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What kind of नागरिकि (citizen)? Civic orientations in Indian education policy

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the civic mission of Indian schools by applying four civic orientations for Indian citizenship – liberalism, republicanism, ethno-nationalism and non-statism – to Indian education policy. The findings indicate that no one civic orientation dominates; therefore, Indian schools – at least at the policy level – must take up some version of each orientation. This political landscape raises several open questions about how Indian schools can cultivate democratic people – an important prerequisite to fulfilling the promise of Indian democracy.

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INTRODUCTION

Since gaining independence in 1947, the Republic of India has undertaken a variety of education initiatives aimed at improving the lives and well-being of its citizenry. Mahatma Gandhi set the stage for a national education policy by 'seeking to harmonise intellectual and manual work' (Republic of India 1992: 38) through free, compulsory schools. Thus, over the last half-century, Indian policy-makers have invested significantly in education and the public school system.

KEYWORDS

India
education policy
citizenship
civic orientations
civic mission of schools
civic education

The 2000s proved an exciting time for education reform and advancement in India. With the publication of the *National Curriculum Framework* in 2005, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) focused much of its energy on curriculum renewal. In the framework, NCERT made clear that education in India is a democratic enterprise and should follow the goals outlined in the national constitution. NCERT highlighted several constitutional principles and these principles are worth quoting in full as they form the foundation of this article:

- The Constitution of India guarantees equality of status and opportunity to all citizens [...] education should function as an instrument of social transformation and an egalitarian social order.
- Justice – social, economic and political – to all citizens is integral to strengthening democracy.
- Liberty of thought and action is a fundamental value embedded in our Constitution. Democracy requires as well as creates a kind of citizen who pursues her own autonomously chosen ends and respects others' right to do so as well.
- A citizen needs to internalise the principles of equality, justice and liberty to promote fraternity among all.
- India is a secular democratic state, which means that all faiths are respected, but at the same time the Indian state has no preference for any particular faith.

(2005: 7)

With these constitutional principles guiding their work, NCERT argues that Indian schools should promote citizens who think critically about questions of equality, justice and liberty.

Even though the passage of the *Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act* of 2009 accelerated Indian children's access to schooling, questions about the quality of and equality in Indian schools still persist. Several scholars (e.g. Goel 2012; Sriprakash 2013) have pointed out that while the vast majority of children in India now attend school, the civic mission of Indian schools has a long way to go to make true on the democratic promises listed in the constitution. Goel (2012), for example, has noted that wealth inequality within and across habitations is a major challenge for policy-makers. Because of these inequities, the Indian government faces a variety of funding problems with its attempts to set up a public school system that provides high-quality schooling to all citizens.

At the same time, Sriprakash (2013) has argued that 'teachers need to be supported to engage critically with the deep social stratifications in Indian society from which deficit models of the uneducated, uncivilised learner derive' (2013: 336). One of these stratifications – the rural/urban divide and migration from rural to urban communities – complicates the expanding school system and distribution of educational resources. According to Sriprakash, what to do with the rural student has proven a difficult question to answer.

Along with these studies, several nongovernmental organizations such as Human Rights Watch, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have highlighted similar issues with Indian school reform. Whereas National Council of Educational Research and Training with support from UNESCO/UNICEF (2014) has pointed out that the Indian

1. government has made significant progress in providing educational access to
 2. minority groups and lower castes, Human Rights Watch (2014) has warned
 3. that discrimination around socioeconomic status and caste issues is still a
 4. major roadblock to equitable schooling in India.

5. Questions about the democratic promise of Indian schools are the focus
 6. of this article. Although the Indian school system is built on a foundation of
 7. democratic principles, the way in which these principles play out in schools is
 8. still very much in process. Because democracy is more than just governance
 9. and laws (Dewey [1916] 2007), the civic mission of Indian schools is embed-
 10. ded within the particular political structures of Indian society. As such, this
 11. study is concerned with the civic orientations articulated in Indian education
 12. policy and how these orientations position how Indian schools cultivate citi-
 13. zens – especially how Indians are socialized (or not) into democratic values.

15. INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

16. India is a complex and multifaceted country that combines Hindu-based
 17. cultural structures with secular republican democracy. Modern Indian politics
 18. is rooted in the 1947 India–Pakistan partition and, therefore, has an ethno-
 19. nationalist history. For example, the largest national political party – the
 20. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) – was founded on Hindutva ideology and draws
 21. its support from India’s Hindu nationalist core. And even though Hindu
 22. nationalism holds a prominent place in Indian politics, India’s constitution
 23. describes the country as a secular democratic republic with myriad discrimina-
 24. tion protections. Furthermore, India’s government holds a British-style legal
 25. framework that promotes western political traditions. In this sense, India must
 26. balance its cultural heritage with its colonial past.

27. Because of India’s Hindu culture and its complicated history with the
 28. British Empire, the Indian people hold varying perspectives on how to organ-
 29. ize civil society and what constitutes good citizenship. According to Shani
 30. (2012), Indian citizenship is framed through four civic orientations: (1) liberal-
 31. ism, (2) republicanism, (3) ethno-nationalism and (4) non-statism. Citizenship
 32. in India is a give and take between these four civic orientations and, unsur-
 33. prisingly, they are found throughout Indian society and politics.

35. Liberal citizenship

36. Liberal citizenship is founded on the idea of the autonomous individual with
 37. a focus on freedom and equality. Liberalism emerged out of the enlighten-
 38. ment period of western political thought. John Locke – the father of liberalism
 39. – argued that government’s purpose is to protect one’s life, liberty and prop-
 40. erty rights. In conjunction with these protections, liberal governments allow
 41. individuals to do what they want with their property as long as they do not
 42. violate another’s life and liberty. Liberalism warrants that people create soci-
 43. eties and governments to protect property and freedoms from violation. As
 44. Locke ([1690] 1821) pointed out in his *Two Treatises on Government*:

45. The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their prop-
 46. erty; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative, is, that
 47. there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the prop-
 48. erties of all the members of society, to limit the power, and moderate the
 49. dominion of every part and member of the society.

50. ([1690] 1821: 377–78)

Accordingly, liberal governments are designed to serve the interests of individuals, whereas liberal citizens are individually focused and are concerned first and foremost with their individualism. In this sense, the individual forms the core political unit of liberal citizenship.

Principles of liberalism are embedded in the Indian constitution. For example, in the section on fundamental rights, Indian citizens are guaranteed a series of individual rights and freedoms – including the protection of life and personal liberty, freedom of conscience and free expression, and the freedom to manage one’s own religious affairs (Republic of India, Constitution, Part III). At the same time, liberalism’s influence in India has warranted the marketization of Indian society. Sahoo (2017) has noted that market liberalization has dislocated the poor and, as a result, has created vast socio-economic inequalities. Because market liberalism individualizes economic behaviour through participation in markets, it reduces social and political incentives to solve these problems. As a result, Sahoo found that ‘neo-liberal policies have enhanced the role of market forces and forced the state to withdraw from major social welfare functions’ (2017: 8). Accordingly, like much of the world, liberalism in India focuses on individual economic utility.

Republican citizenship

Republicanism is founded on the civic notion of self-government. In this sense, republicanism is concerned with the structures of a polity and how political decisions are made within its context. According to Dagger (2002), to live in a republic and, thus, hold republican citizenship, one must live where ‘the government of the state or society is a public matter, and the people rule themselves’ (2002: 146). However, the idea of self-governance does not mean that republican citizens are self-severing (like liberal citizens). Because republican politics is a public affair, republican citizens are concerned with the public’s interest. Dagger has pointed out that this characteristic of republicanism means that, ‘as members of the public, people must be prepared to overcome their personal inclinations and set aside their private interests when necessary to do what is best for the public as a whole’ (2002: 147) – which is a concept that plays out in Indian society.

Republicanism has a long history in India. According to Sarkar (1918), the earliest Hindu polity contained a Greek-like assembly. This assembly – which constituted the centre of civic life – was described by Sarkar in his work on republican institutions in India:

The nucleus of civic life was the assembly [...] this assembly of the whole folk, variously called, *sabha*, *samiti*, *samsad*, *samgati*, etc., was the legislature, as well as the judiciary, nay, the army too. The temper of the people was vehemently democratic; the village, or rather the tribe, was the unit of political life; administration was carried on by public discussion; animated speeches must have been a characteristic feature of that society.

(1918: 592, original emphasis)

As such, governance in early India was a public matter. Villages organized their political affairs in the open and warranted public input into the decision-making process. Several small republics scattered the Indian subcontinent.

1. British colonialism, however, has shaped the republican politics of modern
 2. India. For example, upon independence, the Republic of India maintained
 3. the parliamentary form of government founded in the English Westminster
 4. system (Kumarasingham 2010). The Indian parliament is the locust of power
 5. and serves as the people's voice, thus ensuring that politics is a public affair.
 6. Yet, republicanism in India is an open question. For example, Aakar Patel
 7. (2017) – columnist for *The Times of India* – has asked if India is really a republic
 8. because Hindu nationalism shapes who makes up the public and colours the
 9. republican nature of Indian politics.

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11. ***Ethno-nationalist citizenship***

12. Ethno-nationalism assumes that ethnic-based nations exist and that politi-
 13. cal structures such as states should be built around these nations. From this
 14. perspective, 'the core of the ethnonationalist idea is that nations are defined
 15. by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common
 16. faith, and a common ethnic ancestry' (Muller 2008: par. 9). Ethno-nationalism,
 17. therefore, focuses on discernible, distinct ethnic groups. As such, ethno-
 18. nationalist politics centre on in- and out-group dynamics and, to a large
 19. degree, play to prejudice and bias (Chen and Li 2009).

20. Ethno-nationalism in India is concerned with building a Hindustan – a
 21. government and society built on Hindu religion and culture. Though the Hindu
 22. nature of Indian society is centuries in the making, modern Hindu nation-
 23. alism stems from India's complicated relationship with Great Britain and is
 24. partially economic in cause. Varshney (2017) has pointed out that India had a
 25. robust economy and much smaller poverty class before British colonization.
 26. According to Varshney, India constituted 24.5 per cent of the world's manu-
 27. facturing output in 1750. However, India faced economic decline throughout
 28. its colonial experience and did not begin to recover until the British pulled out
 29. in 1947.

30. After the Hindu-led freedom movement resulted in independence from
 31. the British, the Indian economy began to grow again. Therefore, Hindu nation-
 32. alism is credited with – and, thus, benefits from – the last 70 years of economic
 33. growth. Prime Minister Narendra Modi of the largely Hindu-nationalist BJP
 34. has maintained popular support through economic reforms.

35. The identity components of ethno-nationalism in India are less religious
 36. than social. Because 'Hindus have no central organization, no single religious
 37. text and do not share the same rituals and practices, deities, or beliefs' (Swamy
 38. 2003: 1), Hindu nationalism draws its power from social definitions of what it
 39. means to be Indian. And even though these constructions of Indianness have
 40. religious components, they are largely defined through a complicated social
 41. history of caste hierarchies as well as India's relationship with British colonial-
 42. ism (and outsiders).

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44. ***Non-statist citizenship***

45. Non-statism is a grassroots civic structure that promotes the membership of
 46. the state within society. According to Shani (2011), non-statist political philos-
 47. ophy originated with Mahatma Gandhi and has two key characteristics. First,
 48. non-statism holds that the state (political structure) is a member of society –
 49. not the other way around. Non-statist citizenship is built on Gandhian social

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values and assumes that, if these values are enacted, government can be made meaningless. As Shani has pointed out:

Gandhian non-statism views the state as a greater threat to the individual, particularly to her moral autonomy; it is a fundamentally non-benign entity that is inherently incompatible with real democracy, defined as the greatest good of all. The state should, therefore, ideally cease to exist.

(2011: 665)

From this perspective, democracy is only possible without the state because as long as government exists coercion is present and when coercion is present there is an absence of truly democratic life. The ultimate goal of non-statism is, therefore, to eliminate the need for the state.

Accordingly, the second key characteristic of non-statist citizenship is communitarianism. Non-statist communitarianism focuses on love for others, peace, harmonization, self-understanding and awareness. These characteristics bring people together and create a unity that renders the political state unnecessary. According to Shani, 'everyone is agreed about the necessity of this unity. But everybody does not know that unity does not mean political unity which may be imposed. It means an unbreakable heart unity [...] Political unity will be its natural fruit' (2011: 5). In other words, heart unity – lovingness towards others – enables the political unity necessary for self-government without a state structure.

METHODS

This study analysed six major Indian education policy documents that frame the purpose of schooling in India. These documents are political texts and, as Laver et al. (2003) have noted, 'political texts are the concrete by-product of strategic political activity and have widely recognized potential to reveal important information about the policy positions of their authors' (2003: 311). From this perspective, these six policy documents outline what Indian schools are expected to do – what mission they should serve.

Political texts are one way people and societies create normative boundaries for a polity. These boundaries constrain most political activity and, in this sense, the policy-making process is contained inside policy paradigms embedded within the larger social culture. According to Campbell (2002), this concept means 'taken-for-granted paradigms constrain the range of policies that policymakers are likely to consider' (2002: 23). As such, policy-makers write policies within normative boundaries, and in doing so, they create political texts that reify or sometimes change the normative boundaries that define their politics.

The documents I analysed in this study create normative boundaries for Indian education policy by articulating the purpose of Indian schools. Specifically, I reviewed three policy documents, one piece of legislation and one position paper (see Table 1).

Because of its landmark status ensuring educational rights in India, the *Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act* of 2009 formed a central point for my data collection. The other documents articulate the philosophical framework for public schools in India. These other documents were chosen because they articulate the 'why' for Indian schools.

1.	Author institution	Document title	Document type
2.	Government of India; Ministry of	National Policy on Education 1986	Policy Document
3.	Human Resource and Development;	(updated in 1992)	
4.	Department of Education		
5.			
6.	The Gazette of India; Government	Right of Children to Free and	Legislation
7.	of India; Ministry of Law and Justice	Compulsory Education Act of 2009	
8.	(Legislative Department)		
9.	National Council of Educational	National Focus Group on Aims of	Position Paper
10.	Research and Training	Education (2006b)	
11.			
12.	Government of India; Planning	Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–2017)	Policy Document
13.	Commission	Social Sectors, Volume 3	
14.	Government of India; Ministry of	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Framework for	Policy Document
15.	Human Resource Development;	Implementation Based on the Right	
16.	Department of School Education and	of Children to Free and Compulsory	
17.	Literacy	Education Act of 2009	
18.	National Council of Educational	National Curriculum Framework (2005)	Policy Document
19.	Research and Training		

20. *Table 1: Indian education policy documents analysed in this study.*

23. **Data analysis**

24. I relied on content analysis methods (Schreier 2014) to determine what citi-
 25. zenship orientations articulate the normative boundaries for cultivating citi-
 26. zens in Indian schools. I began my analysis by searching each document
 27. for references and mentions of citizenship and civic-related values (equity,
 28. justice, tolerance, responsibility, etc.). Once I isolated these references and
 29. mentionings, I coded each chunk of text with descriptive words or phrases
 30. that assigned representative meaning to each chunk. This step allowed me
 31. to create a 'summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute'
 32. (Saldaña 2009: 3) for each selection of text and helped extract the politics of
 33. each document.

34. The next step of data analysis consisted of clustering all chunks of analysed
 35. text into categories defined by Shani's (2012) four citizenship orientations –
 36. liberalism, republicanism, ethno-nationalism and non-statism. I examined
 37. each individual category to develop an operational understanding of how
 38. each citizenship orientation is defined in Indian education policy. In this step,
 39. I asked questions such as: How are Indian schools expected to cultivate liberal
 40. citizens... republican citizens... ethno-nationalist citizens... and non-statist
 41. citizens? And, finally, I looked across categories to build a narrative for how
 42. these Indian education policy documents frame what kinds of citizens Indian
 43. schools are called to cultivate – leading to the civic mission of Indian schools.

46. **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

47. Indian education policy is framed by all four citizenship orientations – liber-
 48. alism, republicanism, ethno-nationalism and non-statism. As such, Indian
 49. schools are pushed to cultivate liberal citizens, enact republican aims for
 50. education, nod towards ethno-nationalism and uphold a non-statist vision of
 51. society.

Cultivating liberal citizenship within republican boundaries

One goal of Indian schools is the cultivation of liberal citizenship. Liberalism's focus on the autonomous and free individual is articulated in policy through a discourse of individualism. For example, NCERT's curriculum guidance notes that '[e]ducation should aim at a pluralistic democratic society based on justice, equity and freedom' by fostering 'autonomous human beings connected with each other in mutual appreciation and knowledge' (2006a: 16, original emphasis). According to NCERT, Indian schools should promote the '[a]utonomy of action – freedom to choose, ability and freedom to decide, and ability and freedom to act' (2006a: 23, original emphasis).

Because modern liberalism marries individual autonomy with free-market economics, liberalism in Indian education policy warrants human capital outcomes. For example, in the *Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–2017) Social Sectors*, the Indian government's Planning Commission (2013) points out that: '[e]ducation is the most important lever for social, economic and political transformation. A well-educated population, equipped with the relevant knowledge, attitudes and skills is essential for economic and social development in the twenty-first century' (2013: 47). In this sense, schooling is a central part of India's economic development – following a trend that is replicated throughout the global community. However, NCERT (2005), in their *National Curriculum Framework*, cautions that:

We need to be vigilant about the pressures to commodify schools and the application of market-related concepts to schools and school quality. The increasingly competitive environment into which schools are being drawn and the aspirations of parents place a tremendous burden of stress and anxiety on all children, including the very young, to the detriment of their personal growth and development, and thus hampering the inculcation of the joy of learning.

(2005: 9–10)

The global neo-liberal education movement that links student achievement to global economic competitiveness promotes a high-stakes testing war between students and countries – which contributes to the anxieties highlighted by NCERT.

The economic pressures faced by students and countries force policy-makers to take up achievement policies in their quest to improve human capital. These pressures, in turn, create global testing proliferation as policy-makers attempt to measure their economic progress against the human capital produced by their schools. However, as Kamens (2015) warns, 'high achievement can only matter if the skills taught in schools are relevant to the needs of the economy *and if* the economy can absorb them' (2015: 443, original emphasis) – which is something difficult to enact. In other words, the connection between school and global economic competitiveness is nebulous.

Individual members of democratic societies have opportunities to construct their social systems – including the economic landscape. From a citizenship perspective, republicanism takes up this charge. In Indian education policy, these republican boundaries ensconce the harsh edges of liberalism and are about constructing society.

Because republican citizenship is concerned with political identity and how societies fashion the overall political community, republicanism charges

1. Indian schools with 'nurturing an over-riding identity informed by caring
 2. concerns within the democratic polity of the country' (NCERT 2005: 5). Indian
 3. schools are asked to foster a social form of personal responsibility. This form
 4. of personal responsibility places liberalism within a republican framework. In
 5. other words, although individuals are responsible for their own actions (for
 6. their station in life, so to speak), they are also accountable to the political
 7. community (building a better community for all Indians). From this perspec-
 8. tive, how individual Indians act determines the nature of Indian society.

9. This attention to individualism focuses republican citizenship on the rule
 10. of law, civic virtue and personal responsibility (Dagger 2002). Accordingly, the
 11. curriculum of Indian schools emphasizes concepts such as equality, freedom,
 12. autonomy of mind, autonomy of action and care and respect for others – which
 13. is defined in the *National Curriculum Framework* as 'going beyond respecting
 14. their [individual's] freedom and autonomy, concern about well-being and
 15. sensitivity to all members of society' (NCERT 2005: vi). In this sense, Indian
 16. schools cultivate liberal citizenship within republican boundaries.

17.

18. **Nodding towards ethno-nationalism**

19. Ethno-nationalism in India means Hindutva – an ideology organized around
 20. the supremacy of the Hindu way of life and aimed at creating a Hindu state.
 21. According to the United States Commission on International Religious
 22. Freedom (USCIRF), India has had a resurgence of Hindutva thinking under
 23. BJP leadership. One way this resurgence has played out in everyday life is
 24. through conversion laws. USCIRF (2017), in a report on religious freedom, has
 25. pointed out that:

26.

27. While the laws purportedly protect religious minorities from forced
 28. conversions, they are one-sided, only concerned about conversions away
 29. from Hinduism but not toward Hinduism. Observers note that these
 30. laws create a hostile and, on occasion, violent environment for religious
 31. minority communities because they do not require any evidence to
 32. support accusations of wrong-doing.

33.

(2017: 150)

34.

35. Even though India is a religiously diverse state, the vast majority (about 80
 36. per cent) are Hindus and India's history parallels the history of Hinduism. As
 37. such, Hindu nationalism has a strong foundation in Indian society.

38.

39. Given this context, Indian education policy nodes towards Hindu nation-
 40. alism by highlighting the assimilation responsibilities of Indian schools.
 41. For example, the *National Policy on Education* points out that 'every country
 42. develops its system of education to express and promote its unique social-
 43. cultural identity' and that one goal of Indian education is 'to promote national
 44. progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture, and to strengthen
 45. national integration' (Republic of India 1992: 2, original emphasis). In conjunc-
 46. tion with this focus on shaping one India, the *National Curriculum Framework*
 47. assumes India's progress was built on the evolutionary advantage of Hindus.
 48. The framework argues that 'understanding human evolution should make it
 49. clear that the existence of distinctness in our country is a tribute to the special
 50. spirit of our country, which allowed it to flourish' (NCERT 2005: 7). Indian
 51. schools are, therefore, charged with helping build the Hindutva.

52.

Under Prime Minister Modi and the BJP, Hindu nationalism has expanded throughout India's government – including education. For example, Dinanath Batra – a member of the Hindu organization Shiksha Bachao Andolan – recommended that the government adopt Hindu religious texts as foundation for instruction in public schools. Discussing his recommendations for reform, Batra told Mandakini Gahlot of *The Washington Post* (2015, March 19):

We can't do that without religion, so religious studies must become a part of school curriculum. The second thing that is required is a complete overhaul of the current setup – every single textbook should be rewritten to reflect national pride.

(2015: par. 7)

However, as Flåten (2017) has pointed out, these Hindutva-based education reforms have run up against Modi's political platform which, in key ways (e.g. addressing income inequality), is broader than the BJP's attempts to rebuild India's Hindu identity.

Even though India remains a Hindu-nationalist influenced place, India's transition into a country dominated by global neo-liberalism (Neveling et al. 2014) places small checks on Hindutva nation-building. Liberalism within republican boundaries, therefore, overshadows the ethno-nationalist discourse in the policy texts analysed for this study. Nevertheless, Hindu nationalism has strong cultural roots and, as such, remains pervasive throughout Indian society.

Enacting non-statist visions of society

Non-statism acts as a boundary wall around India's liberal, republican and ethno-nationalist citizenship orientations. Because non-statism derives from Gandhian political philosophy, non-statist societies build community across difference – something that works against Hindutva and opens up liberalism and republicanism to social thoughtfulness. In this sense, non-statism's core values are openness to others and egalitarianism.

Non-statism is difficult work, though. Gandhi himself was unable to construct a non-statist Indian society during his lifetime. According to Paxton (2011):

A Gandhian society would exhibit a tolerance of diversity, a fairer economic system, a change in diet, a greater awareness of impacts on the environment, and a new concept of defense. To reach such a society we require a new attitude of mind and there will be vested interests to overcome but, I suggest, none of these things are impossible.

(2011: par. 12)

Because non-statist citizenship can seem utopic, it is no surprise that Indian education policy gives non-statism the short shift.

Even though non-statism is largely overlooked in Indian education policy, (NCERT's (2005) *National Curriculum Framework* calls for non-statist citizenship by pointing out that Gandhi 'dreamt of an India in which every individual discovers and realizes her or his talents and potential by working with others towards reconstructing the world' (2005: 3). And to build such an India,

1. NCERT makes clear that Indian schools should enact a curriculum of peace.
2. For example, the *National Curriculum Framework* continues by pointing out that meaningful education:

- 3.
- 4.
5. should empower individuals to choose peace as a way of life and enable
6. them to become managers rather than passive spectators of conflict.
7. Peace as an integrative perspective of the school curriculum has the
8. potential of becoming an enterprise of healing and revitalising the
9. nation.

(2005: 6–7)

- 10.
- 11.
12. Peace is the end goal of non-statist education. Therefore, non-statist citizen-
13. ship warrants peace and non-statist schooling cultivates peaceful beings.

14.

15. **WHAT KIND OF नागरिक (CITIZEN)?**

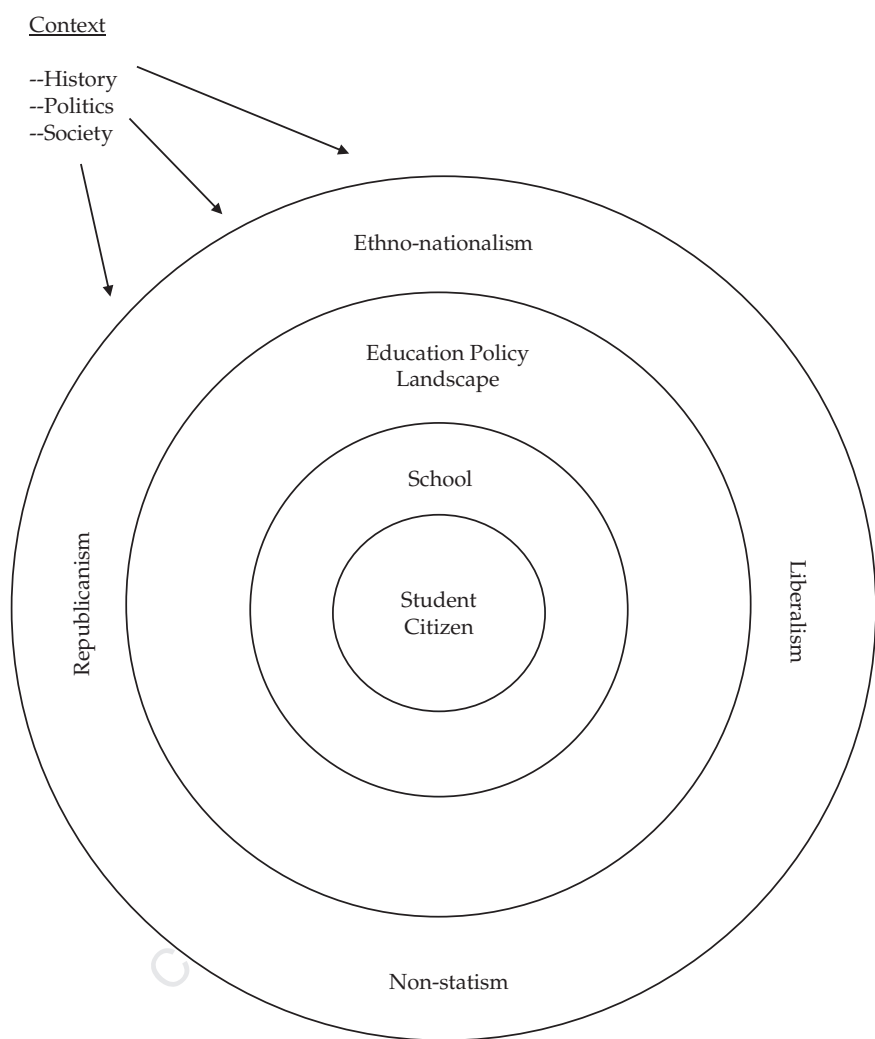
16. My findings present a cognitive map of the citizenship orientations and
17. normative boundaries that frame Indian education policy. Cognitive mapping
18. is important because ‘assertions about the world imply possible policy
19. options which (taken in coherent bundles) in turn imply strategies’ (Eden and
20. Ackermann 2004: 16) for addressing specific political, economic, and social
21. problems. This analysis of Indian education policy illustrates how the Indian
22. government has framed what Indian schools should and should not do. As
23. such, this framing rationalizes Indian education around certain purposes and
24. encourages school planners to take up curricula that promote these purposes
25. (Mehta 2013).

26. One important part of examining the civic mission of Indian schools is
27. analysing how citizenship is articulated in the political discourse of the
28. policy texts that form the philosophical framework that guides these schools.
29. Because all four citizenship orientations are embedded in the policy docu-
30. ments, the question is not so much what kind of *citizen* as what kind of *citi-*
31. *zens*. Citizenship is messy and, as might be expected, individuals do not hold
32. one particular citizenship identity. Nor do societies promote one civic orienta-
33. tion – especially democratic societies. People vacillate between various civic
34. orientations and form various civic identities by choosing the one that meets
35. their needs at the time.

36. It’s not surprising that Indian education policy articulates a combination
37. of liberal, republican, ethno-nationalist and non-statist civic orientations.
38. Figure 1 points out how India’s history, politics and the structure of Indian
39. society shape the citizenship orientations that permeate the Indian commu-
40. nity; find their way into Indian education policy and, eventually, land in Indian
41. classrooms.

42. Indian schools cultivate Indian citizens by filtering liberalism, republican-
43. ism, ethno-nationalism and non-statism through the policy documents that
44. govern Indian schools. Because no one civic orientation dominates, Indian
45. schools – at least on a policy level – must take up some version of each orien-
46. tation. However, this political landscape raises several open questions about
47. how Indian schools can cultivate democratic people – an important prereq-
48. uisite to fulfilling the promise of Indian democracy. What role should each
49. civic orientation play in constructing democratic India? Which civic orien-
50. tation is the most democratic? How can Indian schools support the cultivation
51. of democratic citizens?

52.



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Figure 1: How citizenship orientations shape the cultivation of Indian citizens in schools.

These questions are important for the civic mission of Indian schools. Education plays an important role for the socialization of citizens and the political development of societies. Accordingly, several scholars have examined how schools develop civic identities (e.g. Hahn 1998; Koskimaa and Rapeli 2015; Torney-Purta et al. 2001) as well as how schools interweave with political and economic contexts to enact (e.g. Au 2016; Ball 2012) particular social structures. In India, individual students must make sense of these contradictory orientations (e.g. ethno-nationalism vs. non-statism) as they develop their own understanding of what it means to be an Indian citizen.

1. CONCLUSION

2. In democratic societies, ideas compete for supremacy (e.g. Gutmann and
3. Thompson 1998, 2004). According to Campbell (2002), we create competing
4. normative frameworks through the language we use to describe our politics
5. and vision of the good life. This analysis illustrates how the discourse of liber-
6. alism, republicanism, ethno-nationalism and non-statism compete for space
7. in Indian education policy, thus creating competing visions for how Indian
8. schools should frame citizenship.

9. Democratizing individuals and, thus, society lies within the civic mission of
10. schools. And exploring questions about the civic mission of schools and how
11. schooling can cultivate democracy is critical to creating a democratic world. In
12. order to promote the making of democratic people, we must first understand
13. how citizenship translates into formal schooling. This understanding is crucial
14. to building democratic schools. Because education policy frames what schools
15. should and should not do, the civic mission of schooling is often found – at
16. least at the macro level – within education policy documents.

17. The more connected we are to the individuals who cross our paths, the
18. more likely we are to improve the lives of each and every one of us – especially
19. those of us who need the most support. In the words of Vietnamese Buddhist
20. Monk Thich Nhat Hanh, 'letting people profit from human suffering or the
21. suffering of other beings is somethings we cannot do' (1987: 102). Instead, our
22. arms should be open to one another – ready to restore and offer refuge.

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