocrity. We have developed a scheme of model schools points of excellence which we hope will be able to put up in each district during the next five **years**.” He further proclaimed that Navodaya Vidyalaya is the first major egalitarian step that has been taken in imparting good education to the poorest and the weakest **sections**. It is a quest for equality and quality; the best schools for the best children no matter what their background economic, cultural or social is.

He also repudiated the charges that Navodaya Vidyalayas do not ensure equality and promote elitism. In spite of assertions regarding the egalitarian and non elitist nature of model **schools** by the then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and Education Minister, a storm has been raised on model schools. One of the members of the CABE (an educationist) who was closely associated with the formulation of the NPE 1986 and the senior bureaucrats in the **Education Ministry** confided to the researcher that, in spite of the opposition to the Navodaya Vidyalayas, the Central Government and more specifically the Prime Minister is interested in this scheme **because** for the first time the central Government would get a foothold in the State sector of education. It is quite noteworthy to mention that before the enactment of the Constitutional amendment in 1976, when education was in the State list, the role of the central Government was confined to the central sector, namely higher education, where **the central** Government was a mere guide **and** coordinator. Other than **this**, they observed that without Navodaya Vidyalayas, there is nothing much new in the so called "New Education Policy".

The CABE in its meeting held on 24-28 April, 1986 to consider the **document**. The **NPE 1986 A Presentation** had maintained that "most of the members welcomed the establishment of Navodaya Vidyalayas as pace setting institutions in various parts of the
country on a given pattern but with full scope for innovation and experimentation\textsuperscript{9}. It is also recorded in its minutes that the Education Minister of West Bengal, expressed strong reservations about the proposals as serving the needs of small elite groups\textsuperscript{9}. The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh suggested the use of regional language as the medium of instruction in Navodaya Vidyalayas\textsuperscript{95}.

There was a lot of unanimity among the Congress ruled State Governments regarding the model schools, hence no concrete recommendations have been put forward by those State Governments. They welcomed the concept of model schools in each district\textsuperscript{96}.

The State Governments ruled by regional parties, like Telugu Desam, Assam Ganaparishad, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (AI DMK), had similar views on medium of instruction or the language policy to be followed in Navodaya Vidyalayas. For instance, the Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh had suggested that in Navodaya Vidyalayas, regional language should ultimately be the medium of instruction from the kindergarten stage in accordance with the declared policy of the Government of India. For students from the other States, options can be given to choose from either English or Hindi or their mother tongue. The Minister had informed that Andhra Pradesh has implemented the three language formula in letter and spirit with the result that very large number of students failed in secondary school certificate exam (SSC) only because of Hindi. If the students are denied opportunity to learn through their mother tongue in the proposed Navodaya Vidyalayas it would do a great injustice\textsuperscript{97}.

The same view was endorsed by the Education Minister of Assam, who wanted the Navodaya Vidyalayas to be under the control of State Governments with the financial support from the center\textsuperscript{98}. The Minister for Education Government of Tamil Nadu said that Government of his State was in broad agreement with the NPE 1986. Regarding Navodaya Vidyalayas, he suggested that the mother tongue is the best medium at the school. The emphasis on Hindi/English medium from standard 8-9 is a moot point, because migration of pupils at tender age form one State to another State thousands of miles away is not practicable. Navodaya Vidyalayas in non Hindi speaking States should have medium of instruction only in regional language along with the English medium, if necessary, for the benefit of linguistic minorities and migrants from other States. The language taught in Navodaya Vidyalaya should be in step with the mainstream of schools in Tamil Nadu which follows the ‘Two Language Formula\textsuperscript{99}. The same stand was taken...
The West Bengal, ruled by the Left Front, opposed the idea of Navodaya Vidyalayas or the model schools. It had observed that these schools would have an elitist bias. These are some centers of excellence. It had asked the Union Government to hold discussions on this issue with the State Governments.\(^{101}\) Prof. Shambu Ghosh, Minister of Education observed: "in our country there are still two nations the rich and the poor, the privileged and under-privileged each with a separate culture and way of life. Cultural and economic domination of privileged few over vast multitude creates a schism and weakens social cohesion. The so-called public schools and the proposed model schools in each district and the centers of excellence for higher education will perpetuate the traditional hierarchical structure of society and will erode democratic values and social justice for which we stand.\(^{102}\) Another Left Front ruled State, Tripura also opposed Navodaya Vidyalayas as institutions meant to train up excellently "a privileged few" for securing the interest of not of the country as a whole but particular section of the society, that is national and international bourgeoisie.\(^{103}\)

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

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

1. The scheme with its heavy per capita expenditure and small coverage was too elitist to be accepted.

2. The insistence in the scheme to switch over, after class VIII, from the respective State language to English for Science and Hindi for Social Sciences was not acceptable on educational grounds, as it would have an adverse impact on the development of students.

3. Being a centrally-sponsored scheme it entered an arena which legitimately belonged to the States.\(^{105}\)
The Review Committee had suggested that the existing 261 Navodaya Vidyalayas may be transferred to the State sector, and the States should run them on the lines of residential schools as in Andhra Pradesh. The Navodaya Vidyalaya scheme may be transformed into a Navodaya Vidyalaya programme of broad based talent nurturing and pace setting.\textsuperscript{106}

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

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

The State Education Ministers conference, to discuss the “Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective”, endorsed the importance of moving towards a national system of education. Such a system, they emphasized, would include universal access to education for children and adults, improvement of standards, vocationalisation, promotion of national integration through educational programmes, etc. It is reported in the minutes of the CABE that a number of Ministers made pointed references regarding advisability of having a common core curriculum within an overall framework characterized by a great degree of flexibility in respect of content and innovative creation with the environment and in relation to the teaching learning process. With the exception of the Education Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura, the idea of evolving and introducing a common
core curriculum was welcomed by the rest of the ministers\textsuperscript{109}. Though it is not reported in the minutes of the meeting, a section of the press reported that Education Minister of Tamil Nadu had opposed national core curriculum\textsuperscript{110}. It is also reported in the minutes of the same meeting that a national core curriculum would be an important means for establishing certain national learning terms, augmenting mobility, and instilling nationally shared perceptions and values. It was agreed that a strong mechanism for regular review, impact study and continuous improvement of curriculum was necessary not only for school education but also for vocational, technical and higher education\textsuperscript{111}.

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

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

As mentioned earlier, in the minutes of State Education Ministers conference and the CABE, the Governments of West Bengal and Tripura opposed the national core curriculum. The West Bengal Government opined that the concept of a core curriculum should never be a mechanical, but it should act as a model to be adapted to the peculiar social, economic, geographical, and regional characteristics of our country. The basic objective should be to evolve the best standard for the entire nation which may be FK uniform yet would never be identical\textsuperscript{114}. The West Bengal Government further
recommended that the **curriculum** and syllabus should be framed with an eye on national integration with scope for regional variations and should be relevant to life **situations**.115

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

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

Restrictions on the subsidies for higher and professional education is broadly favoured by policy makers. For example, the then Prime Minister while addressing the **meeting** of National Development Council had observed that “**we** have to see how far we want to subsidize higher and professional education, the scale at which **we** now do it is
totally disproportionate if we look at the primary education and secondary education. People must pay a reasonable proportion of the actual costs involved. At the same time, we must see that weaker sections are helped and are not isolated because of economic reasons.”

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

(i) Autonomy to few colleges and departments on selective basis in the place of present system of affiliation.

(ii) Constitution of State Councils of higher education for an effective coordination of higher education.

(iii) developing appropriate mechanism between the UGC and the State councils to bolster the educational standards.

(iv) research in the universities should be provided enhanced support and steps should be taken to ensure its quality.

(v) efforts may be made to encourage the setting up of national research facilities within the university system with proper forms of autonomous management and;

(vi) in the interests of greater co-ordination and consistency in policy, sharing of facilities and developing interdisciplinary research, a national body covering higher education in general, agricultural, medical, technical, legal and other professional fields in particular need to be set up.
The conference further observed that research, as a means of renovation or renewal of educational processes, will be undertaken by all higher technical institutions. High priority should be given to modernization and removal of obsolescence.\textsuperscript{124}

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

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

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

Regarding the UGC the U.P. government had observed that its role and structure needs to undergo a change to enable it to maintain its standards more effectively. It suggested establishment of counterparts of the UGC, at state and district levels, for regulation of curriculum and standards. It pleaded for a major role to the Central Government to lay down a national framework in administering and determining the structure and curriculum of higher education.\textsuperscript{128} If one observes the recommendations of the Uttar Pradesh government one can discern that these recommendations are broadly in consonance with the stand taken by the Central Government on the NPE: 1986. For
instance, while pleading for equalization of educational opportunities among different groups and regions, the Uttar Pradesh government pleaded for a freeze or further opening of general education colleges and closure of non viable colleges. Instead of opening more colleges, the existing colleges should be provided with the necessary facilities like laboratories and libraries.\textsuperscript{129} It is worth quoting from the report brought out by the NIEPA which says: “a large number of groups in Uttar Pradesh felt that there should be a freeze on opening of new institutions of higher learning and instead the emphasis should be on upgrading and introduction of courses of applied nature with bias in favour of sciences, technology and development.\textsuperscript{130}

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

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

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

The opposition of the West Bengal government to the New Education Policy is relatively substantial while the opposition of other non Congress governments is peripheral
The Chief Minister of West Bengal felt that the proposed policy of discouraging higher education in the name of protecting quality was counterproductive. The number of persons receiving higher education is not so high as to warrant restrictions, in fact this restriction may be due to the fear of educated unemployed.\textsuperscript{137}

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

On the issues related to literacy and higher education, the Education Minister of West Bengal presented the full statistics which disproves the view that higher education is expanding. While addressing the State Education Ministers Conference on the NPE 1986, held at Hyderabad, he wished to draw the attention of Education Ministers and other guests to the melancholy situation prevailing in the domain of higher education. To quote (i) only 36% of our people are capable of signing their names whereas the percentage is 45 in African countries; (ii) 16% of the world’s population is in our country, but over 40% of the world illiterates are living in our country. As reported in the ‘Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective’ at the beginning of the 21st century, we shall have 54.8% of the world illiterate people; (iii) the world average percentage of enrollment in colleges and universities to the population of relevant age group (17-23 yr. of age) is 17.2% against the Indian percentage of 4.8. (In Africa it is 5.6%; in Asia it is 10.1%; and in Latin America 22.2%). The Minister further mentioned that compared to other developing countries India spends less on education. He quotes the UNESCO’s report which reveals the expenditure of various countries on Research and Development. To quote "all the countries of the world would spend an average of 2.4% of GNP for Research and Development, countries of Asia spend 1.08% and India spends \(0.7\%\) only. As a result, in India 45% of Ph.D's and 69% of Masters in Engineering are engaged in activities unconnected with Research and Development". (See Challenge of Education A Policy Perspective). The ratio of the scientists to the population in India is only 47 per million, it is 57 in Indonesia, 63 in Pakistan, 97 in Philippines, 159 in Iran, 109 in Sri Lanka, and 418 in South Korea.\textsuperscript{138} The West Bengal government broadly felt that there should be no ban or moratorium on opening of new colleges. Its Minister for Higher Education had observed that, though there has been a great deal of expansion of education in our country, the percentage continues to be small in comparison with other
developing countries. It also felt that greater dependence on private sector for expansion of higher education would not be in consonance with the declared national goals. The NPE:1986 pleaded for the institution, and Industry and beneficiary agencies linkages. Significantly another state government Sikkim, opined that there should be no moratorium on opening of new colleges.

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

The concept of vocationalisation as presented in the NPE 1986 reflects the thrust of ‘Challenge of Education. A Policy Perspective and its link with secondary education. The Policy statement says: “Vocationalisation through specialized institutions and through

the refashioning of secondary education can provide valuable man power for economic growth”.

Recognizing the significance of vocational education, the Conference endorsed the following resolution. "Vocational Education should be a distinct stream and these vocational courses should ordinarily be provided after the secondary stage, in order to ensure more flexibility and also be made available after class 8th”. It favoured the establishment of vocational institutions by the government as well as the employers in the public and private sectors. The government should, however, take several steps to cater to the needs of women, rural and tribal students and deprived sections of the society. The Conference also endorsed the proposal to cover 10% higher secondary
students under vocational courses by 1990 and 25% by 1995. It emphasized that all necessary steps must be taken to ensure a substantial majority of the products of the vocational courses to acquire a certain minimum level of professional skills and competence as it would facilitate their employment and self-employment. A review of the courses offered should be regularly undertaken. The government shall also review its recruitment policy to encourage diversification at the secondary level.\textsuperscript{146}

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

(a) constitution of a Joint council of Vocational Education as an apex body at the national level;
(b) establishment of a Central Institute of Vocational Education to undertake Research and Development, monitoring and evaluation;
(c) constitution of State Councils and Institutes of Vocational Education; and
(d) setting up of District Level Coordinating Committees.\textsuperscript{148}

No State Government either ruled by the Congress or the opposition parties had any difference of opinion regarding the role of vocational education. They only differed with respect to minor details and emphasis.

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

The Andhra Pradesh government had opined that the present system of education is not in a position to throw open employment avenues to the students coming from colleges. With a view to link employment source with studies, the Andhra Pradesh government, desired to introduce vocationalisation of education not only at the secondary stage but also at the intermediate (+2 stage) stage.\textsuperscript{150}
The Minister of Education in his address had observed that adequate incentives must be given to the students who take up vocational courses. They should be given lateral entry into the appropriate courses in the Polytechnic, Industrial Training Institutes and other professional institutions. He had further observed that the introduction of audio visual education is beset with difficulties because of high cost of equipment. He suggested that the government of India may give tax exemptions to the goods used purely for the educational purposes. The Tamil Nadu Education Minister felt that vocationalisation of education from secondary stage is desirable but has not been implemented in correct spirit. He informed the CABE that the government of Tamil Nadu had already taken steps under the scheme of Life Oriented Education.

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

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

It is desirable to move towards the provision of a direct link and to evolve the system where a student passing the secondary stage may opt for some job oriented training which can assure him an earning in future. Educational reforms should start at this base proposition and should be linked with overall economic planning. The governments, both at the center and the state, are aware of this problem. Unfortunately we are yet to explore the ways to provide such education to young boys and girls as will qualify them to have by having a specific job to do and to enable to participate effectively in the national developmental programme. Vocationalisation of secondary education cannot be implemented if employment opportunities are not expanded. Educational courses for Agriculture and Industry through polytechnics are useful steps for this
purpose. But these steps can be fully carried out if students are assured of jobs after the completion of the courses. In order to avoid wastage and stagnation, periodical investigation should be carried out in cooperation with industry aimed at job analysis and specifications in terms of levels and clusters of skills and responsibilities for technicians.  

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

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

The State Governments like those of Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Bihar, Pondicherry and union territory of Delhi expressed their views on teachers training. Views of these State Governments are almost in total consonance with the Central Government irrespective of their different party back grounds. For example the CABE deliberated on teachers training. To quote the minutes of CABE "The role of the teacher especially the performance of multiple roles like teaching, research and development, preparation of resource material, extension and administration or managing the institution was emphasized by the members. It suggested that initial and in-service training may be made mandatory for faculty members and adequate training reserves provided. It also suggested the Staff Development programmes at the state level and integration of the same with regional and national levels." The Uttar Pradesh State Government opined, that at all levels of education the duration of teacher's training...
should be of two years. It had further suggested a common core curriculum for teacher training and a refresher course for in-service teachers for every five years. It also felt that the teacher should be guided about value education, so that he could impart the same to the students.\textsuperscript{160}

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

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

\textbf{‘Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective’}, while discussing internal constraints observed that education, like all other systems, has a set of beneficiaries who would lose many of their special and unjustified privileges if the education system is changed and if its functioning is revamped to secure greater efficiency, equity and objectivity. It further observed that the need for depoliticization of education in schools, colleges and universities has been stressed by students, parents, guardians, teachers and administrators on the ground that it will not be possible to cleanse the universities and establish a suitable environment for work. It is however recognized that political education is essential for
preparing future citizens for participating in the process of democracy. This would mean that political issues might be debated with, in the precincts of university at the intellectual level, but the administrative system of the university should not be used or subverted for the ends of any political party. This view could necessarily predicated by all concerned i.e. the Central Government, the State Government and by also other political parties not in power. There is an urgent need for having a consensus and a legislative measure in this regard.\footnote{165}

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

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

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

Another important issue raised by the ‘Challenge of Education– A Policy Perspective’ and the NPE 1986 is de-linking of university degrees from recruitment to services. Concomitant to this the Programme of Action envisages establishment of National Testing Service to conduct tests on voluntary basis to determine the suitability
of candidates for specified jobs and to pave the way for evolving schemes to judge comparable competence. The NPE 1986 had stated that the proposal can not be applied to occupation specific courses like Engineering, Medicine, Law, Teaching etc. Similarly, the services of specialists with academic qualifications in the humanities, social sciences, sciences etc will continue to be required in various job positions. De-linking will be applied in services for which a university degree need not be a necessary qualification. Its implementation will lead to a refashioning of job specific courses and afford greater justice to those candidates who, despite being equipped for a given job, are unable to do it because of unnecessary preference for graduate candidates.¹⁷²

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

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

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

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

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

The Conference of State Education Ministers convened by the Andhra Pradesh Government on September 12, 1986 which was attended by West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & Sikkim had endorsed the resolution proposed by the Karnataka Education Minister opposing the proposal for constitution of the Indian Education Service. The Conference felt that since the State Governments are responsible for implementing policies and programmes, field officers should possess a feel of the local culture, traditions and local talent should be allowed to implement the educational policies. The constitution of the Indian Education Service would only further the process of centralization of educational administration and dilute the responsibility of State Governments and reduce their initiative. On another occasion it was observed that the proposal to create an Indian Education Service would lead to a greater regimentation and centralization in the field of education. The Action plan, it is stated, proposes to go ahead with this scheme without giving any importance to the views of a large section of this community.
Languages are central to education. Education policy should, therefore, spell out in clear terms the manner of their use and development. The Review Committee of the NPE 1986 had observed that in our pluralist society the use and development of languages in the context of education is riddled with complexities. It quotes the census data which reveals that there are 1652 mother tongues in India. There are over 100 languages spoken by about 662 million people. Ninety percent of these languages are spoken by 19,000 people or more. Those who speak the languages mentioned in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution number 632.3 million i.e., nearly 96% of the total population. The languages belong to the four principal families, namely, the Indo Aryan, Dravidian, Astro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman. However, these languages, having been in close contact for centuries, have come to develop and share commonalties in idioms, metaphors, images and semantic constructions. Languages which are used as media of instruction in the schools, as of now, are sixty seven. It is in the backdrop of these complexities that educational planners in India have evolved a policy for teaching and learning for languages in the policy set out in the NPE 1968. The NPE 1986 commended the implementation of the policy of 1968. It observed that the educational policy of 1968 had examined the question of the development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the policy has, however, been uneven. The policy will be implemented more energetically and purposefully.

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

Though there is a unanimity, State Governments including the State Governments ruled by the Congress came with more details regarding the three language formula. The Uttar Pradesh government recommended that the mother tongue should be taught at
the primary level and in class 1st and 2nd from class 3rd to class 5th the mother tongue be the medium of instruction, and regional (or state) language should also be taught as a subject. At this level, (6th to 8th) the national language should be taught as a subject and in states where the state language is Hindi, some other Indian languages should be taught as a subject. At the secondary level, medium of instruction should be regional (or state) language. At the higher secondary level (classes 11th or 12th) the medium of instruction should be regional language and there should be a provision for teaching an international language. In the Hindi speaking states, provision for one Indian language (mentioned in the Indian constitution) teaching should be made and it should be a compulsory subject to pass.  

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

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

There will be various constraints on policy making like internal constraints, technological, economic legal and financial. Among these the impact of allocation of
financial resources will be more formidable in the context of educational planning. The question of equity or coverage, quality or diversification, universalization of elementary education, or of the establishment of institutions of excellence will not be realized unless a system is evolved for allocation of funds on the basis of an objective determination of norms per unit cost in various streams.\(^\text{192}\)

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

The NPE 1986 calls for a meaningful partnership between the states and the center in this regards to education. It observed that, the Education Commission of 1964-66, the National policy on Education 1968 and practically all other Commissions on education have stressed the egalitarian goals and the practical developmental oriented objectives of Indian society which can be realized only by a meaningful investment in education commensurate with the nature and dimensions of the task. Resource mobilization can be done through donations, financial support from the beneficiary communities, raising of fees at the higher levels of education, through savings by the efficient use of facilities, through involvement of user agencies in the development of science & technological research and levying an educational cess. Though these measures contributes marginally to the total funding, the government and community will find funds. Because the deleterious consequences of non investment or inadequate investment in education are indeed very serious. In view of these imperatives education will be treated as a crucial area of investment for national development and survival.\(^\text{194}\) The NPE 1986 affirms that from 8th plan onwards 6% of the National income will be spent on education.\(^\text{195}\) Elaborating the stand of the Central Government Prof. M.G.K. Menon member Planning Commission informed the meeting of the CABE that regarding the resources a big step up is not possible during the 7th plan, but it will possibly be increased in the last two years of the seventh plan on the basis of a mid term review. He informed the meeting that
in respect of research and development, resources should come from the used agencies.\textsuperscript{196}

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

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

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

There is a general discontent among the southern states regarding the financial allocation. The Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh informed the press that Education Ministers of southern states are preparing to lodge a protest with the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi about the raw deal they are getting by way of less funds and facilities.
He complained that the northern universities particularly the Central Universities, are cornering 90% of the UCC grants, leaving barely 10% to be shared between the universities in south.\textsuperscript{201}

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

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

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

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

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

State Governments ruled by the Congress as well as the opposition parties responded to the various issues mentioned in the ‘Challenge of Education- A Policy Perspective’.
Perspective' along with the Union Government. While the State Governments ruled by the Congress Party supported all the policy initiatives of the union government regarding the NEP 1986, the State Governments opposed the certain aspects of the NEP 1986. The State Governments didn’t favour the lead role of the Union Government in the field of education. They wanted the Union Government to be the main financial agency and coordinator of the activities of state governments. But the Union Government is determined to establish its hold on vital sectors like education. This became much easier for the Union Government after the 42nd Constitutional amendment through which education was transferred from the state list to the concurrent list. At present the Union Government is trying to integrate different levels and spheres of education (which are hitherto in state sector) with the conceptual, structural and financial linkages established among advisory bodies and national level institution. This indicates the political expediency of the Union Government. Though State Governments ruled by the opposition parties opposed some aspects of the NPE 1986, their impact on the formulation of the policy is marginal.
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38. Ibid.,pp.266-268.


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