

Modern Transformations and the Challenges of Inequalities in Education in India

Nov.27-29, 2014

BROCHURE

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Draft of Session Wise Programme Chart

Day 1: Thursday, Nov. 27th, 2014

09:00—09:30 Registration

Session 1, 09:30—10:00, Chair-Upinder Singh Inaugural

Speaker	Topic
Manoj Kumar Jha	Welcome Address
Basudev Chatterji	Inaugural Address—On Education
Vikas Gupta	Introductory Remarks

Session 2, 10:20—01:00, Chair—Amar Farooqui History of Education and the Question of Inequality

Speaker	Topic
Sabyasachi Bhattacharya	Interrogating the Notion of Inequality in Education
Andreas Gestrich	Poverty and Equality in Education: Transnational Survey of Historical Trajectories and Neoliberal Challenge
Tea	
Umesh Bagade	Contesting Brahmanical Hegemony of knowledge: Phule's Path for Alternative Education
Krishna Kumar, Denys Leighton and Manish Jain	Panel of Discussants
Open House	
Lunch	

**Session 3, 01:50—03:20, Chair-
Education and Neoliberalism: Historical Roots and
Contemporary Perspectives and Alternatives**

Speaker	Topic
Padma Velaskar	Neoliberal Ideology, Systemic Change and the Illusions of Equity and Inclusion in Education
Rich Gibson	Why it is Possible and Imperative to Teach Revolution-and how
Anil Sadgopal	Discussant
Discussion	
Tea	

**Session 4, 03:40—04:30, Chair-Rama Kant Agnihotri
Desire to Know**

Speaker	Topic
Kumar Shahani	Desire to Know
Prasanta Chakravarty	Discussant
	Discussion

**Session 5, 04:30—06:20, Chair-Harisen
Colonial Trajectories and Contemporary Perspectives on
Curricular Knowledge (1): Mathematics and Natural
Sciences**

Speaker	Topic
Harjinder Singh Laltu	Conflict and collaboration between eurocentrism and brahmanical hegemony: revisiting science education in the colonial and post-independence period
C K Raju	Decolonizing Mathematics and Science
S. Irfan Habib and Prabhu Mohapatra	Discussants
Discussion	

Day 2, Friday, Nov 28, 2014
Session 6, 09:30—11:30, Chair–Lakshmi Subramanian
Colonial Trajectories and Contemporary Perspectives on
Curricular Knowledge (2): Social Sciences

Speaker	Topic
Arun Kumar	Poverty, Crime, and the School Curriculum: The Poor in Reformatory Schools (1880s-1920s)
Namrata Ganneri	Developing a 'physical education curriculum': a view from Bombay Presidency c 1800-1947
Amar Farooqui	Some Aspects of Knowledge Formation in Formal Education in 19 th Century Delhi
Aparna Balachandran	Discussant
Discussion	
Tea	

Session 7, 11:50—01:00, Chair–Prabhat Patnaik
Visions of Counter Hegemony: Resources for Reconstructing
Education

Speaker	Topic
Anil Sadgopal	Educational Thoughts and Experiments in India: Countering Hegemony from Colonialism to Neo-liberalism
Basudev Chatterji and Stephen Degiulio	Discussant
Discussion	
Lunch	

Session 8, 01:50—03:20, Chair–Subhash Chandra Vashishth
Perspectives on Exclusion (1) : Education and Disability

Speaker	Topic
Tanmoy Bhattacharya	Are We All Alike? Questioning the pathologies of the Normate
Anita Ghai	Education of Students with disabilities: Have we moved ahead?
Renu Addlakha and Pankaj Sinha	Discussants
Discussion	
Tea	

Session 9, 03:40—06:00, Chair–Andreas Gestrich
Perspectives on Exclusion (2) : Education and Class, Caste, Tribal and Other Socio-Religious Groups

Speaker	Topic
Azra Razzaq	Reflections of a School Functionary
Anand Teltumbde	Neoliberal Barriers in Education: Return of the Manu Era.
Ravi Kumar	Reinforcing centrality of 'labour' in educational sites and possibilities of struggle
Subhash Gatade	Discussant
Discussion	

Day 3, Saturday, Nov 29, 2014

Session 10, 09:30—11:00, Chair–T.K.V. Subramanian
Colonial Trajectories and Contemporary Perspectives on Curricular Knowledge (3): Music and Theatre

Speaker	Topic
Lakshmi Subramanian	From the Gurukul to the University: Challenges of teaching music in a new setting
Lata Singh	Theatre and Education: Appropriation and Marginalization of Custodians of Cultural Heritage of the Nation
Partho Dutta	Discussant
Discussion	
Tea	

**Session 11, 11:20—01:00, Chair–Rama Kant Agnihotri
Perspectives on Exclusion (3) : Language, Inequality and
Education**

Speaker	Topic
Kathleen Heugh	Multilingualism, multilinguality and translanguaging: Southern theories and practices.
Minati Panda	State, Market and the Multilingual Education
Veena Naregal	Discussant
Discussion	
Lunch	

**Session 12, 01:50—03:15, Chair–Padma Velaskar
Perspectives on Exclusion (4) :Education and Women**

Speaker	Topic
Wandana Sonalkar	An Alternative Vision for Women's Education: Jotiba Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Manjushri Singh	Who bears the burden of reforms? A study of education and gender in Delhi,1947-1975
Radhika Menon	Discussant
Discussion	
Tea	

**Session 13, 03:30—05:10, Chair-
Teacher and Teacher Education: The Question of
Transformation**

Speaker	Topic
Janaki Rajan	The Teacher in India: 18th to 21st century
C.N Subbramaniam	Teaching about Inequality
Ramachandra Rao Begur	Teacher Education in India: Opportunities and Challenges for Equitable Quality Education
Manabi Majumdar (in absentia by Sadhna Saxena)	From a Civic Burden to a Private Affair: Educational Success through Private Tuition in India.
Sadhna Saxena	Discussant
Discussion	

**Session 14, 05:15—06:50, Moderators—Mukul Mangalik and
Prabhu Mohapatra
Inequality, Education and Democracy: Challenges and Road
Ahead**

Time	Speaker	Topic
05:10	Radhika Menon, Amber Goslee, V.S. Amravat, Stephen Degiulio, Subhash Vashishth, Padma Velaskar	Panelists for Initiating the Discussion
06:00	G. Haragopal	Inequality, Education and Democracy: Challenges and Road Ahead
06:30	Open House	
06:40	Vote of Thanks	

CONCEPT NOTE

Despite different claims of expansion and improvement, education in India continues to be marked by the disheartening levels of inequalities and exclusions in access, participation, completion and outcomes. Should we understand this crisis in terms of the continuance of the 'Macaulayan framework' of education as an instrument devised for the reproduction of inequalitarian social order and for maintaining political control? Are we justified in painting Macaulay as the singular villain of the piece now that we haven't done much since Feb 1835? Alternatively, has the modern education proved to be a liberating force from the shackles of the exclusionary traditions of pre-modern social order? What specific ideas of social inequality are parts of a historically specific education discourse which it aims to reduce or even consciously produce and conversely what different forms of inequalities are produced in educational practices even as some of them it intends to ameliorate? Should we understand modernity of education not merely in terms of its colony-metropolis binary and the post colonial contexts, but also as a broader/transcending phenomenon/category of historical analysis? Do the recent policies of neoliberalism in education mark any transformative break from the normative pattern of education or further deepen this crisis? Is the crisis fully comprehensible within a discursive framework that largely revolves around the terminologies of stakeholders and deliverables and of measurability and quantifiability?

The proposed conference is thus an attempt to understand interaction /interplay of social inequality and education (both as discourse and practice) and the interplay of education and discourse of modernity (with its simultaneous invocation of and differentiation from tradition). It is an attempt to explore these interplays by employing the perspectives of class, caste, gender, and disability and through linguistic, cultural, religious, and regional lenses of inequalities

for understanding the nature of present system of education and how it has historically evolved in context of political economy? And, ask where do we go from here? Some broad themes to be discussed in the conference for understanding the normative pattern of education in India and the ways to transform it include :-(A.) Status of education in colonial and post-colonial India: An overview and the suggestions towards an Equal and Just Social Order. (B.) Educational thoughts and experiments during the freedom struggle in India: Legacy for post-colonial nation-state. (C.) Nature of curricular knowledge and pedagogy with specific reference to the production and reproduction of knowledge in social and natural sciences, performing and fine arts, language education and the medium of education. (D.) The lens of marginalized or excluded children and the normative pattern of education in modern India: Girl, disabled, tribal, downtrodden castes, Muslims and other minorities, and working class children.

Transcending the confines of presently dominant framework of the discourse on education, it is hoped that the proposed conference would explore ways to bring to the core the hitherto subaltern, alternative or subdued frameworks and trends for engaging with above-outlined extremely vital issues. It is expected that by bringing together the scholarly expertise on colonial and post-colonial/contemporary education in India, the proposed conference would help us understand the above-outlined issues in the context of continuities and changes occurring over a broader temporal spectrum stretching from the late pre-modern to Colonial, Post-colonial and contemporary scenario. We wish to focus on education in modern India in terms of its contents and structure; and the policy framework as well as the contexts or other influences that shaped it. We invite both academicians and practitioners in this conference so that both of them can learn from each other and produce a guiding coherent synthesis by resolving various related issues and show the way forward.

For instance, how does indigenous education of the pre-modern society appear if we for a moment ignore both the standard perspectives normally shared on education, namely

colonial stereotypes as well as romantic glorifications of India's past? Is it methodologically and/ or conceptually fruitful to distinguish between colonialism and modernity? What kind of changes colonialism and modernity brought to the earlier existing arrangements of knowledge production and transmission and in the participation of pupils from different social strata? What have been the important divergences and similarities in the pattern of the evolution of modern education in India and its nature and apparatus from the original/Western-historical trajectories? What have been the progressive as well as ambivalent and paradoxical features of the discourse on education evolved during freedom struggle in India and its legacy and critiques? What have been the dominant/normative conceptions and patterns of Education in modern India? How have these been historically influencing the participation or exclusion of the overwhelming majority of our population consisting of variety of marginalized groups, communities and classes from the sphere of formal education? Should we regard this normative pattern of education as an agent of maintaining reproduction, homeostasis and stalemate in socio-economic, cultural and political order or as the harbinger of change? Do we need the specific 'strategies' that aim to ameliorate marginalization/exclusion of particular group/communities/classes or those that strive for overall transformation of education? What have been the contributions and failures of state (both colonial and post-colonial) and other agencies in the shaping of our education system? What is the impact of the adoption of neoliberal policy framework and changing role of state in education during the recent decades on this scenario? What are the potentials or constraints of the neoliberal ideology of inclusion for realizing the principles of equality and other constitutional objectives? In the present context, how do we ensure that education becomes an agent of optimizing diversity and promoting democracy, equality, secularism, dignity and justice and contribute towards building a more humane society? How the wide hiatus between official knowledge and the sites of knowledge production has historically evolved in formal education and how can it be

bridged to include the wider-socio-economic, cultural and political spheres in the education process transcending the physical confines of the classroom? How do we facilitate teachers' agency and 'child friendly' and socially oriented milieu of education in India?

ABSTRACTS

PART I
Education and the Question of Inequality in
Historical and Contemporary Contexts

Poverty and Equality in Education: Transnational Survey of Historical Trajectories and Neoliberal Challenge

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This paper takes its start from a brief survey of Western theoretical texts on social inequality and its effects on society (Rousseau to Luhmann). It will then look at the question of how this theoretical thinking on inequality influenced concepts and policies in education and schooling from the late eighteenth to the twenty first century. Was education seen as a suitable or even necessary tool to reduce poverty and social inequality? What were other primary objectives of educational policy and how were they influenced by the problem of poverty and social inequality? The paper will outline some of the Western approaches, their transformation in colonial and post-colonial contexts, and try and put the contemporary global debate on neoliberal educational policies in the framework of these longer historical trajectories.

Interrogating the Notion of Inequality in Education

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(Vice Chancellor Shanti Niketan Vishwavidyalya Formerly Chairman, Indian Council for Historical Research, and Professor Centre For Historical Research)

The interface between the discourse of equality and educational thinking occurs in three distinct areas. First, there are debatable issues in respect of certain inequalities which may be 'given', e.g. inequalities of learning ability, intelligence quotient, mental proclivity to particular forms of knowledge and

practice, etc. Second, there is inequality derived from social and institutional factors such as class, gender, caste, etc. external to the domain of education but impinging on it. Third, a distinctly different set of inequalities is produced internally by the education process itself, interacting with the other two categories of inequality, and adding to or subtracting from the consequences of those inequalities. It is presumed that the two latter categories of inequality are being addressed at the present conference.

A basic question to be raised is the status of equality as an objective. Is it, as John Rawls (*A Theory of Social Justice*, 1971) suggests, a rational decision among contracting parties in social cooperation that the worse-off section of people should obtain benefits which would make them better off than they are. Although in almost all societies distributive inequality is a reality, Rawls would have us believe that an ideal of correcting that inequality is at work as a part of social contract. Is that a credible theory or is the alternative view more acceptable – the view that what works is not this kind of rationality, but a faith in equality as a value in itself. Is Martha Nussbaum, a prominent spokesman of that view, wrong in dismissing the Rawlsian calculus of reason? The second question arises from the characteristic of our society where, as I have argued elsewhere, there is convergence of privileges and disprivileges in terms of class and caste as well as gender. That is to say, the educationally disprivileged are likely to be located in the lower end of the social scale in both caste hierarchy and class status, while gender discrimination further compounds disprivileges. This “privilege convergence” not only raises the question of prioritization, but also the intractable issue of correction of one kind of inequality causing the exacerbation of inequality of another kind. An obvious example is what has been called ‘the creamy layer’ on top of an underprivileged castes and tribes. Thirdly, there is a question of different order altogether: to what extent is it possible to address within the limited domain of education, the wide-ranging problem of social inequality? While there can be no question about the movement towards equality being an objective, the question remains: what are the limits of a

socially transformative role education can perform? Pessimism in answering that question must not be an excuse for inaction, but we must bear in mind those limits so that an agenda of social transformation beyond the educational domain remains before us.

Contesting Brahmanical Hegemony of knowledge: Phule's Path for Alternative Education Umesh Bagade

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Culture, Dr. Babsaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University,
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Phule talked about power and knowledge much before Foucault. He unfolded the role of knowledge in the perpetuation of caste and patriarchy. He classified knowledge in three broad realms: knowledge of individual and social self i.e. historical knowledge, empirical knowledge and moral knowledge or knowledge of social relationships. According to him, the first realm of knowledge was historical or traditional knowledge around which individual and social group acquired their selfhood. Phule explained how Brahmanical system subjugated and enslaved the Shudra, Atishudra caste by giving them false identities of caste. Brahmanical knowledge structured a hierarchy of subjugated and enslaved caste identities where all subaltern castes consciously and unconsciously acquired their caste subject positions. Although in some occasions downtrodden castes contested their inferior place in caste hierarchy, they did so under the regime of historical world view of Brahmanism. Phule pointed that other than oral dissemination of Puranic and metaphysical knowledge of Brahmanism any access to education was denied to women and *Shudratishudra* masses just to prevent them from taking up explorations of their real selfhoods. Thus Shudratishudra castes voluntarily succumbed to

the assigned caste subject positions which enslaved them (Phule, 1980:114).

Phule identified emancipatory aspect of historical knowledge. He said, "True history will unravel the trickery of Brahmin caste and will lead the downtrodden caste to resist it. If downtrodden castes recover their history of glorious struggle against unjust caste system they will revolt against it. They will demolish Brahmins hegemony and caste system (Bagade 2006:331). Phule believed that the true history of Shudra-Atishudra castes would pave the way to anti-caste revolution. The distorted worldview emanating from Brahmanical history and ideology would fade away with the writing/ recovery of the true history of India. Phule was well aware of the hegemonic role of Brahminical history which was making lower-caste/subalterns docile objects instead of active subjects fighting the caste order. He felt that true history would raise the consciousness of downtrodden castes and make them active subjects who would fight against the exploitation and domination of the caste system.

Phule categorized the second sphere of knowledge as empirical knowledges. Human beings are endowed with the power of intellect and knowledge. Human beings with their intelligence have transformed nature or the objects of nature and made tremendous development in everyday life particularly enhancing the knowledge of science and technology. All the material knowledges based on empirical observations and inferences was later recorded on paper and thus was inherited, innovated and stored as a common treasure of entire mankind which has resulted in achieving amazing material progress in the contemporary world (Phule, 1980: 256).

As a hegemonic ideology of caste, the Brahmanism separated knowledge from labour and thus affected adversely on the progress of empirical knowledge. The monopoly of knowledge was entrusted to parasitical Brahmanical castes who despised labour and those subaltern castes indulged in production were denied access to education. Not only this entrenched the domination and exploitation of caste system but also aborted the growth of science and technology in India. Due

to lack of education productive shudratishudra castes remained ignorant and lived with their stagnant caste specific technologies. Brahmins who monopolized knowledge loathed productive technology as impure and celebrated other-worldly knowledge. The production of social relations of caste slavery remained sole concern of the Brahmanical knowledge system. Hence, allegiances to Vedas or scriptures, divine signal and intuition were hailed as the fundamental and absolute criteria of knowledge by the Brahminism.

Brahmani knowledge rejected materialist criterion of knowledge and employed logical method of unrestrained imagination. All Brahmani literature flooded with stories of cosmogony, metaphysics and social relations were based on unrestrained imagination. Physical and natural science were interpolated by mythological accounts and was considered as divine/sacred authorities of knowledge. Phule thoroughly rejected Brahminical logical method of unrestrained imagination as non-empirical (Phule, 1980: 385) and propounded the method of *Abrahmani* knowledge based on empirical observation and inferences (Phule, 1980: 353).

Phule acknowledged the third sphere of knowledge as moral knowledges where human relations are instituted around social structures like (class), caste and patriarchy. Usually religion and state played important role in legislating and upholding of moral knowledges. But in India, the state was left without legislative functions, making religion as the sole authority and source of moral knowledge. Brahmanical religion in collaboration with state and its autonomous constituents like caste and village panchayats instituted ethical and legal codes of caste-patriarchal society and maintained its regime.

Phule very succinctly pointed out the hegemonic aspects of Brahminical moral regime and rejected it in totality. He argued in favour of alternative moral knowledge premising on the criteria of self-reflection (*atmparikshan*) (Phule, 1980:458). The individual in the processes of self-reflection undertakes a critical inquiry of his own experiences of social relations, where his personal experience of social treatment of inequality, slavery, exploitation and humiliation becomes

unacceptable and, therefore, ethically unwarranted. The rigorous process of self-reflection creates, justifies and legitimizes a moral basis of society, cherishing the values like liberty, equality, fraternity, industriousness, philanthropy, etc. as the alternative set of morality of *Abrahmani* tradition (Bagade, 2006:334).

Phule and Foucault both dealt with power/knowledge paradigm. Nevertheless, both have different theoretical groundings. Deshpande points out that this difference as "Foucault's post-modernist analysis came at the time when Europe has literally seen an 'end of history' whereas Phule's efforts were to change in the world/society with the weapon of knowledge (Omvedt, 1994:23). Foucault's power/knowledge paradigm was based on the critique of enlightenment humanism, rationalism and modernity whereas Phule's knowledge- power paradigm was grounded in enlightenment values of humanism, scientific reason and modernity.

Phule's identification of three broad terrains of knowledge approached concrete issues like historicity, materiality and socio-morality of caste. He located power/knowledge paradigm within the processes of caste subject formation under the hegemonic world view of Brahmanical knowledge. He contemplated that the knowledge of history of caste subalterns would enable them to recover insurgent subject position, bring rationalization of caste subaltern worldview, helping them in situating themselves in contemporary struggle for emancipation. He made investigations into the structure and processes of exploitation and domination of caste in order to take up confrontation against caste materiality. By offering devastating critique of Brahmanical religion and morality he made universal morality as basis of alternative society and culture.

This paper will take up broad inquiry in Phule's conception of knowledge and education and will probe how he carved out a path for alternative education.

Experience as the foregrounding locus of knowledge:

Mahatma Phule considered social location of experience as the authentic ground for knowledge. He rejected Brahmanical knowledge because it doesn't possess concrete experience of caste subaltern and women. There are some instances when he emphasized about the particularity and authenticity of subaltern experience. M. G. Ranade in his speech claimed that 'under the thirty years of colonial rule, the condition of peasantry had been comparatively improved'. He also praised the work of vatandar-officials and said that, 'castes are good if they help in social elevation'. Phule fiercely retorted these comments in *Ishara* by citing Kabira's words *Jis tan lage wohi tan jane bija kya jane gava re* (the affected body only can know the pain others cannot know it) and offered description of the condition of everyday experience of peasantry (Phule, 1991: 385-87). In another instance, Tarabi Shinde was criticized by his own colleagues for her fierce critique of patriarchy in her book *Women-Men comparison*. Phule stood in her defense. By reiterating Kabira's word, '*Jis tan lage wohi tan jane bija kya jane gava re*' he claimed that the experiences of women are concrete and particular to them and no men can understand it. He writes, 'the waves of anger of a wife of polygamous husband cannot be known to men' (Phule, 1991: 373).

Phule used these concrete and particular experiences of women and Shudratishudras in production of knowledge. He put them in critical analytical mode and employed historicist and anthropological framework for critical exposition of the experiences. He used a mode of humanist univesalization to elevate particular and local experience to the level of knowledge. Phule claimed that subaltern experience is particular and affective. Those who experience it only can know about it. No other than subaltern can tell about their experiences. Nevertheless he accepted that others can have access to subaltern experience through brotherhood/sisterhood. While rejecting the invitation of M. G. Ranade to be part of first literary conference (Marathi granthkar sabha) he categorically made it clear that through the mode of eternal love of brotherhood and commitment for human rights

even Brahmin authors can have access to the woes of shudra and atishudra (Phule, 1991: 344).

This paper will unfold Phule's exercise of turning experience into knowledge and will situate his ideas within the philosophical debate of Prof. Guru with Prof. Sarukai on experience and theory.

Problem posing dialogic pedagogy:

While criticizing colonial and Brahmanical education system Phule raised issue of Brahmanical pedagogy. Brahmanical pedagogy was thoroughly status quo. Its sole purpose was to nourish caste and gender inequality. It takes away the students from reality. It is so proficient in mythicizing reality that every day exploitation and domination of caste and patriarchy gets covered under mythical representations. It does not allow any scope to criticism and maintains the flow of instruction in such a way that causal analysis or hermeneutical exercise gets regulated in certain way. Phule offers devastating critique of Brahmanical pedagogy where he points out how Brahmanical pedagogy makes subaltern lose track of reality. He writes: (Brahmanical schools) "teach them (shudratishudra students) only the basic letter and modi, some shlok in Prakrit relating to pretentious and false Puranas and few songs and teach them lavanis, making them educated enough to write such things. Never giving them sufficient knowledge even to keep account of expenses at home. So how would they enter into the mamaletdar's office and become even clerks (Deshpande, 2012:121-22). Brahmani and colonial pedagogy does not provide thinking ability to students. The descriptive-memory based pedagogy does not generate any capacity to pose proper questions or any skills or creativity to solve these questions. It does not impart any occupational or technical skills to students. It does not respect student's ability of thinking and treat them merely means of education.

Phule initiated a new kind of pedagogy nurturing thinking ability among students. He rejected Brahmanical teacher-student relationship prescribing commanding position to teacher and obedience to students. He encouraged

inquisitiveness and inquiry among students. He introduced problem posing dialogic pedagogy which brought teacher and students on same level of active engagement. This pedagogic technique of placing questions and finding solutions made students critical thinkers. Not only it enabled students to approach the reality in critical creative way but also encouraged them to take up struggles to transform the reality.

This paper will examine Phule's experiments in primary education and will probe his pedagogic endeavor.

Educational Discourse & Experiments In India: Countering Hegemony From Colonialism To Neo-Liberalism

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of Education University of Delhi)

The struggle to construct a pro-people transformative 'national' vision of education in India has been going on since East India Company's Council member Macaulay wrote his Minutes in 1835 to lay the framework of the British colonial policy. Macaulay's Minutes attempted to establish that (a) none of the Indian languages were capable of expressing or transacting modern knowledge; (b) entire knowledge produced by the Indian civilization (and Arabian too) would be accommodated in merely one shelf of any European library; and (c) since the Company *Raj* did not have adequate resources to educate the whole population, it will prepare a class of intermediaries between the British rulers and the 'natives' who will advance the commercial interests of the Company. This three-pronged colonial policy framework basically continues to determine India's policy making to date in the neo-liberal capitalist economic order as well.

The first recorded challenge to this policy framework was given by Savitribai Phule in 1848 in Pune who opened schools for girls and boys belonging to backward classes and castes in their mother tongue. The paper will trace how the

early discourse evolved in the 19th century to question and resist the Macaulayan premises under the leadership of, to name just a few, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Narayan Guru, Iyothee Thassar, Gurajada Apparao, Dadabhai Naoroji and Jotirao Phule – each one dissecting them from one's unique historical context while also articulating an alternative vision. To be sure, Mahatma Jotirao Phule stands out as an organic intellectual of the oppressed classes and castes, applying critical thought to historical exploitation of the productive forces while also denying them knowledge. The first significant counter-vision was established by Rajarshi Shahuji Maharaj, ruler of Kolhapur State (presently Maharashtra), at the beginning of the 20th century who established a universal state-funded public education system from primary to higher education founded on the twin principles of equality and freedom from discrimination, thereby mocking at the colonial framework serving the interests of upper classes and upper castes. Rulers of some other states like Gondal, Baroda and Bhopal also can be viewed in the same vein. The emerging discourse during the first two decades of the 20th century on Right to Education and the need to develop a 'national' system of education will be examined from the conflicting standpoints of the liberal strands of the 'national' movement backed by the then incipient bourgeoisie on the one hand and feudal economy on the other.

The assertion of the anti-colonial movement in education took a new turn with the civilisational critique of the western capitalist development model offered by Gandhi in his seminal 'Hind Swaraj' (1909) followed by his historic call in 1920s to quit British educational institutions and establish national educational institutions in order to advance the struggle for 'swaraj' [self-rule]. The paper will also interweave Shaheed Bhagat Singh's essays during this period respectively on the socio-cultural role of language and the question of liberation of the 'untouchables' along with his calls to the students as a reflection of the then evolving counter-hegemonic educational discourse in Indian polity. The Gandhi-Ambedkar debate on the issue of caste in Hindu religion initially in 1932 and later continuing through exchange of letters between the

two stalwarts unfolded a radical discourse that was to impact on policy making during the making of the Constitution and well beyond in post-independence contemporary educational planning.

The paper will examine Gandhi's 1937 radical pedagogic proposal of *Nai Taleem* and advance an hypothesis of how its curricular and pedagogic framework reveals the impact made by Ambedkar on Gandhi's mindset in 1930s. The epistemic challenge posed by *Nai Taleem* to the hegemony of the colonial notion of knowledge for maintaining *status quo* in the interest of British trade and commerce with support of India's ruling classes and castes will be addressed while also analyzing how this challenge was ultimately diffused and co-opted by the then 'national bourgeoisie' and the post-independence policy of 'mixed economy'. Some of the key educational questions relating to the Constitutional provisions, including the negation of the status of Fundamental to education, shall be addressed from the standpoint of the class character of the Constituent Assembly, if not of the freedom movement itself. An attempt will be made to locate this issue in the context of the ongoing debate on the development model to be pursued after Independence.

It is crucial that the post-independence policies are located in the emerging political economy and the social conditions which mitigated as well as distorted the Constitutional vision of education representing the gains of our anti-imperialist struggle. The paper will attempt to take a fresh critical look at some of the outstanding educational experiments both within and outside the state sector and will reflect upon the question of how the changing political economy determines the outcome by limiting or even distorting their transformative potential. Three such experiments shall be examined in some detail from this standpoint. First, the universal state-funded and free school system built in Tamil Nadu in 1950s by the then visionary Chief Minister Late K. Kamaraj along with the revolutionary introduction of the mid-day meal programme and how the latter idea of mid-day meals was misconceived in 1990s by the Central Government in a multi-layered school system

rooted in increasing inequality and discrimination. Second, the DIGANTAR pedagogic experiment in villages on the outskirts of Jaipur, Rajasthan initiated in 1980s as an example of what is the potential role of initiative outside the state sector as well as its limitations in educational transformation, especially when the experiment attempts to engage with the state-sponsored curricular improvement programmes under the neo-liberal policy framework. Third, the 30-year long Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) in Madhya Pradesh (1972-2002) as an example of a powerful social intervention in the state sector and how this democratic space was steadily eroded in the wake of the formal announcement of the globalization agenda and the neo-liberal structural adjustment policies from 1991 onwards, leading finally to its closure by the state government. The HSTP story will also elaborate on how the intervention unfolded the great hidden potential of the state school system which ironically was not acceptable to the neo-liberal policy makers since the epistemic foundations of HSTP came in conflict with what neo-liberalism was designed to impose in the interest of the global market.

Finally, the paper will explore the democratic spaces available presently for intervening in the education system by countering the twin dangers of neo-liberalism and communalism. The potential of taking recourse to the Constitution as a potent democratic weapon in the hands of the masses, despite some of its bourgeois limitations, in building resistance to neo-liberalism shall be addressed. Acknowledging the multi-dimensional neo-liberal assault on all sectors of society and economy, the critical significance of establishing organic linkage of education movement with the movements for *jal-jangal-zameen-jeevika* (i.e. water-forest-land-livelihood) will be underlined. The lessons drawn from the working class movements regarding the transformative potential of the politics of *Sangharsh aur Nirman* (Struggle and Reconstruction) in opening up democratic spaces for social intervention shall be highlighted. The paper will also contend that the way forward lies in synthesizing and reconstructing the basic theses of the pioneers of educational discourse from the freedom movement

ranging from, among others, Phule-Ambedkar to Gandhi-Tagore and locating the lessons within the revolutionary framework of Bhagat Singh, despite their contradictory political philosophies. Recent experiences of mobilizing people's consciousness on key issues of educational transformation shall be briefly shared and parallels drawn with the ways similar objective was pursued during the anti-imperialist movement, the inevitability of socialist reconstruction of political economy notwithstanding.

Neoliberal Ideology, Systemic Change and the New Illusions of Equity and Inclusion in Education

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As part of the profound influence that neoliberal global capitalism has exerted on its economy, politics and culture, the Indian state launched a massive process of educational restructuring. In keeping with capitalist philosophy, not only is education being geared to the new market economy but is also being reconceptualised as a profitable enterprise and a marketable commodity. The infusion of neoliberal ideas into the education "sector" has made for significant shifts in its structuring and governance, and created a multifaceted impact at many levels – societal, systemic and individual. The changes need to be viewed from wider critical perspectives and their effects need to be systematically studied and demonstrated.

Drawing on available empirical evidence and in particular from insights gathered from my own study of the municipal school system of Mumbai, this paper attempts to make sense of the way new policies have unfolded on the ground. It explores their systemic impact with a focus on emergent patterns of educational inequalities. The paper argues that while exacerbating the historical legacies of state neglect and hierarchical inequalities, the new structures of provision, the values and principles on which they are founded and the politics of policy implementation have together had damaging

effects. They have undermined the public education system and created new inequalities and new mechanisms of injustice and discrimination in education. Neoliberal educational ideology is thus a new, powerful instrument of domination and hegemony and its practice induces an aggravated erosion of democracy, justice and equality within the system. Under its contemporary alliance with the culturally supremacist neoright forces, prospects for attaining even the diluted version of the constitutional ideology as articulated in neoliberal notions of equity, inclusion, freedom and empowerment are illusory.

Why it is Possible and Imperative to Teach Revolution-and how!

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Not terribly sophisticated 5th Graders can grasp the two-
century old tale: The Spider and the Fly.

This is the text:

*"Will you walk into my parlour?" said the Spider to the Fly,
"Tis the prettiest little parlour that ever you did spy;
The way into my parlour is up a winding stair,
And I've a many curious things to shew when you are there."
"Oh no, no," said the little Fly, "to ask me is in vain,
For who goes up your winding stair
-can ne'er come down again."
"I'm sure you must be weary, dear, with soaring up so high;
Will you rest upon my little bed?" said the Spider to the Fly.
"There are pretty curtains drawn around; the sheets are fine and
thin,
And if you like to rest awhile, I'll snugly tuck you in!"
"Oh no, no," said the little Fly, "for I've often heard it said,
They never, never wake again, who sleep upon your bed!"
Said the cunning Spider to the Fly, "Dear friend what can I do,
To prove the warm affection I 've always felt for you?"*

*I have within my pantry, good store of all that's nice;
 I'm sure you're very welcome — will you please to take a slice?"*
*"Oh no, no," said the little Fly, "kind Sir, that cannot be,
 I've heard what's in your pantry, and I do not wish to see!"*
*"Sweet creature!" said the Spider, "you're witty and you're wise,
 How handsome are your gauzy wings, how brilliant are your eyes!
 I've a little looking-glass upon my parlour shelf,
 If you'll step in one moment, dear, you shall behold yourself."*
*"I thank you, gentle sir," she said, "for what you 're pleased to say,
 And bidding you good morning now, I'll call another day."*
*The Spider turned him round about, and went into his den,
 For well he knew the silly Fly would soon come back again:
 So he wove a subtle web, in a little corner sly,
 And set his table ready, to dine upon the Fly.*
*Then he came out to his door again, and merrily did sing,
 "Come hither, hither, pretty Fly, with the pearl and silver wing;
 Your robes are green and purple — there's a crest upon your
 head;
 Your eyes are like the diamond bright, but mine are dull as lead!"*
*Alas, alas! how very soon this silly little Fly,
 Hearing his wily, flattering words, came slowly flitting by;
 With buzzing wings she hung aloft, then near and nearer drew,
 Thinking only of her brilliant eyes, and green and purple hue —
 Thinking only of her crested head — poor foolish thing!*
*At last,
 Up jumped the cunning Spider, and fiercely held her fast.
 He dragged her up his winding stair, into his dismal den,
 Within his little parlour — but she ne'er came out again!
 And now dear little children, who may this story read,
 To idle, silly flattering words, I pray you ne'er give heed:
 Unto an evil counsellor, close heart and ear and eye,
 And take a lesson from this tale, of the Spider and the Fly.*
~By Mary Howitt, 1829

It is unfortunately clear that the crux of the story eludes most of the world's people today.

The core issue of our times is the rise of color-coded inequality and the real promise of perpetual war met by the potential of

mass class-conscious organized resistance for the clarion call that has driven social movements for centuries: Equality! Revolutionary Equality! In the absence of a social movement, education remains snared by capital and empire, as we shall see, and resistance merely recreates ignorance and despair in slightly new ways.

This is not a utopian scheme that aims at a far distant tomorrow and refuses to address the necessity to win some kind of reforms, or to even defend what is minimally left to poor and working people today. It is, instead, to insist that unionism as it is—and most of the counterfeit ‘left’—cannot win even short term reforms and, moreover; to split the needs of today from the requisite need to transcend capitalism is to lose both.

Or, perhaps more abstractly, to abandon both the theory and practice of revolution is to deny science (quantity into quality and leaps in, for example, evolution), philosophy (dialectics into materialism), history (revolution on revolution) and passion itself—a cornerstone of any movement for change.

To give up on, at least, the theory of revolution is to guarantee the spiders will feed on our great-grandchildren. Using works of Marx, Chalmers Johnson, Lenin, Lukacs, and Luxemburg, it’s possible to teach revolution in theory and practice. In practice, the Rouge Forum is the only education based organization in North America that has, for fifteen years and more, seen class struggle as central to school and society. We are not a revolutionary organization. There may be members from groups who say they are—and perhaps they are. We have not, however, run from the term—revolution. Indeed, we have investigated its aspects with care.

Given the role of de-industrialization, school is one of the centripetal organizing points of daily US life. There are about 3.9 million school workers organized into the two US unions, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. If schools are missions for capitalism and empire; the vast majority of school workers—who are not professionals but workers and more so ever year—are their missionaries.

There are less than 4500 "members" on the Rouge Forum email list-with no dues, nor a line. But we have held up a beacon for school workers, veterans, parents, students, and others-world-wide-shining on the reality of class struggle. Even as important, we have been a community of friends.

Clearly, we are not enough-yet. In the absence of a revolutionary movement for equality and justice: barbarism.

If you seek barbarized continents, nations, regions, cities, or tribes, look around you: El Salvador, Guatemala, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, South Sahara, or Detroit inside the heart of darkness itself. What produced this reality is part of the investigation into why things are as they are-and what to do-as we are responsible for our own histories.

Nearly all of what is in fact the bogus world "left" has abandoned revolution-except in its most fallacious forms: the Arab Spring; the reactionary farces in Egypt and Syria, the Orange (and other CIA sponsored colors-now the Ukraine) revolutions, and earlier-the tragedies that came of Russia and the long revolution in China, etc.

In the Arab world, and elsewhere, it is reasonably clear that masses of people reject, on one hand, US imperialism (if not necessarily the draw of US consumerism and culture-not you Taliban), and the obvious failures of Soviet and Chinese "socialism," really capitalism with a purportedly benevolent party at the top.

They have turned, alternately to Al Queda, the Taliban, barbarism, or the fascist nationalism of the Ukraine phony rebel leadership.

In the US, the fake left on one hand hides its politics, perhaps believing people must be led to revolution by baby steps: first a union, then a caucus, then a book club, then the party (which keeps revolution a secret-meaning the party is useless to the people while the police are fully aware of the party and its 'real'

politics). There is no proof people learn like this, and a great deal of evidence to the contrary.

On the other hand, the sectarian left stands with bullhorns shouting revolution-but refusing to detail the sacrifices and real devastation that any revolution must first create and yet transcend.

Ghost Dancing Against Capitalism and Empire

In the late 1880's and 1890's, despairing Indian tribes, under assault from all angles, took leadership from a "Weather doctor," Wokova, who promised that the Ghost Dance, a circle dance, would restore peace and prosperity for the various tribes. Some enthusiasts apparently believed that the Ghost Dance was a protection against bullets and death.

Over time, the Ghost Dance spread to the Lakota Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The US sent federal troops to stop them, against the advice of a former Indian agent who complained that other religious services, similar services, were not prohibited nor threatened.

Federal troops, on December 15, 1890, opened fire, killing the famous chief, Sitting Bull. Two weeks later, troops killed more than 150 Indians. The Ghost Dance lost its appeal.

The Ghost Dance misread why things were as they were, urged a mystical series of tactics disconnected from any reasonable strategy, and a mystical Grand Strategy, popular yet failed for centuries—heaven will wait. They lost, were crushed, by force.

There have been at least five easily recognized Ghost Dances around the world in the last 14 years—and it is more than 100 years later.

1. The first were, at base, two sides of the same coin: the outpouring for war after the billionaire terrorists' attack of September 11, 2001—and the subsequent idiot invasion of Afghanistan—a war in response to a crime.

The flip side of that coin were the mass US demonstrations against the war on Iraq—carefully steered by the Communist Party USA and its front, United for Peace and Justice, away from any analysis of capitalism, imperialism and the rise of the corporate state: fascism.

Today, those who so favored the wars are exhausted by war and unwilling to fully probe into Syria or the Ukraine, even knowing their over-stretched empire evaporates beneath their feet. The anti-war side now barely exists. It has no notable numbers, and thanks to the CPUSA and UFPJ, few learned anything of import from their opportunist activities.

The CPUSA illustrates the kind opportunism that sacrifices the needs and goals of our real friends and allies for petty advantages about second tier issues. It's to build on sand. The CPUSA is the leafletting wing of the Democratic Party.

Opportunists may arrive with numbers of people in their base—who know nothing truly important. Those people will be fickle at heart. Lots of people over time becomes few people, most of them vapid.

Sectarians, on the other hand, arrive with no people. Sectarians and opportunists produce, at base, very similar results.

This marriage of opportunism and sectarianism added up to a form of liberalism that paves the way for fascism, the current corporate state. Liberals seek to empower a government that is not an ally, nor potential ally, but an enemy; the executive committee and armed weapon of the rich.

Rather than a bad social system—capitalism in decay—they identify bad people and ratify evil by choosing its lessers time and again.

There are no significant differences between Republicans and Democrats on the most fundamental issues in the US: war and the militarization of all life; bailouts (finalizing the move to fascism); deportations; racist segregation; and greater regimentation of schooling.

Sectarianism and opportunism combine to form the fatalistic belief that the world, matter, will surely change in ways we desire. Both finally limit or deny the significance of fully reflective human agency-grasping and changing-upending- the world at its political and economic roots.

We have seen these mis-estimations quickly turn into the opposites of their civic claims far too often. For left Hegelianism, sectarianism, and right Hegelianism, opportunism, change happens along a line of accumulated, predictable, nearly inevitable, ingredients or change happens because we wish it so. Both reality and/or change are constructs of the mind, usually the Mind in charge. Meet the new tyrant, same as the old tyrant.

The resolution of this is a deep probe into the intersections of mind and matter, in the construction of everyday life, in using critical-marxist-theory to make the reproductive veils of capital transparent, and to grasp what useful elements of the future are built into the present-and to look into the future.

2. The second Ghost Dance, the massive outpouring for immigrant rights that involved more than a million people marching on Mayday, 2006-perhaps the biggest one day strike in US history-was quickly demolished by flag waving nationalism, religion, Democrats, and unionites and later, the demagogue Obama.

3. The third was Occupy Wall Street, a mindless adventure that claimed no Grand Strategy (distant goals like a world of sharing and freedom), no strategy-meaning the strategy became the dumbest low denominator of whoever shouted loudest in the "people's" mike-and no leaders when the leaders were easily spotted by the police, and pretended that it occupied something when it was always swept away with ease. OWS was destroyed by unionites, Dems (hand in hand) and some carrots (ballots) and Obama led violence.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=61lQUaLknPc>

4. The fourth Ghost Dance, was the anti-tuition fights led by students-segregated by, mainly, class- mostly in California and

NY state, but all over (note that with minor variations, each Ghost Dance grows smaller). That was again destroyed by unionites, Dems, and a little state violence.

The key error of this Dance was the student leaders' failure to recognize the fact that capitalist education has never been public. Their demand, duplicated before and after their actions, "Defend Public Education," was a demand to defend the systematically segregated, stupifying, mis-education of what is now a corporate state. A similar error is made by the demand to "Stop Privatization."

Following this common-place unionite logic: let us return to the halcyon days of truly public education—which never existed. From the other angle, it again means "Defend the Corporate State," the merger of business, the military, and government (that's how the money moves)—in creating schools as illusion mills and human munition factories—capitalist education.

A secondary anti-tuition hike error was the failure to merge the leadership from segregated systems like the University of California (the "race horse system" per a former Chancellor, Charlie Reed,) and the "work horse system" of the California State Universities, and the "Holding pens" of the Community Colleges. It was easy to see who was doing most of the "leading," and talking, in the coordinating meetings—UC students, who had the least to lose.

5. And now, the fifth and most recent Ghost Dance as the resistance decays even more, we see the spurious "test resistance" movement led by the likes of the vacillating reactionary (and probably police agent) Diane Ravitch, a god-blessing patriot in her own words, and now the unionite tops who helped write the NCLB, RaTT, and Common Core, like the \$465,000 a year NEA boss Dennis van Roekel, who wants the CC and tests repaired, and all those liberal grouplets (Fairtest comes to mind) who refuse to critique the source of the necessity of greater regimentation of the curriculum (always regimented by textbooks)—the source being capitalism in crisis and an empire evaporating— who want less testing (finally

caught on to merit pay-the most grotesque opportunism) and who also insist they want to “defend public schools,” which really means– “save my job-I already proved I will conduct child abuse to keep it”– when (again) capitalist schooling has never been public but always segregated by class and race.

That second-tier demand, worshiping an apparition, also ignores the unpleasant fact that the education agenda is a war agenda–class war and empires’ wars. It’s a reality that Rouge Forum members pointed to even before 2001. In 1999 we wrote, “If you are teaching middle school children, you are teaching the soldiers in the next oil war.” We had no crystal ball, just an understanding of the necessary relationship of imperialism and war. Better than “Defend Public Education” is “Rescue Education from the Ruling Classes.”

What will come of this last and smallest Ghost Dance so far? They will lose, just like their predecessors (and the 19th century tragedy that gave rise to the term) and the people they misled will learn nothing significant about grand strategy, strategy, tactics, nor even the most rudimentary methods of doing criticism. Here is the last half-wit to lead the test resistance crowd, part of which is now claiming the “Patriotic” banner and calling the Common Core “socialistic” (not National Socialism). <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/10/opinion/the-problem-with-the-common-core.html>

While many honest and relatively innocent people involved themselves in these Ghost Dances, it remains that each has been led by people in leftist groups who deliberately reject the notion of simply telling people about the easily seen reality of class war. The ruling classes see it and worry about the relationship of inequality and uprisings. See their writing at, for example, the Council on Foreign Relations. <http://www.cfr.org/united-states/income-inequality-debate/p29052>

At base, the imitation left lies to people in order to trick them into revolution. The lies come from two poles–hiding the reality of capitalism’s failures and at the other end, the fact that any kind of social change will cause a great deal of suffering and

destruction. Things will not get better fast. Indeed, for some time they will get worse.

The phony left did all it could to prevent the rise of a mass, class conscious movement. Hence, the importance of ideas—and the ideological battle.

On one hand, what defeats men with guns? On the other hand, what holds together a movement that must suffer to win a better world? Ideas.

The core idea? Equality—true in science and society. Settling Scores

What does the fake left dodge?

*The reality of the domination of capitalism and imperialism.

Per Rosa Luxemburg".capital in its struggle against societies with a natural economy pursues the following ends: 1. To gain immediate possession of important sources of productive forces such as land, game in primeval forests, minerals, precious stones and ores, products of exotic flora such as rubber, etc. 2. To 'liberate' labour power and to coerce it into service. 3. To introduce a commodity economy. 4. To separate trade and agriculture."

Everywhere in the world now, children of the poor kill other children of the poor on behalf of the rich in their homelands.

Today, finance capital dominates industrial capital in the US. It has for 100 years. Now, however, that domination is full-blown and especially poisonous. Evidence: Finance capital won \$12.9 trillion in the 2008-09 bailouts while industrial capital only stole about \$700 billion. One implication of this overwhelming rule of finance capital was witnessed by the billionaire Lady Astor who said (paraphrasing) "We the wealthy once looked ahead 50, even 100 years. We built industry, commerce, productive fields. We worried about the poor. Today, the newly rich just run higgidly piggidly after the nearest dollar." Or, "after me, the deluge."

*The relationship of the above to irrationalism, consumerism, racism and sexism. "In its pure form, fascism is the sum total of all irrational reactions of the average human character. To the narrow-minded sociologist who lacks the courage to recognize the enormous role played by the irrational in human history, the fascist race theory appears as nothing but an imperialistic interest or even a mere "prejudice." The violence and the ubiquity of these "race prejudices" show their origin from the irrational part of the human character. The race theory is not a creation of fascism. No: fascism is a creation of race hatred and its politically organized expression. Correspondingly, there is a German, Italian, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish and Arabian fascism." (Wilhem Reich, *Mass Psychology of Fascism*).

*The rise of corporate states, fascism, in varying forms worldwide.

R. Palme Dutt: "Fascism is an inevitable result of capitalism and its decay if the social revolution is delayed.. "Fascism is the logical result of the fact that the form of private ownership of the means of production can progress no further and must create violent crises, stagnation, and decay. Only the social organization of production can sanely organize production, and this can only come through social revolution. "The world available for capitalist exploitation now contracts. Fascism is a further stage of capital in crisis. A massive world army of unemployed people grows, and as this world crisis grows, so does the need of bosses to lower the costs of production. There are but two alternatives, social revolution or destruction. The class struggle now intensifies. ." (paraphrased from "Fascism and Social Revolution).

Here, we will need to enter into an expansion of precisely what fascism is, where it originates, who it serves, its backers, and hence, how to fight it and why.

*The Quisling role of the "labor movement," and the unified parties of capital, that is, the war parties.

*The powerful remnants of mysticism (42% of Americans are creationists, others believe God created evolution). The pretend-left is as afraid to say, "People make gods, gods don't make people. Believe that and you will believe anything. You have fairies dancing in your head," as the US is unwilling to say the same thing to the Taliban, Muslim Brotherhood, Al Qada, and Opus Dei. No gods/no masters is the only possible response to religious barbarism. Otherwise, it is "My God can beat up your god," and endless religious wars.

*Nationalism, the curse of the last 2 1/2 centuries. A geographical accident of births unites the slaves with the masters, often in the name of freedom. "You're not a slave! You're free! Your problem is the slaves of the Master over there! Kill them!"

*The necessity of revolution and *the suffering that any revolution will create, victorious or not, for some time. The failure to take on the "whole" of society, described in brief above, means movements typically lack grand strategy (an equitable just society of free people living in harmony), strategy (revolution taking place in different forms in different times in different areas), and tactics (strikes, demonstrations, propaganda, etc).

This means movements flail at shifting effects of capitalism, effects frequently manipulated by elites (Occupy Wall Street, union elections, educational testing opt-outs, etc). As they leap from second tier mission to second tier mission, they also adopt utopian solutions ("save `our' schools and let them return to the pristine days of the past) with no inkling of how to get from the compartmentalized and partial here, to there.

Who are the fake left's personifications?

*The various farcical political parties of the US, tracking back to the CPUSA (Code Pink, UFPJ, etc), and the Trotskyist (International Socialists-Chicago Teachers Union, Labor Notes, Monthly Review, etc) and the police infested parties like the

Democratic Socialists of America (Billy Ayers, Deborah Meir, etc).

Meier and Ayers (once a liberal terrorist who sought to replace class consciousness with a bomb, now a grant sucking liberal) joined to forge the farcical "Small School" movement which pretended that shrinking schools would solve key educational problems (Note that few if any rich suburban schools shrank). The effort has, today, failed, proving Jean Anyon's mantra: "Doing school reform without social and economic reform in communities is like washing the air on one side of a screen door. It won't work." It didn't work for the schools but it did help make Ayers and Meier rich. Whether they are stupid or dishonest is left to the reader.

Those mis-leaders of Rethinking Schools who promote bogus reforms, deliberately quashing radical critique, toady to union bosses like Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, the union which helped organize the decay of urban education (and player in the CIA sponsored National Endowment for Democracy, Meany Center, and others- and NEA's Van Roekel. The Rethinkers spiraled down after Rethinking Columbus and, wittingly, describe their denial of class war, capitalism, fascism, and empire, as, in their leaders' words, "strategic positioning."

*Freire Iconicizers—the little publishing industry around the work of a self declared "Catholic Marxist." Freire rarely missed a mass. Preposterous. Freire worked for the National Council of Churches, in Geneva. Not bad. Yet he complained and complained of exile. He plagiarized much of his key work (note Critical Consciousness is not class consciousness) from the leader of Catholic base communities, Dom Halder Camara (see Paul Taylor's work). He begged, far too much, not to be praised, while deluged with praise. He was a revolutionary wherever he wasn't, and a liberal reformer wherever he was. He worked, at the end, for his hero, Lula, of Brazil, while Lula rushed forward all the forces of capital.

* Post-postmodernists (Religion with an angry cloak which sought to demolish history by disconnecting the past, present, and future as well as to deny, or obscure, the labor theory of value with unintelligible language-pretending language alone is life)- The pomo trajectory is perhaps best personified by Henry Giroux who began a career as a Marxist with thin analysis, became a self-declared postmodernist, and is now fronting for the Democratic Party's voice-Truthout.

*Messianics like Chris Hedges. Hedges, a divinity school grad who never overcame his training, thinks he alone can trumpet the end of the advance of fascism. Let us not forget nor forgive his repeated acts of plagiarism (<http://newsbusters.org/blogs/pj-gladnick/2014/06/12/former-nyt-reporter-chris-hedges-exposed-serial-plagiarist>)

*Outright police agents–Diane Ravitch, all the former presidents of the NEA and AFT, now working for the CIA backed Education International, the inheritor of the old cold war western empires' unions

*"Save 'Our' Schools" and related anti-testing groups, often funded by the unions, the Democratic Party, the police sponsored National Endowment for Democracy (Fairtest, etc.)

*Unionites (for a full examination of the wreckage of what was once the most powerful union in the USA, see here <http://clogic.eserver.org/2006/gibson.html>)

*Dems/Cops who pretend that capitalist democracy can be democracy.

*Those anarchists who give up on Grand Strategy–Chomsky who wants a world of small, marginally connected communities–clever but not wise. This session seeks to challenge participants to describe a revolution, how and why it might happen, to locate strategic objectives (personnel, geo-strategy, etc) and tactics that educators of all levels might adopt to transcend both the opportunist and sectarian errors of the past, and present. What

is it that might solve the mystery of creating a class conscious international social movement?

What is a revolution?

There are two words in Chinese that describe "revolution."

One is Fanshen (see William Hinton's brilliant book by that title. Fanshen means to dig into and turn over the soil. What is on top is new, but what is below is still there.

The other word means "to withdraw the mandate from heaven." That's a legitimacy crisis: when the people realize the emperor is a mere mortal, no better than others, has no honor from God, and is indeed, worse, because the ruler has mis-served the people-theft, nepotism, etc.

Chalmers Johnson (author of the "Nemesis Trilogy") was a CIA asset whose work on Revolution is a benchmark for all similar modern studies. Of course, at the time of the writing, Johnson was seeking to oppose revolutions, but he wrote a cookbook.

"Revolutionary violence must attack the central seat of power. Decentralized violence often leads to reform. Societies are rooted in coercion, forms of violence, applied inequitably in inequitable societies. When hope vanishes, and people are just scavenging for food, revo may be at hand.

"The most important value system in a society is to legitimize the use of force." Johnson: sources of change:

1. External: world wide communications system, foreign travelers returning, international communist parties, external warfare, etc.

2. Internal: changes of values brought about by intellectual activity, scientific discovery, acceptance of innovations that are not incorporated into "normal" society.

Ideology, an alternative value system, plus much more, is key to revolution. In this sense, ideology would mean a program of

values, a coherent or at least understandable method of analysis and plans of action: Grand Strategy, strategy, and tactics.

Such an ideology will "supply intellectually and emotionally satisfying explanations of what is wrong with the social system," why, who personifies the prevention of change, promises some methods of suggesting that success of change is possible, some view of a better way to live. Revolutionary ideologies, thus, offer a method of thinking, apply it to criticism of things as they are (the existing social order), produce a culture that shows how things can change, long term goals, and, during a revolutions, these ideologies often shift in order to explain deficiencies within them as social practice tests them.

Revolutionary ideologies are, typically, imminent. That is, they do not argue for postponing change but seek to hasten it. High degrees of generality, or correctness in terms of explanation and practice, means that revolutionary ideologies can spread between and among dissident groups: solidarity grows.

Causes: *power deflation, dependence on more and more force. *loss of authority, use of force seen as illegitimate-lost foreign wars. * accelerators: events that make armies mutiny, revolutionary leaders decide to move, etc. In order to retain power, elites must do two things: recognize disequilibrium and move, convincingly, to act on it.

One common method to retain power is to coopt opposition leadership. <http://richgibson.com/johnsonquotes.htm>

Revolution is an academic field that gets far too little attention.

Class Consciousness to Connect Reason to Power

What, after all, is class consciousness?

Class consciousness is the awareness that one is, "part of a social group that, through common work activity at the same time reproduces a social system and others in it who do not have the same interests regarding that system, and who do not participate in it in the same manner...it is an orientation toward

political action...an awareness of others, of those who are similar and those who are different with regard to their long-term interests, and an awareness of the social structure that makes their differences real ." (Eyerman).

Class consciousness implies anti-racism, anti-capitalism, as well as a vision of a better future against which today's actions can be examined. This is not to simply reduce every question of race, sex, religion, or ethnicity immediately to greed, profits, but it is to say that the war for surplus value has, at the end of the day, decisive influence in setting up all the social relations of capital.

Capital's schools, racism, nationalism, sexism, and religion all disguise social problems, problems of class, as problems of individual people, competing races/crafts/industries/nations, or fate. That is, capital's schools and US forms of unionism are designed, above all, to create a veneer of limited knowledge, but to wipe out class consciousness. To date, this is succeeding.

Class consciousness has been seen as:

(1) a logical and necessary result of the advance of productive forces, that is, when the world is industrialized, people will become class conscious (Kautsky, Stalin),

(2) an awareness of the whole picture of capital, through the daily bitter experiences that capital must offer the working class- and the intervention of an advanced party (Lukacs),

(3) an offering to working people from organized intellectuals and dedicated activists, especially as crises arise (Lenin),

(4) as workers' spontaneous response to their collective, persistent, problems, as work is always alienating (Marty Glaberman:
<http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~rgibson/workersreality.htm>),

And (5) class consciousness has been seen as the natural product of intellectuals produced by the working class itself, organic intellectuals, whose ideas can be more easily accepted,

grasped (Gramsci, Freire). None of these formulas has worked well.

Class consciousness, then, is a pedagogical and practical problem that has not been resolved, that plagues the working classes of the world as crises of capital-inequality, imperialist war, rising irrationalism, international bankruptcies, militarism, etc.-make the current situation especially menacing, urgent. The crux of the pedagogical issue goes beyond transcending racist alienation and defeating exploitation.

At the heart of the question is the view that people can overcome the Master/Slave relationship, consciously, yet not recreate it at a new level; to forge a new society, a caring community, from the wreckage of the old, to forge reason from unreason.

Justice does demand organization. Organization requires discipline.

Class consciousness must be dialectically pressed on organizers, and from organizers back and forth to masses of people. Organization must be moral, ethical, to win the trust of the masses, and to set a standard against which opportunism can be judged.

But the crux of education, of organization, and of pedagogy itself, is the fact that we can understand and transform the world. We make our own histories, are subjects who can create change, or continuity (Lukacs, 1968, p3, p42) .

The path to a loving society, a community where people can live creatively, consciously, collectively, and not merely democratically, is probably only possible through great suffering. We should not despair in that, because that is the home of hope.

People who have suffered and struggled, in that process, they define themselves and achieve a standing that is unavailable to others. People who have suffered can transcend fear, the host of hate, because they will have had to truly move in understanding

from what appears to be, to what is, to what can be-because the processes of their suffering gives them a better understanding of what is essentially a Master- Slave relationship than the Masters can ever attain, and because their daily lives serve as proof to the Masters lies- and in doing that they may be able to fashion a society that lives by the idea, which will require a massive international change of mind (and a calling off of the massive scientific industrialized slaughter), an idea whose time has come: From each according to their commitment, to each according to their need.

This stands in clear opposition to what the zenith of capitalism today, summed up by Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* as the ultimate declaration of imperialism: Exterminate all the brutes.

Yes, of course there is a gap between today, class consciousness, and a revolution (which is no more inevitable than the temporary victory of fascism).

Between here and there is a fight.

It would be unwise to offer a prescription that could be applied to every community, detailing the old "what is to be done," question.

But direct action (control of workplaces and communities at key choke points), relentless agitation for class consciousness, and, importantly, close personal ties across all the barriers that capital creates seem key.

It is fair to ask: What has the Rouge Forum done?

We led the initial test resistance with boycotts, direct action in the "professional organizations" and unions-always pointing to the war agenda that drives capitalist schooling.

We were involved at all levels in the Detroit teachers' wildcat strike. <http://clogic.eserver.org/2-2/gibson.html>

We help fight the RaTT and Common Core-always placing them in their social context.

We engage the battle for ideas.

We hope these ideas will defeat men with guns who fight on behalf of a tiny minority of the world's people.

Capital has nothing left to offer anyone. Even before the NASDAQ collapse, people with three SUV's began to notice that such good luck was just not fulfilling.

Capital has inverted science, consider the huge scientific advances in weaponry and gas-masking, while 25% of the kids in parts of New York City are cursed with environmental asthma.

Capital is attacking all that is beautiful, from rationality to aesthetics—the drooling fundamentalist snake-handling top office-holders who cloak the breasts on statues. But overcoming the processes of capital is going to require a massive change of mind—an urgent change if we are going to go beyond industrialized slaughter.

Changing minds is the daily life of every school worker.

What we do counts, more than ever. We will win. That will not happen by simple reasoning. The Masters will not adopt the ethics of the slaves.

We will win by resisting, with a plan to overcome, and by learning from our resistance—outfoxing the destruction of reason and wisdom.

The core issue of our times is the rise of color-coded inequality and the real promise of perpetual war met by the potential of mass class-conscious resistance for the clarion call that has driven social movements for centuries:

Equality! Revolutionary Equality!

We will not be fed willingly, witlessly, to the Spider.

Death to the Fascists and...

Up the Rebels!

Good luck to our side.

Part II
Education and Knowledge and Bridging the
Curricular Divide

Some Aspects of Education and Knowledge Formation in Nineteenth Century Delhi

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This paper looks at the manner in which colonial intervention impinged upon the forms whereby education was imparted in Delhi during the nineteenth century. While it is well known that Delhi College was one of the key institutions of learning to emerge in this period, our understanding of its linkages with various spheres of educational endeavour in the city is rather inadequate. In this context, the role of scholars such as Mufti Sadruddin Azurda, who was simultaneously involved in several educational projects, was crucial. Azurda was closely connected with Delhi College and was at the same time engaged in teaching at and supervising a madarsa. He is representative of a section of the Urdu-speaking intelligentsia which took a keen interest in the question of education.

The rich experience of educational practice available in Delhi was vital for innovation and experimentation in the second quarter of the nineteenth century—developments simplistically attributed to ‘western’ influences. Further, it would be wrong to assume that the teacher of Arabic at the Aurangabadi mosque and the teacher of mathematics at Delhi College inhabited entirely separate worlds. It was the revolt of 1857 which destroyed the unifying bonds of these centres of learning. This had significant implications for education and knowledge formation in the latter half of the century when it became increasingly difficult to challenge colonial ideas. The concluding section of the paper offers some comments on attempts by Munshi Zakaullah and Nazir Ahmad to adjust to this situation.

Poverty, Crime, and the School Curriculum: The Poor in Reformatory Schools (1880s-1920s)

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When writing histories of colonial education, the 'poor' are often absent in historian's retelling of the past. To talk of the labouring and non-labouring poor classes in the colonial era is to assume them unlettered, analphabetic, and unschooled. As they did not leave their writings for posterity, our access to their world is limited and second-hand narratives are often at a distance from their experiences. But some did take up reading and writing when it was *a matter of life and death* for them and left their evidence, others conversed about schooling and its relevance to their lives. For the poor, schooling was more than about disciplining and controlling their bodies; for many, it was a gateway to heaven and for others it was an unnecessary extra burden on their family economy, *hence*- immaterial to their lives.

Translated excerpts from the letters of Indian soldiers who fought in the trenches during the First World War not only reveal about their feelings on war, life, and family, but also reflect their writing and reading skills. Similarly, released boys of reformatory and industrial schools often wrote back to their *White Sahibs* and friends wishing them a long life with a desire to keep their networks of patronage alive to be used in the times of needs and hardships. The father of Gurudas- who was a weaver from *Pariah* caste- wrote and read letters of village folks to supplement his family income. Sabuth Ali, a *Muhammdan faqir* from Lahore who lived on begging and wandering kept a diary written in Urdu dialects which revealed events and doings of his past life and happily gave anyone who wished to read it. Inspection reports of the Deputy Inspector of Schools sheds lights on miscellaneous performances of poor class boys in reading, writing, and arithmetic examinations of schools and their capability to learn what was being taught in classrooms.

And lastly, the presence of a large network of schooling, i.e., industrial, reformatory, technical, carpentry, weaving, vernacular, leather, needle work, and agricultural schools- designed for the poor and pauper classes forces us to withdraw our long held assumptions. Underneath these bitty and patchy evidences dwell often *silenced* and *buried* histories of the poor and their dreams or indifference for schooling- waiting to be stitched and weaved together with analogous sources in historian's workshop.

Schooling was not an experience of the majority of the poor in colonial India, but those who did, experienced it in various forms and ways. Poor and paupers were not taught to become literary class, but to be produced and reproduced as skilled artisans, trained worker, and well-versed peasants. How to account these experiences of poor and imprint of *schooling* on their lives is a tempting question and worthy of historical engagement.

This paper narrates a history of a particular type of schooled subjects- reformatory school boys who were exposed to the world of books, letters, and ideas of schooling not necessarily because they desired to be in this school but because they were 'miscreants' and required to be reformed. These 'miscreants'- often announced as *juvenile convicts*, *inmates*, *reformatory boys*, *juvenile delinquents*, and *juvenile offenders* in colonial files were orphans, waifs, thieves, beggars, murderers, and uncontrolled children of families- who fell into the world of *criminality* for the want of proper parental control and pauperism. By the late nineteenth century, the colonial government in India laid a web of reformatory schools and juvenile jails to deal with the increasing problem of juvenile delinquency and juvenile offenders who were caught from streets, bazaars, *melās* (fairs), and houses, often *stealing* eatables and other articles. In the year 1876, colonial government passed the Reformatory Schools Act which ordered district magistrates to send juvenile offenders below the age of sixteen (and subsequently reduced to fifteen years in the Reformatory School Act of 1897) into a reformatory school for *reformation* which were to be established by the provincial

governments. The act undermined the hitherto established practice of housing juvenile delinquents with adult prisoners in jails. Unlike prisons, reformatory schools were conceived as space of learning and moral reform. Here juvenile convicts were primarily schooled subjects detained to be taught formal didactics, obedience and order, lessons of honesty and civic life, and training of occupations and means of a hard worked livelihood. The paper looks into the specificities of efforts and organisation required on the part of colonial masters and their 'native agents' to maintain the 'natural order of society'. It looks into the textbooks and moral stories taught to reform the 'deviants' to see how an unequal social order embedded in shifting social and economic hierarchies of the time had a safe place in the school curriculum.

The paper proposes the following questions and seeks to answer them by unravelling the knot of poverty and education through life histories of poor. Does doing a history of poor people and their lives tell us something of the workings of colonial rule, making and re-making of social inequalities and the way caste was lived in everyday lives in institutions like school? What does the behaviour and thought, success and failure, resistance and subordination, everyday activities and special events, day and night, clock time and occupational calendar, fortune and misfortune, time and timelessness, good and moral wrong, and lived and dreamed life, etc. of ordinary folk tell us about the shifts in the visions of colonial masters and their policies of colonisation? How was the past lived in between these binaries? In the latter half of the paper, an attempt is also made here to explore the imprints of schooling on the lives of poor and pauper classes by reading some of the letters left by them. The lead protagonists of my story are reformatory school boys of Bareilly (this reformatory was later shifted to the Chunar fort in Mirzapur district in 1902) in the United Provinces and Chingleput in the Madras Presidency. The two distantly located reformatories gather a narrative which provides a contrasting but connected picture of poor's experience of schooling.

Conflict and collaboration between Eurocentrism and Brahmanical hegemony: revisiting science education in the colonial and post-independence period

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Recent critiques of education during the colonial period in India present a counter-narrative locating eurocentrism in science education as a tool to legitimise the imperialist goals. We revisit this question and look into possible modes of conflict and collaboration between power hierarchies existing prior to and parallel to colonisation in the Indian society and the European modernity and imperialism. It is argued that unlike many other countries colonised by European powers, India had a host of well-entrenched complex hierarchies with well-defined class, caste and gender categories and their social functions. Education in pre-colonial India was structured into fairly exclusive domains legitimising a brahmanical power hierarchy. Even the multi-cultural, egalitarian belief-systems that came to India with Islam could not resist for long the hegemony of the Brahmanical order and degenerated into an oppressive social system. This is reflected in the exclusion that 'lower caste' Muslims experience and it shows in the Madrasa system also. Gender discrimination was and is ubiquitous. It would appear that such a hierarchical system would come in direct conflict with the 'enlightenment' core of modernity and indeed it did, as is apparent in the nineteenth century rhetoric of occidentalism and later orientalism and as in the justifications of imperialist goals. After initial conflicts with the eurocentric institutions of knowledge, the brahmanical order adopted a collaborative role to perpetuate itself safeguarding the privilege in different ways. The processes of conflict and collaboration went together - in the initial stages, it was mostly conflict, and today, it is mostly collaboration, with some residual resistance from some quarters. Seen in this light, the scrutiny of curriculum of science education becomes more than an exercise of critiquing

eurocentric hegemony in education. Both the claim of universality of modern science and its complete negation become equally suspect. Eurocentrism in modern science education is the default discourse. Its complete negation exists in the post-modern criticism (which, ironically, is in the Eurocentric framework, using the language, idiom and tools borrowed from modern Europe) and also in the kind of resistance we see from the political right consisting of traditionalists. There is also a more credible negation from the middle-ground that values the core of enlightenment but resists imperialist tendencies of the West. While the epistemic framework in science education during the colonial period does not accommodate indigenous knowledge systems, the elite adapted to it and internalised it well. It was accepted by the privileged to an extent that surpassed the levels of comfort that the elite in the West exhibits in relation to modern science education. This blind acceptance has continued and intensified in the last nearly seventy years after the independence from the colonial powers. The tendency for a universal curriculum, insensitive to local conditions, is one consequence; mechanical nature of training of teachers and obscure pedagogic practices are the others. A major component of this submission has been the language or the medium of learning science, namely the English language, which has served well to keep science intensely mystified to most people. While the brahmanical elite chose to adopt the alien language, a vocabulary comprising of terse artificial jargon was made mandatory for the so-called vernacular science education effectively making it impossible for the marginalised to ever acquire formal knowledge in modern science. It also worked as an internal imperialist tool to keep the majority enslaved. Several alternatives have emerged as resistances to this canon. As an episteme, science with its more rigorous characteristics like verifiable reproducibility of observations and falsifiable propositions, much more than humanities or social science, is a domain where the subaltern have not been able to excel. A legitimate alternative of use of mother-tongue as a medium for earliest stages of education together with liberal attitudes in framing technical vocabulary

and constructivist pedagogy in general, remains a struggle. I will explore aspects of these questions and related issues in my paper.

Decolonising Mathematics and Science Education

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Colonial education teaches imitation of the West on the premise that the West is superior. This Western superiority was asserted by a whole host of racists from Hume and Kant¹ to Macaulay and Rouse Ball.² But their arguments were all based on a fraudulent history of science.³ For example, on this fraudulent history, “Euclid” is declared the father of “real” mathematics. However, there is no evidence that “Euclid” even existed. My prize of Rs 2 lakhs for serious evidence about Euclid stands unclaimed, for several years,⁴ and leading Western scholars admitted long ago that “Nothing” is known about Euclid.

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- 1 Immanuel Kant, “Of National Characteristics, so far as They Depend upon the Distinct Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime”, in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime*, trans. John T. Goldthwait, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991, pp. 110–1.
 - 2 W. W. Rouse Ball, *A Short Account of the History of Mathematics*, Dover, New York, 1960, pp. 1–2.
 - 3 C. K. Raju, *Is Science Western in origin?*, Multiversity, Penang, Daanish books, Delhi, 2009. Reprint Other India Bookstore, Goa, 2014.
 - 4 For a re-announcement of this prize in the presence of the then Malaysian Deputy Minister of Higher Education, see the video, “Goodbye Euclid”. (Links and other details are posted at <http://ckraju.net/blog/?p=63>.) This prize was naturally preceded by years of attempts to persuade insular Western scholars, as described in C. K. Raju, *Euclid and Jesus: How and why the church changed mathematics and Christianity across two religious wars*, Multiversity, 2013.

In fact, during the Crusades, when the church changed to Christian rational theology by copying Islamic rational theology, it masked this process of stealing from the religious enemy by concocting the story of Euclid to claim ownership of reason.⁵ What exactly is “real” mathematics? The related story about “real” mathematics ties it to a Christianised philosophy of mathematics as metaphysics which suits the post-Crusade theology of reason.

However, a completely different story emerges from the most superficial inspection of the manuscripts of the *Elements*⁶ (the book which “Euclid” supposedly wrote, but which does not mention his name). Contrary to the innately absurd claim that the *Elements* was written to demonstrate metaphysical (deductive) proofs, its very first proposition uses an empirical proof, as does the key 4th proposition, essential to the whole book. The book, therefore, cannot be about metaphysical proofs as the church and racist historians like Rouse Ball wildly contended. In an interesting case of persistent mass gullibility, hundreds of thousands of Western scholars who studied the book, over 7 centuries, failed to apply their mind to this elementary discrepancy between facts and story at the very first step. Eventually, when they did grudgingly admit the discrepancy, leading Western intellects like Russell and Hilbert⁷ jumped in to do exactly what theologians do: they tried to save the story by piling on the hypotheses. That is, they retained the blind belief in Euclid and his intentions, and just changed the facts by rewriting the book from a formalist viewpoint, in their respective tracts on the foundations of geometry. Like its earlier Crusading reinterpretation, the formalist rewriting of the book

5 *Euclid and Jesus*, cited above.

6 This is true even of the massively doctored “original”, based on Heiberg’s elimination of all manuscripts except one as “Theonine” since they mention Theon, not Euclid, as the author. T. L. Heath, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid’s Elements*, Dover, New York, 1956, vol. 1 (2nd edn.).

7 C. K. Raju, “Euclid and Hilbert”, chp. 1 in *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics*, Pearson Longman, 2007.

fails to fit the real Elements. But that is how we teach geometry in our schools today, for we teach blind imitation of the West.

The Elements is actually written from the viewpoint of Egyptian mystery geometry (and “Euclid” was probably a black woman from 5th c. Africa as depicted on the cover of my book⁸). This deeply religious view of mathesis, or arousing the soul to make it recollect its past lives, prevailed from Plato to Proclus both of whom explain it in detail, as in Plato's story of Socrates and the slave boy.⁹ Proclus defines mathematics as the science of mathesis.¹⁰ However, during the first religious war which it waged against “pagans”, the church cursed the related notion of soul and its past lives in the 6th c.¹¹ (To respect that taboo, Westerners today only refer to that “soul arousal” by coyly speaking of the aesthetic value of mathematics.) However, the subsequent religious wars, the Crusades, which the church waged against Muslims, were persistent military failures (after the first Crusade, and beyond Spain). Hence, the church sought a non-military way of conversion. Hence, it accepted back mathematics, reinterpreting the Elements as concerned solely with rational persuasion, to align it with the post-Crusade Christian theology of reason, the better to be able to convert Muslims (who accepted the aql-i-kalam).

Theological “solutions” are inevitably half-baked. Proclus explained that mathematics contains eternal truths, and hence is especially suited to arouse the eternal soul on the principle of sympathetic magic that “like arouses like”. After the church cursed the related notion of soul and its past lives, there was no longer any systemic basis for this belief. Nonetheless, the belief (that mathematics contains eternal truths) lingered on as

8 C. K. Raju, *Euclid and Jesus*, cited above.

9 Plato, *Meno*, in *Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago, 1996, pp. 179–180.

10 Proclus, *Commentary* (falsely translated title: *A Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*), trans. Glenn R. Morrow, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970, Prologue part 1, p. 38.

11 C. K. Raju, “The curse on 'cyclic' time”, chp. 2 in *The Eleven Pictures of Time*, Sage, 2003.

a superstition which has infected all Western thought about mathematics. During the Crusades, church-besotted Western minds added the further superstitious belief that mathematics, since it contained eternal truths, was hence the “perfect” language in which their god had written the (eternal) laws of nature.¹²

These superstitions about mathematics created severe difficulties for the West in understanding practical mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, calculus, probability, i.e., most of the math taught in schools today). Unlike the religious mathematics, earlier imported from Egypt, this practical mathematics was imported from India. This import of practical mathematics was spread over several centuries, first from Arabic books such as Al Khwarizmi's *Hisab al Hind* (from Baghdad via Cordoba in the 10th c.), and then Arabic books translated at Toledo (12th c.), and eventually directly (from Cochin, 16th c.).¹³ Western scholars (all priests) conflated the two distinct streams of mathematics: the religious and the practical.¹⁴ This Western attempt to try and understand practical mathematics from a religious perspective (with which it was familiar) was a disaster.

12 The belief in “laws of nature”, is another superstition which crept from Christian theology into science. See, e.g., C. K. Raju, “Islam and science”, Keynote address at International Conference on Islam and Multiculturalism: Islam, Modern Science and Technology, Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya, 5-6 Jan 2013, <http://www.ckraju.net/hps-aiu/Islam-and-Science-kl-paper.pdf>. In *Islam and Multiculturalism: Islam, Modern Science, and Technology*, ed. Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya, and Waseda University, Japan, 2013, pp. 1-14.

13 C. K. Raju, *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics: the Nature of Mathematical Proof and the Transmission of the Calculus from India to Europe in the 16th c. CE*, Pearson Longman, 2007.

14 C. K. Raju, “Math wars and the epistemic divide in mathematics”, chp. 8 in *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics*, cited above. An earlier version was presented at Episteme-1, Homi Bhabha Centre, Mumbai, 2005, <http://www.hbcse.tifr.res.in/episteme/episteme-1/allabs/rajuabs.pdf>, and http://www.hbcse.tifr.res.in/episteme1/themes/ckraju_finalpaper.

Thus, because of their primitive Greek and Roman system of numeration, and religious ideas about unity, Westerners were perplexed for centuries even by a simple thing like zero. (The very name zero derives from sifr = cipher meaning mysterious code.) In the 10th c, their leading mathematician, a pope, most blunderously got constructed an abacus for “Arabic numerals”,¹⁵ thus exhibiting a fundamental misunderstanding of efficient arithmetic algorithms (the same one's which are today taught in primary school). This was a mistake about elementary arithmetic which posterity will forever laugh at. Howlers such as “surd” and “sine”, still in current use, tell the same amusing tale of Western blunders about mathematics during the Toledo translations, and this linguistic confusion was accompanied by fundamental conceptual errors, which persist till today, as in the very term “trigonometry”.

Backward Westerners found it impossible to understand the infinite series of the Indian calculus, though they quickly grasped that the resulting precise “trigonometric” values were of great practical use in navigation, then the principal scientific challenge facing Europe. Thus, Descartes objected to infinite sums or “the ratios of curved and straight lines”, as he called them, stating that this was beyond the human mind¹⁶ (presumably meaning Western mind, with which he was familiar). This objection arose from his superstitious/religious view of mathematics as “perfect”. This was superstitious for with a different philosophy of mathematics the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter was easily understood by both Egyptians, and Indians since the *sulba sutra*-s,¹⁷

15 For an image of the pope's apices from a manuscript of 976 CE, see *Euclid and Jesus*, cited above, Fig. 11.1, p. 119.

16 R. Descartes, *The Geometry*, trans. D. Eugene and M. L. Latham, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chiacago 1996, Book 2, p. 544.

17 Apastamba *sulba sutra* 3.2, S. N. Sen and A. K. Bag, *The Sulbasutras*, Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, 1983. p. 103. The same thing is repeated in other *sulba sutra*-s e.g. Katyayana *sulba sutra* 2.9 See also Baudhayana *sulba sutra* 2.9.

thousands of years before Descartes. It was, in fact, taught to children in the traditional Indian syllabus in mathematics.¹⁸

Newton shared that religious view of mathematics, but wrongly thought he had answered Descartes' objections and made calculus "perfect", and that this perfection could be achieved through metaphysics. Hence, in his Principia, he proclaimed that time is metaphysical and flows equably¹⁹ (this was a regress from his teacher Barrow who gave a physical definition of equal intervals of time²⁰). In fact, Newtonian physics failed just *because* Newton made time metaphysical,²¹ a conceptual error arising from his misunderstanding of the Indian calculus.²² Though Newton's fluxions²³ (and his hopelessly absurd idea of "flowing" time²⁴) were eventually rejected, this Western mistake about the Indian calculus persists to this day in a modified form (as in the current representation

18 This can still be done, since the string is a superior substitute to the ritualistic compass box, see C. K. Raju, "Towards Equity in Math Education 2. The Indian Rope Trick" *Bharatiya Samajik Chintan* (New Series) 7 (4) (2009) pp. 265–269. <http://ckraju.net/papers/MathEducation2RopeTrick.pdf>.

19 Isaac Newton, *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, A. Motte's translation revised by Florian Cajori, Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1996, p. 8.

20 C. K. Raju, "Time: What is it That it can be Measured" *Science&Education*, 15(6) (2006) pp. 537–551

21 C. K. Raju, *Time: Towards a Consistent Theory*, Kluwer Academic, 1994. Fundamental Theories of Physics, vol. 65.

22 C. K. Raju, "Retarded gravitation theory", in: Waldyr Rodrigues Jr, Richard Kerner, Gentil O. Pires, and Carlos Pinheiro (ed.), *Sixth International School on Field Theory and Gravitation*, American Institute of Physics, New York, 2012, pp. 260–276. http://ckraju.net/papers/retarded_gravitation_theory-rio.pdf.

23 *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics*, cited above.

24 This is hopelessly absurd because while things may flow in time, the idea of time itself as flowing is meaningless, for it requires a time 2 in which to flow. This point was observed by Sriharsa in his Khandanakhandakhadya, and later copied by McTaggart. See, "Philosophical time", chp. 1 in *Time: Towards a Consistent Theory*, cited earlier.

of time by metaphysical formal “real” numbers wrongly declared essential to define the derivative with respect to time). This continues to create many other problems for present-day science as I have explained elsewhere.²⁵

That is, one may properly speak of “Western mathematics” as an inferior sort of mathematics which began when the practical Indian mathematics imported into Europe was repackaged to suit some Christian superstitions. This was a needlessly complexified version of the original imported version. However, this was the mathematics the West re-exported during colonialism just by declaring it “superior” on the strength of Christian triumphalist history. We never critically examined that claim of “superiority”. Specifically, the addition of those religious and metaphysical elements added nil to the practical value of mathematics: NASA today computes the trajectories of spacecraft by numerically solving ordinary differential equations, which is what Aryabhata did.²⁶ Formal real numbers are irrelevant to the computer programs NASA uses, for a computer cannot handle that metaphysics of infinity, and uses a different number system.²⁷ This is also true of all major applications of “national importance” today. The religious superstructure that the West added to mathematics did however create enormous learning difficulties in mathematics. The student difficulties with present-day math are a direct result of

25 A quick summary of how science changes, if math does, is in the table in the day long talk in Tehran.

<http://ckraju.net/papers/presentations/decolonizing-mathematics.pdf>.

26 For an account of how Euler's method (for solving ordinary differential equations) is copied from Aryabhata, see *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics*, cited above. Of course, NASA uses more sophisticated methods of numerical computation today, but the issue here is that of formal mathematics, not the sophistication of the numerical algorithm,.

27 For example, floating point numbers do not obey the associative law for addition. A quick account of the theory is in my TV lectures on C programming, and is uploaded at <http://ckraju.net/hps2-aiu/floats.pdf>.

those Western perplexities in understanding imported mathematics, through religious blinkers. On the principle that phylogeny is ontogeny, those difficulties are repeatedly reproduced in the present-day mathematics classroom.²⁸

The demand for decolonisation of mathematics and science education²⁹ is, therefore, firstly a demand for a critical re-examination of Western mathematics and the science based on it. Repeat, it is a demand for a better mathematics and a better science (not merely a better pedagogy). It is also a demand for a religiously neutral mathematics³⁰ shorn of Christian superstitions (which superstitions also creep into science through mathematics). What stands in the way of this demand is the indoctrinated colonial mind which is incapable of a critical re-examination of the West.³¹ Its first reaction inevitably is to respond to any and all criticism in stock insular ways typical of Western theologians: e.g., accuse the critic in generic terms of being a Hindu or Islamic fundamentalist (no evidence of religious affiliations needed), misrepresent the critique in equally generic ways ("Don't reject everything Western"), etc. To avoid engaging with the specifics of the critique, it then just lapses into silence, pretending that that silence itself is "superior"! The real critique is never addressed, and no Western scholar dared address the above critique of

28 "Math wars and the epistemic divide in mathematics", cited above.

29 C. K. Raju, "Decolonising math and science". In *Decolonizing our Universities*, Claude Alvares and Shad Faruqi ed., Citizens International and USM, 2012, chp. 13, pp. 162-195 Video is first 34 minutes of the one at <http://vimeo.com/26506961>.

30 See, the "Petition to teach religiously neutral mathematics" which has now gathered the requisite 50 signatures, <http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/teach-religiously-neutral-mathematics>. Also, <http://ckraju.net/blog/?p=94>. A related paper was presented at the ISSA meeting in Aligarh Muslim University.

31 The demand is for a critical re-examination (which the Western-educated mind inevitably confounds with blanket rejection), C. K. Raju, "Be critical: choose what is best", *The Sun*, Malaysia, 29 Aug 2011, p. 16. Clip posted at <http://ckraju.net/press/2011/the-Sun-29-Aug-2011-p16-clipping-ckr-response.gif>.

formal mathematics in the last 15 years. (Obviously, like the church, they know their beliefs would shatter into a thousand pieces if they started honestly addressing the critique.)

The inability of the colonised mind to reject anything Western, howsoever inferior, is clear from the case of the Christian ritual calendar, which is manifestly inferior, unscientific, and detrimental to our economic interests.³² Yet the colonised elite chose to define our secular national festivals solely on that religious calendar. As theology shows, there are always a thousand ways to “save the story”—any absurd story—and defend such bad decisions. The difficulties with mathematics and science are much harder to understand, especially since most Western educated are mathematically and scientifically illiterate, and just rely on “experts”, whose expertise they judge solely on the basis of their blind faith in Western certification.

The time has clearly come to leave behind the West and its minions and move on. An alternative philosophy of mathematics called zeroism (similar to sunyavada) has been around for the last decade. Zeroism is superior to formalism in many ways. Most practical applications of mathematics today involve computation, and zeroism is ideally suited to that. (Formalism just declares that everything done on a computer is erroneous.) Again, for example, conventional limits fail for the frequentist interpretation of (Kolmogorov) probability (since relative frequency converges to probability only in a probabilistic sense), but zeroism works very well in this situation.³³

32 C. K. Raju, “A tale of two calendars”, in *Multicultural Knowledge and the University*, ed. Claude Alvares, Multiversity, 2013, pp. 112-119. <http://www.ckraju.net/hps-aiu/ckr-calendar.html>.

33 C. K. Raju, “Probability in Ancient India”, chp. 37 in *Handbook of the Philosophy of Science*, vol 7. *Philosophy of Statistics*, ed. Prasanta S. Bandyopadhyay and Malcolm R. Forster. General Editors: Dov M. Gabbay, Paul Thagard and John Woods. Elsevier, 2011, pp. 1175-1196. <http://ckraju.net/papers/Probability-in-Ancient-India.pdf>.

Further examples are provided by the fundamental problem of infinities arising from discontinuous functions in physics³⁴ (as in Stephen Hawking's creationist pseudo-science of singularities³⁵ in general relativity) or the renormalization problem of quantum field theory etc., but these are more technical. However, while Western-trained academics are unable to answer this critique, they are dishonestly unwilling to admit the possibility that a fundamentally different philosophy of mathematics, divorced from Christian traditions, may be superior. Hence, they just use the theological con trick of lapsing into silence and pretending that the silence is superior. In fact, as in Indian tradition, and in the present-day legal system, failure to answer objections is proof of the validity of those objections.

Another key advantage of this new philosophy of mathematics is that it presents a religiously neutral and practical understanding of mathematics, constitutionally appropriate to a secular country like India (and indeed to any country which is not specifically Christian). This also better suits the practical applications of mathematics to commerce and science, which is the reason why most people learn mathematics. Yet another key advantage is that, by eliminating trash Western theological beliefs in present-day mathematics, it enormously simplifies the pedagogy of mathematics as I have demonstrated in teaching experiments with 8 groups in 5 universities in 3 countries.³⁶

Changing mathematics, and especially the Western understanding of infinity (inevitably intertwined with the

34 C. K. Raju, "Renormalization and shocks", appendix to *Cultural Foundation of Mathematics*, cited earlier.

35 *Eleven Pictures of Time*, cited earlier.

36 A partial report is in C. K. Raju, "Teaching mathematics with a different philosophy. 1: Formal mathematics as biased metaphysics." *Science and Culture*, 77 (2011) (7-8) pp. 274-79. <http://www.scienceandculture-isna.org/july-aug-2011/03%20C%20K%20Raju.pdf>. "Teaching mathematics with a different philosophy. 2: Calculus without limits" *Science and Culture*, 77 (2011) (7-8) pp. 280-86. <http://www.scienceandculture-isna.org/july-aug-2011/04%20C%20K%20Raju2.pdf>.

Western theology of eternity) naturally changes science as I have explained in detail elsewhere. It would take too long to explain the decolonised physics which has been constructed,³⁷ but decolonised courses in physics and statistics have been explicitly outlined.

As stated in the beginning, colonialism was rooted on the strength of an education system which taught blind imitation of West on the belief in Western superiority. That belief in Western superiority was based on a fraudulent history of science, a natural outgrowth of Christian triumphalist history from Orosius to Toynbee. Therefore, to uproot colonialism, it is most necessary to teach a more realistic history and philosophy of science as I recommended in my booklet on *Ending Academic Imperialism*.³⁸ A new curriculum on history and philosophy of science was designed, following an international workshop,³⁹ and I taught it in two parts to two cohorts of international students as a regular university course.⁴⁰ The students came from some 50 countries, all victims of colonialism. The announcement of the course attracted the usual generic and unsubstantiated accusations which is the only response one expects from Western “scholars” from top universities. After that

37 A partial account is in C. K. Raju, “Functional differential equations. 1: A new paradigm in physics”, *Physics Education* (India), 29(3), July-Sep 2013, Article 1.

<http://physedu.in/uploads/publication/11/200/29.3.1FDEs-in-physics-part-1.pdf>, and “Functional differential equations. 2: The classical hydrogen atom”, *Physics Education* (India), 29(3), July-Sep 2013, Article 2.

<http://physedu.in/uploads/publication/11/201/29.3.2FDEs-in-physics-part-2.pdf>.

38 C. K. Raju, *Ending academic imperialism*, Multiversity and Citizens International, Penang, 2011. <http://multiworldindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/ckr-Tehran-talk-on-academic-imperialism.pdf>. Video at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdvgh4gByfk>.

39 <http://ckraju.net/blog/?p=73>.

40 The formal curricula and lectures for the two courses are posted at <http://ckraju.net/hps-aiu> and <http://ckraju.net/hps2-aiu/>. See also <http://ckraju.net/blog/?p=89>.

silence as usual. A video interview of the students was conducted by Claude Alvares and is freely available online from Multiversity TV.⁴¹ Alternative syllabi are also being designed for the social sciences (apart from my course on statistics for social science).

The point now is to start introducing these curricular changes into mainstream education to end for ever the horror of colonial mind capture through education.

41 See part 5 of the video series, links to which are posted at <http://ckraju.net/blog/?p=73>.

**From the Gurukul to the University: Challenges of
teaching music in a new setting
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Was a modern pedagogic project for classical music in the early 20th century incompatible with the assumptions of modernity? Were traditional practitioners reconciled to new conventions and expectations of music related education? What were the constraints and contradictions that marked the nationalist project on music education and how did these intersect with the ongoing debate on cultural reform and regeneration? This presentation addresses some of these questions while drawing from my work on music in twentieth century southern India.

Developing a 'physical education curriculum': A view from Bombay Presidency

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Sports were introduced and moulded within the public schools' curriculum during the nineteenth century in Britain. In the public schools, organised games were used as a means of social control as well as training of character. Through participation in team games like cricket, rugby etc, public school pupils were supposed to develop desirable character traits such as autonomy, initiative, self-sacrifice, effort, courage and emotional self-control, all important to the Victorian (heterosexual) masculine ideal. The educational ideology of 'athleticism' (Mangan: 2000) eventually flowed to the University and the larger society. Between 1870 and 1920, this cultural phenomenon spread quickly across the colonies and continental Europe, also helped by Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic movement. Modern organised sports were transplanted into the colonies through two major institutions – the school and the military, all staffed by products of the British imperial system.

Meanwhile by the 1880s, a plethora of books, pamphlets and tracts began discussing the concept of physical education¹ in Europe and the Americas. Medical professionals

¹ Physical Culture, physical training as well as physical education were not quite synonymous but were used indiscriminately in the nineteenth century. 'Physical Culture' was the broader term and the term used more by non-professionals. 'Physical training' tended to be the preferred term among those who were interested in its educational dimensions. 'Physical education', a term that has a long history, increasingly replaced 'physical training' in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Physical education is the formal inculcation of knowledge and values through physical activity. A more wide-ranging definition of physical education would encompass 'instruction in the development and care of the body, from simple calisthenic exercises to training in hygiene, gymnastics, and the performance and management of athletic games. Historically, it has focused on diet, exercise and hygiene, as

and educationists were in the forefront debating the importance of systematic physical training particularly of the student body. The concept of 'total health' or 'wholeness', popularized by the Latin maxim *mens sana in corpore sano*, that is, sound mind in sound body highlighted the correlation, or rather, the interaction of body and mind. And the concept was crucial in shaping thought about human growth and conduct. Physical exercise began to be linked to health morally, physically and socially. While earlier some form of gymnastic exercise was seen as integral to physical education, a systematic exposition of the science of physical education began particularly in the US and Britain, and eventually lead to its establishment as a special subject in the school curriculum. Though what exactly was practiced under this umbrella term has been changing over time. Physical education curriculum, in most countries was individually shaped by debates about the body, eugenics, health concerns, nationalism and militarism, and interwoven in unique ways with class, gender and race.

In India, while imperial diffusion of 'games ethic' was accompanied by the establishment of colleges such as Aitchison, Daly, Mayo and Rajkot, local initiative was also considerable. By the turn of the twentieth century the body of the Indian student became the distinctive focus of various pedagogical regimes. The clinching evidence of this assertion is that some form of physical training was introduced in various institutions across the ideological spectrum. Madan Mohan Malaviya's Banaras Hindu University made appropriate arrangements for physical training. Similar emphasis on physical culture prevailed in a distinctly indigenous experiment in the field of education – Swami Shradhdhanand's Gurukul Kangri which was established in 1902. The Darul-Uloom Deoband also had drill and physical training in its curriculum. There is little information about the

well as musculo-skeletal and psycho-social development'. (Chandler, Cronin and Vamplew, 2002:153)

exact nature of the physical training regimens practiced by students of these institutions though.

Simultaneously, by the 1880s the colonial government had also begun reporting on the facilities for physical training in its various primary and secondary schools, as well as sanctioning special grants for gymnastic equipment and apparatus when demanded. However there emerged no concerted policy in this period, the promotion of sports in schools largely depended on the initiative of individual headmasters. So the emergence of state policy on promotion of sports and physical education in the school curriculum is an important part of the overall story of modern education in India.

This paper seeks to map the experiments in physical education in Bombay Presidency. Precisely how did physical education become a school subject? The paper will focus on the development of pedagogical and curricular content through institutionalization and professionalization of physical education. While work on college and university sports exists, this paper seeks to look at the broader context in which physical education emerged.

Western India, home to a rich indigenous tradition of physical culture saw a proliferation of gymnasiums and physical culture clubs at the turn of the twentieth century. Traditional *akharas*, however, were getting transformed in terms of patronage, space and spectatorship, through middle class intervention. The 'new' *akharas* increasingly being referred to as *vyayammandirs* and *vyayamshalas* were experimenting with a range of exercises, apart from wrestling and its traditional allied exercises. Physical culture enthusiasts were evolving new pedagogical manuals and publishing was an important aspect of sports proselytism in this period. Most importantly, they were keen to transform even the space of the *akhara* in the light of current discourse on science and environmentalism. Along with this, the pedagogic model was also transformed. Traditional *akharas* were managed by *gurus* and *vastads*, modelled on the sage- teacher with disciples who probably lived with him to learn from him. There was no established curriculum and certainly no degree awarded. However the 'new' *akharas*

dispensed off with the traditional model and instituted modern curricula. Further they began awarding diplomas called '*vyayam visharads*' and the students from these institutions began to be placed with the secondary schools as gymnastic teachers and physical trainers. These were, thus, the earliest efforts at professionalization of physical education that occurred outside the colonial pedagogical ambit.

Nevertheless, on the colonial government's side, since the Educational Policy Resolution of 1913, emphasized training of teachers, halting steps to train secondary teachers even in physical education were also undertaken. But the real thrust to physical education came after the transfer of education to provincial hands. A Committee on Physical Education was set up in 1927, and its recommendations were submitted in 1929, though these were never implemented, thereafter there were similar committees every decade. The 1927 Committee was led by KM Munshi, himself a physical culture enthusiast, while the remaining two committees were led by Swami Kuvalyananda, who transformed yoga from an esoteric practice to the modern physical training activity as we know today (Alter:2004). These committees were composed of doctors, physical culture enthusiasts as well as educationists and evolved a comprehensive plan of physical education for Bombay Presidency. This paper seeks to comment on the curriculum of physical education that was fashioned particularly for a three year degree programme in physical education. A Training Institute of Physical Education (hereafter TIPE) was established at Kandivali, Mumbai in 1938 precisely to train government school teachers in physical education. This was purportedly an important state initiative in physical education and there were plans to subsequently convert it into a National College of Physical Education. However, in independent India enthusiasm for physical education rapidly ebbed and the state withdrew from this initiative by 1952. This paper finally seeks to recover the history of TIPE to comment on the trajectory of the evolution of sporting practices in Bombay Presidency.

Theatre and Education: Appropriation and Marginalization of Custodians of Cultural Heritage of the Nation

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NCERT in its Position Paper of National Focus Group on Arts, Music, Dance & Theatre in 2006 recommended that art education be made an integral and compulsory component of the school curriculum at par with any other subject. The CBSE introduced theatre studies as an elective subject with any combination of three other electives and a language to its affiliated schools in class XI from academic session 2013-2014. Theatre studies is now treated at par with any other subject and does not merely remain 'useful hobbies' and 'leisure activities'/'extra curricular' activities.

CBSE describes theatre as an extremely wondrous art and its aim would be to create students who would be self-reliant, independent and creative thinkers with a positive attitude. NCERT states there is no greater educative medium than making, with efficiency and integrity, things of utility and beauty. It develops practical aptitudes, facilitates clarity of thinking, provides an opportunity for cooperative work, thus enriching the personality of the student. One of the most important aspects that NCERT underscores in art education is that it would make students conscious of the rich cultural heritage of the nation, which are living examples of its secular fabric and cultural diversity. It emphasizes that special attention should be given to Indian traditional arts, which currently face the threat of being drowned out by so called mainstream and popular arts. This would ensure that India would be a country that respect, protects and propagates its artistic traditions. This would make the students liberal, creative thinkers and good citizens of the nation. In this presentation an attempt is made to unsettle the narrative of rich cultural heritage of the nation. Quoting Natyashastra CBSE says, 'theatre is a gift from the gods

for mankind's education and entertainment'. In fact, cultural scripting of the nation has invisibilized and silenced the narratives of appropriation, marginalization, stigmatization and displacement of the subaltern performing community, the custodians of the cultural heritage, and their arts.

Desire to Know

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Part III

Language and Inequality

Multilingualism, multilinguality and translanguaging: Southern theories and practices

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People of Africa, like those of India, have always exhibited the ability to use their linguistic repertoires to communicate with neighbouring communities and across what appear to outsiders to be linguistic divides. In India, Agnihotri has called this linguistic facility, 'multilinguality' (e.g. Agnihotri, 2007, 2014), and this term has recently been picked up in literature beyond South Asia and Africa (e.g. Singleton et al. 2013). In Africa, where each village might have its own particular lexical items and linguistic features as well as ones which connect with neighbouring villages, Djité (1993) has questioned the notion that Africa is a continent of about 2000 separate languages. Instead he identifies language chains which connect one end of the continent with the other. Fardon and Furniss (1994) have taken this idea further to suggest that in Africa, the concept of *lingua franca* is understood and used in a very different way from how it may be used in northern contexts. Fardon and Furniss argue that in Africa, 'multilingualism is the *lingua franca*'. In other words, '*lingua franca*' is not a single language with circumscribed borders as conceptualised within the European nation-state ideology of the 19th and 20th centuries. Instead, *lingua franca* in the African context is a human facility in which people use their multilingualism or their linguistic repertoires in order to communicate.

In this paper, the terms 'multilingualism', 'multilinguality' and 'translanguaging' will be discussed as viewed within or from an epistemology rooted in contexts of countries of the south. If one takes a position located within 'northern' epistemologies and theory, then one may view the concept of 'multilingualism' as restricted to 'multiple parallel monolingualism' (Heugh 2003). If one takes a position located

within epistemologies of the global south, or 'southern theory' as discussed by Connell (2007) and Santos (2007, 2012), then multilingualism is that human linguistic facility which allows communication that utilises the entire linguistic repertoire. Multilingualism therefore, as used and understood in Africa (cf. Djité 1993, Fardon & Furniss 1994, Heugh 2003, amongst others), is much more than the restricted view imposed upon the lexical item within northern epistemologies, and it is very similar to 'multilinguality' as identified by Agnihotri (2007, 2014) and conceptualised within a southern epistemology. It is not yet clear, whether or not 'multilinguality' as understood by Singleton et al., is viewed through a northern, southern or both northern and southern theoretical frameworks.

What is clear is that there is a great deal that Africa and India share, as indeed do they with other contexts of the global south. Linguistic diversity along with the use of linguistic expertise, 'multilinguality' as conceptualised in the Indian context, and 'multilingualism' as conceptualised by people in and of Africa is the first. The second is a colonial history which continues to define the way that language/s are conceptualised within the formal education systems. The legacy of the colonial period has been to leave behind education systems built on a northern epistemology in which there is an assumption that people are essentially monolingual rather than multilingual and that in order to expand one's linguistic repertoire, one has to learn additional languages as if they are entirely different from and unrelated to the 'language' one knows and uses already. Languages, therefore, are usually understood within schooling systems as artefacts conceptualised within frameworks where each language appears to have discrete borders. Multilingualism within this framing is understood by many and then treated in the schools system as restricted to multiple and parallel forms of monolingualism.

The problem for pupils is that the language regime of schools is at odds with community linguistic repertoires and practices; the problem for the education system is that school pupils, their families and their communities do not practice language as discretely separated monolingual systems.

The intention of this paper is offer insights into innovative teaching and learning practices found amongst remote communities in Ethiopia and Uganda, both southern contexts, and where community involvement and interest in the teaching and learning practices of the school reduce the home-school divide. The innovative practices also serve to build communities in very poor, remote and post-conflict settings. What is striking in each of the examples is that the communities are located near each country's geopolitical borders, far from the administrative and political capital city. It is in these remote settings that communities have found ways in which their involvement in the running of and providing services for the school have brought them closer to their children's education while also serving wider community interests.

In the Ethiopian case, it is in such a school that an innovative school principal has devised practical ways to use the local and regional languages in the classroom. The local language Gamo is used side by side and intertwined with the national language Amharic in each classroom because this practice matches actual language practices of the village in which the school is located. Schools closer to the regional educational authority tend to adhere more closely to the language policy in which languages are kept separated from one another in the school, in ways that mirror northern epistemologies of language. Unsurprisingly, the students in the village school have a higher rate of retention to the end of primary and also have higher primary school achievement scores than those of schools closer to the regional administrative authority (Heugh 2013).

In the Ugandan case, owing to 30 years of conflict and gross human rights violations in the north-western part of the country, there has been large-scale human displacement and at least one generation has been prevented from access to formal education. Through the intervention of a non-government literacy organisation that works in close collaboration with national, regional and district level government education authorities and also village communities, grandparents, parents

and children share schools. Participation in literacy and numeracy classes in schools has been extended by parents in the villages, and they have set up their own informal early child-care centres, village saving schemes, and micro-enterprises. What the communities have done is to make use of government school language policy that promotes the use of local languages, and to build onto this policy and subvert it in ways that suit each community. Again, this is possible largely because these villages are located at the extreme northern point of the country, far from the national administrative centre of power, and from where it is possible to circumvent rigid policy in favour of practices which more closely articulate with the authentic (linguistic) practices of the communities (Heugh et al 2014).

In each of the Ethiopian and Ugandan case-studies there is evidence of the use of multilingual practices, or the multilinguality of teachers, pupils and adult members of the school community. An aspect of multilinguality-multilingualism that is being explored in educational practices in several countries and by scholars who come from Asia and Africa, as well as from countries of the global north, has been recently termed 'translanguaging' (García 2009; Canagarajah, 2011; Swain, Kirkpatrick & Cummins, 2011; García & Li Wei 2014). The practices in the Ethiopian and Ugandan cases reveal evidence might very well be understood or termed translanguaging in northern contexts and it occurs in the southern contexts as a natural phenomenon not as a pedagogically taught practice as part of teacher education. It is argued in this paper that in southern contexts, translanguaging is simply a neologism for old practices (see also Edwards 2012), while in northern contexts this appears to be revolutionary pedagogy.

In each of the Ethiopian and Ugandan settings, there are educational threats which arise from interference by agents with northern interests. In the Ethiopian case, the threat arises from encroaching influences of the drive towards English-mainly education orchestrated by development-agency funded consultants from the UK. In the Ugandan case, the threat emerges from a US-based missionary organisation that is

concerned with linguistic division and enumerating languages as conceived of as separated entities. People in this part of Uganda are multilingual, and have extensive linguistic repertoires owing to their flight into exile in neighbouring countries and also owing to reciprocal mobilities of people from neighbouring countries. Therefore artificial division of languages does not match the language practices of people and impedes rather than supports successful education.

The discussion in the paper points towards southern pedagogical practices which embed multilinguality/multilingualism, including a subset of these recently termed translanguaging. The first purpose is to point towards and to reclaim southern theory/ies and practices of education. The second purpose is to demonstrate the educational use of language/s relevant to local ecologies from a southern rather than northern epistemology of education. The third purpose is to reclaim the vocabulary of multilingualism and multilinguality as a multi-dimensional set of phenomena evidenced in practices of the south and as essential in the education of children and youth everywhere.

State, Market and the Multilingual Education

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Historically, the development of multilingual education discourse can be divided into two phases, one, when multilinguality was seen as a problem and was therefore to be managed by the state and, the second, when multilinguality was seen as a reality and a positive resource which could be used to create multiple affordances for communication, learning and identity. In the first phase, multilinguality as well as multilingualism was defined in modernist terms within the discursive frame of the nation-state. Like any other modernist project, this issue was to be managed effectively in order to

minimize the chaos arising from multilinguality and maximize governance by careful planning and execution of language policies in education, media and administration. This led to an era of intensive and hierarchical language planning with a pyramidal structure providing more options to younger children to learn in their home languages in lower classes and very few options in the middle and high schools and almost no option except in few cases where two languages (one international and one regional) were used for transaction in higher education. Where ever more than one language was used, the languages appeared sequentially and hierarchically so that the home languages disappear as quickly as possible in favor of the regional language and the regional language in favor of the international language i.e. English. All the activities to preserve indigenous and endangered languages were planned within this paradigm of one nation-one language. In other words, the modernist project was antithetical to multilinguality. Most of the early writings of Joshua Fishman, Lambert, Tove Skuttnab Kangas including the discourses carried out in different forums of United Nations like UNICEF, UNESCO and many other international and national bodies belonged to this paradigm. In the second phase, when globalization due to super diversity challenged the very foundation of modernity- one nation-one language-, the world communities started looking at multilinguality as a sociolinguistic reality and as a resource. The discourse on multilingual education needed a paradigm shift from modern to post modern and post structural conceptualization of world societies, language and minds. Many socio- and psycholinguists started critically looking at the relationship between language, mind and society differently. The phenomena like mono- and bilingualism, preservation of endangered languages, language maintenance etc. were deconstructed to lay the foundation of such a paradigm in language education and planning. While the post modernist paradigm was appreciated within the academic writings on multilingual education, the modernist structures including the state governance systems and the UN organizations appropriated systematically the apparatus of the post modernist

discourse on language and education and knowingly and unknowingly created resistance for a larger structural reform (see Panda, 2013).

The present paper therefore critically examines the recent developments in the area of language and education in India, Nepal and Sri Lanka and shows how most of the MLE programmes tried out in these countries are designed strictly within a modernist paradigm. For example, the decision to implement Early Exit Mother Tongue based Multilingual Education only in tribal area schools and not in other schools was founded on the assumption that these schools are linguistically homogenous and the linguistic interventions have to be sequential in nature. Secondly, Mother Tongue based Multilingual Education is needed in schools where tribal and other linguistic minority children study and not in just any school anywhere in the country. Thirdly, in these intervention programmes, languages have to be hierarchically arranged almost in perfect correspondence to their positions in the society. Fourthly, there has to be 'A' Medium of Instruction at any level of classroom transaction. Fifthly, MLE cannot be practiced in a linguistically heterogenous classroom. Sixthly, schools catering to majority children doesn't need MLE paradigm. Seventhly, the code switching is allowed but the same should be practiced and monitored within a bilingual framework. Careful examinations of these assumptions clearly reveal their roots in modernity discourse.

The only way that the Indian state has handled the tensions created by the post modern and post structuralists' challenge to language situation and education was by admitting theoretically the multilinguality of the Indian society in recent policy documents like NCF2005 and RTE act 2009 and rejecting the same on the grounds of administrative infeasibility. The contribution of the international organizations to the modernists' project of MLE is noteworthy. Through funding support, sharing of best practices and the policing of the state actions in the area of minority language and education, these organizations either supported or created new tools and the structural apparatus that appropriated the discursive

contestations of the post structuralists. A micro-analysis of the MLE programmes and the dominant MLE discourses in India and its neighboring countries and the evaluation of MLE programmes in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh show how the discursive fuzziness is intentionally maintained in the policy documents and the strategies for implementation to cover up these lacunas.

MLE activism, over minority sentiments and the market in recent times have gone hand in hand. The post modernists couldn't reject that even the sequentially arranged minimalist Early Exit Multilingual Education programme benefit, if not substantially, the marginalized children cognitively, socially and psychologically. This not only legitimized the modernists' solutions but also brought the market closer to the MLE programmes in early grades. Mindless production of 'MLE materials' in last five years without working on MLE pedagogy both at pre- and elementary school levels substantiates this argument. Easy availability of funds for material production and quick appropriation of international MLE jargons within the limited academic discourse of the states furthered the process of marketization. The interventions by Save the Children and Neg Fire (an NGO in India) in arm conflict and boarder areas and those by MLE and 'MLE Plus' programs in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh show that the inclusion of children's language and identity texts in the curriculum and classroom transactions humanizes the educational experiences of these children, lowers their fears and anxieties, enhances their academic performances and motivates these children to stay longer in the system than before. These achievements are laudable but limited as these are analysed against the psycholinguistic parameters internal to these programmes and to the state ideological and political apparatus and not against post structuralists' concerns and challenges. These programmes therefore fail to develop a system of internal critique. They do not question the unequal majoritarian state practices in the area of language and education even when the post modernists' analysis of the state and education is theoretically available to them.

Part IV
Perspectives on Exclusion and Education

Neoliberal Barriers in Education: Return of the Manu Era

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Until the colonial times, the vast majority of population of the Indian subcontinent was kept out of the reach of education. Manusmriti best represents the exclusionary paradigm that pervaded India until 18th century. The British colonial regime brought in various opportunities to the oppressed castes albeit with pure colonial logic and the doors of education were also opened to them initially by the Christian missionaries with evangelical motivations and later by the government with the governance logic. It catalysed the revolt of these people against the oppressive hegemony of the caste ordained ruling classes. Right from Mahatma Phule, who pioneered these revolts to Babasaheb Ambedkar who culminated them in the form of dalit movement, stressed the importance of education in the emancipation schema of the oppressed people. Ambedkar symbolically discarded the exclusionary regime of Manu by burning Manusmriti in 1927 in Mahad and literally abandoned it by converting himself and his lakhs of followers to Buddhism. As the chairman of the drafting committee, he wrote India's Constitution which is euphemistically called Bhimsmiti. The Constitution uniquely stressed the universal and free education for all children up to 14 years by stipulating a time limit of ten years from the adoption of the Constitution. The new rulers however consistently ignored it. Despite it the oppressed people invested their meagre incomes in schooling their children as a part of their movement. These efforts led to spectacular growth rates in education of children belonging to these social groups, surpassing that of general population and in course of time created a sizable middle class among them with the help of reservations in public employment in their favour. From the mid-1980s, Indian ruling classes accepted neoliberal policy

framework of the global capital with its social Darwinist ethos by opening education to private entrepreneurs. There was a spate of private schools and colleges, particularly in professional streams, in the country with a purely commercial logic which not only blocked the entry of Dalits and poorer people but also had various detrimental impacts on their education. On the one hand, the education became increasingly expensive which could only be afforded by their miniscule middle class with great difficulty. On the other, the privatization ethos of the neoliberal policy regime went on eroding the base of public employment, which has been potent motivator behind the spread of education among the Dalits, Tribals and BCs. While the influx of private capital in the growing educational market has quantitatively expanded educational sphere, the multilayered education system eroded its quality and confined it to a handful elite in metropolis. Dalits and other poor being predominantly rural people were totally cut off from any education of consequence. The government in order to cater to the rising aspirations of growing middle classes, recently added many IITs, IIMs, central universities, etc. but this illusory trend also has been detrimental to their interests. India's higher education, worth \$ 50 billion is slated to be opened to foreign players, further constricting its reach to masses. The paper takes stock of this historical trend in order to expose the modernist pretensions of neoliberal India which in reality is facilitating the return of Manu's exclusionary regime.

Reflections of a School Functionary

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A varying perception of educational backwardness of Muslims has persisted over the last many decades. The Sachar Committee put to rest this issue by substantiating it with data. Ever since, the educational backwardness of the Muslim community is a

matter that is being continuously debated. Yet as always, the response to Muslim educational backwardness has mostly lead to schemes for modernization of madrasas or else reiteration of the provision of Article 30 which allow the community to set up educational institutions of its choice. In the light of the Sachar Report the government this time round also initiated a number of schemes and programmes for the benefit of the community. There was a blind scramble to announce scholarships, remedial teaching and free uniforms, etc. as a panacea to address the issue of educational backwardness of the Muslim community in India. The response generated appeared to suggest that the problems of schooling will now be over, especially for those who have been hitherto deprived of schooling and the opportunities it offers.

However, data alone does not allow us to see the inherent inconsistencies facing the community while accessing education for their children. Mere statistics cannot provide answers nor inform policy and more so educational policy. It is therefore, imperative to understand the finer nuances if one wants to address the issue of Muslim educational backwardness. Mere existence of schools in a particular area or even the setting up of institutions under the provisions of Article 30 cannot be the answer. Over the years while physical access to schools has improved – yet many children remain marginalized. Despite special initiatives taken yet there are many that continue to remain deprived or cannot fully benefit from the facilities. A number of events shape the life of the individual child who is excluded from the educational system. “Some of the events are located in the family, some in the community and the peer group, and many in the school where the child is supposed to be studying. Thus we must capture the many events that surround and affect the child’s life” (Govinda and Bandhopadya). This holds very true for the Muslim community as well which is caught in myriad issues.

The criticality of this is also to be recognized in the light of prevailing stereotypes concerning the Muslim community and of their lack of inclination to send their children for modern education. The skewed information on Muslims contributes to

the strengthening of such distortions resulting eventually in screening out their life experiences.. The lack of an informed leadership too has been problematic for the community which sees the issue of Muslims from the lens of identity alone. Announcement of a “madarsa modernization scheme’ is sufficient to pacify them. Exercising Article 30 and its provisions allow the community to believe that they have achieved success. However, this too does not come without its problems.

This paper presents a narrative of my journey as a functionary of a Society which runs a number of schools in the walled city of Delhi, an assignment I undertook in an honorary capacity. Through this auto ethnographical account I explore my engagement with this institution over a period of seven years and try and make sense of the issues and complexities, the idiosyncrasies and challenges that plague a Muslim educational institution as it goes about the business of providing education for children of its community. What are the negotiations that are constantly put in to place whereby there is some semblance of order? Through this reflective practice , I have tried to place many critical happenings and events, that occurred during my tenure, in to perspective, by which one can gauge what ails Muslim education both from within the community and that from the external world.

Having reached a situation where the educational backwardness of the community is jarring an in depth analysis is desperately called for. This auto ethnographical account (located in the walled city with a concentration of a substantial Muslim population), I hope will fill the gap in our understanding of what ails the education of Muslims, in some small measure.. Besides its historical significance and large concentration of Muslims, the walled city, is in its own way also a bustling commercial hub of the city. The walled city has also had its share of MLAs and Corporators from the community. The walled city of Delhi also represents a power centre of the community with the Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, holding a place of prominence. In the context of Delhi, ‘walled city’ conjures up images of Muslims making it a fine segment to be studied. In

some ways this auto ethnography is also a narrative of the 'intra world' of the community and its implications for education.

Reinforcing centrality of 'labour' in educational sites and possibilities of struggle

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The recent developments in University of Delhi were not as simple as they appeared to be – teachers and students struggling against FYUP and finally getting success!. There has been a much deep rooted process of educational politics underway and I am concerned about a subversive class politics that can become the focal point of struggles within education. Looking at the concept of commodity, commodification of education and role teachers may play as workers within educational establishments this paper argues to bring back the centrality of labour vis-à-vis capital as the only possibility in dealing with the questions of education today. It suggests that not only universities but across educational sites, if teacher-worker becomes an agent of political transformation it would contribute more fruitfully to the issues of social justice and equality than merely doing cosmetic experiments which become non-generalisable or which get stuck in issues of governance.

There is a need to reimagine the issues of curriculum and pedagogy from the perspective of labour, prepare subversive education that is about dreaming, as Ernst Bloch would have argued; that is about generating a sense of hope among students that there is a world beyond the given; that breaks the hierarchies of teacher and students to establish the notions of equality within educational institutions; that defines justice not merely as questions of recognition but as a project that is inherently connected to agenda of social transformation demolishing the systems that create disparities, structural violence and injustices. This can be done if we recognize that

education is a political battleground and a political and partisan position needs to be taken. This partisan position is the perspective of how labour would imagine education today.

Are We All Alike?
Questioning the pathologies of the 'Normate'
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There is something wrong with homogeneity; the *fact* that difference is the norm is socio-politically suppressed by brandishing the weapon of homogeneity. We are made to think that we are all alike. In this talk I question our incessant celebration of homogeneity and show further that normativity is that unifying underlying force working for homogeneity. This overwhelming normative presence demands an examination of the system of knowledge, since, in spite of its oppressive presence, normativity is rarely questioned.

I will take up the case of education for marginalised groups in order to demonstrate the above. In the field of education, whether it is through the curriculum, the delivery, or the material, normativity conspires to construe a bias in the mind of the learner. There are two ways to address the issue of education for the marginalised, through 'constitutional reforms' and by 'questioning normativity'. Within the reform strategy, the question of whether or not to address such an issue as a 'special' case arises, in turn, compelling us to reopen the discussion on the much abused issue of inclusion. I will suggest three ways of achieving inclusion: through empathy, as a right, and through Dalit/ Disability centric knowledge system. I will show that both the empathy and the right perspectives fail, primarily because the first leads to charity and second to rampant non-compliance. However, one issue that is often neglected within the domain of inclusive education in general (Bhattacharya, 2010) and has generally been not in the consciousness of educators, scholars,

policy makers, and activists, is what I have been calling ‘centring knowledge’ (Bhattacharya, 2012, 2013, 2014a,b). In this paper, I will elaborate this further and show how it can be usefully employed for the education of children with disability and dalit children.

For this third way to work, we need to shift our ontologies from the deficit/ Dalit model to that of the normate (Thomson, 1997). However, Disablism or Dalitism re-inscribes a normate voice on the body of the marginalised, taking us back to the “special”, sectoral, view of the dalit/ disabled. We will appeal instead to the need to shift our gaze to the production, operation and maintenance of normateism and to study the ‘pathologies of the normate’; it is only such an approach that can reveal how such social constructions like disabled/ dalit play an exclusionary role by keeping certain groups out.

Education of Students with disabilities: Have we moved ahead?

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Located in the larger context of globalisation and the changes effected by it in the Indian education sector, the paper will explore the connection between disability and education. The situation, it argues, is too complex and the problems for the disabled child are exacerbated by the caste, class and gender variables. The state while formulating its policies for the education of the disabled children hardly looks at the larger context in which the children are located and therefore most of its programmes are restricted to mere tokenism. In such a situation, my submission is that, there is a critical need to interrogate the way the issue of disability conceived by scholars who deal with issues of education. It is significant that we cannot understand the educational scenario unless an effort is made to locate disability within the political economy. The education of the disabled remains a contested site as it fights the

twin forces of globalization as well as politics of normative hegemony unless we fight the Institutional disablism.

**An Alternative Vision for Women's Education:
Jotiba Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj and Dr. B.R.
Ambedkar**

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The question of women's education has been a central concern for liberal social reformers throughout the history of modern times. This has been true of countries in Europe and America as well as India in colonial times. But the ways in which education for women is envisaged, its justification and its prescribed content, have not been the same in all of these.

In India, the dominant discourse regarding women's education was essentially a Brahminical discourse. Whether it was conservatives like B.G.Tilak, liberals like Agarkar or those , like D.D. Karve who actually put an agenda for women's education into practice, we find a hesitancy, if not total neglect, in considering education for girls and women of the "lower" castes India's enormous failure in bringing about universalisation of elementary education in almost 70 years after independence is surely related to this historical legacy.

We do however have an alternative vision for women's education which is seen firstly in the writings, and , even more so, in the praxis of Jotiba and Savitribai Phule. The schools that this couple started were inclusive , and provided education for a diversity of women and girls ranging from Brahmin widows to girls from the Matang caste like Muktabai, who is recognised as the author of an essay of trenchant social criticism while still a young schoolgirl. This vision was later adopted by Shahu Maharaj, the progressive ruler of Kolhapur state, in the early twentieth century. He also started schools which admitted both boys and girls belonging to all castes. Around this time, B.R.

Ambedkar also explicated his programme for social change, in which he saw education as the first step for the the “untouchables” on a path that led to organisation and struggle. His call was inspirational for dalits all over India, but had the greatest impact in Maharashtra; the founding of the Rayat Shikshan Sanstha in Satara in 1918 was an outcome of these alternative visions. The Dalit community in the C. P. and Berar province, part of which later became the Vidarbha region of eastern Maharashtra, also promoted school education for girls in the early twentieth century.

This paper will base itself on an examination of the writings of Phule, Shahu Maharaj and Ambedkar on education as a whole as well as women's education in particular, and of some relevant historical records. There will also be a comparison with the writings of some well-known upper-caste social reformers. We attempt understand this alternative vision as a part of a project of social emancipation of women, together with the *shudras* and *atishudras*.

The final part of the paper will aim at bringing out the relevance of this vision for those who are concerned about education in twenty-first century India.

Who bears the burden of reforms? A study of education and gender in Delhi, 1947-1975

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Post independence knowledge of the effects of inequitous access to education has led the government to form committees to go into the problem of providing education for girls. In Delhi we see a boost being given to girls' school and collegiate education levels in Delhi government's five year plan. This paper takes an overview of the growth of educational facilities in Delhi in over a period of a quarter of a century of independence. It further examines how the traditional stereotyping of gender roles and

the value placed on division of labour by sex whereby men work outside the home and women work in the house as caregivers, is breaking down as more and more girls are taking to education and were entering the job market in the late 1960. But does this seemingly satisfactory correlation between the growth in educational facilities and better enrollment of girls in schools and colleges work in favour of girls across communities, castes and spatial location?

Across each educational level in Delhi during quarter of a century of independence, women were relatively worse off compared to men. This gender disparity becomes more pervasive in the case of certain communities and castes and for those living in rural areas. Explanations of this gender disparity are many. One may look at the educational facilities provided by the government and other agencies to promote education. Another line of argument may be based on the effects of patriarchal oriented families and their approach to girls' education. My proposition is that there were different sets of patriarchal relations in Delhi's society during this period. We need to explore the interplay of educational reforms and their implementation and also how these reforms were impacted by socio-cultural and economic factors. Girls' access to education is definitely a state function but is also conditioned by the sum total of gender, wealth and status of the family and knowledge.

Part V
**Teacher and Teacher Education: The Question of
Transformation**

School Teacher in India Janaki Rajan

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School education is widely studied in the socio-political, policy, programmatic, curricular, pedagogic and ideological contexts. Relatively little studied is impact of these on the human agency of the teacher¹² who is at the heart of the educational process. In recent studies, the teachers come into focus as the principle agent who, more often than not, fail in their task of socialisation of children along equitable lines³. There does exist a somewhat broad understanding that

*"The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of a society; it is said that no people can rise above the level of its teachers. The Government and the community should endeavour to create conditions which will help motivate and inspire teachers on constructive and creative lines... Teacher Education is a continuous process, and its pre-service and in-service components are inseparable"*⁴

This paper is a preliminary attempt to bring to the fore the voice and agency of the 'school teacher' in India from the 18th century indigenous system of education to the present. Who constituted the teachers? What were their own experiences of schooling and socialisation, their own role as teacher in the

¹ Dharampal, (2000), The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century
Volume III, Collected Works. Other India Press: Malpusa, Goa

² Batra, P., (2005), Voice and Agency of Teachers. Economic and Political Weekly Vol - XL No. 40, October 01, 2005

³ Velaskar, P. (March-September 1990). Unequal Schooling As a Factor In The Reproduction of Social Inequality in India. *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2 pp. 131-145.

⁴ Ministry of Human Resource Development, 1086. National Policy on Education, 1986.

overall context of their own expectations?⁵ What were the socio-political-cultural influences that carved the idea of the teacher?⁶ How do these conceptualisations operate and impact teacher preparation, schooling itself, the social fabric, structures and processes?⁷

Some incandescence efforts to challenge prevailing conceptualisation of teachers and their roles⁸, have periodically shone, but not often sustained except as nostalgic exemplars.

The paper relies on the records of the British School Inspectors on the indigenous system of education in India⁹, the Missionaries¹⁰, the 'Normal' Schools¹¹ and related analyses of scholars to understand the teacher and the shifts in who a

⁵ Wilson, P. (1983). *Second hand Knowledge. An inquiry into Cognitive Authority*. Greenwood Press.

⁶ Bhattacharya, S. (2014). *Towards a Global History of Education: Alternative Strategies in Connecting Histories in Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural* (eds.) **Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, Kate Rousmaniere**. [Berghahn Books](#).

⁷ Fischer-Tine, (2004). *National Education, Pulp fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism: Perceptions of an Educational Experiment in 20th Century India* in H. Fisher-Time and M. Maun (eds.), *Colonialism as civilizing Mission, cultural Ideology and British India*. London: Anthem, pp. 229-47

⁸ Sunderraman, (2008). *Savithri Bai Phule. Memorial Lecture*. New Delhi: 2008

⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰ Wardle, D., (1976). *English Popular Education, 1780-1975*. Syndics of CUP, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹¹ Basu, S. C., (1867. *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company (1813-1833)*
http://archive.org/stream/historyofeducati034991mbp/historyofeducati034991mbp_djvu.txt

teacher was till early 1920s. This is followed by examining the shift in the conceptualisation of the teacher in the Nai Talim¹² experiment until the 1950s. The account of the changing face and expectations of teachers in the post-independent era ends with the teacher in the context of the Right to Education.^{13 14 15 16}

Teaching about Inequality

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This paper draws from our experiences of helping school teachers and SCERTs to develop social science text books for middle and high schools as well as materials for teacher education courses. To begin with I explore the grammar which this space imposes on academic discourse – its demand for a special form of conservative political neutrality – and the contestations that take place there. Secondly I try to review the way school text books of various kinds have tried to address the issue of inequality. Finally, I try to recount the many different ways in which inequalities are seen by school teachers and teacher educators and our attempts at engaging with them.

¹² Sykes, Marjorie (1988). The Story of Nai Talim.

<http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/naitalimmarjoriesykes.htm>

¹³ Ministry of Human Resource Development, 1995. The Teacher and Society, Chattopadhyaya Committee Report (1983-95), pp.4.

¹⁴ National Council of Educational Research and Training (2005). National Curriculum Framework. Ministry of Human Resource Development: New Delhi

¹⁵ National Council of Teacher Education, 2009. National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education. New Delhi

¹⁶ Government of India. 2010. the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act.

From a Civic Burden to a Private Affair: Educational Success through Private Tuition in India

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Drawing on various quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the growing practice of supplementary private tutoring evident at all levels of school education in India, this paper aims to focus on its causes as well as effects on learning levels of pupils and on the mainstream school system in general. Is quality an automatic correlate of private tuition, inevitably yielding tutees' educational progress, even when measured strictly in narrow terms of test scores? Do the mainstream and its shadow (i.e. the tuition market) increasingly look alike in their pedagogic goals and practices, and if so, do these ideas and exercises energize or enervate the vision of education understood as a pursuit of critical and creative thinking about the self and the world? Does competition in the tuition market cause salutary pressures on mainstream schools for them to improve their standards? And, is supplementary private tutoring an 'egalitarian supplement'? These are some of the questions that this paper seeks to explore, the analysis of which is likely to shed light on the limits of treating education as a purely individuated private choice rather than as a civic enterprise.

International Conference on Modern Transformations and the Challenges of Inequalities in Education in India

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