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establecimiento del moderno estado-nación indio con una constitución democrática redactada por una asamblea constituyente con representación de todos los sectores de la diversa sociedad india (incluyendo 15 mujeres provenientes de diferentes contextos) y presidida por el Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, un académico e intelectual ‘dalit’², prometió el establecimiento de la democracia y la justicia social. Sin embargo, el presente trabajo sostiene que la promesa constitucional no puede ser cumplida sin la descolonización de las aspiraciones y objetivos de la educación que sirve a los intereses de grupos de élite concretos. Para descolonizar la educación, sería fundamental alinear sus pretensiones y objetivos con los de la educación democrática.

Palabras clave: *descolonización, educación, democracia, justicia social, India*

1. INTRODUCTION

Speaking in the Constituent Assembly on 4 November 1948, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the chair of the Constituent Assembly that drafted the modern Indian constitution, said:

Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realise that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic [B. R. Ambedkar] (Roy, 2014).

Recalling the above quote from Ambedkar about the undemocratic Indian society, Arundhati Roy in her 2014 essay highlights the implementation challenges of the democratic Indian constitution. This is because more than half a century and a decade after the Indian constitution came into force on 26th January 1950, Indian

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creative imagination. Another native intellectual of colonial Calcutta, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, was seeking to do similar things by modernising curricular content in the spoken language, Bengali, and devising pedagogic approaches to stimulate critical thinking and questioning through the mode of native storytelling, as it has been also argued by Spivak (2002). This is very similar to the arguments Darder (2022) makes in her article about culturally democratic pedagogy:

A culturally democratic pedagogy also creates the conditions for subaltern students to develop the courage to question the structures of domination that control their lives. In this way, they awaken their subaltern voice as they participate in moments of reflection, critique, and action together with other students who are also experiencing the same process of discovery. Hence, students are not only provided with curricular content that is considered culturally relevant or language instruction in their native tongues. Rather, they are actively involved in critically examining curricular content, texts, and classroom experiences to determine the emancipatory as well as oppressive and contradictory values that inform their thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors. Through this critical pedagogical process, subaltern students develop their abilities to understand their lives as cultural and political beings, as well as how to understand themselves as subjects of history and cultural citizens of the world (Darder, 2022).

However, the colonial logic and influence was so powerful that the pedagogic experiments of “organic intellectuals”, such as Tagore or Vidyasagar remained in the periphery. Since English slowly became the language of trade and commerce, and coveted colonial government jobs, most students and their parents longed for modern western education imparted in English. This trend continues even today in

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the postcolonial era and has intensified in the recent years following neoliberal globalisation.

As Ashish Nandy (1983) has argued, the dilemma of the post-colonial condition is that

colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities once and for all. In the process, it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside, in structures and in minds (Nandy, 1983, p. xi).

Similarly, I argue here that in the age of globalisation the “East is now everywhere, within the East and outside, in structure and minds”.

Hence, caste-based discrimination has now become a global social problem, as it persists even among the highly educated Indian diaspora abroad living in places, such as the Silicon Valley in the United States. This has justified Ambedkar’s (1916) prophecy (published in 1917), as he once wrote in a paper while he was a student at Columbia University:

The caste problem is a vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is as institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but one capable of much wider mischief, for “as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem” (Ambedkar, 1917, paragraph 4).

Indeed, caste has become a world problem in the twenty-first century. Caste has become integrally linked with postcolonial national identity formation (Singh, 2015).

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In the following section of this article, I will analyse the role that schooling played in the postcolonial National Identity formation.

3. SCHOOLING & POSTCOLONIAL NATIONAL IDENTITY

Schooling plays a major role in social reproduction around the world. In postcolonial India, schooling played a major role in Indian national identity formation. Over the past 75 years through the standardised National Curriculum Frameworks (NCF) and various ritual practices, such as National flag hoisting during Independence Day, and Republic Day, and singing of National anthem daily, Indian schools have sought to forge a strong National identity amongst the citizens. This has been done by mostly disregarding the exploitative and oppressive structures that are still prevalent among the idealised postcolonial Indian society (Kamat, 2004). As India became independent from oppressive colonial rule, the power shifted from the colonisers to the local ruling elites. Mukherjee and Singh (2021) write:

after the colonial masters left, the power dynamics were hijacked by caste and class divides within the indigenous Indian society. This is against the vision of the founding fathers of postcolonial Indian national imaginary, like Tagore and Gandhi, who viewed education as vehicles of transformative social change and nation-building through inclusive education. The ethos of Tagore's *Shantiniketan*, Gandhi's *Nai Taleem*, and the ideas of Nehru, Ambedkar, and Maulana Azad were centred around the concept that education would help alleviate the status of the people who were relegated to the fringes of the society due to cast and class divides (Batra, 2005). There is an urgent need for the future NCF to remove these systematic barriers for the

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Image 1. Open air classes at Shantiniketan. Source: <https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/inner-vision/cid/1847871>



Unlike in the traditional classrooms, children were allowed to climb the trees and run around in between classes. They were allowed to observe nature, play, and learn amidst natural surroundings to create a sense of bonding with the elements of nature. Students were also encouraged to ask questions to their teachers about various aspects of the natural surroundings based on their observations. This kind of scientific enquiry-based pedagogy was encouraged in his decolonial model of school, rather than rote-learning from textbooks in a foreign language. Inclusivity and ecological awareness were most important aspects of Tagore's decolonial model of school.

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for the sustainability of planet Earth. This is our only hope for survival as humanity. Else, we will soon become extinct like the dinosaurs in this age of Anthropocene.

7. NOTES

¹ “Dalits” (oppressed) are the “outcastes” and historically marginalised communities within India. The caste system within the Indian subcontinent is a centuries old practice of sociological distinction by birth based on familial occupation. Those who fall outside the caste system are referred to as “outcastes”. Since the British introduced the system of collected caste-based demographic data, they are referred to as scheduled castes / scheduled tribes (SC/ST) and other backward castes (OBC) in official documents.

² Los ‘dalits’ (oprimidos) son las comunidades excluidas de las castas e históricamente marginadas en la India. El sistema de castas del subcontinente indio es una práctica, de cientos de años de antigüedad, de distinción sociológica por nacimiento basada en la ocupación familiar. Los que quedan fuera del sistema de castas son denominados “excluidos de las castas”. Desde que los británicos introdujeron el sistema de recopilación de datos demográficos basándose en castas, se alude a los excluidos de las castas como castas marginadas / tribus marginadas y otras castas postergadas en documentos oficiales.

³ Caste is an Indian marker of social distinction based on profession. There were 4 main castes into which ancient Indian Hindu society was divided – Brahmins (priests or scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaysvas (businessmen & traders), and Shudras (workers in service). Anybody outside of these 4 main castes were referred to as “outcastes”. The “outcastes” would do menial works as manual scavenging, garbage removal and cleaning etc. They have been historically marginalized, oppressed and discriminated against since ancient times. Hence, they are popularly referred to as “dalits” (oppressed). Even though there has been much fluidity in modern times, still caste-based discrimination is rampant even among modern Indian society. This also includes those belonging to other South Asian religions and the diasporic population. Please see: <https://theconversation.com/caste-doesnt-just-exist-in-india-or-in-hinduism-it-is-pervasive-across-many-religions-in-south-asia-and-the-diaspora-180470>.

⁴ “Saffronising the curriculum” or “saffronisation of education” within the postcolonial Indian context is connected to the rise of Hindu Nationalism or “Hindutva”, a right-wing political ideology that seeks to establish a Hindu nation. See: <https://theologyandsociety.com/where-does-hindutva-really-come-from/>

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