CHAPTER - I

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

Study of the public policy, the way it is formulated, implemented and the impact of the policy is important because the twentieth century witnessed the insidious growth of the State. Its role is increasing in both developed and developing countries. Its role is significant in the context of developing countries where it is expected to perform numerous functions through its executive agency—government. The state today is undertaking more and more activities in the economic, industrial, commercial and social fields. W.V. Donham says that ‘if our civilization fails it will be mainly because of a breakdown of administration.’³ The government’s role in the life of a human being begins from the cradle and appears to continue even after reaching grave. This is defined as Government’s overload.⁴

In developing countries governments do many things. It regulates conflict through carrot and stick strategy. They provide some benefits or rewards according to their own priorities. They seek the support from public in the form of extracting taxes, voting, participation and support of the activities of government, etc. In fact, the legitimacy of government depends on the acceptance of public policies by the concerned communities. Its role is coercive, responsive and legitimate. Thus, public policies may be regulative, organizational, distributive, extractive, substantiative or all these things at once or a combination of a few of these.⁵

There are two different approaches to the study of public policy i.e. traditional and modern or behavioural. Traditional political science focused its attention primarily on the institutional structure and philosophical justification of government. Modern behavioural approach focused its attention primarily on the processes and behaviour associated with government.⁷ Primarily it is the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of governmental activity. This involves a description of the content of
public policy, an assessment of the impact of environmental forces (national and international) on the content of public policy, an analysis of the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; an inquiry into consequences of various public policies for political system, and an evaluation of the impact of public policies on society in terms of both intended and unintended consequences.

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

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

When we examine the process of public policy making in India, we have to have an understanding of its socio-economic and political ecology. India is a large country with a huge population, a land of diversities - linguistic, ethnic, regional, religious and cultural. Political democracy imposed from above instead of transforming the traditional structures of society into more egalitarian, it has sparked off a revivalist backlash resulting in ascriptive entities. This is manifested in political groupings based on caste, religion, language and spatial location. Socio-cultural, political and economic backwardness of the vast majority
made the functioning of democratic institutions less effective and widened the gulf between state and civil society. The subject and parochial political culture coupled with relative deprivation of the people made people more dependent on the State and also made the State a powerful actor.\textsuperscript{13}

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

The Problem:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Public policy formulation in India is characterized by elitism. The NPE 1986 is formulated by the few people in spite of getting the feedback from the concerned communities, agencies, political parties, students organizations & state governments. The elite perceived the needs and formulated the policies rather than the demands being articulated from the people. This process largely emanates from the belief that development
can be initiated from above (hegemonization). Hegemonization which is the preference of top governing elite results in more powers to the Central Government with peripheral participation of other representative institutions and public. But quite strangely the policy makers (central government) released a document (status paper) ‘Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985’ to initiate a public debate. This public debate intended to provide the basis for the formulation of a National Policy on Education 1986 (popularly called as New Education Policy). This is treated as an unorthodox exercise in policy formulation in India. The State governments, students and teacher's organizations, political parties, academic institutions and the academic community expressed their views on the present status of education.

**Review of Literature:**

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

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

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

Thomas R. Dye's book *Understanding Public Policy* explains the theoretical models as well as certain case studies. These case studies are on formulation of different policies in the American context. One of the case studies deals with education. He says educational policy affects a wide variety of interests and stimulates a great deal of interest group
activity. In this context he examined federal aid and the role of racial, religious groups, teachers, tax payers, school board members and school administrators.

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

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

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

*Design for Policy Sciences* “aimed at providing a preliminary design for policy
sciences. He viewed policy sciences as a possible new response to shape human destiny. Policy sciences attempts to improve policy making through systematic knowledge, structured rationality and organized creativity.

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

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

1. The present research is adopting micro approach.
2. In the policy making improvement measures, there has been too much of incrementalism without any effort for the new designs. (Nova Design).
3. The dichotomy between the behavioural approach and normative approach prevented a comprehensive approach in understanding and improving the policy making system as a whole.

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

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

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

Barbara N McLenan’s work ”Comparative Political System”, examines the political process in developed as well as developing countries. The author also presented a few case studies. He observed that the formulation of National Policy in India is one of
compromise and negotiation. Leading politicians talk about development and mobilization of the people, but decisions in the final analysis are the products of competing forces representing many levels and interests in the Indian society.

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

Myron Weiner’s work The Child And The State in India analyzes the reasons for India’s policies towards children in education and employment being different from those of many other countries. He argues that more than the low per capita income and economic situation, the belief systems of bureaucracy and the educated community are responsible for the failure to ban child labour and to ensure compulsory primary education. He also holds that India’s policy makers have not regarded mass education as essential to India’s modernization. They have instead put resources into elite government schools, state aided private schools and higher education in an effort to create an educated class that is equal to the educated classes in the West and which is capable of creating and managing a modern-enclave economy.
The policy makers, according to Myron Weiner, conceded the fact that they cannot altogether abolish child labour and ensure universal literacy. The key notion in child labour policy in India became amelioration not abolition; and in education incentives and not compulsion. He further says that the absence of a strong support for governmental intervention from within the state apparatus itself, and the absence of political coalition outside the state apparatus pressing for governmental intervention, explains the inadequacy of the policy initiative for ensuring compulsory education and for banning the employment of children.

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

Some authors without focusing much attention on the nature of the political and political processes viewed policy formulation as an institutional activity. In this context it is worth mentioning about Dr. A. Mathew’s work *Ministry of Education - An Organizational History*. In this book he attempts to analyze the changing role and responsibility of the Union Government. He says that its role was limited in 1950’s but is increasing continuously since then. According to him five major organizational principles appear to form the functioning of the Union Education Ministry, These principles are ideational leadership in the case of school education including elementary, adult and non-formal education. Institutionalization and delegation in the case of higher education; Devolution and Guidance in the case of technical education; Coordination and promotion in the case of physical education; Integration and Inter-linkage in the case of youth services and culture. In different ways the Union Education Ministry is extending its activities. This study provides certain insights into the functioning of the Union Education Ministry. It also provides certain pointers to understand the dynamics of policy formulation.
The review of these studies provides certain inferences regarding po’i’y formulation i.e. how the Union Government plays a dominant role in policy formulation, planning, administration and allocation of financial resources. One of the works is by Marino Pinto titled ‘Federalism & Higher Education in India’. This study deals with the role of various agencies of the Union Government in the field of higher education. This work primarily focused on the role of the University Grants Commission (UGC). It also examined the role of other agencies like the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), Education Ministers conference, All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), etc. The author observed certain inadequacies in educational planning and administration both at the union as well as the state levels.

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

Like Narsing Ray, Abubaker also wrote a book on ‘Union and States in Education’. Abubaker discussed two important aspects in the centre-state relations in the field of education, i.e., educational planning and educational finance. He observed that the transfer of resources had not proceeded on the lines envisaged in the Constitution. It had been assumed in the Constitution that such transfers would be statutory in nature. They are generally made through the instrument of the Finance Commission more as a matter of right than of grace. But with the advent of planning and the Planning Commission had belied this assumption. Discretionary transfer of resources made through the Planning Commission overshadowed the transfers made through the finance Commission. Planning thus changed the economic, fiscal and political context of the country. The financial needs of the states in a way became the political opportunity of the center.
He also says that the policy outputs and decisions are more often close to the position of the centre than the states. He feels that there is an unequal partnership in the educational planning. He pleaded for a genuine partnership in policy making. This calls for considerable changes in our fiscal and planning procedures. It also implies far reaching changes in the composition, structure and style of functioning of the main center-state policy making and consultative devices. He also pleaded for a political modus vivendi that protects the interests of the central government in education as a national concern without stifling the initiative and creativeness of the states in this field.

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

C.L. Sapra’s paper ‘Educational Planning in India’ deals with the organization of educational planning. He opines that educational planning in India needs a new impetus and direction through reorientation of policies so as to evolve a national system of education in keeping with social, economic and cultural changes, establishment of policy and planning nexus. He says educational planning to be successful has to be decentralized, so that it percolates from the national and state levels to the district, block and institutional levels. Another work on educational administration and management is by Dr. S.S. Mathur titled ‘Educational Administration and Management’. It dealt with administrative set-up of education at the Central, State and Local levels. It also analyzed the recommendations of various committees and commissions. It is a descriptive study. Like S. Mathur’s study there are two other studies. The first one is Jagannath Mohanthy’s work ‘Modern Trends in Indian Education’. It discusses the National System of Education,
National Policy on Education and other issues pertaining to the educational planning and administration. He opines that National Policy on Education 1986 will be implemented successfully because it is equipped with well developed strategies for implementation. The author feels that education contributes to the development of human resources. The second study is ‘National Policy on Education’ by J.C. Agarwal and S.P. Agarwal. It discusses the educational reforms in India, and the merits of National Policy on Education 1986. It also examines the views of the parliamentarians, state governments and the enlightened public. But this study did not analyze the impact of the views of parliamentarians, state governments and enlightened public on the formulation of the National Policy on Education.

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

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

He suggested three major changes in the educational policy to be incorporated in the Fourth Plan. The first is that our emphasis has to be shifted from a programme of expansion to that of qualitative improvement. The second is to accord a high priority to the programme for the transformation of the educational system which had been the most neglected so far. The third is to adopt a selective approach instead of a comprehensive approach.
There is another study which is descriptive but it provided some historical perspective. Kuldip Kaur's study *Educational Policies (1791-1985)*, *Planning and Implementation* 4 dealt with the policies and planning from a historical perspective. The author gathered together a great deal of valuable historical material which should be of immense help to the researchers as well as the planners.

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

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

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

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

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

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

He felt that there is a need for perspective (long term) plan for education. He that one of the main ills of the education system is the absence of long term plan. Statements of policy on massive vocationalization, large scale mechanization of the whole educational system, setting up of rural universities etc., exist no clear correspondence with educated unemployment, the skill requirements of the economy, the potential of self employment sector, the dangers of crossing tolerable limits of dependence on other countries for computers etc. The interdependence nature of education and other development sectors on each other on the one hand, and the diverse contribution of education to various sectors over a long period of time on the other necessitate formulation of a policy on education in a framework of intersectoral planning. He says policy formulation requires clear prioritization involving hard decision regarding crucial choices.
Apart from books, there are also articles published in social science journals which deal with issues that have bearing on educational policy and its formulation. Kumar in his article ‘Education Towards A Policy’ says that the main agency involved in the formulation of this new policy is the bureaucracy. By undertaking this job, the bureaucracy is continuing the role assigned to it by colonial rule on the one hand, and the cultural stagnation of a caste divided society on the other. In the absence of a mass community seeking to define education according to its vision and needs, the bureaucracy in post colonial India adopted the job of educating the masses. Another social scientist Satya Deva in his article ‘The New Education Policy’ discussed the issues like equity Vs elitism, social relevance Vs individual interest, autonomy Vs control in the new educational policy. Dinesh Mohan in his article ‘National Policy on Education: A Non negotiable promissory note’ says no realistic options are given in the New Education Policy and there is nothing new in it. It is a promissory note of good intention which cannot be encashed. The policy also aims at increasing bureaucratization. ‘Towards New Education Policy’ is another article written by J. V. Deshpande. He made some observations regarding how educational policy should be. He says that the country must first fulfill the national commitment enshrined in the constitution and ensure that free and compulsory elementary education indeed made a fact of life as early as possible. He advocated vocationalization of secondary education taking into account the economic and industrial development.

Sometimes movements also shape the public debate and tries to influence the formulation of a policy. The impact of the public opinion depends on the sensitivity of the government as well as the effectiveness of the public opinion. In this context the initiative of ‘All India Save Education Committee’ which was formed to fight against the present educational policy and suggest an alternative education policy ‘Towards A People’s Policy on Education: An Alternative to National Policy on Education 1986’ is worth mentioning. This policy document opposes various aspects of the NPE 1986 like establishment of model schools, privatization of education, curtailment of higher education, de-linking degrees from jobs, de-politicization, lack of autonomy, negligence of universalization of elementary education, education to be in the concurrent list, inadequate allocation of financial resources etc. It suggested the immediate steps to universalize elementary education, allocating more resources, right to education and employment etc. In fact it presented its alternative views on all the aspects of education and educational policy.
Dr. Govinda and Mathew’s article ‘What went wrong with National Policy on Education’? states that social policy making in any system of governance is a political act, informed not necessarily by considerations arising out of empirical research, but by its own ideological framework. Commenting on the way the policy is formulated, the authors stated that the NPE 1986 is superimposed without considering the situational diversities of states constituting the Indian Union.

Scope and Methodology:

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

For the purpose of the study the researcher depends mainly on the secondary data. The secondary data is collected from Government reports; policy documents, publications of research organizations, articles published in social science journals; national dailies, press reports; press statements; resolutions and reports of students and teachers organizations, political parties and proceedings of various seminars and conferences held during the 1985-86. The researcher also had the benefit of eliciting the views formally and informally the persons associated with policy formulation like officials in the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Planning commission, resource persons in National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration etc.
The researcher did not collect primary data through field work for three reasons i) since the present work seeks to characterize policy formulation at the national level, collecting the sample on all India basis is not possible for study of this type. ii) secondly, it did not effect the quality of research because the researcher has examined and studied carefully the responses of citizens, educational institutions, press, state governments compiled by National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA). NIEPA compiled the responses of the state governments, educational institutions, press and the citizens based on the communications it received during 1985-86 and also proceedings of the National and regional seminars sponsored by the Ministry of Education and other agencies. The researcher also collected secondary data extensively from the national dailies, research journals, reports of various students and teachers organizations and political parties, proceedings of various national and regional levels seminars on the New Education Policy (iii) Finally, paucity of time, resources and distance are also responsible for not relying on primary data. However, it did not result as a major limitation either in research design or analysis.

Chapterisation:

The first chapter Introduction deals with the scope and importance of the study and methodology used. Provision of education for the people is recognized as one of the principle functions of the State. The intention of the present study is to find out how the welfare state performs the welfarist functions like provision of education to the people and the way the Indian state has been performing its role. The same is examined in the second chapter ‘Welfare State and Education’. No policy can be seen without a historical perspective. Unless we know the past, it is difficult to understand the present and predict the future as well. Hence an attempt is made to analyze the change and continuity in the evolution of the educational policy in India from second millennium B.C. to the present in the third chapter ‘Education policy in India’. Public policy as an important function of the state is assuming increasing significance in the developing countries where state has a positive and interventionist role in accelerating the socio-economic change. In this context providing education to the people and education as one of the principal public policy has acquired significance. The role of different agencies in policy formulation is analyzed in the fourth chapter ‘Public Policy Formulation: Role of Different Institutions’. Quite strangely the policy makers released a document 'Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective 1985' on the present state of education to provide the basis for the formulation
of a new policy. This was regarded as a radical departure from the past in the process of policy formulation in India. In the fifth chapter, 'Comparative Analysis of the Challenge of education - A Policy Perspective 1985' and 'National Policy on Education 1986' a comparative analysis of both the documents is made. This includes observations on the nature of debate and on the conditions that led to the formulation of the NPE 1986. (The details regarding the NPE 1986 and its Programme of Action (POA) is not covered by the present study since it deals with the formation of NPE 1986 only).

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


3. Ibid. P.3.


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, PP. 4-5.


10. Ibid, PP. 19-42.


