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The University of San Francisco

HIGHER EDUCATION DISCOURSES OF INDIA'S NATIONAL EDUCATION
POLICY 2020: ANALYSIS AND TEACHER COUNTERSPACES
IN JESUIT INSTITUTIONS

A Dissertation Presented
to
The Faculty of School of Education
Department of Leadership Studies
Organization and Leadership Program

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Vincent Pereppadan Poulouse
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ABSTRACT

Higher Education Discourses of India's National Education Policy 2020: Analysis and Teacher Counterspaces in Jesuit Institutions

Postcolonial India where diversities, tensions, and conflicts caused by social and economic hierarchies, political and religious divisions, cultural variations exist, higher education is expected to play a significant role in building up a harmonious and humane democracy founded on justice to all, especially to the minority communities. Therefore, to examine how the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 envisioned higher education and how it is felt among the stakeholders of a minority, this study attempted to analyze its higher education discourses and the responses of Indian Jesuit higher education faculty members. For analysis, this study employed the discourse historical analysis (DHA) frame combined with a critique of neoliberalism and a theory of resistance as care for subjectivity.

A select text of the NEP 2020's introduction and the higher education section and the responses of 168 faculties who participated in an online qualitative survey were analyzed in this study. The results revealed that the NEP 2020's higher education vision was founded on a crucial discourse strategy of restoring an ancient institutional model to make India a neoliberal superpower. It concealed a political project of the majoritarian Hindu nationalist regime. In contrast, the survey analysis revealed discourse strategies opposite to and varying from the NEP 2020's by their references to the organic continuation and growth of higher education on the democratic and secular foundations. The study suggested teachers' subjectivity as a potential space for reform resistance.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and the research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Ana and Dean, who generously helped and supported my studies at the University of San Francisco, for their commitment to and love of life on Earth and sustainable means of living.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

The national higher education policies worldwide present a significant ideological shift from democratic ideals to neoliberal globalization (Alzafari, 2017; Blanco Ramírez, 2014; de Jager & Nieuwenhuis, 2005; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016; Vidovich, 2001). A global-standards approach to stimulating performance-based higher education signals a redefinition of national higher education policies in economic terms (Blanco Ramírez, 2014; Jin & Ball, 2020; Vidovich, 2001). Globalization impacts nation-states' education policies frame higher education as an efficient means to produce skilled workers for a global workforce (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Artuc et al., 2015; Giroux, 2002; Jin & Ball, 2020).

Consequently, global capitalist forces' economic and educational interests create local conflicts in the national policy implementation spaces, both in advanced and developing nations (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Findlow, 2008; Gardinier, 2012; Sarakinioti & Philippou, 2020). For example, Sarikinioti and Philippou (2020) demonstrate how the higher education quality standards and guidelines framed by European agencies exercise their power and control over Cyprus and Greece's national spaces. National policymakers compromise with these global-local conflicts by introducing higher education as a global human capital development project embedded in a nationalist cultural frame (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Artuc et al., 2015; Giroux, 2005; Mangla, 2018). Therefore, as a critical Jesuit scholar, this researcher was motivated by an

urge to examine the case of the latest Indian policy on education and investigate if it demonstrated these conflicts and strategies.

Studies indicate that the national policymakers' vision of the 2030 global sustainable development agenda is set on the global workforce discourses (Baltodano, 2012; Bamberger et al., 2019; Castree, 2008; Chatterjee, 2010; Dicker et al., 2019; Lewin-Jones, 2019; Vettori, 2018). Scholars recognize a profound influence of neoliberal discourses in policymakers' emphasis on the 21st century skill-based education. Similarly, the scholarship also demonstrates the rise of local and nationalist thrust in education policies, especially in the developing countries (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Bengtsson & Östman, 2016; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2020; Mangla, 2018). Therefore, this researcher was guided by the scholars' perspectives on current education policies' global and national determinants.

Furthermore, contemporary studies reveal how the current nationalist government policies adopt neoliberal free-market ideas to their educational and political projects (Bajaj, 2014; Chacko, 2019; Lim, 2016; Vidovich, 2001). For example, the scholarship on postcolonial development of independent nation-states recognizes the shift from a value-based democratic higher education ideal to a neutral notion of quality higher education enhanced by the neoliberal market ideology of borderless freedom (Blanco Ramírez, 2014; Chatterjee, 2010; Fukahori, 2014; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016). The national policymakers facilitate the neoliberal thrust in higher education by presenting education policies on a nationalist frame of human capital development for national growth global reach (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Mangla, 2018).

The scholarship also reveals that nationalists in political power have shifted the discourses from the government's role of protecting democracy and nationalism to a global market facilitator for economic and social progress (Chacko, 2019; Giroux, 2011; Mangla, 2018). Consequently, higher education opportunities function as borderless and global to a powerful elite group while they stand denied or unavailable for the rest.

Consistent with these scholars' studies, it was crucial to ask the question of how India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 envisaged higher education, especially in the context of political tensions and social inequities existing between different communities divided by religion, caste, language, region, ethnicities. In other words, it was significant to ask whose voices constituted the NEP 2020 discourses and whose were silenced. What conflicts, contradictions, exclusions, and tensions emerged within the NEP 2020's global and national orientations and its higher education vision?

These questions foreground a need to explore the policy implementation contexts and assess how the reforms are viewed and reacted by the stakeholders. Since teachers, in the case of higher education, faculties, form a significant group of actors in education policy contexts, their adoption, adaption, or negative reaction would impact the implementation and the efficacy of reforms (Ashraf, 2019; Fullan, 2010; Fuller, 2019). Examining the subjective spaces of teacher responses could reveal their potential for resistance (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Bacchi, 2000; Fink, 2017; Giroux, 2011).

For example, several studies have approached teachers' role as agents of continuity and change in policy practice contexts (Ashraf, 2019; Nguyen & Bui, 2016; Priestley et al., 2012). In contrast, the scholarship also informs how non-recognition of teachers' agency and role causes policy failures (Di Biase, 2019; Fullan, 2010; Le Fevre,

2014; Zembylas, 2009). However, studies have not adequately explored how teachers' perceptions of and reactions to policy discourses reveal their potential to adopt, adapt, challenge, and resist policies. The present study seeks to address that gap in research by discerning a potential power in teachers' responses to the higher education discourses of India's NEP 2020.

Background and Need

An overview of the background and need in four contexts is examined below: a historically evolved context of national politics, a neoliberal context of globalization, an immediate context of the NEP 2020, and a stakeholder context of teacher subjectivity.

A Historically Evolved Context

The emergence of the NEP 2020 reforms is the latest of a series of attempts to define and revamp the nation's culturally and politically contested higher education trajectory. When India became independent in 1947, the University Education Commission (1948-1949), headed by S. Radhakrishnan, was constituted to define the course of higher education of the nation (Agarwal, 2009). This Commission recommended higher education to be in the federal domain. However, the multi-ethnic and plurilingual political contestations influenced and complicated the efforts to develop a national education policy. Consequently, the architects of the 1956 Constitution of India proposed education as the policy domain of individual states, disregarding the recommendation Radhakrishnan Commission. Consequently, each of the 14 states developed its separate education system influenced by various local issues and contestations that resulted in diverse and complex policy formulations.

To effectively address these complexities, the 1966 Education Commission headed by Kothari (1970) submitted a comprehensive reform recommendation to the federal government, translated into the National Policy on Education, 1968. Although those recommendations were not mandatory, they helped several significant structural and qualitative changes progressively implemented in school education. Nevertheless, higher education reforms remained initial (Agarwal, 2009; Mangla, 2018).

Meanwhile, the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution in 1976 moved the member-states' rights to enact the education policy to the mutual domain, empowering the federal government to legislate and implement national education policies. This change had two significant impacts: it centralized the federal power to enforce a 1986 policy implementation program of action (POA) in 1992 and enabled the opening of some elite agency spaces that introduced institutional and bureaucratic top-down reforms. For example, a series of federally designed elite-oriented institutions, namely, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya and a cluster of international economic agency-supported education programs, came into existence controlled by the federal bureaucratic network in collaboration with some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Mangla, 2018).

In addition, India's postcolonial political and cultural contestations had progressively created conditions for the nationalist elites to reform education (Mangla, 2018). For example, while the Constitution's directive of Article 45 mandated the states to ensure free and compulsory education of children, most of the states failed to do so until 2009 (Kothari, 1970; MHRD, 2020; National Council of Education Research and Training [NCERT], 1966). As a result, higher education continued to be the prerogative of the elites. Further, a recommendation of the 1966 education commission report to

allocate six percent of national income for education, repeated by the subsequent commissions, remains far from realized even today (MHRD, 2020). Thus, in effect, the historically evolved context of education favored the development of the private sector and the economically powerful.

A Neoliberal Global Context

As the historical development of education policies indicated, a context of the global neoliberal project has influenced the construction of India's recent education policies. Neoliberal globalization, an economic project of western capitalist nation-states launched in the 1990s, has been restructuring the national borders of trade for easy capital flow (Castree, 2008; Giroux, 2002). Consequently, the new globalization reforms directly impacted national higher education contexts while the capitalist powers introduced a corporatized and marketized model of global higher education. Consequently, new concepts of global higher education standards, accreditation and regulatory agencies, and restructured liberal forms of higher education emerged and were promoted globally (Giroux, 2002, 2005; Jin & Ball, 2020; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016; Sarakinioti & Philippou, 2020).

Scholarship demonstrated how neoliberal globalization significantly impacted the national education policy contexts, especially among the developing countries (Giroux, 2002, 2005a; Jin & Ball, 2020). Studies problematized the global market's neoliberal discourses embedded in the nationalist discourses and exposed how the governments withdrew from higher education to free the public education spaces for private and market forces. Scholars also argued how nation-states redefined democratic values in neoliberal terms. Equity was replaced by equality of opportunities, access by a merit-

based knowledge economy, human enlightenment by human-capital development, and a public-regulated economy by a market-governed economy (Bamberger et al., 2019; Jin & Ball, 2020; Menashy & Read, 2016; Zancajo, 2019).

Initial critical responses to India's NEP 2020 also highlighted imbrications of neoliberal market discourses embedded in its nationalist orientations. Scholars and intellectuals argued that the NEP 2020 design of governance projected a monolithic architecture of federal power concentration, undermining the Constitutional obligations of collaboration with the member-states (Jacob, 2020a, 2020b; K. Kumar, 2020). Moreover, critical reports indicated that the NEP 2020 facilitated and promoted privatization, global marketization, and internationalization of Indian higher education at the cost of democracy and rights of the poor, Dalits, and the disadvantaged communities, including the minorities (Jacob, 2020a, 2020b; K. Kumar, 2020; Xavier, 2020). In short, the neoliberal global context was harshly local, impacting the least of the social fabric.

India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 Context

An immediate context of this study was determined by India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020. It is a 65-page-long web-published document in August 2020 by the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) (2020). A committee led by Dr. Kasturirangan, a space scientist, retired from the helm of India's space project, formulated the detailed draft, which was summarized into the NEP 2020 document (Kasturirangan et al., 2019). The drafting mission was assigned by the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)-led federal government. Although the document covers reforming the entire Indian education, its implementation impacts India's 993 universities at the higher education level, 39,931 university-affiliated colleges, and 10,725 stand-alone institutions providing

diplomas in various streams (Department of Higher Education, 2019). Consequently, the NEP 2020 impacts the future of the institutions, faculties, students, and above all, the nation's destiny.

A closer look into some significant statistics provided by the Department of Higher Education (2019) reveals that India's gross higher education enrolment ratio (GER) is 26.3 percent, and 10.62 percent of the total enrollment is in distance mode higher education. The data further reveal wide and deep disparities between urban and rural, private and public institutions of higher education while the system remains disadvantageous to deserving students from less privileged backgrounds.

As a result, how the NEP 2020 reforms impacted India's complex higher education setting opened a challenging research area. How the NEP 2020 reforms addressed the issues of geographical inequities, discriminatory access, urban-rural gaps, exclusions, and other implicit issues merited critical attention. Moreover, how the stakeholders felt and reacted to the NEP 2020's proposals in the immediate policy contexts also deserved scholarship attention.

Teacher Subjectivity Spaces and Resistance

Teachers being significant actors at education reform sites, researchers investigated how teachers view and react to policy discourses. While they could perceive reforms positively, many studies on higher education in neoliberal times problematize faculties' metamorphosis into factory workers and workforce producers (Ball, 2015, 2017; Giroux, 2002, 2005; Vidovich, 2001). At the same time, theories on policy resistance suggest that faculties' responses to policy discourses have resistance potential as care for subjectivity (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Burman et al., 2017). On the

contrary, several studies attribute policy failures to the non-recognition of teachers' role in policy contexts (Di Biase, 2019; Fullan, 2010; Gardinier, 2012; Ham & Dekkers, 2019; Le Fevre, 2014; Nguyen & Bui, 2016; Zembylas, 2009).

In addition, research suggests that teachers have the power to change, reformulate, or constitute deviant discourses in the contexts of policy practice (Burman et al., 2017; Fuller, 2019; Smith, 2020). Therefore, consistent with the critical scholarship, it emerged significantly to examine how the faculties, as a major stakeholder group in the education policy contexts, responded to the NEP 2020's higher education discourses.

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to analyze higher education discourses within the NEP 2020 text and the responses of Jesuit higher education faculty members to such discourses. The critical discourse approach, emerging from critical social analysis theories, had been a helpful tool to study policies (Angermuller et al., 2014; Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 1993; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak et al., 2014). When approached as discourse, education policy problematized, on the one hand, the structural issues of how the policy reproduced and reinforced the existing social relations in favor of the robust social structures (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Bacchi, 2000; Diem et al., 2014). On the other hand, the post-structural critical discourse analysis problematized the knowledge production process that created and redefined an emerging privileged and dominant social class. Such a dynamic process produces equity, access, justice, and exclusion issues in education (Angermuller et al., 2014; Diem et al., 2014; van Dijk, 1993). As an analytic tool, this study employed the critical discourse approach to analyze the NEP 2020 text to examine the emerging dominant discourses on higher education.

This study also analyzed the responses of the Indian Jesuit university and college faculty members to the NEP 2020's higher education discourses through a qualitative survey method. Since teachers form a significant stakeholders' group in policy contexts, their responses to the policy in a democratic setting were a potential indicator of the policy direction (Fullan, 2010; Fuller, 2019; Priestley et al., 2012; Zembylas, 2009). Therefore, this research focused on faculty members of Indian Jesuit higher education institutions, a significant group of educators from the Christian minority community (Dongerker, 1967; Heredia, 1995). This study examined if their responses represented a potential adoption/resistance of the policy discourses and what new discourses emerged from them (Burman et al., 2017).

Theoretical Frameworks

This study engaged three critical theoretical perspectives to approach policy as discourse, a critique of neoliberal theory, and resistance theory. These critical theories took their roots from the Marxian social analysis and evolved through the post-World War II social, economic, and political development (Ladson-Billings, 2013). In education, critical theories addressed the issues related to various dimensions of justice, access, exclusion, and power (Ball, 1993; Burman et al., 2017; Diem et al., 2014; Farrell, 1992; Giroux, 2005a). By engaging the three theoretical lenses explained below, this study undertook a textual critique of the NEP 2020, emphasizing the dominant higher education discourses. It also examined if the faculties' responses constituted a potential resistance to policy.

Policy as Discourse

Policy as the discourse was a theoretical approach that evolved from the critical perspectives of policy analysis. Discourse is fundamentally a linguistic act involving a literal talk, narrative, belief, text, perception, or social behavior that communicates a situationally understood meaning or a locally intelligible practice belonging to specific genres (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Ball, 1993; Burman et al., 2017; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). While traditional approaches studied policy as a rational, neutral, and scientific work to achieve social development, the critical approach recognized policy as a normative discourse that involved power over cultural production and practice (Diem et al., 2014). This study employed the discourse historical analysis (DHA) lens proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) that analyzed the text in terms of discourse strategies such as nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification or mitigation (Angermuller et al., 2014).

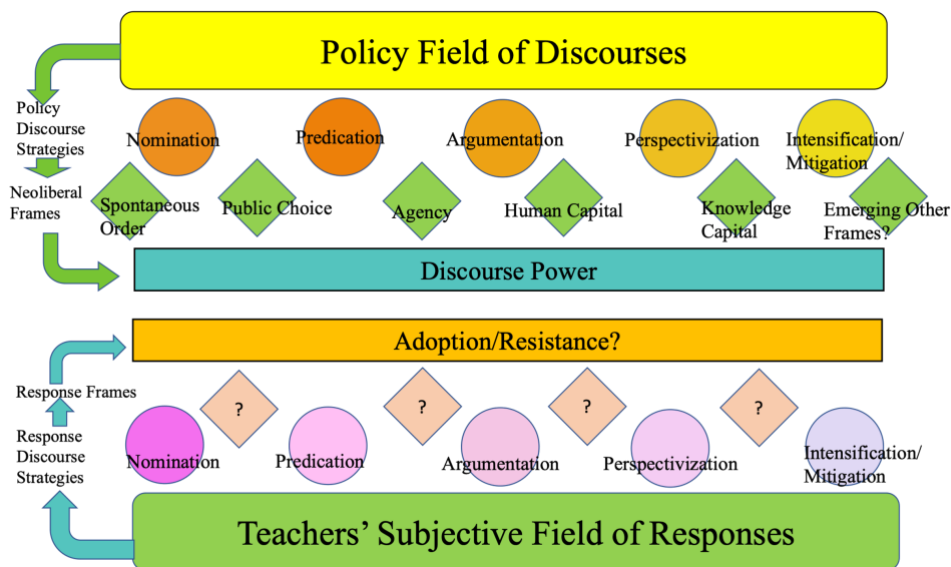
Critique of Neoliberal Theory

Scholarship suggests that the emergence of neoliberalism was from the decline of classical liberalism in the 19th century that was centered on private ownership and capital at the service of production (Gane, 2014). New liberalism emerged from the post-World War crises that disseminated the idea of free-market mobilization into a global geographical and political setting. Thus, according to scholars, neoliberalism is a hypernym of various theories and ideas engaged in restructuring the global order based on the economics of free-markets, governments' roles, human capital, quality and accountability, and the knowledge society (Ball, 2017; Giroux, 2002; Zepke, 2017). If higher education is viewed from this lens, it appears as a spontaneous order design like a

free market, a choice-based marketplace, competing institutional agents, production centers of human capital, or a marketplace of knowledge capital (Zepke, 2017).

Resistance Theory

One of the central concerns of critical theory approaching policy as discourse was the space for policy resistance and challenge. Although resistance was generally associated with publicly exercised collective political acts, critical scholarship on neoliberalism connected resistance to the quotidian acts having cultural and political significance (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Dunn, 2018; Dunn et al., 2017). Ball and Olmedo (2013), inspired by Foucault, moved the neoliberal reform resistance in education to teachers' subjective spaces of self-expression. Since neoliberal rationalities intended to produce performing teacher subjects, the same subjects were the site of resistance. In this space, resistance power flowed as opposed to the policy power. The flowchart in Figure 1 presents the dynamics of this theoretical framework.

Figure 1*A Theoretical Framework for Approaching Policy as Discourse*

Note. Adapted from *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*, by M. Reisigl & R. Wodak, 2001, Routledge; *Discourse studies reader: Main currents in theory and analysis*, by J. Angermüller, D. Maingueneau, & R. Wodak, 2014, John Benjamins Publishing Company; *Care of the self, resistance, and subjectivity under neoliberal governmentalities*, by S.J. Ball, & A. Olmedo, 2013, in *Critical Studies in Education*, 54(1), 85–96; *Student engagement in neoliberal times: Theories and practices for learning and teaching in higher education*, by N. Zepke, 2017, Springer.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, the upper half flow chart represents the text field of analysis while the lower half denotes the response data field. The discourses emerging from both the fields flow addressing each other. With the framework of DHA combined with the critique of neoliberalism, this study approached the NEP 2020 text field identifying the referential or the nomination strategies employed by the policymakers to authorize and legitimize the policy discourses. The analysis is furthered by identifying the policymakers' predication strategies that explain and qualify the names. The same analytical approach is extended to the policy text's argumentation, perspectivization, and

intensification or mitigation strategies. The analysis is also combined with the frames of critique of neoliberalism to examine how the neoliberal perspectives determine the NEP 2020 textual discourses. Similarly, the analysis also investigated if any new frames emerged from the text. Consequently, the analysis is expected to expose the dominant discourse strategies adopted by the NEP 2020 makers and their power.

As Figure 1 demonstrates on the lower side, the response data are also approached with the same DHA frame to discern the discourse strategies of the survey participants. Consequently, the analysis is expected to reveal the nature of responses to the NEP 2020 discourses, namely, adoption or resistance. In addition, it is also expected to demonstrate how the survey participants justify the adoption or resistance discourses.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

1. What is the higher education vision emerging from the discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
2. How do the Indian Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties respond to the discourses of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
3. What are the variant discourses emerging from faculty?

Educational Significance

Consistent with the contemporary global scholarship on educational policy analysis, especially among the developing nations, that recognized dominant neoliberal discourses embedded in nationalist and cultural discourses, this study examined the influences in shaping the NEP 2020 text and how the policymakers dealt with the conflicting local and nationalist discourses (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Artuc et al.,

2015; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016; Mangla, 2018; Pinheiro & Pillay, 2016). It was significant for the nation impacted by the NEP 2020 to reflect on its meanings and implications on national education. Since Indian higher education had a colonial and Christian missionary background and the Christian institutions continue in the field, this study engaged a crucial question about the NEP 2020 impact on them. Further, how NEP 2020 impacted India's minority and marginalized communities was another significant task of this study. Therefore, this critical analysis of the NEP 2020 discourses sought to contribute judicious policy information to the entire nation.

Additionally, this study explored teachers' potential for subjective resistance in the context of educational policy enactment. Teachers' empowerment was significant in the implementation spaces of a national education framework. The field of the higher education faculties' subjectivity embodied the potential to adopt and/or adapt, or to resist and/or constitute variant discourses when they were recognized as both the subjects of and the subjects to the policy (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Burman et al., 2017; Dunn et al., 2017). While their responses consistent with the NEP 2020 discourses reflected their subjective disposition to strengthen and reinforce the policy discourses, their variant discourses would represent their subjective power of resistance. Thus, an analysis of faculties' responses to the policy discourses provided valuable predictive data to discern the policy direction in its implementation contexts.

Critical scholars have recognized the weakness of discourse studies in identifying policy resistance strategies, while the studies have problematized the issues in policy construction, ingrained inequities, and shifts of power in the policy spaces (Bacchi, 2000). On the other hand, the traditional approaches of policy analyses were short of a

critical framework for problematizing the epistemological policy assumptions and the proposed solutions (Diem et al., 2014). Therefore, by analyzing the policy prescriptions against their inner textual contexts and the framing historical contexts, this study anticipated revealing the incongruences in the policy formulation and implementation spaces.

Furthermore, by examining the faculties' responses to the dominant policy discourses, this study attempted to discern the potential resistance felt in their subjective spaces (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Dunn, 2018). It was expected that assessing and analyzing the emergent discourses from the faculty responses would reveal the policy resistance and its directions in the implementation spaces. Therefore, as a significant contribution to the scholarship on education policy analysis, this study sought to discern a space of resistance within the critical discourse studies.

Delimitations and Limitations

Although this study's subject matter was expected to affect all the stakeholders of national education, this study was delimited itself to the higher education scenario of the NEP 2020 imagination. Therefore, in the textual and data analysis, elementary and secondary school education was not focused. Instead, it was concentrated on the NEP 2020's ideological and structural reframing vision of Indian higher education. Consequently, the participants of this study were from institutions of higher education.

Further, this study sought the responses of faculties of Jesuit higher education in India. Although in higher education delivery, the Catholic religious order titled the Society of Jesus, called the Jesuits, recognized as a global leader (O'Conner et al., 2016), it is significant to examine how the NEP 2020 discourses are felt among the faculty

members of Jesuit institutions in a democracy. Therefore, this study would focus on the responses from the faculty members of Jesuit higher education institutions in India to voice the responses of a powerful minority in the educational field. Thus, the research participants, while representing the voice of a minority, they do not represent a vast segment of religious minorities in India (Castelló-Climent et al., 2018; Heredia, 1995; J. Kothari & Ravi, 2016).

The population sample of this study was a randomly volunteered group of online survey participants from three categories of Jesuit higher education institutions, namely, private universities, autonomous colleges, and university-affiliated colleges. Some of the participants volunteered when approached through the institutional heads. Consequently, the results did not represent the entire faculties of Indian higher education or private institutions or minority-run institutions. Instead, they were limited to a minority group of institutions managed by Christian religious minorities in India.

The researcher's institution-associated identity as a Jesuit and the personal bias as an Indian Catholic could add to the limitations. As a result, a fundamental approach to this research was influenced and shaped by the Jesuit ideals of social justice education. However, it is believed that a quarter-century-long Jesuit training and education at USF has given the researcher confidence to overcome the bias and to have an independent and scholarly approach to the study.

The Jesuit institutions' survey participants, familiar with the Jesuit principles of education, could have easily predicted the researcher's expected responses based on the institutional bias. Additionally, the researcher's personal bias as a Catholic clergy member and a minoritized religious identity could have influenced the participants in

predicting the expected responses. However, this research allowed the survey participants to voice their responses and reactions to the NEP 2020 discourses voicing a minority of a democratic nation. In other words, this research gave Jesuit higher education institutions faculty members a platform to express their personal views and reactions to the NEP 2020 discourses.

The research questions pursued by this study merited in-depth data from personal interviews for analysis. However, since the Covid-19 pandemic adversely affected travels, primarily international, and all in-person activities, reaching out to the participants for interviews or collecting responses on a paper. Moreover, the data collection was due between June and August 2021, when the second surge of the pandemic was at its peak in India. Therefore, all data were collected through online media. As a result, the researcher did not visit the research sites or meet with any key respondents for a detailed interview or discussion. Chapter III of this dissertation gives a detailed description of data collection modalities and analysis.

Definitions of Key Terms

The key terms and concepts used in this research have the following meanings:

Discourse. The term discourse refers to “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts,' that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e., genres” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 35).

Faculty member. The term faculty member in this study represents the currently enrolled teaching staff of India's Jesuit higher education institutions.

National Education Policy (NEP) 2020. The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 is a 65-page document web-published by the Ministry of Human Resources and Development of India's government on its official website under the same title to spell out the education vision and reforms intended by the ruling government of India (MHRD, 2020).

Neoliberalism. Neoliberalism denotes globally emergent rationality, an ideology, and an organizing campaign that politically supports and legitimizes the capital accumulation agenda of the dominant powers restricting human agency (Fink, 2017; Prechel & Harms, 2007; Zepke, 2017).

Policy-as-discourse. Policy-as-discourse is a critical theoretical approach to the policy text to foreground the politics, silences, and problematizations hidden in the language (Bacchi, 2000).

Policy. Policy refers to a set of strategically planned political processes that responds to a shifting, contradictory, and diverse spectrum of political interests (Bacchi, 2000).

Resistance. Resistance in this study refers to the negative conception and psychological reaction to the policy discourses as a political action (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Nolan, 2015).

Teachers' Subjectivity. In this study, the teachers' subjectivity denotes the faculty members' realm of intellectual and emotional reaction as self-care that expresses their disposition to the policy discourses (Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

Text. The text refers to the durable form of linguistic production received in a context materially detached from its producers and their context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Textual context. The phrase textual context denotes a textual expression's linguistic environment involving the immediate collocational internal text, its intertextual and interdiscursive relationships, extralinguistic and sociological connections, and the broad socio-historical situations related to its emergence and practice (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As stated in the first chapter, this research seeks to analyze the dominant discourses of and the higher education faculties' responses to India's National Education Policy (NEP), 2020 critically. By engaging a critical discourse approach, a tool derived from critical social analysis theories, this study investigates the central discourses that frame the NEP 2020 text. As a significant group of higher education faculties, this study approaches the Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties for their responses. This study also examines what new discourses emerge from their responses.

Approaching policy as discourse enables a critical scholar to see the underlying discourses embedded in the policy texts related to power, domination, structures, and instruments that perpetuate social oppression and exclusion in the education domain (Angermuller et al., 2014; Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 1993; Diem et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, this literature review undertakes a responsible scholarship survey to place this research in the general context of educational policy studies and distinguish it with its unique task emerging from the Indian context.

Overview of the Chapter

This chapter surveys the scholarship in five primary areas: Indian context that precipitates the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, the background and emergence of Hindu nationalism in India as a dominant contemporary political discourse, historical and political contestations in Indian education highlighting the postcolonial education frames, national contexts of education influenced by neoliberalism, and education policy as discourse seeking the teachers' potential space for responses. The review begins with

exploring the Indian political and historical context dominated by Hindu nationalistic discourses. It is followed by reviewing the educational visionaries who framed the postcolonial education frames and the later neoliberal influences in Indian education.

The section that follows deals with discourses on higher education in global and national educational contexts influenced by neoliberal globalization. Finally, this scholarship review focuses on the teachers' potential for responses and policy resistance. Since teachers constitute an important stakeholder group in education policy contexts, a literature survey is undertaken to see how the scholarship demonstrates teachers' power to respond, challenge, and resist policy discourses. It narrows down to the research's specific task that discerns teachers' subjectivity as power in policy contexts.

Indian Context of the Emergence of the NEP 2020

The background that precipitated the NEP 2020 cannot be reduced to the domain of education alone. Instead, the NEP 2020 should be placed in the broader context of politics, especially the political aspirations and projects campaigned by the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and its allies. Since their electoral victory to power in Indian democracy was for championing a widely disseminated majoritarian Hindu nationalism and its political agenda, it can be assumed that the NEP 2020 produced by the same forces goes beyond the domain of education to politics, religious reformation, and India's history of colonialism and postcolonial democracy. Therefore, this survey begins with tracing the emergence of Hindu nationalism in India.

Hindu Nationalism and its Evolution to Dominance

Scholars consider 19th-century Vedic revivalism initiated by the Bengal-based elite Hindu spiritualists and social reformers the historical origin of Hindu nationalist

ideologies in India (Anand, 2011; Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Gohain, 2002; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019; Petre & Tudor, 2015). The ideology that provoked the revivalists had various dimensions that emerged from their colonial experience. Jaffrelot (2007) argues that the felt threat of British modernity over the Brahminic Hindu traditions was the immediate provocation for the reformists who wanted to revive and preserve their caste-structured Hindu traditions.

Brahminic Hinduism represents the rigid and discriminatory caste-based hierarchy of society into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, and a large group as outcastes or untouchables defined as polluted (Hansen, 1999). Although it was religiously solidified and socially practiced as the division of labor and laborers, the British colonial perceptions challenged it partially, especially some of its strange practices like Sati, the widow's self-immolation in her husband's pyre. Historically, the most significant of those dimensions was the Hindu identity crisis they felt concerning the organized and powerful foreign elites who conquered them: the Muslims and Christian Europe.

However, Mukherjee (2009) notes a counter-narrative based on an overall literature volume. British and German scholars like William Jones and Max Muller, known as the devoted orientalist, invented a glorious ancient Hindu civilization before the invasion of Muslim rulers in India. The orientalist were fascinated by the Sanskrit language and the ancient scriptures like Vedas and Upanishads. They promoted the idea of reinventing and revitalizing the lost masculine and mighty Indian glory, which was interpreted as Hindu glory.

As a result, the first reformist movement, *Brahmo Samaj* (God's society), was founded in 1828 by Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) to reform Hindu religious practices

following the Western modernity practiced by Christian missionaries (Jaffrelot, 2007; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019). Although he was critical of the missionaries' evangelization efforts, he accepted their criticism of the Hindu practices such as polytheism, *Sati* (self-immolation of widows in their husbands' funeral pyre), and unjust discrimination of castes. However, Roy claimed that Hinduism was in its pristine purity in the Vedic 'golden age,' and was superior to Christianity with its pure monotheistic concept of God who can be accessed without any mediator. He was followed by Keshab Chandra Sen, who popularized the spiritual superiority of India against Christianity and other religions.

This idea of Vedic spiritual superiority was attractive to the Hindu reformists from various parts of India. Consequently, Swamy Dayananda Saraswati, a Gujarati Brahmin who went to then Calcutta in 1870 to join the *Brahmo Samaj*, conceptualized more details of the idea of the Vedic golden age by constructing a Vedic epoch of a people, culture, and their land. According to Dayananda, "the 'Aryas' of the Vedas formed the autochthonous people of Bharat, the sacred land below the Himalayas. They had been endowed with their god with the most perfect language, Sanskrit, the mother of all languages" (Jaffrelot, 2007, p. 9). Built on the eighteenth-century British orientalist William Jones' idea that Sanskrit was the fount of Indo-European language family, Dayananda further depicted an egalitarian community of Aryan people for whom caste was *varna* (color, type, or order to represent four castes of Hinduism). He claimed that caste was a nondiscriminatory merit-based division of jobs assigned to children by their *gurus* (masters) in contrast to the existing practice of caste by birth. He interpreted the colonial rulers as a threat to Hindu civilization while he emulated the 'superior' Western cultural practices (Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007).

However, positing a preexisted Hindu civilization of *Aryavarta* antiquity, Dayananda changed the Hindu reformist direction to Hindu revivalism (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007). To bring back the lost glorious age of Hindus, he established *Arya Samaj* (Aryan society) in 1875 that imagined an egalitarian revived Aryan people with pure religious knowledge and institutional structures. He also introduced a purification ritual to bring back the proselytized Hindus. Further, Dayananda promoted a sense of cultural nationalism and established educational institutions at elementary and college levels. These institutions followed English as the medium of instruction while *gurukuls* (reinvented Vedic schooling) as a pedagogical model for promoting national pride and culture, a sense of history, and Hindu self-consciousness (Hansen, 1999).

Dayanand's conception of the Aryan civilization was refuted and recast to a Hindu civilization in the 1920s by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who is considered the ideological founder of the current Hindu nationalism (Hansen, 1999). He expanded the territorial boundaries of *Aryavarta* from the foot of the Himalayas to the entire subcontinent *Hindusthan* (land of Hindus) by arguing that people who lived on the eastern side of the river Indus (or Sindhu) became known as Hindus. He asserted that the core identity of Hindus was in their belongingness to the *Punya Bhoomi* (holy land), a geographical territory, and *the Pitru-Bhoomi* (fatherland), an ancestral descent. Savarkar recast Hinduism in a Westernized religious mold of the holy land and a chosen people.

However, Savarkar employed the same categorization to exclude Muslims and Christians from Hindus by arguing that the former had loyalties to their holy lands outside the Hindu land. Hindu nationalism is crystallized in the text "*Hindutva: Who is a*

Hindu?" authored by Savarkar in 1923. Scholarship indicates that Savarkar modeled the revivalist movement after the West (Anand, 2011; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007). For example, Hansen (1999) traces the influences of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872), an Italian propagandist and revolutionary who founded a secret society called Young Italy, in Savarkar's founding of the Abhinav Bharat (Modern India), a secret society to free India for Hindus. Savarkar was charged with terrorism and illegal activities and jailed several times by the colonial government.

Scholarship traces the crystallization of the Hindu nationalist ideology in 1925 to the establishment of the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS – National Volunteer Organization) at Nagpur in Maharashtra, the crucible of Hindu nationalism (Anand, 2011; Bhatia, 2020; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019). Savarkar's proposition inspired Keshav Baliram Hedgewar to found the RSS. Hedgewar synthesized the *Arya Samaj* elitism and a militarized organization by creating “a numerically small but devoted and efficient organization of patriotic men who could provide leadership for a progressive organization of the entire Hindu community” (Hansen, 1999, p. 93). An ideological training process and a military discipline by forming infantries were crucial to RSS's growth and spread throughout India. There were about 600,000 RSS members at Indian Independence in 1947 (Jaffrelot, 2007). However, Hedgewar and later his successor M.S. Golwalkar, who became the supreme commander of the RSS for 25 years from 1940, wanted the RSS to remain a Hindu nationalist cultural movement apolitically.

Nevertheless, projecting a political project of the Hindu nation and its militarized operations outside politics involved some ideological clashes within the RSS leadership.

Jaffrelot (2007) exposes this conflict by juxtaposing the RSS history with the origin of the development of the Congress Party and the Indian socialist party that mobilized masses against the colonial British. While the political revolt to form an independent sovereign nation defined the common platform of all freedom movements, the Congress Party led by Mahatma Gandhi sought a secular and inclusive India through a non-violent struggle. This idea of an inclusive secular republic was unacceptable to the RSS, especially its supreme leader Golwalkar. Inspired by Adolf Hitler's ideology of Nazism, Golwalkar applied a Hindu ethnic nationalism to eliminate India's 'anti-national' Muslim and Christian minorities and Communists militarily. However, the previous electoral defeats of the nationalist forces under All India Hindu Maha Sabha (AIHM) intensified the internal conflict of the RSS to attain political visibility (Bandyopadhyay, 2017).

At the same time, the post-Independence task of India's nation-building confronted deeply divided ideological conflicts among the Congress leaders (Bandyopadhyay, 2017). While a strong faction headed by Vallabhbhai Patel and Purushottamdas Tandon supported a revivalist view of political Hindu nationalism, the secularist and socialist position held by Jawaharlal Nehru opposed it. Nehru urged the Congress party to oppose Hindu communalism as an enemy of democracy. Although the Congress won the electoral majority in the decades to come, the perception that the Congress betrayed the Hindu majority, especially by policies appeasing the Muslims and the minorities, prevailed to the extent of defining the Congress as the elite enemy of the authentic Hindu people (McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019).

In a significant turn, the Hindu nationalist aspirations were found reflected in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. The assassin, a former RSS activist Nathuram

Godse, and around 20,000 RSS activists were arrested, which led to the imposition of a ban on the RSS (Jaffrelot, 2007). This ban intensified the demand for launching a political party, culminating in creating Bharatiya Jana Sangh that eventually evolved into the Bharatiya Janata Party after various political metamorphoses (Anand, 2011; Bandyopadhyay, 2017; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007). Meanwhile, the RSS became the progenitor of many apolitical organizations with the Hindu nationalist agenda. In the years that followed, Sangh Parivar, a collective of the Hindu nationalist organizations, formed apart from its most prominent political front, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP - translated as Indian People's Party), dozens of associations of professionals, economists, educational and politically oriented religious organizations of men and women, and think tanks including cyber experts (Anand, 2011).

As scholarship suggests, Hindu nationalism became a heavily debated topic in India when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) made electoral success to power in the 1990s (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Banerjee, 2007; Banerjee, 2004; Bhatia, 2020; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019). In less than ten years of its founding in 1980, the BJP developed its electoral base from two seats in 1984 in the 540-545-member-Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian parliament, to 88 seats in 1989. Then, on a steady growth graph, the BJP represented 120 members in 1991, 161 in 1996, and 178 in 1998 elections.

In the mid-term elections of 1999, the BJP formed a coalition with other parties forming a government to complete the five-year term until 2004. Although the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) lost power for the two successive terms from 2004 to 2014, a new era was inaugurated with Narendra Modi, the hardcore Hindu nationalist face of the BJP, who emerged as its iconic leader, making an electorate success with 282

Lok Sabha seats in 2014. The ascendancy of Hindu nationalist politics continued in the BJP's 2019 electoral victory with 301 Lok Sabha seats.

The scholarship is contested in determining the elements of the Hindu nationalist politics that proved the BJP's electoral victory. For example, Jaffrelot (2007) argues that Hindu nationalism is a case of ethnic nationalism by superimposing the Western categories of a religion, a culture, a language, and holy land on Hinduism. As noted earlier, Savarkar created the new doctrine, a sacred territory of antiquity defining the *Aryavarta* of the Vedas from the interpretations of Dayananda Saraswati. Similarly, he interpreted Hindus as people descended from the Vedic fathers of *Aryavarta*. Savarkar described Hindi, derived from the Vedic Sanskrit, as the language of Hindus.

Today, the doctrine of Hindu nationalism perfectly morphs into an ethnic democracy by restructuring the democratic institutions into the power centers of Hindu nationalism (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Jaffrelot, 2007). However, this analysis fails to expose the contradictions involved in interpreting Hindu diversity as ethnic.

In contrast, Anand (2011) attributes the BJP's mass mobilization to the spread of a schizophrenic nationalism projecting the natural, democratic, rightful, and revolutionary awakening of Hindu majoritarianism against the minorities. The BJP politics interpreted that the Congress discriminated Hindus against the Muslim and Christian minorities, the Communists, pseudo-secularists, and the Westernized media. Therefore, the BJP's Hindutva-molded schizophrenic nationalism aggressively produces and mobilizes its existential Hindu identity, without which it is dead.

To that end, its nationalist ideology “brings together politics of imagination, insecurity, cultural transformation, and social mobilization in a manner that generates

violence and fear while at the same time allows for the myth of tolerant Hindus to go unchallenged” (Anand, 2011, p. 9). However, although this analysis exposes the socio-political mobilizing strategy of the BJP, it does not demonstrate how its ideology is rooted in India's mythological past.

From a phenomenological perspective, Subramaniam (2019) argues that Hindu nationalism is bionationalism. Although the pre-colonial Hindu religious practices had some contestations and collusions with the colonial interventions, especially with the British-introduced modernity, the postcolonial Hindu nationalist biopolitics emerged as deeply embedded in Hindu mythologies. They presented myths as scientific and modern.

For example, while addressing a medical community in Mumbai in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi claimed that the Hindu god Ganesh (a god figure with a human body and elephant's head) had a plastic surgeon in the Vedic age. Subramaniam calls it bionationalism because the BJP-led politics makes Hinduism "a scientized religion and a religionized science" (Subramaniam, 2019, p. 9) based on the archaic Vedic biopolitics. In their attempt to project the superpower future Hindu nation, the Hindu nationalists present the glorious Hindu past in Westernized scientific terms, reinforcing the dominance of technology, science, and masculinity. However, bionationalism does not explain the political mobilization power of Hindu nationalism.

In a contemporary political analysis, McDonnel and Cabrera (2019) argue that global political scholars have not sufficiently attended to the BJP in India as a clear case of a right-wing populist party. The BJP's right-wing populism and Hindu nationalism are mutually inclusive, while it defines the Hindu people as the only authentic Indian people.

The BJP populism prioritizes Hindu majoritarianism over democratic ideals, minority rights, judiciary, media, and such institutional balances of democracy.

In the BJP populist conception, the Hindu people are the authentic people and patriots of the land. At the same time, the Congress and the Communist parties, academics, judges, NGOs, and the English-language media are framed as the elites and the Muslims, and the Dalits (although ambiguously) are the anti-national and dangerous others. However, McDonnell and Cabrera leave out Christian minorities from the analysis.

In summary, Hindu nationalism is a bundle of thriving contradictions. Anand (2011) exposes them succinctly. While the Hindu nationalists accentuate the political project of a Hindu nation, they are unclear about who exactly Hindus are in India. While they explain Hinduism as a way of life with diversity and flexibility, they project themselves as a specific religion with a unified code, cult, and creed. While they define the Hindu community as people born within the geographical boundaries of India, they explicitly exclude Indian Muslims and Christians as foreign and consequently non-members of the projected Hindu nation. While the Hindu nationalists indulge in extreme violence against the Muslims, Christians, and the Dalits, they blame the victims and legitimate the violence as the patient Hindus' just reactions from their suppressed feelings and past hurts.

In addition, while they claim the preexistence of a Hindu nation, their political project is to recreate an imaginary Hindu nation. While they assert the power of the awakened Hindu Self, they blame Hindus for their low self-esteem. Furthermore, while the Hindu nationalists claim to build a unified Hindu nation, they lament the absence of unity of the Hindus. Consequently, the schizophrenic Hindu nationalism creates the

specter of the dangerous Other in Muslims, Christians, the secularists, and the Communists. In short, a propagandist Hindu nationalist project generates a politics of fear and hatred that puts the wind into its sails of electoral victory. First, however, it becomes imperative to examine how the political developments of Hindu nationalism influenced and determined Indian education policies. The following section takes up that task in detail.

Education Policies and Indian Politics

Scholarship on India's education trajectory acknowledges that education in postcolonial India has been a politically contested project (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bajaj, 2017; Banerjee, 2007; Banerjee, 2004; Bhatia, 2020; Flåten, 2017; Gohain, 2002; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007; Petre & Tudor, 2015). The conflicts emerged from India's struggle for self-determination. To mention a few, the disputing perspectives revolved around the idea of India as a Hindu nation and a multireligious secular nation; the views about one national language and multiple national languages; the narratives of a Hindu nation's history and the evolution of a secular and modernist republic; and the goal of education for human capital production and human rights awareness. All these conflicts have precipitated imbalances in India's various education policies.

Meanwhile, when India attained Independence in 1947, the new nation's architects faced multiple challenges from different fronts. On the educational front, 83.3 percent of its population was illiterate, while 93.1 percent of women did not read or write any introductory text (Bajaj, 2017). By 1951, the percentage of children attending elementary schooling was 42.6, while girls attending education remained 1.3 percent

(Sherman, 2018). Furthermore, the physical infrastructure and funds for the education of the young seriously lacked.

Massive education drives were necessary to develop and strengthen the new nation's democratic sovereignty. Consequently, the 1950 Constitution of India incorporated the 1935 Government of India Act into it, giving all the 14 states (formed by then) autonomy in education. However, this approach intensified the challenges and inequalities of educational opportunities and endowments since different states followed their policies and structures (Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Mallikarjun, 2019; Sherman, 2018).

Although education remained the responsibility primarily of the states, the federal government had a directive role in formulating policies and priorities (Bajaj, 2017). As a result, the states were encouraged to build the infrastructure and enhance enrollments, especially in Indian villages. Scholarship indicates that two significant philosophies influenced educational approaches of the early postcolonial decades to address these needs: Gandhian and Nehruvian (Bajaj, 2017; Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Sethi, 2018; Sherman, 2018).

Mahatma Gandhi and Zakir Hussain developed the idea of Basic Education based on vocational activities of craft, spinning, papermaking, and gardening, which aimed at productive education generating a national income. In addition, this approach to education aimed to build the Indian social fabric free of caste discrimination, exploitation, and violence. Sherman (2018) traces Gandhi's inspiration for Basic Education to Maria Montessori, Friedrich Frobel, and John Dewey.

In contrast, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, insisted on an educational philosophy to develop scientific temper emphasizing the role of modern science and technology and world-class higher education (Bhatty & Sundar, 2020; Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021). However, the Nehruvian idea of developing scientific temper and modernizing Indian education dominated the first four decades of educational guidelines and policies.

Scholars point out that while the federal government appointed various committees and commissions to produce guidelines and reports to design education visions time-to-time, lack of resources and political will, aligned with conflicting priorities, prevented a federally formulated education policy (Bajaj, 2017; Dongerkery, 1967; Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Sherman, 2018; Varughese & Bairagya, 2020). The first assignment of developing a higher education vision in India was given to the University Education Commission (1948-1949), headed by S. Radhakrishnan. In 1952 the Secondary Education Commission (or Mudhaliar Commission) advised the state and federal governments to fund technical and vocational education by introducing special taxation for industries.

However, the most significant step to reform education in the Nehruvian era was the appointment of the Kothari Commission (1964-1966), which submitted a comprehensive report suggesting a decisive shift from the colonial education system. As a primary means of such a shift, the Commission recommended the government allocate six percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for education and make elementary education free and compulsory for children (D. S. Kothari, 1970). Further, it insisted on

intensifying vocational education at the secondary level and elevating higher education to internationally comparable standards.

The Commission also insisted on unifying education on a 10+2+3-year-system and starting elementary education at six. Consequently, the first National Policy on Education (NPE) was formulated in 1968 to implement Kothari's recommendations. Its impact was reflected in the substantial growth of schools and elementary school enrollment rates. However, Varughese and Bairagya (2020) point out that the lack of political will failed the policy in addressing the enormous social gaps in education. Moreover, the massive adult illiteracy rates and the problem of child labor persisted significantly.

In a momentous political scheme to enhance control, the federal government, by the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution in 1976, moved education from the state responsibility to the mutual responsibility (from the state list to the concurrent list), implying that the educational finances will be shared (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Bajaj, 2017; Sherman, 2018). However, consistent with the scholarship, it can be argued that this transfer facilitated the infiltration of neoliberal and nationalist agendas into education in the decades to follow (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Bhatia, 2020; Jaffrelot, 1999). Although the subsequent National Policy of Education in 1986 effected increased Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER), especially of the elementary school education (from 73.8 to 97.4) by 1990, the neo-liberalized economic policies of the 1990s facilitated global capitalist forces enter India's socialist-patterned democratic educational field (Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; LaDousa, 2007; Mangla, 2018).

The literature on education policies and the political changes of the 1990s in India reveals a significant change in the educational direction (Bhatia, 2020; Gohain, 2002; LaDousa, 2007; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019; Varughese & Bairagya, 2020). Adoption of the Program of Action (POA) introduced by the Acharya Ramamurti Committee in 1992 signaled this directional change. The POA was a thorough revision of 1968 and 1986 National Policies on Education in content. However, in implementation, it facilitated, on the one hand, liberalization, privatization, and modernization of education, while on the other, politicization of education when the federal government assumed extensive power over policy decisions.

For example, to achieve the universal and compulsory education of children, reforms of the District Primary Education Program (DPEP) in 1994, *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) in 2001, and Right to Education (RTE) Act in 2010 were introduced (Varughese & Bairagya, 2020). Similarly, to enhance higher education, the National Higher Education Mission (*Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan – RUSA*) was introduced in 2013. This regulatory mission aims at performance assessment and accreditation of universities and higher education institutions for competitive funding, autonomy, and transparency. However, critical studies expose that the adoption of these programs involved nationwide inequities, uneven distribution of educational attainments, and politicization of education, including privatization and commercialization (LaDousa, 2007; Mathur, 2018; Varughese & Bairagya, 2020).

To sum up, Indian education in the first four decades of the postcolonial era was governed by the Nehruvian democratic ideal of a socialist pattern of society promoting scientific temper, technology, and world-class elite institutions. However, the later

decades, especially after the 1980s, it was dominated by neoliberal globalization and conflicts about a nationalist political agenda. The following section reviews the literature on the nationalist political interventions in education, which scholarship recognizes as the saffronization of Indian education (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Bhatta & Sundar, 2020; Gohain, 2002; Mathur, 2018; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019).

Saffronization of Education

The phrase ‘saffronization of education’ in literature implies the Hindu nationalists’ state-supported penetration into the education system for politicizing religion and religionizing politics, especially when the BJP-led coalition formed India’s federal government between 1998 and 2004 and later (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Banerjee, 2007; Banerjee, 2004; Bhatia, 2020; Bhatta & Sundar, 2020; Flåten, 2017; Gohain, 2002; Petre & Tudor, 2015; Sethi, 2018). The expression, ‘saffronizing education,’ represents a critique of and resistance to a Hindu nationalist narrative in the textbooks and academia appearing as the official version of history (Guichard, 2010). Since saffron is the RSS-BJP-adopted color to designate their ideology and political project, the word ‘saffronization’ denotes the dissemination strategies of the same. A critical reading of scholarship reveals two trends in the manifestation of saffronization: a religious education discourse evolving into saffronizing value education and a textbook version of secular history turning into saffronizing history education.

Saffronizing Value Education

The religious education and the historical narrative in textbooks transforming to saffronizing education stem from the same core experience of inferiority and hurt shared by the elite Hindus under the British colonial domination (Bhatta & Sundar, 2020;

Mathur, 2018; Sethi, 2018). However, they took distinct pathways in postcolonial history and merged into saffronizing education when the BJP was in power. Sethi (2018) traces the historical origin of the religious education debate to the controversial Minute of Macaulay in 1835. Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay was a Law member of the British Governor General's Council. His disapproval of the orientalist's glorification of Sanskrit and Arabic, as languages of the sacred texts of the Hindus and Muslims, is found strongly expressed in his following comment:

It is said that the Sanscrit [*sic*] and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people [*sic*] are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcated the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confined that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion (Macaulay, 1835, as cited in Sethi, 2018, pp. 250-251).

Macaulay's remarks directly trivialized the orientalist Hindu golden-age theory endorsed by the elite Hindu revivalists and reformers like Ram Mohan Roy and Swamy Dayananda Saraswati (Flåten, 2017; Gohain, 2002; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007; Sethi, 2018). On the contrary, Macaulay's observation legitimized the Christian religious instruction in

mission schools as authentic and superior. Consequently, there were protests, especially in 1859 in Madras, where, according to Colonel Macdonald's report, six to seven thousand Hindus and Muslims gathered to demand stopping aid to mission schools and protection from religious instruction (Sethi, 2018). Eventually, these protests and resistance precipitated in government's withdrawal from religious instructions in the school system and the introduction of moral education at the college level.

As Sethi (2018) describes, an outcome of these developments was the replacement of religious instruction to moral and value education. A series of debates in the Constituent Assembly by the architects of the Constitution precipitated the Article 28(1), which expressly prohibited any religious instruction in a state-funded public institution. However, in those institutions run by the religious minorities, both state-funded and non-funded, the Constitution did not forbid religious instruction while providing that no student should be compelled to participate in it or discriminated against religion on admissions. The 1966 Kothari Commission's report on education reforms recommended that every week in schools, a period or two should be set apart for moral and spiritual value education to develop character and respect for all religions (Kothari, 1970).

In 1999, the 81st Report on Value Based Education, prepared by the S.B. Chavan Committee, insisted on value education to make students aware of the basic concepts of all religions and thus foster national integration (Sethi, 2018). Consequently, the Report hoped that the influence of Western culture would be minimized. Further, it defined values as indigenous and national ethos deriving from the "ultimate reality supreme power or self-consciousness to which man orients himself" (The 81st Report on Value

Based Education, 1999, as cited in Sethi, 2018, p. 257). Further, the Report assumed that the ancient gurukuls modeled the value-based education system.

Scholarship demonstrates that the idea of religious education integrated into the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) by the BJP government in 2000 was a decisive attempt for saffronizing education (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Gohain, 2002; Sethi, 2018). In the NCF outlook, religion represented the sociocultural context and sources of values, and consequently, religion emerged as part of all subjects taught in the school. This inclusion coincided with the BJP's political agenda of inculcating a sense of Hindu pride. Thus, the solution for India's challenges from westernized dualism was the organic Hindu culture that normalizes an upper echelon interest as universal Hindutva (Flåten, 2017).

The scholarship also shows how the NCF's value education agenda emphasized a newly proposed "spiritual quotient" and added an exceptional value for learning Sanskrit (Flåten, 2017; Sethi, 2018). When challenged in the Supreme Court as a violation of Article 28(1), the Court ruled that the NCF did not violate Constitutional secularism and distinguished religion from *dharma* (duty). While religion is the *Sanatan* (eternal) way of life referred to by Rig Veda, *dharma* is a shade of it denoting one's obligation. One's duty is toward society and the soul. This belief, according to the Supreme Court, is Indian and secular.

Furthermore, the Court distinguished between the essential and non-essential elements of religion. While moral and spiritual thoughts were essential, rituals, customs, observances, and traditions were non-essential elements. Consequently, religious education would be focusing on the essential avoiding the non-essential elements. Thus,

consistent with the scholarship, it can be argued that in the Hindu nationalist discourse, value education has been legitimized as Hinduized religious instruction, and in turn, saffronizing Indian consciousness through education (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Bhatta & Sundar, 2020; Guichard, 2010; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007; Mathur, 2018).

Saffronizing History Education

Saffronization of education through history textbooks has been conjoined with the ascent of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to political power (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Gohain, 2002; Guichard, 2010; Jaffrelot, 2007; Mathur, 2018). Flåten (2017) traces it from the 1970s when the BJP (in its previous incarnation of Jan Sangh) was able to share power in the federal government. However, then they were unsuccessful. In 1998 the BJP emerged as the largest party to form a government as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). Moreover, the RSS utilized the gap resulting from the failure of the governments in building a public system of education that inculcated the Constitutional values (Bhatta & Sundar, 2020). In addition to the RSS network of *Shakhas* (units), it launched *Akhil Bharatiya Vidya Bharati Sansthan* (an organization for educating India) in 1977, *Sanskar Kendras* (cultural centers), *Ekal Vidyalayas* (schools in tribal areas under cover of uplifting them) to indoctrinate the young minds with their hate-filled ideology. The BJP agenda of saffronizing education was implemented through the federal education research and training agency.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) was established in 1961 as an independent organization of the federal government to guide textbook preparation with a national curriculum framework for all school grades

(Banerjee, 2007; Gohain, 2002; Jaffrelot, 1999; Mathur, 2018). The curriculum and syllabus proposed by the NCERT were not mandatory to the states. On the contrary, the states were free to adopt or adapt it, partially or fully. However, the 1986 National Policy on Education (NPE-1986), which aimed to raise the standards of education and access and reinforce the values of secularism, socialism, and equality, enabled the federal government to have more control over education. It prescribed quality standards and a collaborative approach in education for national integrity. It also obligated the state governments to follow the NCERT's basic curriculum proposal.

Consequently, as the research of Bhatta and Sundar (2020) informs, in the first term of the NDA government, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) mandated the NCERT to create the National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCFSE-2000) by developing a nationally applicable curriculum focusing on Indian identity and tradition. However, Murali Manohar Joshi, the federal minister for human resources development, insisted on changing the curriculum and the textbooks to glorify a Hindu past (Banerjee, 2007; Jaffrelot, 1999). He also facilitated the infiltration differently in different states by maintaining the states' control over the creation of the textbooks. Consequently, there were contradictions in historical narratives between different state education systems.

An examination of scholarship further reveals that the Hindu nationalists were targeting the history textbooks of ancient and modern India and the Freedom movements authored by Romila Thapar, Bipan Chandra, A. Tripathi, Barun De, and Arjun Dev (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Flåten, 2017; Gohain, 2002; Jaffrelot, 1999). These textbooks presented a secular version of history indicating the role of the minorities in the

Freedom Movement and the creation of India. Nevertheless, the Hindu nationalist critics argued that those authors gave a corrupt and Marxian version of history, neglecting the indigenous and sectarian distinctions, especially the Sikhs and the Jains. In contrast, the NCERT's Hinduized narrative undermined the secular views and the spirit of the Constitution based on liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship (Gohain, 2002).

Bhatty and Sundar (2020) demonstrate that in the Hinduized historicization, Hindu warriors like Maharana Pratap, Shivaji, and Jhansi Rani, and the spiritual leaders like Vivekananda and Aurobindo, along with the ancient Indian knowledge systems like Ayurveda, yoga, astrology, and astronomy dominated. Simultaneously, the significance of Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru was downplayed while the BJP Prime Minister Narendra Modi's achievements were projected as signs of a harmonious Hindu nation. This move became controversial as many states resisted the textbook revision with the new narrative (Banerjee, 2007; Banerjee, 2004).

In addition, Flåten (2017) points out a particular focus of the sociocultural context in education in the NCERT's curriculum framework. It referred to a homogenous and singled out the Hindu cultural setting interpreted as a national consciousness and identity. While the Indian social fabric is innumerable diverse and complex, the NCF context denotes a distinct culture, nation, and a singled-out notion of the Hinduized eternal values. Furthermore, J.S. Rajput, then director of NCERT, claimed a sense of pride in Indian identity, civilization, and India's contributions to the world, as the outcome of implementing the NCF. Presented in opposition to the foreign legacy of the colonial powers, he urged that education should expel those foreign elements completely by

mainstreaming India. The NCF assigned a premium position for Sanskrit and Vedic mathematics as a repository of knowledge and wisdom with a scientific structure suitable for quicker computation (Flåten, 2017; Gohain, 2002; Jaffrelot, 1999).

According to the scholarship, saffronizing of India's higher education has been attempted through assaulting targeted universities and individuals (Bhatty & Sundar, 2020; Mathur, 2018; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019; Subramaniam, 2019). For example, Bhatty and Sundar (2020) describe how India's stand-alone prestigious institutions were targeted for not acceding to the RSS ideology, especially Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU–New Delhi), Jadavpur University (J.U.–Kolkata), and Hyderabad Central University (HCU–Hyderabad), accusing them as leftists and anti-nationals.

The case of assault of the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in February 2016 shows how the federal government cracked down the students' poetry festival by arresting and physically attacking students. The police arrested the president of the students' union, Kanhaiya Kumar, and several journalists charged them with sedition and anti-national activities. Public discourse in this tune was created and disseminated by the BJP's student-wing organization Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) and the right-wing media (Mathur, 2018).

Another example is from Hyderabad Central University, where a Dalit Ph.D. student Rohit Vemula committed suicide in January 2016 to protest the discrimination that he and other Dalit students suffered from the right-wing Hindu nationalists (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Flåten, 2017; Mathur, 2018; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019). As a result, their academic survival was made impossible. Mathur (2018) further narrates his experience of confronting the Hindu nationalist attack in his research practice as a

critical facilitator. It was a case of dealing with the issues of power inequalities, dispossession, exploitation, eviction, and displacement involved in the neoliberal urban project known as the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Project in Ahmedabad, the capital city of the Indian state Gujarat. In addition, the researcher had to face the BJP government's harassment through the education minister's order on charges against him as an anti-national.

This survey of literature on saffronizing education can be concluded by reiterating that the two pathways, namely, the Hinduized religious education and the rewriting of the history textbooks, merge with the nationalistic agenda for a Hindu nation and the economic agenda of neoliberal elitism (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Gohain, 2002; Mathur, 2018; McDonnell & Cabrera, 2019; Sethi, 2018). Although the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government that came to power for ten years from 2004 attempted to reverse and 'detoxify' the saffronizing education, they were not fully effective as there were states governed by the BJP (Banerjee, 2004).

When the BJP came back with a landslide victory under Modi's leadership in 2014, instead of reinstating the 2000 version of the National Curriculum Framework, Modi's government continued with the existing framework without attempting a comprehensive reform in education (Flåtén, 2017). For Modi-led BJP, the Make-in-India economic development model based on bringing foreign investment was the priority denoting a shift from Joshi-Rajput reforms based on the Hindu nationalist identity and pride. Economic development and job creation require skill-developing education, a neoliberal thrust in education. However, the present National Education Policy (NEP)

2020 can be seen as a significant move for reforming education in Modi-BJP's renewed ideology (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019).

India's Postcolonial Frames of Education

Scholarship on resistance to neoliberal education, especially postcolonial modernity, recognizes the quintessential moment of nations attaining independence and sovereignty as the bedrock of self-determination and future aspirations (Hansen, 1999; Shahjahan, 2014; Tamatea, 2006; Zene, 2018). India's self-defining moment of independence on August 15, 1947, marks such a moment of envisioning the future. The literature on postcolonial Indian education indicates that the architects of Indian modernity presented education on a resistance frame (Bajaj, 2010; Das Gupta, 2008; Datta, 2018; Ferrer, 2018; Ghosh, 2020; Tamatea, 2006; Zene, 2018; Zulaski, 2017). However, a survey of scholarship on the sources and motives of such resistance reveals complexities, tensions, and multidirectional trajectories involved in the historical process of imagining and shaping the postcolonial republic of independent India (Anand, 2011; Hansen, 1999; Jaffrelot, 2007; Madan, 2009; Sharma, 2009).

In contrast to the invented ethnic Hindu nationalism, the quintessence of India's self-determining moment of independence in 1947 was influenced by a deep sense of secularism (Jaffrelot, 2007; Kirloskar-Steinbach, 2018; Madan, 2009). However, in diverse cultures, languages, ethnicities, and religions, secularism in India does not entirely resonate with the West. While secularism in the West, rooted in the medieval renaissance, represents a complete negation of religious affiliations, Indian secularism has a spectrum of meaning from total denial to a broad acceptance of religious pluralism (Panikkar, 1997; Tyagi, 2001). While socialists, like India's first prime minister

Jawaharlal Nehru, promoted a sense of Western secularism, secularists like Mahatma Gandhi embraced religious pluralism as its principle.

Consequently, the education vision presented by the architects of Indian modernity represents divergent focuses. However, they converge on a standard frame of resistance and revolution. The following part of the literature review is a brief survey of scholarship on the education vision of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, and B.R. Ambedkar to represent the visionaries of the postcolonial Indian renaissance. These postcolonial modernity shapers adequately represent the tensions and divergences within the Indian secularist spectrum of imagining and educating a free nation (Bajaj, 2010; Ferrer, 2018; S. R. White, 2007; Zene, 2018).

Mahatma Gandhi (1869 – 1948) was a philosopher, activist, and acclaimed leader of the non-violent but powerful struggle for Indian independence. The fundamental architecture of Basic Education, as conceived by Gandhi, is a silent social revolution involving manual work and non-violent and constructive mass action. Education was thus trained to eradicate the worst social evils of virulent caste divisions and the deep economic divide within communities (Bajaj, 2010).

Since the Gandhian educational philosophy emerged from a nation-building frame complicated by the structural and social iniquities of postcolonial India, the new vision proposed by Gandhi represented liberating the individual student through active resistance to oppressive forces – economic, social, and religious (D. Allen, 2007; Bajaj, 2010; Ghosh, 2020; Narayan, 2000). Therefore, Gandhi conceived education as an individually oriented holistic means of liberation set to construct self-reliant, service-minded, just individuals to realize harmonious communities (Gandhi, 2002).

Reflecting Gandhian ideals of new education against Bali's dichotomous and conflicting political situation, Tamatea (2006) adds that they were characterized by active resistance to the neoliberal globalizing hegemonic forces from above. On the contrary, Gandhi resisted them by a globalizing force of non-violence, peace, and tolerance from below. However, the scholarship also suggests that the post-independent Indian urge for industrialization and development to compete with global economies portrayed Gandhian education as idealistic, impractical, and less opportunistic (Bajaj, 2010; Ghosh, 2020).

In contrast to the Gandhian manual-work-based-approach to education, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first Prime Minister of India, influenced academia, education policies, and the modern popular movements with his concept of scientific temper (Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Nichols, 2020; Sherman, 2018). Gopalkrishnan and Galande (2021) note that in his first book titled *Discovery of India*, Nehru described scientific temper as the human capacity to change former conclusions based on fresh inquiries, observed facts, and new evidence, and thereby offering novel solutions to many problems. Therefore, Nehru initiated institutions that promoted science, engineering, and technology in the very first postcolonial decades.

Kalia (2006) argues that Nehru's idea of developing India was founded on blending Indian culture and tradition with the Western architectural and educational development models. For example, the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) modeled after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) modeled after Harvard Business School are the monuments of Nehru's higher education vision. Further, his socialist and democratic philosophy profoundly impacted Indian resistance to colonial and neoliberal dominance.

Scholarship on Tagore's education ideals indicates his deviances from Gandhi and Nehru in many aspects. Rabindranath Tagore (1861 – 1941) was a celebrated Indian poet, philosopher, and the first Asian Nobel laureate for literature for his collection of *Gitanjali* (Quayum, 2016). Although Tagore's vision emanates from India's ancient traditional concept of education for harmony and self-realization, it is oriented to the finality of global consciousness (Quayum, 2016; Samuel, 2011).

Tagore's three novel educational experiments – *Santiniketan* (abode of peace, started in 1901), *Viswa-Bharati* (global India, started in 1921), and *Sriniketan* (the abode of prosperity, started in 1922) – summarize his educational vision and praxis (Das Gupta, 2008; Datta, 2018; Quayum, 2016). Das Gupta (2008) argues that Tagore's education model, especially introduced by *Sriniketan*, attempted to resist the colonial model separating English-educated city dwellers from villagers by restoring cooperative and harmonious village communities.

Ghosh (2020) extends this argument by illustrating how Tagore, like the postcolonial educational theorists of the global south, introduced education as a means to liberate the colonized minds. Finally, Samuel (2011) explores its expanded dimension. In a comparative study between Tagore and the American philosopher John Dewey who envisioned democratic education, Samuel demonstrates Tagore's integral vision of education as fulfilling life, knowledge, joy, creativity, service, and democratic social development.

Finally, Datta (2018) illustrates a significant character of Tagore's educational philosophy. Datta starts her investigations from peoples' lived experiences of social and cultural inequities and discriminations in a colonized country. She argues that Tagore's

vision sternly rejected the narrow Hinduized nationalist political agenda as a specter of the colonial past. In summary, while addressing the local tensions of divisions and discriminations, Tagore's education vision aimed to liberate the mind to a global consciousness and harmony.

Literature suggests that Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949), one of the top ten women in the world of her time and a prominent figure of India's political struggle for freedom from colonialism, was a poet, nationalist, woman activist, and above all, the voice of Indian women for freedom and justice (Arora, 2009; Marx, 1996; Shekhani, 2017; Vahed, 2012; van der Spuy & Clowes, 2012). She was the president of the Indian National Congress from 1925 and led the campaign for freedom when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested in 1930. She served the nation as the governor of Uttar Pradesh state when she died in 1949.

Scholarship reveals her multifaceted contribution, especially in bringing women to focus on education, political activism, and nation-building. For example, in her visits to the United States and Europe, she observed the role of women in their nation-building and consequently insisted that unlit lamps, who were Indian women, should be given prominence in politics and activism (Arora, 2009; Shekhani, 2017). In addition, Naidu is well remembered in South Africa as a leader who united South Africans and Indians in South Africa against the colonial power and brought women to political activism (Vahed, 2012; van der Spuy & Clowes, 2012). In short, Naidu represents Indian women's resistance to colonialism and patriarchy.

In stark contrast with the Indian educational philosophers who focused on an individual's liberation, B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), the chief architect of the

Constitution of India, envisioned education as the democratic process for the excluded masses to achieve justice, freedom, and self-worth (Zene, 2018). Born in a Dalit community of untouchables, Ambedkar had realized from his life that only education and real democracy could realize justice against discrimination and exclusion.

The term Dalit meant *crushed* (Stroud, 2017). Therefore, in Article 46 of India's Constitution, Ambedkar expressed his vision by mandating the government to care mainly for the excluded sections' educational and economic needs and protect them from all forms of injustice and exploitation (Stroud, 2017, 2018a). However, dissenting from Gandhi and other modern Indian architects, Ambedkar problematizes the structurally oppressive caste, narrow nationalism, domestic injustice, and unequal citizenship in a democracy.

Ambedkar's philosophy of democracy, resistance to the orientalist arguments about ancient Indian glorious tradition, caste discrimination and society, and neo-Buddhism, emerges from his profound influence from and indebtedness to his professor in Columbia University and the American pragmatic philosopher John Dewey (Chakrabarty, 2016; Mukherjee, 2009; Nanda, 2001; Stroud, 2018b; Stroud & Henson, 2019; Zene, 2018). For example, Chakrabarty (2016) notes that in the Constituent Assembly of 1948, Ambedkar argued for democratic protections for minorities against majoritarian discrimination, which is a crucial perception of Dewey. Furthermore, Ambedkar himself, in his 1936 speech, acknowledged his indebtedness to Dewey:

the Hindus must consider whether they should conserve the whole of their social heritage or select what is helpful and transmit to future generations only that much and no more. Prof. John Dewey, who was my teacher and to whom I owe so

much, has said: 'Every society gets encumbered with what is trivial, with dead wood from the past, and with what is positively perverse. . . As a society becomes more enlightened, it realizes that it is responsible *not* to conserve and transmit the whole of its existing achievements, but only such as make for a better future society' (Ambedkar, 1936, as cited in Mukherjee, 2009, p. 349).

Consistent with scholarship, it can be safely concluded that Ambedkar's political philosophy of a casteless society is rooted in Dewey's vision of modern democracy. In summary, education for Ambedkar was the resistance of the excluded for justice and democracy.

To conclude this literature survey, the postcolonial conflicts and tensions that shaped Indian modernity were characterized by two polarizing views – a Hinduized narrative of reinventing an ancient past for future nation-building and the Indian version of secularism that addressed internal inequities and external threats in divergent ways. While the proponents of a glorious Hindu past capitalized on mythological imaginations to interpret a future, the secularists of modernity were concerned with liberating the self and society through a democratic educational paradigm. This understanding provides a critical perspective to place India's latest National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 within a global context. Therefore, the survey below helps recognize the significant influences that determine national policy discourses and create polarities and tensions within the policy sites.

National Contexts of Neoliberal Globalization

A euphoria that neoliberal globalization disseminates is an alluring national economic progress discourse (Chatterjee, 2010). However, scholarship suggests that neoliberalism enters national borders differently, impacting and imbricating nationalism in ways simultaneously coercive and subtle (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Artuc et al., 2015; Chacko, 2019; Chatterjee, 2010; Mangla, 2018). Education has been one of the powerful means the neoliberal proponents utilized for overcoming inherent tensions of national-global interests (Bamberger et al., 2019; Blum & Ullman, 2012; Giroux, 2005; Kalló & Semchenko, 2016). Defining education as a skill development process of human capital development is among the powerful neoliberal strategies of commercializing education (Giroux, 2004; Prechel & Harms, 2007). The following part of this literature review demonstrates how the twenty-first-century national education policies confront the global-local issues and tensions in policy contexts.

Critical scholarship on the policy rationalities reveals the diffusion strategies of neoliberal ideas into the national educational contexts. They are global but presented as local; they create uneven impact but proclaim equality; they appear socially just but focus on individual's prospects; and they project development but only of a few (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Ball, 2017; Giroux, 2012; Mangla, 2018; Stensaker, 2007). Thus, the central goal of neoliberalism continues to remain the same in all global geographical spaces: capital accumulation of a minority by dispossessing the majority (Harvey, 2005).

However, national policymakers contextualize and enculturate neoliberalism. For example, Stensaker (2007) presents how the Organization for Education and Cooperation for Development (OECD) and the European Union (E.U.) diffused the global idea of

quality in higher education in local European contexts. According to Stensaker (2007), global ideas of neoliberal higher education are diffused into national or local contexts through the following seven strategized characteristics: socially authorized by influential stakeholders like governments; theorized and justified by a universal norm; productized and objectified by the market; presented as *progressive* and development-oriented; harmonized as eliminating inequities; dramatized as its implementation would bring excellent prospects; and individualized to demonstrate personal prospects. In short, these diffusion strategies are embedded in the local cultural contexts.

Concurrently, the uneven development of the neoliberal economic globalization project has not been devoid of frictions, resistances, and rejections in national boundaries (Bracho, 2019; Shahjahan, 2014). One of the significant resistance forces is culture. For example, Kallo and Semchenko (2016) examine how the UNESCO/OECD Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-Border Higher Education (OECD, 2005) are uniquely and subtly resisted in the cultural contexts of Russia and Finland. Similarly, in 13-year-long research on the impact of the Education-for-New-Era (ENE) project in Qatar, Abdel-Moneim (2020) argues that the preexisting national system rooted in the local culture failed the neoliberal agenda.

Scholarship further suggests that a culturally-rooted resistance to neoliberal reforms in education is more potent in the contexts of ethnic communities (Bamberger et al., 2019; Bracho, 2019; Nguyen & Bui, 2016). For example, Bracho (2019) argues that Oaxacan teachers categorically resist neoliberal education because such reforms "represent foreign values and modern norms contrary to the regional traditions of teachers and ways of life in Oaxaca, a state they see as representing Mexico's rural,

revolutionary, and indigenous values" (p. 154). Similarly, in a case study comparing the internationalization of twenty-first-century higher education in three national contexts that create a meritocratic caste, Bamberger et al. (2019) demonstrate how Cuba resisted the neoliberal agenda to preserve its culture, national identity and power. The same study contrasts Cuba with China and Israel, which adopted neoliberal policies.

To counter the local resistance and weaken its force, neoliberal reformers of education have used philanthropic engagement strategies (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Ball, 2017; Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Mangla, 2018). For example, Adhikari and Lingard (2019), in a topological analysis combining global and network ethnography methods, demonstrate how a neoliberal global agent (British Council Bangladesh) employed social entrepreneurial philanthropy as a locally intelligible capitalist tool in the Teach for Bangladesh (TFB) project. Further, Mangla (2018) argues that neoliberal global institutions like the World Bank have used local civic society mobilization strategies to overcome national resistance to India's universal primary education program's global agenda. In all such neoliberal strategies, local cultures and traditions are perceived as threats to global aspirations (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). Simultaneously, these strategies confirm the argument that resistance to neoliberal reforms emerges from local cultures founded on localized histories and traditions.

In conclusion, consistent with the scholarship, it can be argued that resistance to neoliberal education policies is rooted in the collective subjectivity of identities, cultures, ethos, and national histories (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Ball, 2016; Chang, 2019; Gardinier, 2012; Mangla, 2018, 2018; Shahjahan, 2014). Conflicts and contradictions with neoliberal educational reforms emerge from the perceived contrasts and opposing

polarities of reforms concerning the constituent values of the local cultures and educational vision.

Neoliberalism and Higher Education

Critical literature on neoliberalism presents various contestations on its origin, evolution, global influences, and world-ordering strategies (Giroux, 2005a; Harvey, 2005; Prechel & Harms, 2007; Ranganathan & Prechel, 2007). Based on the divergent economic, educational, political, orientations, and social thrusts, the research critiquing neoliberalism recognizes at least five theoretical frames shaping higher education policies of the twenty-first century (Devine, 2017; Giroux, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Zepke, 2017). Following is a brief survey of literature to introduce those theories concerning higher education policies.

First is the spontaneous order theory, traced initially to Fredric von Hayek (1899-1992). It advances a *laissez-faire* claim that the common law and the free market evolve if left to their workings (Herron et al., 2019; Zepke, 2017). In this descriptive and evolutionary view of the market and common law, any intervention to regulate or control the spontaneous process is termed inferior to the rational subject's capacity for self-regulation and ordering. Consequently, neoliberalism places the individual's interests and rights on the highest priority and resists any governmental power to regulate and control the free market operations. When applied to higher education policies, this view defines the higher education field as a free market of commodified knowledge self-regulated by autonomous actors (Zepke, 2017). However, the spontaneous order theory does not explain how the issues of morality, values, justice, and exclusion are addressed in the process of capitalist evolution shaped by natural selection (Herron et al., 2019).

Rejecting the free market's spontaneous evolution, James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock proposed the public choice theory (Zepke, 2017). As Buchanan and Yoon (2008) describe it, "a person's 'market' activity proceeds on the presumption that the choices made prompt action that brings the result chosen into being" (p. 178). This frame upholds the public's choice while the government facilitates and ensures the market's smooth functioning and independence. This theory views higher education as a competitive marketplace displaying multiple choices while the student's rational self is entirely responsible for the educational outcome (Devine, 2017). However, according to this theory, the concept of freedom is market-bound, and the goal of education is self-determined.

The third is an agency theory, a complex mix of various neoliberal economic and management theories (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Zepke, 2017). It rationalizes human behavior and organizational structures on an interactional relationship frame of principal and agent. It assumes that the principal and agent's contractual interaction will be most efficient and competitive when they follow the principal's command. Thus, the agents deal with a requirement to work with strategic institutional plans, efficient divestment programs, customer-focused operations, performance-based quality assessment programs, up-to-date information technology, and management systems, institutional accountability, and a competent leadership and team approach to tasks (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In higher education, this theory's application translates the government's role to an authoritative principal or a demanding contractor, while universities and institutions strive to perform most efficiently at the principal's command and incentives. However, this theory does not

address the destructive consequences emerging from the complexities of principal-agent interactions and the rivalries and distrust among the agents.

Next, the human capital theory is examined, attributed to Ludwig von Mises and Gary Becker (Devine, 2017; Zepke, 2017). According to this theory, human capital, like material capital, will efficiently generate proportionate outputs if employed in factories and farms. It views developing employable human competencies like creativity, logical thinking, problem-solving, machine learning, and socialization skills to invest capital currencies for greater returns (Dicker et al., 2019). Consequently, higher education is translated as factories and marketplaces of human capital development and investment in the future. Thus, neoliberal policies present education as the best economic investment for future prosperity, justifying student loans, abandonment of government regulations in education, intrinsic connection between academia and industries, and a globally competitive education system (Ball, 2017; Devine, 2017; Giroux, 2005). Although education develops human skills and innovation abilities, this theory conceals whose needs and goals are translated into capital currencies in the educational market.

Finally, a new growth theory of knowledge capitalism captures the global economies and education policies (Olssen & Peters, 2005). It is associated with the neoclassical thinkers of the 1960s and 1970s, the contemporary theorists of Chicago schools, and Joseph Stiglitz, the former chief economist of the World Bank. This theory frames knowledge and twenty-first-century competencies as the most valuable capital currency (Zepke, 2017). In contrast to the traditional economy, based on a theory of scarce resources, this theory operates on a globalized abundance of twenty-first-century knowledge capital.

Knowledge capital theory annihilates the barriers for knowledge transactions by creating a virtual time against real-time, twenty-first-century information technologies against international boundaries and the national government regulations, and an inherent value for system-stored knowledge against perishable brain-stored knowledge.

Consequently, higher education is transformed into a production center and marketplace of knowledge capital which Bamberger et al. (2019) call "academic capitalism" (p. 208). As a growth theory, knowledge capitalism is promoted by Europe and the United States' capitalist elites to create a new world order of knowledge economy (Artuc et al., 2015; Fukahori, 2014; OECD, 2018). However, this theory downplays the knowledge industry takeover of higher education by freezing democracies and sets education on a globalized war between privatized knowledge corporations (Ball, 2015; Giroux, 2005b; Jin & Ball, 2020; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

To sum up this section of the literature survey on neoliberalism and higher education, it can be argued that neo-liberalization is a process of the capitalist recasting of higher education by defining academia as the free market of commodified knowledge capital (Ball, 2015; Devine, 2017; Giroux, 2011; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Zepke, 2017). It has been a theory-driven, economy-based, and politically operated strategic global capitalism project for capital accumulation (Harvey, 2005; Prechel & Harms, 2007). As a result, neoliberalism transforms global higher education into a global knowledge capital marketplace by influencing national policymakers and governments (Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 1993, 2017).

Quality: A Dominant Discourse in Higher Education

The literature on global higher education is dominated by discourses on quality with a spectrum of complex and contradictory topics and research directions. Scholars on one end of the spectrum argue for the ultimate value of the internationally set quality standards and measures in higher education (Balagué et al., 2014; Brown & Marshall, 2008; Dakovic & Gover, 2019; Gasiunitė & Juknytė-Petreikienė, 2016; Kennedy, 2011; Kusumastuti & Idrus, 2017; Little, 2015). In contrast, scholars on the other end expose contradictions, conflicts, oppressive power, and ambiguities of the term quality when applied to higher education (Blanco Ramírez, 2014; Dicker et al., 2019; Lewin-Jones, 2019; Romainville, 1999; Sarakinioti & Philippou, 2020; Vettori, 2018; Vidovich, 2001). Nevertheless, there is a general agreement among scholars that the concept of quality is rooted in industrial production, marketing, and business management, and in higher education, it is associated with performance assessments (Alzafari, 2017; Brown & Marshall, 2008; Dakovic & Gover, 2019; Romainville, 1999; Vettori, 2018).

Critical scholarship on quality discourses exposes how the term quality assumes power and domination in higher education. Vettori (2018) demonstrates how the same vocabularies around quality are conceived and interpreted in five different conflicting and contradicting meanings from an Austrian context. First, quality in a marketized higher educational context represents protecting consumer interests. Second, quality is the relationship between the students, faculties, staff, administrators, and regulatory mechanisms in an autonomy-dominated institutional context. Third, in a higher education entrepreneurship model, quality means institutional competitiveness, efficiency, and reputation in the educational market. Fourth, quality becomes an instrumentalized

managerial efficiency strategy for performance measurement in a corporatized higher education context. Finally, quality transforms into a routinized and ever-improving scientific and mechanistic engineering paradigm when the university is viewed as a rationalized organization.

The central question is this: what ideology and theory are behind such domination and power of quality discourses? The scholarship recognizes that the dominance of quality-driven policies over national higher education began when higher education was recast as the vehicle of neoliberal economic globalization (Artuc et al., 2015; Ball, 2019; Ball et al., 2010; Dicker et al., 2019; Giroux, 2005b; Kalló & Semchenko, 2016). Therefore, quality-driven higher education discourses reify power and control in manifold ways. As evident from the literature, on the one hand, an immense volume of scholarship treats quality as a motivating power in higher education, casting their divergent and contradictory arguments. On the other hand, the critical scholarship recognizes the influences of neoliberal economic domination and power in higher education quality discourses. The initial literature survey has provided a background for exploring scholarship on policy studies approached as discourse, the basic theoretical frame of this research.

Theoretical Framework: Policy as Discourse

Critical scholarship emerged from 19th-century reproduction theorists like Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, who explored the relationship between capital and social structuring (Gross, 2012; Leonardo & Porter, 2010; Macleod, 1987). Although discourse is a critical theoretical notion for approaching social reality, there is no standard definition for discourse in critical scholarship. Ball (1993) describes the notion of

discourse as simultaneously constructing and concealing of the reality creation process and adds: “[d]iscourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed” (p. 14).

Ball considers discourses as a continuum in becoming.

From this critical approach to social analysis, reproduction theorists and critical scholars argued that education and schools had been the institutional forces of reproduction and reinforcement of social inequality in the capitalist social ordering. Critical scholarship offers a spectrum of theoretical perspectives on social reproduction. It ranges from the deterministic view of structurally designed social roles and class reproduction in a capitalist society to a culturally governed and people's experience-based approach allowing a relative autonomy to the individual (Macleod, 1987).

The structural approach to critical studies examines social structures and relations based on the Freudo-Marxian theory of modernity (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Bacchi, 2000). Sociohistorical studies that problematized power and social relations emerged from their critical approach. From a Marxian social analysis, Theodor Adorno, Pierre Bourdieu, Max Weber, and Hannah Arendt emphasized different aspects of social reproduction and class structure (Angermuller et al., 2014; Leonardo, 2009). The crucial concern of this approach is to change the social iniquities by critiquing the power structures that produced and perpetuated injustice in the interest of the power elites (Anderson & Holloway, 2020). However, this approach assumes that social iniquities are structurally formed and thereby conceptualizes change by overthrowing social structures (Ball, 1993, 2015a; Diem et al., 2014).

In contrast, post-structural critical scholarship highlights a *linguistic turn* in critical theories indicating the dynamic of construction of inequities (Angermuller et al., 2014). van Dijk (1993) relates the cultural philosophers like Jürgen Habermas, Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Michel Pêcheux to thinkers who emphasized the role of language and communication in a critical approach. Theories of race, ethnicity, culture, language, discourse, pedagogy and many more belong to this critical social theory line (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Bacchi, 2000; Diem et al., 2014; van Dijk, 1993). Although critical theories are rooted in the critical modernist tradition inaugurated by Kant and Marx, the postmodern social critical theories are concerned with producing knowledge in society (Leonardo, 2009). Thus, critical social theory can be understood as the critique of the dynamic of knowledge production in society.

Education Policy as Discourse

Critical discourse is a practical discipline under the umbrella of critical theories. Although scholars do not give any clear-cut distinction between critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical discourse studies (CDS), they suggest the complexities involved in the field of discourse studies (Angermuller et al., 2014). CDA/CDS is an umbrella term to signify how complex are the domains of discourse such as culture, language, communication, construction of social relations, and challenging and deconstructing the structures of social power and domination. According to van Dijk (2014), “CDS is not a method, but rather a critical perspective, position or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary Discourse Studies” (p. 389). CDA/CDS scholars are characterized and recognized by the term as their scholarship and research emerge from their commitment to justice and society's equality.

Scholarship approaches to education policies are predominantly influenced by CDA/CDS that focuses on literary theories (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 1993; Wodak et al., 2014). According to Ball (1993), policies are "representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context)" (p. 11). In this sense, a policy is not a finished product. It is "always in a state of becoming,' of 'was' and 'never was' and 'not quite'" (Ball, 1993, p. 11). Thus, the policy as a text is open to the readers for multiple readings and interpretations.

In response to the emergent national educational policies with new thrusts and orientations, and the limited scope of traditional analytical methods, the CDA/CDS scholarship offers a variety of approaches depending on the researchers' purposes, problematization methods, social, historical, and political contexts (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Ball, 1993; Diem et al., 2014). Critical approaches undertake some significant concerns that the traditional methods fail to address. For example, critical scholarship recognizes the disparities and gaps between the policy claims and implementation practices (Ball, 1993; Diem et al., 2014). Moreover, critical scholars examine the policy's roots and emergent contexts to recognize the historical and contextual influences shaping the dominant policy voices (Ball, 1993, 2015a).

Another primary concern is power distribution in policy imagination (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Ball, 1993, 2015a; Diem et al., 2014). Critical scholars investigate the policy contexts to identify the emergent winners and losers and the policy justifications of social iniquities. They are also concerned with the social structuring of policy

imaginings. They ask how social dominations and oppressions are institutionalized and reproduced through education. In addition, critical scholars examine the complexities involved in the policy-shaping contexts, its evolutionary processes, and the implementation sites. Further, critical scholarship approaches to research with various qualitative methods are suitable for research purposes.

Finally, and most importantly, the CDA/CDS scholarship creates a space for policy resistance (Bacchi, 2000; Diem et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). Critical theorists ask how the dominated and the oppressed groups in the policy contexts respond, react, and resist the policy. In educational contexts, critical scholars examine how the policy subjects and the marginalized identify themselves in the policy fields and how they react and resist the iniquities in policy formulations (Giroux, 2007; Jin & Ball, 2020). However, scholarship has not explored various dimensions of the teachers' subjective potential to resist and challenge policies (Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 2016).

CDA/CDS theorists' approaches to current educational policies are premised on a thesis that policymaking involves creating problems and offering solutions (Bacchi, 2000). In this view, policymakers problematize specific educational and social issues as existing, and therefore to be addressed, while specific other issues are ignored as if they are non-existent. Therefore, the CDA/CDS approach understands that policy "is a set of shifting, diverse, and contradictory responses to a spectrum of political interests" (Eldman, 1988, as cited in Bacchi, 2000). Thus, critical scholars recognize the entrenched political interests that govern policy formulation and implementation strategies.

Based on the premise that policy solutions are part of defining policy problems, most of the CDA/CDS scholars approach policy as discourse (Anderson & Holloway,

2020; Angermuller et al., 2014; Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 2015a; Burman et al., 2017; Diem et al., 2014; Lester, 2017; Wodak et al., 2014). This approach focuses on how social and educational problems are created in policy discourses. In other words,

the policy-as-discourse approach 'frames policy not as a response to existing conditions and problems, but more as discourse in which both problems and solutions are created.' Hence, the focus for policy-as-discourse theorists is not 'problems,' which are often presumed starting place of policy analysis, but problematizations. (Goodwin, 1996, as cited in Bacchi, 2000, p. 48)

Thus, in contrast to traditional approaches, the education policy approached as discourse opens contours of deeper and critical reflection on policy discussion and analysis.

Ball (1993) argues that policy taken as the text has semantic autonomy independent of its writers. Since the policy is not the formulation and design of a single author, it involves a process of production that knits together various contexts, writers, and readers. For example, on the one hand, there is a policy construction field determined by its writers' influences, interests, and political agendas. On the other hand, there is a policy deconstruction field in society to which the text renders its multiple readings (Bacchi, 2000). These contexts are rooted and influenced by their historical, cultural, and linguistic conditions. Thus, the policy as a text document encompasses multiple contexts, multiple layers of meaning constructions, and political interests, open to multiple readings and deconstructions.

Strategies of Critical Discourse Analysis

The CDA/CDS scholar must follow the strategies that expose relationships with power, knowledge, and social structures. In the words of van Dijk (1993), "how discourse

structures affect the structures and contents of models, or the generalization process linking models with attitudes, in such a way that social representations are being formed that sustain dominance” (p. 263). Therefore, the CDA/CDS scholar must recognize two central strategies of generalizations to sustain social structures of power and dominance. The first strategies are justification and legitimation. The CDA/CDS scholar examines how the social representations are structured to perpetuate dominance. Justification strategies have two dimensions: positive representation of one's group and negative representation of the other (van Dijk, 1993, 2006).

The second strategy that reproduces power and dominance is denial. It asserts that there is no dominance and social inequality in society. It creates and maintains a discourse that all are treated equally, and everyone has equal access to the resources. Thus, this strategy conceals inequality by denying it (van Dijk, 1993, 2014). Finally, Generalizations and emphases are created around the dominant discourses to demonstrate that the state of affairs is typical and not accidental or exceptional. Further, the speakers or writers of such discourses will argue that things were like that and that had been the state of affairs preventing a variant discourse from the domain (van Dijk, 1993).

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Education Policy Analysis

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) suggest five selected discourse-analytical tools to identify and analyze the discursive elements and strategies of power and dominance in race's social contexts, nationalism, and ethnicity. They are governed by five categories: referential or nomination, predicational, argumentation, perspectivization or framing, and intensifying or mitigation. What follows is a brief description of each of these strategies.

Referential or Nomination Strategies. In the racial, national, or ethnic contexts, the question is how the persons are named or referred to linguistically. However, it is significant to ask what names/titles or persons are referred to in the policy texts linguistically? Thus, referential or nomination strategies represent the constructs and representations employed by the actors. In other words, what names find a reference in policy texts, and what notable names are excluded, suggested by the policy context and history? The referential strategies may also include the metaphors, symbols, traditions, or signifiers employed in the policy text field.

Predicational Strategies. Predicational strategies refer to the traits, characteristics, features, and qualities attributed to the referred names. They are employed to label the actors positively or negatively in the discourses. They are inseparable from the nomination strategies as predications extend their referential significance. As the referential strategies involve a suggestion to signify the actors' positive or negative identification, those names may also be considered predicational strategies. For instance, if the policy text suggests some individual names belonging to a particular class or group already referred to, those individual names may be considered predicational strategies.

Argumentation Strategies. Argumentation strategies refer to a repository of themes employed to justify the positive or negative nomination strategies. For example, a DHA scholar explores how "the social and political inclusion or exclusion, the discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons is justified" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001a, p, 45). The textual argumentations are identified and related to the context and the actors in a policy context.

Perspectivization or Framing Strategies. These strategies are also called discourse representation strategies to signify the speakers' or the policymakers' involvement in the discourse. A DHA scholar investigates how the speakers, or the policymakers, expose their point of view in the policy narrative or the policy text's prescriptions.

Intensifying or Mitigation Strategies. These strategies move in two directions: amplifying and strengthening the discourses or silencing or weakening them. In both cases, they qualify the discourses. “Both of them help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, anti-Semitic, nationalist or ethnicist utterances” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001a, p. 45). In policy contexts, intensification or mitigation strategies help to magnify or reduce the discourse power.

Since this study's task involves discerning the discourses from below, the faculty members of Jesuit institutions of higher education in India, a CDA/CDS method inspired by the DHA will be employed to answer the research questions.

Teachers’ Potential for Subjective Resistance

In education policy contexts, although teachers are one of the major stakeholder groups, their spaces are subjective simultaneously in two senses: as subjects of, and subjects to, the policy (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Brunila et al., 2020; Burman et al., 2017). The terrain of teachers’ subjectivity assumes power when they recognize themselves as the subjects of policy (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Burman et al., 2017). In contrast, as subjects to the policy, adoption, compliance, or adaptation can be the responses in their subjective terrain. However, active resistance to the policy assumes

teachers' subjectivity and power in their subjective space (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

Scholarship on neoliberal education policies recognizes a spectrum of teacher responses, from an uncritical and complete policy adoption to a total and categorical policy rejection, stemming from their subjective spaces (Bracho, 2019; Brunila et al., 2020; Fuller, 2019; Grushka et al., 2020; Proudford, 1998). For example, Proudford (1998) and Di Biase (2019) recognize a demand for teachers' professional development by enhancing their capacities – professional confidence, interpretation, and consciousness – for their complete compliance with neoliberal reforms. In stark contrast, Dunn (2018) interprets teachers' resignation from their profession as a total refusal strategy to reforms.

However, critical scholarship discerns teachers' subjectivity as a space for self-care and resistance in the contexts of authoritarian top-down policy discourses. Ball and Olmedo (2013) argue that “to the extent that neoliberal governmentalities have become increasingly focused upon the production of subjectivity, it is logical that we think about subjectivity as a site of struggle and resistance” (p. 85). In this study, the researchers examine a series of email exchanges between Ball and a group of teachers on Ball's work on performativity. Consequently, teachers' resistance acts of irresponsibility are interpreted as their responsible acts of self-care.

Brunila et al. (2020) expanded on this subjective space's scope to a collective resistance terrain when a group of academic scholars engaged twenty years in education, and social justice activism organized their resistance in collegiality, collaboration, and collectivity. Resistance space of collective subjectivity is discerned in the time they talked together about neoliberal reforms and impacts (collegiality), their active refusal to

work in isolation and competition (collaboration), and their attempts to problematize and challenge the institutional structures and practices of neo-liberalization (collectivity).

In this view, resistance to policy need not demonstrate a collective protest (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). Instead, it can be a less recognizable resistance to the assault of neoliberalism suited to the situated logic and limitations of teacher contexts, as Convertino (2016) argues. In more subtle ways, as Fuller (2019) argues, teacher resistance can be discerned in the everyday acts of semblance of compliance to reform in the third space of created ambivalence and ambiguity. Contrastingly, Nolan (2015) demonstrates a positively motivated care-based resistance against a negatively motivated protest-based resistance. In a neoliberal educational context, which disregards an authentic teacher-student relationship of caring, the resisting teacher compromises it by choosing a care-based relationship.

Research on teachers' psychological subjectivities reveals the inner realms of policy resistance. For example, Zembylas (2009) analyzes the geographical spaces of teacher emotions such as sociocultural, ethical, work-related, political, spatial, and argues that teachers' emotionality goes unattended in the accountability-driven neoliberal reform contexts. Consequently, teachers' emotions interplay with their sociocultural identities and political power structures creates tension and resistance in reform settings. Further, in the teacher subject's psychological space, Le Fevre (2014) argues that the cognitive barriers of perceived high risks and loss of relational trust in reform implementation promote resistance.

From the scholarship surveyed above, it emerges that teachers' subjective spaces have the power to resist reforms in manifold ways. Resistance can be collective or

personal, manifest or subtle, positive or negative, self-caring or protest-based, and partial or total. However, although research has recognized the power in teachers' subjectivity terrains of interactions, resignations, withdrawals, and engagements in the neoliberal contexts of education reforms, it does not show any evidence of power discerned in the teacher responses to policy discourses. This research aims to address that gap by analyzing Indian Jesuit faculties' responses to India's NEP 2020 discourses, which is the second research question of this study. It seeks to discern how the faculties' responses express their subjective power to adopt or resist the policy discourses. Further, this study also seeks to discern if new discourses emerge from the faculties' responses, which is the purpose of this study's third research question.

Chapter Summary

India's ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) government that produced the NEP 2020 was sworn to power on account of its politics of Hindu nationalism. Therefore, to locate the NEP 2020 in its historical setting, this literature review began with examining the origin of Hindu nationalism as political discourse in India from the 19th century. Then, the survey explored various reformists who formulated and campaigned a Hindu majoritarian-based nationalism and their movements, describing the crystallization of the ideology in the founding of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Finally, the survey also exposed the contradictions of Hindu nationalism and its political project of defining India as a Hindu nation.

The chapter further reviewed scholarship on how Indian politics interfered with education policies. The survey identified a significant tension between secular ideals of education and the Hindu nationalist project of saffronizing education. However, the

survey also showed that the postcolonial democratic leadership that envisioned education framed it on the secular and citizenship frames to protect Indian democracy and its pluralistic identity. At the same time, the scholarship survey also suggested that the neoliberal project of global capitalism had had its profound influence in defining the current national education policies, including that of India.

Subsequently, the survey narrows down to higher education policy contexts, highlighting neoliberalism and higher education literature. It demonstrated that the capitalist recasting of higher education redefined academia as the free market of commodified knowledge capital. The survey also exposed how the term "quality" in higher education functioned as a vehicle of neoliberal globalization and reified power and domination. From this background, the literature on approaching policy as discourse was explored. Finally, a detailed survey of critical discourse approaches, especially to education policy studies, was undertaken to locate this study's specific discourse historical analysis (DHA) theoretical framework in scholarship.

Finally, since critical scholarship is action-oriented, the survey illuminated the teachers' subjectivity having the power to resist inequalities and unjust policies. The review demonstrated that expressions of dissent and resistance were possible in everyday acts to the ultimate measure of resignation from teaching. The scholarship gave evidence of such acts of resistance by teachers. However, the scholarship surveyed did not indicate how teachers' response to policy could have potential resistance. This research attempts to fill that gap.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Restatement of the Purpose of the Study

As stated in chapter one, this study's purpose was to analyze the dominant textual discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 and to seek how the faculties of Jesuit higher education institutions responded to them. Education policy analysis approached as discourse problematized the assumptions and the foundational ideologies behind the policy construction (Ball, 1993; Diem et al., 2014). Therefore, a significant purpose of the analysis was to examine how policy defined problems and proposed solutions.

Consequently, a question of whose voices were heard and silenced in the policy texts emerged significantly. Further, the analyst explored the strategies used in the policy text to justify and normalize the dominant voices (Anderson & Holloway, 2020; Ball, 1993; Diem et al., 2014). The present research focused on the NEP 2020's higher education discourses by employing the discourse-historical analysis (DHA) method. It sought to discern and analyze the envisioning of higher education in the larger historical and social contexts of policy construction.

At the same time, this study also examined how the higher education faculties, as an influential stakeholder group in higher education policy contexts, responded to the NEP 2020's dominant discourses. The literature surveyed in Chapter two indicated how scholars discerned and recognized teachers' subjectivity as power sources (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Dunn, 2018; Dunn et al., 2017; Fuller, 2019). A responsive act in their subjectivity could represent power ranging from unconditional adoption and

compliance to total rejection of reforms and resignation from their job (Bracho, 2019; Brunila et al., 2020; Di Biase, 2019; Dunn, 2018; Proudford, 1998). Thus, an analysis of the responses was expected to indicate how faculties utilized their subjective power in the context of the dominant power of policy discourses.

Therefore, following a qualitative survey method, this study analyzed teachers' responses to the NEP 2020's higher education discourses from the faculties of Jesuit institutions of higher education in India. While the survey had qualitative data of individual responses for the open-ended questions, it had also provided some quantitative data that could be aggregated and analyzed with quantitative measures. The analysis was conducted engaging the same discourse-historical analysis (DHA) tools employed for the NEP 2020 discourses. Its central objective was to discern the level of resistance and the underlying reasoning along with the emerging the variant discourses. More importantly, the analysis revealed how the responses represented faculties' subjective power.

Research Questions

As stated in Chapter I, this study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the higher education vision emerging from the discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
2. How do Indian Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties respond to the discourses of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
3. What are the variant discourses emerging from faculty?

The Study Context

India's National Education Policy, 2020

The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, a web-published document of the Indian government's Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD, presently renamed as Ministry of Education), is the broad textual field for data for this research (MHRD, 2020). The PDF document on the website has 65 pages structured as a general introduction followed by four major parts organized in 27 chapters. Therefore, this research's textual data field was limited to a three-and-a-half-page introduction (pages 3-6) and an 18-page part two on higher education reforms (pages 33-50). Table 1 presents the general organization of the NEP 2020 text.

Table 1

The Organizational Structure of the Text of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020

Major Content Titles	Chapters	Pages
Introduction	Not applicable	3–6
Part I: School Education	1–8	6–33
Part II: Higher Education	9–19	33–50
Part III: Other Key Area of Focus	20–24	50–60
Part IV: Making it Happen	25–27	60–62
List of Abbreviations	Not applicable	63–65

The document started with a general introduction that clarified the policy's two central orientations: the United Nation's 2030 global sustainable development agenda and a nationalist thrust of nurturing and preserving "India's traditions and value systems" (MHRD, 2020, p. 3). Further, the policy envisioned "making India a global knowledge superpower" with "a deep-rooted pride in being Indian" (MHRD, 2020, p. 6).

Part I dealt with structural and administrative policy prescriptions related to school education. First, it reorganized school education on a 5+3+3+4-year structure (against the existing 10+2 structure), incorporating a three-year-long early childhood education into the regular school system. Further, the policy set a hundred percent enrolment goal for 2030 and focused on a 21st-century skills-based curriculum framework. Teachers' professional standardization, equal opportunity-based equity, access, and learners' inclusivity were also emphasized. Finally, it imagined an efficiency- and-economic-viability-based consolidation of schools into complexes and introduced a regulatory system of a standardized performance-and-outcome-based assessment and accreditation.

Part II covered 16 pages and was centered on higher education reforms on which this research focused. The reform prescribed restructuring and consolidating the higher education system into large multidisciplinary research-centered and teaching-centered universities and autonomous colleges. A flexible choice-based credit system prioritized students' freedom to choose between science and arts disciplines with multiple entries and exit options. The policy prescribed an equal-opportunity-based format for admissions and urged the state governments and higher education institutions to support the socially and economically disadvantaged students (SEDGs).

In addition, institutional autonomy, online education, global standardization, internationalization of higher education, and philanthropic investment were significant reform features of the policy. Further, the policy prescribed the creation of a national research foundation (NRF) for enhancing research. Finally, it proposed establishing the

hierarchized administrative, regulatory, and accreditation systems based on autonomy, efficiency, outcomes, and competitiveness.

Parts III and IV dealt with professional, adult, and lifelong education, promoting Indian languages, arts and culture, technology, online education, and a roadmap to execute the policy design. The 21-century technology and online educational options were vital reform areas. The policy urged the government to integrate disruptive technology into education by taking advantage of India's leadership role in information technology while promoting its cultural wealth and traditional knowledge globally. Finally, the policy sought six percent of GDP for education and promoted private philanthropic funding for achieving the policy goals by 2040.

Jesuit Institutions of Higher Education

Participants from Jesuit higher education institutions in India were chosen for this study for two reasons. First, Jesuits are a minority religious group in providing educational services in India. However, although the democratic government is obliged to ensure justice to all, especially minorities, recent reports indicate discriminatory treatment of religious minorities (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Mukherjee, 2013). Moreover, a move against Christian education fueled by anti-colonial discourses became visible in all parts of India with the support of the ruling local and federal governments from time to time. Faced with such challenges, it became essential to examine how the faculty members of Jesuit institutions responded to the NEP 2020 discourses. Therefore, this research chose the Jesuit institutions primarily to analyze the minority's voice in the policy sites.

Secondly, although the Jesuits are a minority community of Catholic religious groups in India, they represent a global education model with an influential presence through universities and colleges in sixty-five countries from the 17th century (Pereira, 2002). They have also been regarded as pioneering groups in Indian higher education. The first Jesuit educational institution in India was established in Goa in 1542, and several other schools followed (Dongerker, 1967; Pinto, 2014). They introduced modern and western education in India. Parallely, several eminent scholars and language experts among European Jesuits contributed to developing and popularizing Sanskrit and other local languages.

However, significantly after 1814, there was an exponential spread of Jesuit educational institutions in India. Jesuit missionaries from Germany, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal arrived in different parts of India supported by various colonial leaders and local kings. Consequently, by the time of Indian Independence in 1947, there were 65 Jesuit educational initiatives, and some of them had become prominent in tertiary education like Mumbai St. Xavier's College, Chennai Loyola College, Trichy St. Joseph's College, Mangalore St. Aloysius College, and Kolkata St. Xavier's College (Pinto, 2014).

The pre-Independence era of missionary education in India faced no harsh political or religious challenges while it focused on educating masses, generally the privileged classes, with a few schools attending to tribal and Dalit populations. On the contrary, post-Independence Jesuit education has been challenging while growing critically. For example, as indicated in the literature review, the nationalistic political agenda of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), espoused as one nation, one language, and one culture, posed a considerable challenge when it initiated educational

institutions (Clarence et al., 2019). In Ranchi, the capital of Chhattisgarh state, the RSS established 221 educational institutions, including a teacher training institute, within 25 years from 1940, while Jesuits have 34 schools in the entire area of Ranchi Jesuit Province.

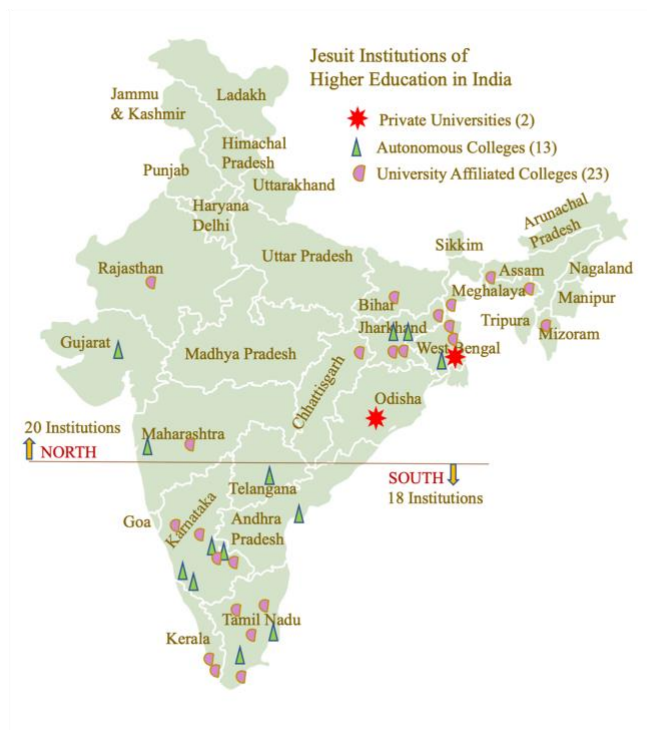
According to the secretary of Jesuit Higher Education Association of South Asia (JHEASA), Jesuits had 62 institutions of higher education in South Asia which included universities, autonomous colleges, business schools, engineering colleges, university-affiliated graduate colleges, and teacher training colleges (Joye James, SJ, personal communication, January 20, 2021).

Faculty members from three categories of 38 Indian Jesuit higher education institutions were the prospective survey participants of this study. Such institutions included two private universities, 13 autonomous colleges, and 23 university-affiliated colleges. The survey did not include Jesuit-administered professional institutions providing business, engineering, teacher education, and law degrees. As professional institutions, they are a separate category in higher education.

The Jesuit higher education institutions are spread across the southern, northern, north-western, and north-eastern Indian states. However, to avoid the complexity and disparity between regions, this study divided the geographical locations into two: two Jesuit universities, five autonomous colleges, and 13 university-affiliated colleges as the north, and eight autonomous colleges, and ten university-affiliated colleges as the south. Figure 2 indicates the state-wise distribution of India's three-type Jesuit higher education institutions.

Figure 2

State-Wise Distribution of the Jesuit Higher Education Institutions in India: Universities – 2; Autonomous Colleges – 13; University-Affiliated Colleges – 23



Research Design

The best-suited research method to address this research's questions was a qualitative critical discourse approach emerging from critical social theories (Angermuller et al., 2014; Diem et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993, 2006). Therefore, this study was designed as a sequentially phased discourse-historical analysis (DHA) combining a textual analysis of policy as discourse with an analysis of a qualitative survey of faculty responses. In this design, employing the DHA tools, the researcher first analyzed the NEP 2020 textual discourses critically and sequenced them with the faculties' response analysis.

Data Sources

Policy as Discourse Data

As mentioned above, India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, published in the national web portal of the Ministry of Human Resources and Development (renamed as Ministry of Education), was the primary data source of the study (MHRD, 2020). It was a 65-page-long document uploaded in August 2020. However, this study focused on its general introduction between pages three and six and Part II, higher education, between pages 33 and 50. The DHA tools for ascertaining the discourse strategies were employed, and thus the referential, predicational, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation strategies in the text were identified and coded. Such discourses were triangulated with their intertextual and historical contexts for analysis.

Qualitative Survey Data

The Provincial Superior of Kerala Jesuit Province in India was approached for contacting the Jesuit leaders in different higher education institutions in India. Researcher being a member of Kerala Jesuit Province, the Provincial Superior introduced him to the vice-chancellors, administrators, or presidents/principals of every Jesuit higher education institution individually. Furthermore, the Provincial Superior requested the Jesuit leaders to support and facilitate the researcher's reaching out to the faculty members for the online survey.

As the next step, the researcher sent an email to the Jesuit institutional leaders requesting to respond in two possible ways: either they could send ten to twelve email addresses of the existing faculty members, or they could forward the questionnaire link to the entire faculty members with an encouraging note for them to participate in the survey.

About 200 faculty members from India's north and south regions were expected to participate in the survey.

Data Collection

The NEP 2020 Discourse Data

According to the discourse historical analysis (DHA) method proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the researcher primarily extracted the names that authorized and legitimized the textual discourses. Then, they were coded and categorized for analysis. It was followed by identifying and isolating the words and phrases that functioned as the policymakers' strategies of predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification/mitigation. Finally, for the analysis, the researcher triangulated these extracted categories within the immediate textual, historical, and cultural conditions to uncover the strategies that produced the dominant policy discourses.

Consequently, the analysis was expected to reveal how and why specific names are included or excluded, foregrounded or backgrounded, activated or passivated, categorized or decategorized, assimilated or dismissed, aggregated or segregated, personified or disfigured, and concretized or abstracted (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In other words, the analysis hoped to reveal the policymakers' hidden intentions and agendas. The researcher assumed that the referenced names in the text represented the intentional choice of the speakers/makers (Ball, 1993, 2016).

Faculty Response Data

The second data source was the qualitative survey conducted among Indian Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties. About 200 faculty members were expected to participate in the survey. Each participant received an online form link with an

introductory email. The researcher introduced himself as a final year Jesuit doctoral student from India at the University of San Francisco. A brief description of the survey's purpose was followed, mentioning the estimated 10 to 15 minutes for survey completion. The participant could get to the online survey format by clicking the link. Appendix A gives an integrated format of the letter and the survey questionnaire.

The online survey had three components: introduction, personal information, and survey responses. The introductory part began with an appreciation for the participant's willingness to participate in the survey. A brief description of the survey topic and purpose followed. Next, the USF's institutional review board (IRB) approval for the survey and the voluntary participation was mentioned. Finally, the researcher assured to keep the participants' personally identifiable information confidential. Agreeing for participation was deemed to be their informed consent.

The second part sought to collect personal information relevant to the data. For example, the survey asked the participant's gender, religious affiliation, the number of years as a faculty member in Jesuit higher education, level of familiarity with the NEP 2020, and the NEP 2020 encountering ways. Any personally identifiable information like the name was kept optional for the participant.

The third part pursued to gather the survey responses in two categories: choice-based and open responses. As indicated earlier, the choice-based responses sought participants' agreement/disagreement to a central NEP 2020 discourse. Similarly, they indicated their disposition to different educational views on a five-point Likert scale. In the open response, participants were asked to suggest names that they considered inspirational sources and models for Indian higher education for the open response.

Subsequently, they had to justify their agreement/disagreement dispositions and suggestions with reasons.

A final question sought how the survey participants scaled their acceptance/resistance to the NEP 2020 reforms in their subjectivities (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). On a zero-100-scale, the participants could position themselves, indicating complete acceptance with no resistance (0) to total resistance (100) and justify their choice in open statements. In addition, they could express their free thoughts about the NEP 2020.

The qualitative survey responses were coded and thematically organized using Hub360D software following Wodak's discourse-historical analysis (DHA) framework (Angermuller et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The faculty-suggested referential strategies were identified and coded from the first open-ended question. Predicational and argumentation strategies that qualified and justified the nominations were identified from the rationale provided by the participants. From the responses to the statements on the Likert scale, the perspectivization and intensification/mitigation strategies were coded, studying how they aligned with the nomination strategies. In other words, the qualitative survey responses were categorized and coded according to categories of their discourse strategies. In addition, the open-ended responses were separately coded to discern the emerging discourses.

Data Analysis

Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA) of the NEP 2020 Textual Discourses

The data from the two primary sources were analyzed separately and compared and contrasted. The coded data of the NEP 2020 text provided the analytical base for the study. The analysis involved finding the interconnections through the triangulation method suggested by Wodak (Angermuller et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). First, the words/expressions identified as the nomination or referential strategies were coded from the NEP 2020 text. Next, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation strategies were separated and coded. These strategies strengthened or weakened the discourses with the internal force of the text.

As the third element of triangulation, the discourse strategies were analyzed against their external context, relating the information/knowledge with their underlying historical and cultural influences. The literature survey provided the external sources of such contextual influences, both within and outside India. Thus, the NEP 2020's nomination strategies were triangulated with the textual, social, and historical contexts emerged internally from the text and externally from the literature review.

For example, a referential category of Thakshasila was first analyzed within the textual context considering its category, appearance frequency, emphasis, and rationale. Then, these data were related and analyzed within the textual context and India's social, historical, and political contexts to identify the strategies of predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation. Consequently, the analysis exposed how the NEP 2020 discourses restructured, reinforced, challenged power, social relations, knowledge, and dominance in Indian higher education. Conversely, the analysis exposed

how the discourse strategies created new inequities and perpetuated existing unjust social structures in higher education. It also revealed how the policy made some actors powerful and others weak and dominated.

Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA) of the Faculty Responses

The faculty responses were organized, extracting the names, keywords, themes, and ideas. Then, using the DHA tools, the data were separately categorized and classified as strategies of nominations, predications, argumentations, perspectivizations, intensifications/mitigations. Next, Hub360D software was employed to present the data for analysis. In the analysis followed, first, the various names suggested by the survey participants were categorized, and then from the open-ended responses, the remaining discourse strategies were thematically organized in tables and figures. Finally, these themes were analyzed against the historical, political, and social contexts of Indian education discussed in the literature survey.

The results from the NEP 2020 discourse analysis and the survey analysis were compared in the next level of the analysis. The researcher examined convergence and divergence between the nominations referred to in the two data sources. The results were also examined through different demographic categories. For example, the researcher examined if gender, years of service, and religious affiliation impacted the survey participants' response patterns. Finally, the survey analysis revealed how the Jesuit higher education faculty members adopted/resisted the NEP 2020 reforms in their subjectivities. The analysis also demonstrated their justifications for adoption/resistance. In other words, the analysis revealed how the Jesuit faculties envisioned Indian higher education and how their vision converged with or diverged from the NEP 2020 vision.

Researcher's Background

The researcher is an Indian Jesuit pursuing his educational doctorate at the University of San Francisco (USF). He has two master's degrees, one in theology from Vidyajyoti Jesuit College of Theology, Delhi, and another in counseling psychology from Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi. In his thirty years of Jesuit life, he worked with the Jesuit missions of education, social justice activism, writing, editing and publishing, and pastoral engagement.

However, the common thread that connects these diverse involvements has been a preferential option for the poor, the marginalized, and the discriminated communities. Therefore, social justice, equality, peace, reconciliation, and inter-religious harmony were the thrust areas of the researcher's mission. Thus, this study, problematizing India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 discourses, aligned with his primary quest for justice, equality, access, and democratic education.

This background defined the researcher's biases. A bias that emerged from witnessing how his Dalit companions who started their elementary education became dropouts and got lost from the education system motivated this study. For example, Ayyappa, a Dalit neighbor and companion from Koratty, an interior village of Kerala, India, was brilliant in mathematics and science when he started schooling in the 1970s. However, Ayyappa reacted to the alienation he experienced from the school system and walked out as an eighth-grader. The dominant group that included this researcher then responded indifferently to Ayyappa's protest with a series of discourses that justified and normalized his choice. Such discourses described how Dalits were born with fewer

brains, how they did not deserve better opportunities, and how they were lazy and irredeemable.

However, this researcher's understanding encountered a paradigm shift as a Jesuit in the 1990s. He started asking the critical questions of why Dalits in India were permanently marginalized and how the rulers and the hegemonic power structures perpetuated and normalized oppression through policymaking. Every year, millions of Ayyappas in India were expelled from the system, not because they had no opportunities, but a caste-ridden society's structural and systemic oppression would not accept them. In other words, there existed a gap between the proclaimed equal opportunities and the actual Dalit access to the education system. Therefore, this researcher was biased in solidarity with Ayyappas to examine how the NEP 2020 reforms challenged or reinforced the structural inequities, issues of access, power, and dominance in Indian society.

This researcher's bias was also determined by the Jesuit General's proclamation of the universal apostolic preferences (UAP) that guide the present orientation of worldwide Jesuit missions (Sosa, 2019). Out of the four preferences, two urge every Jesuit to walk in solidarity with the excluded, outcastes, oppressed, and young people to create a hope-filled future of justice, peace, and human dignity. Therefore, this study was the researcher's response to translating the Jesuit General's call into a meaningful UAP action in India.

In addition, this researcher's exposure to the intentional academic orientation at USF made the global structures of oppression and exploitation more visible and tangible. For example, courses and academic discussions at USF problematized the globalized market force of neoliberalism that redefined national educational policies worldwide

(Bleasdale, 2019a; Negrón-Gonzales, 2019). Consequently, a critical examination of the neoliberal influences in formulating the NEP 2020 discourses became this research's central concern and bias.

Finally, while this researcher's strength was his bias, it was also the research's limitation. For instance, the researcher's solidarity with the oppressed strengthened the research perspective. On the contrary, the same bias could influence the survey participants from the Jesuit higher education institutions in India to respond to the NEP 2020 discourses. However, it was expected that the survey participants would be free to express themselves as they responded to a national policy rather than a Jesuit policy.

Human Subjects' Protection

Ahead of data collection, permission from the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) was obtained. The introductory part of the online questionnaire displayed this information and the study's purpose and benefits. It was stated that participation was entirely voluntary, and no participant was obliged to answer any/all questions. Therefore, there was no special reward offered for participation. Further, it was explicitly stated that the data and collected information were kept confidential to protect participants' privacy. Since this researcher is a Jesuit, special care was taken to ensure no data disclosed with the respective institutions' management. Finally, survey participation was considered the participant's informed consent.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

This chapter that analyzes and discusses the NEP 2020 textual discourses has five takeaways.

1. As its central strategy, by juxtaposing the ancient and the 21st-century education, the NEP 2020 was found constructing a discourse claiming the inspirational ancient Indian education was the same as the NEP 2020-proposed 21st-century education.
2. All the names referenced by the NEP 2020 were intended to construct a restoration discourse of a Sanskrit-based, ancient Brahminic model as 21st-century India's higher education requirement.
3. The NEP 2020 found not address crucial questions of Indian higher education such as democratic justice in educational access, secular ideals, geographic and community-based inequities, and other significant issues.
4. Subsequent discourse strategies were functioning as solidifiers of the central discourse. Thus, the ancient India-based discourse explicitly promoted a nationalist restoration project while the 21st-century education discourse projected a neoliberal project of free-market higher education.
5. Both the above discourses were strategies to exclude diverse and complex educational requirements and to include the particular interests of the dominant and powerful social elites.

This research was guided by the central purpose of discerning what vision of higher education emerges from the discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020

and how the faculties of Indian Jesuit higher education respond to them. The researcher employed a combined theoretical framework of policy as discourse adopting the discourse historical analysis proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), critique of neoliberalism by Zepke (2017), and resistance as care for subjectivity suggested by Ball and Olmedo (2013). Further, the literature review revealed a research gap in discerning a resistance potential in the subjective spaces of teachers' responses to education reforms. Consequently, the researcher hoped to analyze the dominant discourses that authorize and legitimize the NEP 2020 text and examine the Jesuit higher education faculties' responses to discern if they express potential resistance to the NEP 2020 reforms.

Research Questions

Following were the research questions:

1. What is the higher education vision emerging from the discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
2. How do Indian Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties respond to the discourses of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?
3. What are the variant discourses emerging from faculty?

Findings for Research Question 1

Research Question 1

What is the higher education vision emerging from the discourses of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?

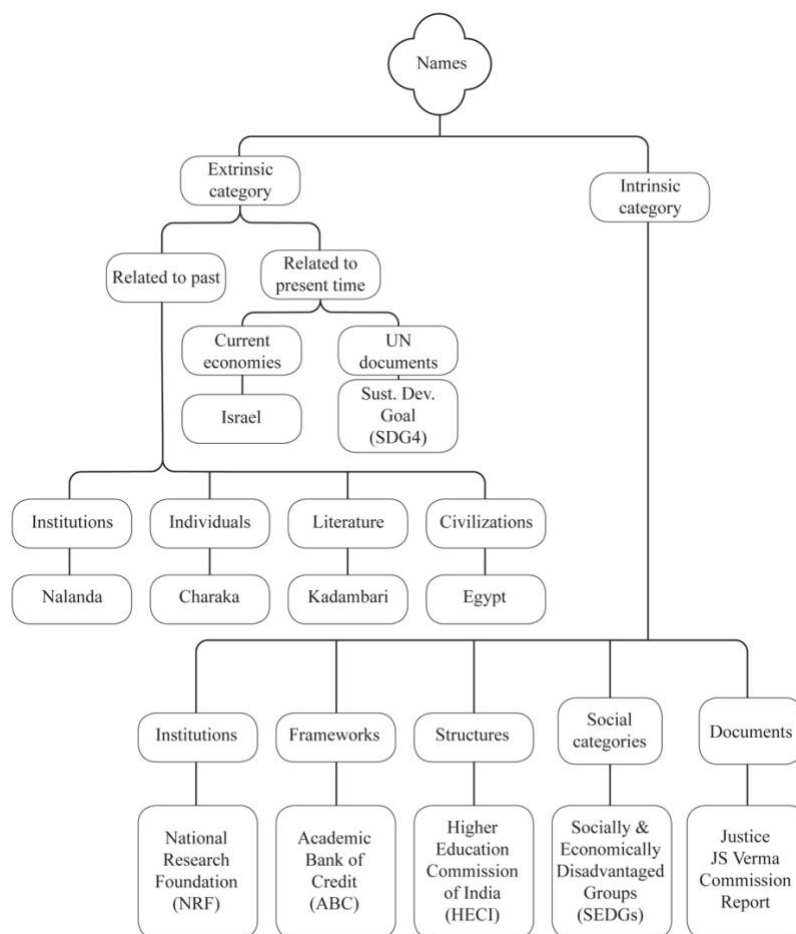
The researcher's first task was to identify the nomination or referential categories from the text to answer this research question. Thus, all the names referred to in the text were identified and categorized based on their representations. The coding revealed that

the names belonged to two broad categories: extrinsic and intrinsic. The extrinsic category was composed of the names referred to as external influences or authorities to legitimize the policy imaginations. This category was subclassified into two: the names related to the past and the names related to contemporary times. The names related to the past were again categorized as institutions, individuals, civilizations, and literature. Under the names related to the current time, contemporary economies and United Nations' documents were grouped.

In contrast, this intrinsic category was based on the names central to the NEP 2020's direct output imaginations. Titles of existing or proposed institutions, frameworks, and structures and the referred social groups and documents were classified under the intrinsic category. Figure 3 demonstrates the nomination categories identified in the studied NEP 2020 text with their corresponding examples. A list of all names and their categories is presented in Appendix B.

Figure 3

Classification of Names in the Introduction and Higher Education Section (Part II) of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020



Note. Only a representational example is given in the last row of each final category.

Analysis of Extrinsic Referential Strategies Related to Past

As Figure 1 indicates, the textual data revealed two primary categories of names: one that came into the NEP 2020 text from external sources and the other that emerged from the policy imaginations. The extraneous names were grouped under the extrinsic category and further subdivided into related to past and present. An analysis of the names belonging to the past was undertaken first.

Institutional References Related to Past

Within the extrinsic category related to the past, the NEP 2020 text referred to four institutions: Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramashila. They are referenced in the text as the model that Indian higher education should emulate for achieving its 21st-century educational goals. Therefore, these names are referenced as normative. In the entire text, these institutions were referred to three times: in the introduction and the higher education reform section. In its introduction, the NEP 2020 stated: “World-class institutions of ancient India such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, [and] Vallabhi, set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research and hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). Further, in part two that deals with higher education reforms, the NEP 2020 stated: “India has a long tradition of holistic and multidisciplinary learning, from universities such as Takshashila and Nalanda to the extensive literature of India combining subjects across fields” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36).

Again, while introducing the NEP 2020’s multidisciplinary and holistic education, it stated:

The ancient Indian universities Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramshila, which had thousands of students from India and the world studying in vibrant multidisciplinary environments, amply demonstrated the type of great success that large multidisciplinary research and teaching universities could bring. India urgently needs to bring back this great Indian tradition to create well-rounded and innovative individuals, and which is already transforming other countries educationally and economically. (MHRD, 2020, p. 36)

In the above-quoted statements, words and phrases such as “highest standards,” “extensive,” “vibrant,” “great success,” “urgently needs,” “great Indian tradition,” and “transforming” indicate that the institutional references are made positively. Moreover, the statements' internal logic and general orientation suggest that the references function as influences and models that legitimize the NEP 2020 reforms.

Before taking further analysis steps, a quick literature survey was conducted to find out some relevant details about the named institutions. According to Dongerkery (1967), Takshashila (or Taxila), an elite Hindu center known from the 7th century BCE and the oldest, was founded by Bharata, who named it after his son Taksha. Takshashila was the capital of then Gandhara province (Kandahar, now on the border of Afghanistan), located twenty miles westward from today's Rawalpindi in Pakistan. The center attracted students from various parts of India and the rulers from the neighboring countries, including the Greek invader Alexander. After surviving through various incursions, it was finally destroyed by the 5th century CE by the Hunas or Huns from around 470.

Nalanda, a Mahayana Buddhist monastery that combined Brahminic learning, existed between the mid-5th and late 12th century CE (Dongerkery, 1967). According to Pinkney (2015), Nalanda was founded around 427 CE and existed until 1197 CE. Nalanda was located seven miles north of Rajgir in the Bihar state of India. It assumed its prominence since it was the most significant educational institution with more than ten thousand students. Vikramashila (or Vikramasila) was a vibrant Buddhist monastery and learning center near Nalanda. It existed between the 8th and 12th centuries CE (Dongerkery, 1967). Vallabhi (or Valabhi) was a Hinayana Buddhist monastery located in Kathiawar of the present Gujarat state in India. Dongerkery (1967) adds that Vallabhi

had many Brahmin students and was a famous learning center between the 7th and 8th centuries. The center was finally destroyed around the year 775 when Arabs invaded the city. Table 2 summarizes the relevant details about the four institutions.

Table 2

Summary of details regarding the four ancient institutions named by India's National Education Policy 2020

Name	Type	Location	Time of existence
Takshashila	Elite Hindu education center	Province of Gandhara, today's Rawalpindi in Pakistan	7th century BCE to 5th century CE
Nalanda	Mahayana Buddhist and Brahminic learning center	Rajgir, near Patna in Bihar, India	427 to 1197 CE
Vikramashila	Buddhist learning center	Near Nalanda, Rajgir in Bihar, India	8th century to 1203 CE
Vallabhi	Hinayana Buddhist and Brahminic learning center	Kathiawar in Gujarat, India	7th century to 775 CE

The basic information collected concerning the four institutions referred by the NEP 2020 indicated that they all existed between the 7th century BCE and early 13th century CE. Further, while Takshashila was in the northwestern part of ancient India, which is in today's Pakistan, Nalanda, Vikramashila, and Vallabhi were in Bihar, northern India, and Vallabhi in Gujarat, northwestern India. The data collected also revealed that while Nalanda, Vikramashila, and Vallabhi were Buddhist and elite Hindu learning centers, Takshashila was an elite Hindu learning center.

References to Individuals Related to Past

As the classification in Figure 1 suggested, among the past extrinsic category names, there were references to individuals' names. In the introduction, the NEP 2020 text stated:

The Indian education system produced great scholars such as Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, Chanakya, Chakrapani Datta, Madhava, Panini, Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Gautama, Pingala, Sankardev, Maitreyi, Gargi and Thiruvalluvar, among numerous others, who made seminal contributions to world knowledge in diverse fields such as mathematics, astronomy, metallurgy, medical science and surgery, civil engineering, architecture, shipbuilding and navigation, yoga, fine arts, chess, and more. Indian culture and philosophy have had a strong influence on the world. These rich legacies to world heritage must not only be nurtured and preserved for posterity but also researched, enhanced, and put to new uses through our education system. (MHRD, 2020, p. 4)

It was noted that the NEP 2020 text made no references to individual persons apart from the above-quoted context. Since the name Banabhatta (p. 36) was mentioned as Kadmbhari's author, it was classified as a literature reference. In the above statement, there are 18 names listed. The words and phrases such as "great scholars," "seminal contributions," "strong influence," "rich legacies," "must not only be nurtured and preserved," "but also researched," "enhanced," and "put to new uses" suggest that those names are being referred to positively. The internal logic and orientation of the statements show that these names are stated to legitimize and authorize the NEP 2020 reforms.

A quick literature survey revealed some significant details about the NEP 2020 referenced names (Arya, 2018; Atzema, 2015; Bharadwaj, 1980; Chati et al., 2018; Chinthala et al., 2018; Dadu, 2017; Deshpande, 1997; Drewes, 2017; Dubhashi & Avnish, 2016; Geslani, 2016; Goyal & Goyal, 2017; Hari, 2007; Jain, 2014; Jayesh, 2021; Joshi, 2021; Konwar, 2013; Misra, 1966; Nagarajan, 2005; Okita, 2020; Raveh, 2018; Sahu et al., 2017; Sen, 2014; Slaje, 2002; Van Nooten, 1993; Westerhoff, 2009; White, 2014; Williams, 2021; Zysk, 2019). Table 3 below presents the summary of the details thus collected.

Table 3

Summary of Details Regarding the 18 Scholars Listed in India's National Education Policy, 2020

Names	Gender			Social identity/class					Language					Field							Period in history					
	Male	Female	Sage	Brahmin	Elite/royal	Low caste	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Pali	Tamil	Upanishads	Astrology	Astronomy	Mathematics	Ayurveda	Philosophy	Grammar	Ritualism	Writings/Treatise	Art/Theater	Centuries BCE		Centuries CE			
																					8th–5th	4th–1st	1st–4th	5th–8th	9th–15th	
Charaka	✓		✓				✓								✓				✓			✓	✓			
Susruta	✓		✓				✓								✓				✓			✓				
Aryabhata	✓			✓			✓						✓	✓					✓						✓	
Varahamihira	✓			✓			✓					✓	✓					✓							✓	
Bhaskaracharya	✓			✓			✓						✓	✓												✓
Brahmagupta	✓			✓			✓						✓	✓					✓						✓	
Chanakya	✓			✓			✓								✓				✓				✓			
Chakrapani Datta	✓			✓			✓							✓					✓							✓
Madhava	✓			✓			✓								✓				✓							✓
Panini	✓		✓				✓									✓						✓				
Patanjali	✓		✓				✓								✓				✓				✓			
Nagarjuna	✓			✓			✓	✓							✓				✓				✓			
Gautama	✓			✓				✓							✓							✓				
Pingala	✓			✓			✓						✓		✓	✓			✓				✓			
Sankardev	✓			✓			✓												✓	✓						✓
Maitreyi		✓		✓			✓				✓											✓				
Gargi		✓		✓			✓				✓											✓				
Thiruvalluvar	✓				✓				✓						✓				✓			✓	✓			

Note. The details are extracted from the literature consulted as part of this research.

As Table 3 displays, among the 18 names listed are 16 men and two women. The literature suggested that the two women, Maitreyi and Gargi, were from the *Brhadāranyaka Upanishad* of the 8th century BCE portrayed as engaging in

philosophical debate with its author *Yājñavalkyā*. Regarding the scholars' social identity, 17 belonged to the elite class as a sage, Brahmin, or a royal family member. Only Thiruvalluvar belonged to a low caste of weavers. While Gautama and Thiruvalluvar wrote in Tamil and Pali, all others had Sanskrit literature. In other words, most of the scholars referred to in the NEP 2020 text are known by their Sanskrit scholarship.

In the context of discussing language education in the school reform section (Part I) of the NEP 2020, the document asserted the national significance of Sanskrit. It stated:

Sanskrit, while also an important modern language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, possesses a classical literature that is greater in volume than that of Latin and Greek put together, containing vast treasures of mathematics, philosophy, grammar, music, politics, medicine, architecture, metallurgy, drama, poetry, storytelling, and more (known as 'Sanskrit Knowledge Systems'), written by people of various religions as well as non-religious people, and by people from all walks of life and a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds over thousands of years. Sanskrit will thus be offered at all levels of school and higher education as an important, enriching option for students, including as an option in the three-language formula.

(MHRD, 2020, p. 14)

Later, on describing the need of promoting languages and culture, the document further stated:

Due to its vast and significant contributions and literature across genres and subjects, its cultural significance, and its scientific nature, rather than being restricted to single-stream Sanskrit Pathshalas and Universities, Sanskrit will be

mainstreamed with strong offerings in school – including as one of the language options in the three-language formula – as well as in higher education. It will be taught not in isolation, but in interesting and innovative ways, and connected to other contemporary and relevant subjects such as mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, linguistics, dramatics, yoga, etc. Thus, in consonance with the rest of this policy, Sanskrit Universities too will move towards becoming large multidisciplinary institutions of higher learning. Departments of Sanskrit that conduct teaching and outstanding interdisciplinary research on Sanskrit and Sanskrit Knowledge Systems will be established/strengthened across the new multidisciplinary higher education system. Sanskrit will become a natural part of a holistic multidisciplinary higher education if a student so chooses. Sanskrit teachers in large numbers will be professionalized across the country in mission mode through the offering of 4-year integrated multidisciplinary B.Ed. dual degrees in education and Sanskrit. (MHRD, 2020, p. 55)

The 480-page draft document web-published in 2019 as the NEP 2020's precursor had further reinforced:

Considering the special importance of Sanskrit to the growth and development of Indian languages, and its unique contribution to knowledge development in as well as the cultural unity of the country, facilities for the study of Sanskrit, its scientific nature, and including samplings of diverse ancient and medieval writings in Sanskrit from a diverse set of authors (e.g. the plays of Kalidasa and Bhasa), will be made widely available in schools and higher educational institutions. (Kasturirangan et al., 2019, pp. 86-87)

Although the NEP 2020 text did not prescribe an implementation plan of Sanskrit-based national curriculum in education, consistent with the above analysis and subsequent statements, it can be safely argued that Sanskrit's national role of unification, prominence, and significance emerged as a robust NEP 2020 discourse. Moreover, critical studies on Hindu nationalism also suggested that the nationalization of the Sanskrit language is a component of the right-wing Hindutva nationalists' ideological agenda (Alder, 2017; Anand, 2011; Jaffrelot, 1999; Ramaswamy, 1999).

For instance, Ramaswamy (1999), who analyzed the report of India's Sanskrit Commission, set up in 1956 following the Constitutional recommendation, suggested that "the nationalization of Sanskrit transforms it into a metonym of the nation, as voiced in the formulation 'Sanskrit is India'" (p. 341). She further argued that the preeminence and power assigned to Sanskrit by the Sanskrit Commission "excluded or subordinated to a past constituted around Sanskrit that is renamed as the nation's past" (p. 341). It erased, absorbed, or eclipsed the heterogeneous factors (including, arguably, the comparable languages such as Tamil, Telugu, and Pali) that constitute the whole of India and its diverse heritage. The NEP 2020 references to institutions and scholars denoting an ancient past as unified by Sanskrit arguably substantiates the Sanskrit-centered Hindu nationalism discourse.

Alder (2017) validated Sanskrit's nation-making project to the contemporary Hindu nationalist organizations' operational tactics. His literature survey demonstrated how scholars who researched the connection between Hindu-nationalist-affiliated organizations and Sanskrit traditions had a consensus on their assertion of the unifying character of Sanskrit to make the modern state of India. Furthermore, based on his

ethnographic data analysis, he argued that the Hindu nationalist organizations worked on a Sanskritization project among northern India's tribal and low caste actors by insisting on religiously transmitted Sanskrit mantras in the non-Brahmin and non-Hindu rituals and implicitly portraying an ethical Hindu self. As the Hindu nationalists' Sanskritization project corroborated with the NEP 2020's portrayal of a Sanskrit-dominated referential strategy, it can be argued that the NEP 2020's education vision is built on an upper-caste, Sanskrit-defined version of India's past.

Conversely, Doniger (2009, 2015) argues in her half-a-century-long critical literature of deconstructing the Hindu myths and scriptures that the Sanskritized elite idea of Hindus and Hinduism had been quite different from the varieties of oral traditions lived in India. In her academic but much-debated writings on Hinduism, she reiterates that no single group can claim to be the official custodians of Hinduism, and no single version of the text can be considered authentic and assume authority over the Hindus. Thus, it can be argued that the true Hinduism lies in the wide varieties of folk cultures and traditions lived in India, outside the boundaries of the Brahminical hegemonic male voice disseminated by the Hindu nationalist organizations.

Another significant feature of the 18 scholars in Table 3 is their fields of specialization. As the data demonstrated, 15 scholars had treatises or writings that prove their scholarship. Six of them, including the two women, were philosophers or debaters in the Vedantic or Upanishadic tradition of Brahminic Hinduism, while two were Buddhist philosophers. However, Thiruvalluvar appears as an outlier in philosophers and does not belong to a dominant tradition. Three scholars, namely Charaka, Susruta, and Chakrapani Datta, were authority figures of Ayurveda, a dominant Indian tradition of Sanskritized

indigenous medicine. Similarly, the four mathematicians, Aryabhata, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, and Pingala, reveal the Sanskrit connection to reinforce the NEP 2020's construction of India's monolithic Sanskrit-based past.

As Table 3 presented, all the scholars were associated with history from the 8th century BCE to the 15th century CE. While 11 of the NEP 2020's scholars belonged to centuries of BCE, seven of them lived in CE centuries. For example, Charaka, according to Dadu (2017), was a 1st-century nomadic sage, while the compilation of the *Charaka Samhita* text was completed in the 4th century CE. Only four belonged to a period between the 9th and the 15th centuries, and Sankardev was the last. The analysis of the NEP 2020's references to individuals reveals that all the names, in close similarity with the institutional references, belong to a period between the 8th century BCE and 15th century CE. Thus, the NEP 2020's selective references to the ancient past project a seemingly truncated Indian history with no references to the modern times after the 15th century. Such conspicuous omissions and mitigations of notable names of individuals, institutions, and traditions will be discussed later in this chapter.

Literature References Related to Past

As indicated by Figure 1, the NEP 2020 text had a referential category of literature title. However, there is only one such reference made in the entire text. To introduce the need for more holistic and multidisciplinary education, it stated:

Ancient Indian literary works such as Banabhatta's *Kadambari* described a good education as knowledge of the 64 Kalaas or arts; and among these 64 'arts' were not only subjects, such as singing and painting, but also 'scientific' fields, such as chemistry and mathematics, 'vocational' fields such as carpentry and clothes-

making, ‘professional’ fields, such as medicine and engineering, as well as ‘soft skills’ such as communication, discussion, and debate. The very idea that all branches of creative human endeavour, including mathematics, science, vocational subjects, professional subjects, and soft skills should be considered ‘arts’, has distinctly Indian origins. (MHRD, 2020, p. 36)

In the above statements, constructs such as “good education” and “distinctly Indian origins” suggest the text’s positive intention of the presented idea.

A brief literature survey revealed that *Kadambari* was a romantic 7th century Sanskrit fiction authored by Banabhatta (completed by his son Bhushanbhatta after the former’s death) (Gaur, 1978; Hueckstedt, 1995; Jairam & Padmaja, 2017). Jairam and Padmaja (2017) pointed out that the novel portrayed in lyrical prose the romantic story between *Kadambari* (literally meant “liquor”), a Gandharva princess, and *Chandrapida*, a prince who would be revealed as moon god later. Heuckstedt (1995) added that *Harsha* and *Chandrapida* in the novel were the eulogizations of the 7th-century kings, *Samudra Gupta* and *Chandra Gupta II* of the Gupta dynasty. Consequently, the education and training described in the novel were about the princes’ royal training that did not denote modern mass education.

Civilizational References Related to Past

As Figure 1 indicated, the NEP 2020 text referred to ancient and modern civilizations. They are mentioned while introducing the National Research Foundation (NRF) proposal for funding research in higher education. The NEP 2020 text says:

Knowledge creation and research are critical in growing and sustaining a large and vibrant economy, uplifting society, and continuously inspiring a nation to

achieve even greater heights. Indeed, some of the most prosperous civilizations (such as India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece) to the modern era (such as the United States, Germany, Israel, South Korea, and Japan), were/are strong knowledge societies that attained intellectual and material wealth in large part through celebrated and fundamental contributions to new knowledge in the realm of science as well as art, language, and culture that enhanced and uplifted not only their own civilizations but others around the globe. (MHRD, 2020, p. 45)

The NEP 2020's textual context of these civilizational references emphasized the importance and enhanced academic research funding in higher education. Four past-related civilizations are named: India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. They are placed in parentheses as models being cited. Throughout the statements, the use of specific phrases like "prosperous civilizations," "strong knowledge societies," and "intellectual and material wealth" determine the positive and compulsive intent of their construction. These predications, argumentations, and other elements legitimizing the names belong to the subsequent strategies of the NEP 2020 analyzed later in this study. First, however, the essential details related to the civilizations' names were briefly examined in the literature.

Researchers, in general, suggested that early Indian civilization, known as Indus Valley Civilization or Harappan Civilization and Vedic or Aryan Civilization, existed from around 3000 BCE to 500 BCE (Mahabir et al., 2001; Pande, 2014; P. K. Singh et al., 2020). Based on archeological and textual evidence, Singh et al. (2020) argue that ancient Indian civilization had a scientifically developed water resources management system. Similarly, Mahabir et al. (2001) demonstrate how ancient Indian civilization had

followed advanced methods of surgery recorded in *Susruta Samhita*. Researchers have also proved ancient India's mathematical, astronomical, and astrological advancement (Atzema, 2015; Geslani, 2016; Haque & Sharma, 2016; Jain, 2014; Pande, 2014).

Research suggested that ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greek civilizations existed in the 5th millennia BCE and the 1st millennia CE. (AbdelMaksoud & Emam, 2019; Ahmed et al., 2020; Jamieson, 2016). According to various studies, all these civilizations shared several common elements while they were known by various periods and loci, such as Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Athenian, and Greek civilizations (AbdelMaksoud & Emam, 2019; Ahmed et al., 2020; R. C. Allen & Heldring, 2021; Xianhua, 2019). For example, Ahmed et al. (2020) argue that the hydro-technologies of Egyptians were shared by Mesopotamians and Greek, facilitating the water management from the Nile.

In summary, it can be stated that the NEP 2020's referential strategies emerge from the underlying discourses of Indian education represented by Buddhist and Hindu centers of learning, which existed between the 8th century BCE and early 13th century CE, scholars that lived between the 8th century BCE and the 15th century CE, and royal training depicted by a 7th century Sanskrit novel. The ancient civilizational names indicate India's superior and advanced knowledge and other contemporary ancient civilizations. In addition, Sanskrit emerges as a robust unifying discourse between most of them agreeing with the NEP 2020's imagination of Indian education.

Furthermore, most of the NEP 2020-listed scholars were related to the Brahminic and elite Hindu traditions of Vedic, Upanishadic, and Ayurvedic literature and scholarship to represent the Indian education system. While the list of scholars was male-

dominated and socially elitist, only two women (from the Upanishad) and one low-caste scholar (Thiruvalluvar) appear as outliers. Consequently, an implicit discourse of a socially elitist and male-dominated education model accessed by ancient royalty and dominant classes surfaces in the NEP 2020 text. However, this finding requires verification with predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification/mitigation discourse strategies.

Analysis of Predicational Strategies Related to Past

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), after identifying and analyzing the nomination strategies, the DHA researcher's next task was to analyze the coded predications from the field. Then, following the principle of predicational strategy, the researcher examined the textual field and identified three predications analyzed below.

“Ancient India” Predications

Among the coded predication strategies, a repeated predication that qualify the names belonging to the past was the phrase “ancient India.” For example, the statement in the NEP 2020's introduction suggested: “World-class institutions of *ancient India such as* [emphasis added]

Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research and hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). In this statement, the phrase “such as” assigns the predicative position to the institutions that existed in “ancient India.”

Consequently, it derives from the statement that the term “ancient India” signified equivalence to the institutional names referred to in the statement. In other words, the

institutions such as Takshashila and Nalanda were synonymous to the NEP 2020 discourse of “ancient India’s” education.

In the entire NEP 2020 text, the word “ancient” appears ten times to extend the significance of referenced institutions or the tradition they represented. For example, the general introduction referred to it four times (pp. 4 and 6); part one that deals with school education mentioned it four times (p. 14 and p. 16), and part two on higher education reforms used it two times (p. 34 and p. 36). Examining each of the textual contexts indicated that the word “ancient” was used predicatively of the referenced categories representing the past.

For example, it was stated in the school reform section: “‘Knowledge of India’ will include knowledge from *ancient India* [emphasis added] and its contributions to modern India and its successes and challenges, and a clear sense of India’s future aspirations with regard to education, health, environment, etc.” (MHRD, 2020, p. 16). In this statement also, the phrase “ancient India” is used predicatively to represent the referential categories of the past also since no other significant sources of knowledge were named in the text.

Another predicational strategy is related to using the words synonymous with the meaning of “ancient” and some other representational words to denote the referenced institutions. To illustrate, when the NEP 2020 text introduced the institutional and individual names in its introduction, it stated:

The rich *heritage* [emphasis added] of *ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought* [emphasis added] has been a guiding light for this Policy. ... The aim of education in *ancient India* [emphasis added] was not just the acquisition of

knowledge as preparation for life in this world or life beyond schooling, but for the complete realization and liberation of the self. *World-class institutions of ancient India* [emphasis added] such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, ... (MHRD, 2020, p. 4)

In the above statements, the italicized words and phrases, such as “heritage,” “ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought,” “ancient India,” “World-class institutions of ancient India,” are used predicatively and equivocally to the institutional references by extending and qualifying their meanings.

For example, while describing the holistic and multidisciplinary education vision, the NEP 2020 text stated: “*India has a long tradition* [emphasis added] of holistic and multidisciplinary learning, from universities such as Takshashila and Nalanda, to the extensive literatures of India combining subjects across fields” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). In this statement, the clause, “India has a long tradition,” functions as a synonym to “ancient India” and thereby as a predicate to the names Takshashila and Nalanda. In other words, India’s long tradition is represented by the referred institutions. A detailed examination of the NEP 2020 text revealed various constructs in the NEP 2020 that were synonymous with the predications qualified with “ancient India.” Table 4 lists them below, organized according to their respective sections.

Table 4

List of Variant Terms Used to Denote “Ancient India” with Their Respective Sections and Frequencies in India’s National Education Policy 2020

Words/phrases sounded synonymously with the term “ancient India”	Introduction and higher education section	School reforms and other sections	Total
India’s tradition	5	8	13
India’s heritage	2	3	5
Eternal India	1		1
Indian legacies	1		1
Rootedness in India	1		1
India’s national identity		1	1
Total	10	12	22

Note. Words and phrases that denoted the text-references to ancient Indian institutions and names in the National Education Policy 2020 were extracted and coded for the purpose.

As Table 4 presents, the most frequent synonym for “ancient India” was “India’s tradition,” appearing 13 times in the text. “India’s heritage” functioned five times as the synonym for “ancient India,” while “eternal India,” “Indian legacies,” “rootedness in India,” and “national identity,” replaced the term one time each. In total, there were 22 references. The textual contexts were examined further to illustrate how the term “ancient India” was predicatively used for the NEP 2020 nominations.

A different predication was used when the NEP 2020 text introduced the scholars. It stated:

The *Indian education system* [emphasis added] produced great scholars such as Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, Chanakya, Chakrapani Datta, Madhava, Panini, Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Gautama, Pingala, Sankardev, Maitreyi, Gargi and Thiruvalluvar, among numerous others,

who made seminal contributions to world knowledge in diverse fields such as mathematics, astronomy, metallurgy, medical science and surgery, civil engineering, architecture, shipbuilding and navigation, yoga, fine arts, chess, and more. Indian culture and philosophy have had a strong influence on the world.

(MHRD, 2020, p. 4)

In the statement quoted, the italicized phrase “Indian education system” stands for *all that* caused to produce the entire list of the scholars and their contributions. Since the Indian education system is represented by the scholars it produced, the phrase functions as a predicate for the listed scholars and their fields. The analysis of the referential strategies in this study demonstrated that one of the common factors between these scholars was the Sanskrit language. Consistent with these analyses, it can be well argued that the NEP 2020 phrases such as “knowledge systems and traditions” (p. 6), “Sanskrit Knowledge Systems” (p. 14), “Indian knowledge systems” (p. 16), “traditional knowledge” (p. 50), and “traditional Indian knowledge” (p. 54) were used synonymously with the “Indian education system.”

In further examination of the text, several other phrases were employed equivocally with the identical predication. For example, phrases such as “ancient and eternal Indian knowledge” (p. 4), “knowledge of India” (pp. 4, 15, and 16), “knowledge traditions” (p. 4), “knowledge from ancient India” (p. 16), “ancient... knowledge” (p. 16), and “knowledge of 64 kalaas” (p. 36) have found functioning predicatively in the statements to represent the NEP 2020-referred institutions, scholars, and their contributions in the knowledge scape. Table 5 presents a list of terms related to NEP 2020’s education system predications.

Table 5

List of Variant Terms Used to Denote India's Education System with Their Respective Sections and Frequencies in India's National Education Policy 2020

Terms used to indicate India's education system	Introduction and higher education section	School reforms and other sections	Total
Indian Knowledge Systems and/or traditions	2	3	5
Knowledge of India	2	2	4
Sanskrit Knowledge Systems		2	2
Knowledge from Ancient India		2	2
Ancient and Eternal Indian Knowledge	1		1
Knowledge of 64 Kalaas	1		1
Total	6	9	15

As evident in the Table 5 presentation, while a total of 15 variant terms were used to denote the Indian education system, nine of them were found in the sections of school reforms and others indicating a general spread of its use. Consequently, consistent with these analyses, it can be safely argued that the NEP 2020 text strategized a powerful and pervading discourse that the Indian education system was equivalent to Sanskrit-based Brahminic education created and disseminated by the dominant social class of Indian antiquity.

Predications by Holistic and Multidisciplinary Education/Learning

Another recurring predication to the referential institutions the researcher identified and coded in the NEP 2020 text is related to “holistic and multidisciplinary education/learning.” In its introduction, the NEP 2020 text stated: “World-class institutions of ancient India such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, set *the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research* [emphasis added] and

hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries” (MHRD, 2020, p.

4). While proposing higher education reforms, the NEP 2020 text further mentioned:

Moving to large *multidisciplinary universities* [emphasis added] and HEI [higher education institution] clusters is thus the highest recommendation of this policy regarding the structure of higher education. The ancient Indian universities Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramshila, which had thousands of students from India and the world studying in *vibrant multidisciplinary environments* [emphasis added], amply demonstrated the type of great success that *large multidisciplinary research and teaching universities* [emphasis added] could bring. (MHRD, 2020, p. 34)

Again, while explaining the nature of higher education, the NEP 2020 text stated that “India has a long tradition of *holistic and multidisciplinary learning* [emphasis added], from universities such as Takshashila and Nalanda, to the extensive literatures of India combining subjects across fields” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). As evident from the highlighted phrases in the above statements, the NEP 2020 text asserted the idea of “holistic and multidisciplinary education/learning” as derived from the ancient institutions referenced by the NEP 2020. Consequently, the phrases in the statements functionally serve as predicates to the institutions by qualifying them or extending their meaning. In other words, the above statements convey a sense that the institutions referred to modeled the “multidisciplinary and holistic education” of the NEP 2020 imagination.

Throughout the NEP 2020 text, the words “holistic” and “multidisciplinary” were identified and coded for analysis. Moreover, they were combined with some aspects of education that the NEP 2020 intended to project. For example, “multidisciplinary

abilities” (p. 3), “multidisciplinary teaching and research” (p. 4), “multidisciplinarity [*sic*] and a holistic education” (p. 5), “large multidisciplinary research and teaching universities” (p. 34), and “high-quality holistic and multidisciplinary education” (p. 37) are some representative samples from the text. Table 6 summarizes the predicative use of the terms “multidisciplinary” and “holistic” juxtaposed or associated with different NEP 2020 dimensions and concepts of education.

Table 6

Summary of Predicative Use of the Term “Multidisciplinary” Juxtaposed/Associated with Different Dimensions of Policy Imaginations and Concepts in India’s National Education Policy 2020

Words/phrases/concepts associated with the term “multidisciplinary”	Introduction and higher education section	School and remaining other sections	Total
Higher ed. institutions/ universities and/or colleges	22	10	32
Learning/education	17		17
Setting/environment	4		4
Degree/program	2	3	5
Teaching/research	2		2
System		2	2
Fields		2	2
Abilities	1		1
World	1		1
Work	1		1
Perspectives	1		1
Community	1		1
Inputs	1		1
Total	53	17	70

Note. Predications are identified and coded words and/or phrases that function as the predicates of the names referred in India’s National Education Policy 2020

As Table 6 presented, the word “multidisciplinary” in various combinations to characterize the NEP 2020-imagined higher education appeared 53 times in the

introduction and higher education section. Although the term “multidisciplinary” appeared in other parts of the document, as Table 6 indicated, it was used 17 times concerning higher education. As a result, the 65-page NEP 2020 text has employed the term “multidisciplinary” 70 times to denote higher education reforms. It was also noted that the NEP 2020 proposed to set up “Multidisciplinary Education and Research Universities” (MERUs) that solidified and modeled the NEP 2020-imagined multidisciplinary education in India. Thus, consistent with the analysis above, it can be argued that the predicative use of the word “multidisciplinary” reinforced and amplified the referential discourse strategies that legitimized the authority of ancient institutions and names and their eulogized characteristics.

The word “holistic” also has been identified as predicatively used, compounded with other words or phrases, to represent the ancient institutions and systems emphasized by the NEP 2020 text. For example, the NEP 2020 stated: “India has a long tradition of *holistic* [emphasis added] and multidisciplinary learning, from universities such as Takshashila and Nalanda, to the extensive literatures of India combining subjects across fields” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). In this statement, the word “holistic” predicatively qualifies “India’s long tradition” represented by the learning/education at Takshashila and Nalanda. The concept of “holistic education,” alluding to the NEP 2020-referred ancient institutions and systems, was identified, and coded from throughout in the entire text. Table 7 lists the number of times the word “holistic” appears in the text and its associated words and concepts.

Table 7

Number of Predicative Use of the Term “Holistic” Juxtaposed/Associated with Different Dimensions of Policy Imaginations and Concepts in India’s National Education Policy 2020

Words/phrases/concepts associated with the term “holistic”	Introduction and higher education section	School and remaining other sections	Total
Education/learning: pedagogy, curriculum, academic progress	17	7	24
Individual/health development	3	10	13
India’s National Education Policy 2020		1	1
Total	20	18	38

Note. Predications are identified and coded words and/or phrases that function as the predicates of the names referred in India’s National Education Policy 2020

As Table 7 demonstrates, in the introduction and higher education section of the NEP 2020 text, the word “holistic” was used 17 times in association with the concepts of education, learning, pedagogy, curriculum, and academic progress. It was further noted that out of 17 references to the word “holistic,” 10 were associated with “multidisciplinary education.” This repetition reinforced the referential strategies by implication and allusion to the institutional, individual, literary, and civilizational names.

Similarly, the word “holistic” was found to be used 18 times outside the introduction and higher education reforms, almost equal to the number that appeared in this study’s focus area. However, it was noted that in the school reform section, “holistic” was not used in combination with “multidisciplinary.” Instead, they were in combinations such as “quality holistic education” (p. 10), “holistic and well-rounded development” (p.

12), “holistic curriculum content” (p. 12), and “student’s holistic development” (p. 22). In addition, it was noted that the NEP 2020 proposed to set up a national assessment center titled “Performance Assessment, Review, and Analysis of Knowledge for Holistic Development” (PARAKH), to set the standards and norms for student assessment and evaluation. Therefore, consistent with the analysis, it can be assumed that the NEP 2020 solidified the concept of ancient education by incorporating the word “holistic” into the proposed institutional title.

“Vishwa Guru” Predication

Finally, a concept of “Vishwa Guru” was identified in the text used as a predication for the referential categories. While discussing the internationalization of higher education, the NEP 2020 text stated: “India will be promoted as a global study destination providing premium education at affordable costs thereby helping *to restore its role as a Vishwa Guru*” [emphasis added] (MHRD, 2020, p. 39). The Sanskrit term “Vishwa Guru” means ‘universal teacher/master.’ The statement's highlighted verb “to restore” indicated the reestablishment of a lost position.

The statement's predication to India as “Vishwa Guru” implied that the to-be-restored-ancient-India had institutional and educational dominance. Ancient India’s leadership and dominance in education were clarified in the text’s introduction when it stated: “World-class institutions of ancient India such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, *set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research and hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries*” [emphasis added] (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). When the above statements were juxtaposed for analysis, a discourse strategy emerged, implying India was once the “Vishwa Guru.” This

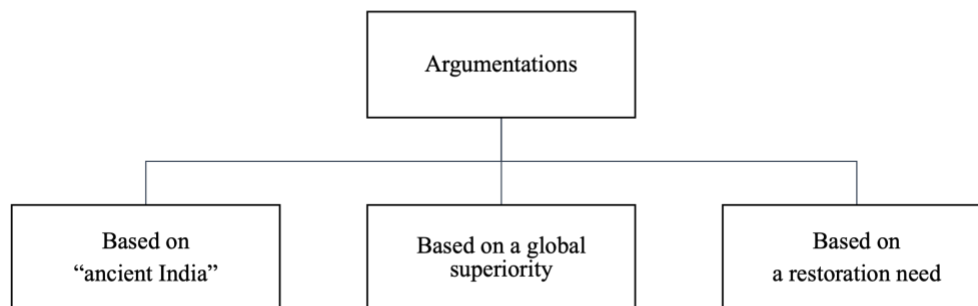
predication strategy is corroborated in the next part of this study with the argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification discourse strategies of the NEP 2020.

Analysis of Argumentation Strategies Related to Past

Following the DHA discourse strategy framework, the researcher coded and thematized three dominant NEP 2020 argumentations that dictated the nominations relevant, meaningful, and imperative. However, categorizing the words, phrases, and theme argumentation are arbitrary. For example, the introductory acknowledgment that “[t]he rich heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought has been a guiding light for this Policy” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4) has an implicit argument that Indian knowledge and thought, represented by subsequent references, were rich, eternal, and worth guiding the NEP 2020 formulation, while it also gave a perspective to the policy construction as its guiding light. However, in the researcher’s judgment, the words, phrases, and themes coded as argumentation strategies justified the NEP 2020-referenced names related to the past. Figure 4 presents dominant categories of NEP 2020’s argumentation strategies.

Figure 4

Categories of Argumentation Strategies Justifying Names Related to the Past Extracted from India's National Education Policy 2020



As Figure 2 indicates, there were three dominant categories and directions of NEP 2020 argumentations that justified its nomination strategies of the ancient institutions, scholars, literature, and civilization. First, the idea of “ancient India” was the basis of major argumentation. Second, India’s global superiority was another implicit argument identified in ancient times. Finally, an argument asserting the need for the restoration of the lost ancient glory was implied in the discourses. Since these argumentations are crucial in justifying and reinforcing the institutional and individual names referenced, they are examined below in more detail.

Argumentation Strategies Based on “Ancient India”

As the predication strategies analysis demonstrated, a reference to the phrase “ancient India” pervaded the NEP 2020 text. A detailed scan of the text reveals that wherever the word “ancient” is referred to, it functioned as a predicative strategy to denote the NEP 2020-referenced ancient institutions, scholars, and education systems. It was also noted

that an argumentation discourse strategy emerged from the word “ancient” to denote the antiquity eulogized by the NEP 2020 text.

Following the acknowledgment quoted above from the first part of the introduction, the NEP 2020 text asserted another argument. It stated: “*World-class institutions of ancient India* [emphasis added] such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research and hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). In this assertion, an argument of an ancient Indian model is implied. Using the phrases such as “world-class” and “highest standards,” the statement asserted an implicit argument that the referred ancient institutions were the ideal for the present Indian educational system to emulate.

Furthermore, it was noted that the NEP 2020 text presented an implicit argument based on a claim of ancient India’s education system. For example, when it stated that “[t]he *Indian education system produced great scholars* [emphasis added] such as Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, ...” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4), the implicit argument justified the names and their contributions. Thus, the strength and integrity of the system were projected as capable of producing excellent results. In other words, the statement argued that ancient India had a robust system of education that produced excellent scholars in innumerable fields.

Again, when the NEP 2020 text discussed higher education reforms, it mentioned that “[t]he ancient Indian universities Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramshila, which had thousands of students from India...” (MHRD, 2020, p. 34). Further, the NEP 2020 text also claimed that “India has a long tradition of holistic and multidisciplinary

learning, from universities such as Takshashila and Nalanda, to the extensive literatures of India combining subjects across fields” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). These statements also implied that the ancient universities were comparable with the current system and that the students represented all Indian classes and regions.

However, the analysis about the referential strategies revealed from the literature survey that the NEP 2020-referenced ancient Indian education system was Brahmin- and male-dominated, Sanskrit-based, and elite-accessed, which was incompatible with the modern-day mass education system (Alder, 2017; Dongerkery, 1967; Ramaswamy, 1999). Finally, as it was noted that the pervading 22-time-NEP 2020-references to the words that synonymized with “ancient India” had implicitly alluded to an argumentation strategy that the ancient Indian education was a perfect model and system comparable with contemporary standards.

Argumentation Strategies Based on a Global Superiority

The NEP 2020 text, when it referred to the “ancient India-based” argumentation strategies, an implicit claim was an argument of an ancient Indian superiority over the rest of the world. As an introduction to the references of the ancient institutions and the education system, the text mentioned:

The pursuit of knowledge (*Jnan*), wisdom (*Pragyaa*), and truth (*Satya*) was always considered in Indian thought and philosophy as *the highest human goal* [emphasis added]. The aim of education in ancient India was *not just* [emphasis added] the acquisition of knowledge as preparation for life in this world, *or* [emphasis added] life beyond schooling, but for the complete realization and liberation of the self. (MHRD, 2020, p. 4)

In these statements, the highlighted words such as, ‘the highest human goal,’ “not just,” “or,” and “but for the complete realization and liberation of the self” imply that the ancient Indian goal was superior to those others who were “just” concerned with acquiring knowledge to prepare for the worldly life “or” beyond schooling.

Again, when the NEP 2020 text prescribed the higher education reforms, some claims such as “[w]orld-class institutions of ancient India... set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research,” and “Indian education system produced great scholars... who made seminal to the world of knowledge in diverse fields...” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4) connoted an implicit argument based on ancient India’s superiority over others nations. In the continued text of the same paragraph, it mentioned: “Indian culture and philosophy have had *a strong influence on the world*” [emphasis added] (p. 4). The phrase “a strong influence” also represented a superiority claim on the (ancient) Indian culture and philosophy.

When the NEP 2020 text discussed in detail the notion of multidisciplinary education existed in ancient India, it stated:

The very idea that all branches of creative human endeavour, including mathematics, science, vocational subjects, professional subjects, and soft skills should be considered ‘arts’, has *distinctly Indian origins* [emphasis added]. This notion of a ‘knowledge of many arts’ or what in *modern times is often called the ‘liberal arts’* [emphasis added] (i.e., a liberal notion of the arts)... (MHRD, 2020, p. 36)

As evident from the highlighted claims above, the NEP 2020's argumentation purported superiority of ancient education over all others. It was also noted that this implicit argument of superiority ran through the tone of the entire NEP 2020 text.

Argumentation Strategies Based on a Restoration Need

While coding and thematically organizing the NEP 2020 textual extractions, an argument for the need for restoration of the “lost” ancient Indian education emerged emphatically, both implicitly and explicitly. To illustrate, when the NEP 2020 argued for multidisciplinary universities, it stated:

The ancient Indian universities Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramshila, which had thousands of students from India and the world studying in vibrant multidisciplinary environments, amply demonstrated the type of great success that large multidisciplinary research and teaching universities could bring.

India *urgently needs to bring back this great Indian tradition* [emphasis added] to create well-rounded and innovative individuals, and which is already transforming other countries educationally and economically. (MHRD, 2020, p. 34)

The above extract, stating that India “urgently needs to bring back this great Indian tradition,” emphatically expressed the intent of the previous claims of “great success” that the ancient institutions had proved. Thus, the purpose of demonstrating the successful past was to restore it to the present for India's success. The statement also argued that the “large multidisciplinary research and teaching universities” have already transformed countries, excluding India.

Similarly, when the NEP 2020 text presented its proposal of internationalizing higher education, it stated: “India will be promoted as a global study destination

providing premium education at affordable costs thereby helping to *restore its role* [emphasis added] as a Vishwa Guru” (MHRD, 2020, p. 39). In the expressed intent that the internationalization of higher education would help “to restore” its “lost” role of being the universal teacher/master, the argument based on the need for restoration emerged explicitly. Furthermore, it was noted in the NEP 2020 text that a pervasive argument for restoring the ancient institutions and system was implicit in the intentionality and orientation of the entire document. In summary, consistent with the analysis, it can be stated that the NEP 2020 text has employed a discourse strategy of argumentation based on the superiority of the ancient Indian education that is to be restored to empower Indian higher education.

Analysis of Perspectivization Strategies Related to Past

Following the DHA methodological frame (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), the NEP 2020’s introduction and higher education reform sections were explored. Two major perspectives emerged from the coded textual extracts, and they were categorized and analyzed.

Although it can be argued that the entire NEP 2020 text represented the perspectivization of the policymakers, using the DHA method, the policymakers' framing strategies or perspectivization are separated and analyzed. Consequently, in the NEP 2020 textual context, it was examined how the references to institutions, scholars, literature, civilizations, economies, and documents were framed in alignment with the NEP 2020 discourse strategies. Accordingly, two perspective directions surfaced from the thematic categorization of the coded data: inspirational and aspirational.

The inspirational perspectives belonged to the referential, predicational, and argumentation discourse strategies based on the ancient Indian institutions, scholars, systems, and education. In contrast, the aspirational perspectives belonged to contemporary economies and UN documents framing a thrust of the 21st-century goals and a future-orientated education vision. These contrasting past versus present categorization merits analytical scrutiny because they conceal more than what they reveal, silence more than what they voice, and mystify more than they clarify. More importantly, they construct the perspective of the policymakers. Hence, the inspirational perspectivization discourse strategy is analyzed here, while the latter will be analyzed under the NEP 2020's contemporary discussions.

Inspirational Perspectives

A significant statement from the NEP 2020's introduction revealed the acknowledgment of an inspirational perspective. It stated: "The rich heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought has been a *guiding light for this Policy*" [emphasis added] (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). This theme appeared like an overarching NEP 2020 perspectivization that aligned the discourse strategies in the entire text related to the names that belonged to ancient India. Further, in articulating the NEP 2020 vision, the text stated:

This National Education Policy envisions an education system *rooted in Indian ethos* [emphasis added] that contributes directly to transforming India, that is Bharat, sustainably into an equitable and vibrant knowledge society, by providing high-quality education to all, and thereby making India a global knowledge superpower. ... The vision of the Policy is to instill among the learners a *deep-*

rooted pride in being Indian, [emphasis added] not only in thought, but also in spirit, intellect, and deeds, as well as to develop knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions that support responsible commitment to human rights, sustainable development and living, and global well-being, thereby reflecting a truly global citizen. (MHRD, 2020, p. 6)

The NEP 2020 text while it emphasized “an education system rooted in Indian ethos” and instilling “a deep-rooted pride in being Indian” in its vision, in enumerating the fundamental principles that guided the policy, it clarified the source of the “deep-rooted pride.” It mentioned, “a rootedness and pride in India, and its rich, diverse, ancient and modern culture and knowledge systems and traditions” (p. 6). From the analysis of the predication strategies, it became clear that in using the words such as “ancient,” “knowledge systems,” and “traditions,” the NEP 2020 text implied the referred names, systems, and education projected.

Further, according to the NEP 2020 makers, “India urgently *needs to bring back this [ancient] great Indian tradition [emphasis added]* to create well-rounded and innovative individuals, and which is already transforming other countries educationally and economically” (MHRD, 2020, p. 34). This statement perspectivized the inspirational discourse of creating “well-rounded and innovative individuals” by restoring the “great Indian tradition.” This statement also aligned the inspirational past and the aspirational future straight, implying that ancient Indian education was the same adopted by other economically and educationally high-performing countries.

To sum up, it emerges from the analysis above that the NEP 2020’s perspectivization strategies of the names belonging to the past revolved around the

restoration discourse of a great ancient India. The implicit and explicit speakers' voices from the policy valorize an ancient past that will be restored through India's education reforms.

Analysis of Intensification and Mitigation Strategies Related to Past

According to the discourse historical analysis (DHA) method described by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the intensification or mitigation strategies denote either of the two discourse directions: amplifying and strengthening some discourses or silencing or weakening some other discourses. In either case, the discourses modify the epistemic status of the discourse scheme, either by intensifying or mitigating its power and impact. In the case of the textual analysis of NEP 2020, intensification would refer to the discourse strategies that embolden the names and their predications, arguments, and perspectivizations. In contrast, the mitigation strategies would refer to the NEP 2020 authors' conscious efforts explicitly or implicitly to erase some actors from, or silence, or weaken them in the discourse field. In the following analysis, both these strategies are examined separately.

Intensification Strategies

Exploring the NEP 2020 text to code and group the intensification strategies revealed that certain words and phrases were intentionally employed in the document to strengthen the discursive power. For example, the NEP 2020 used the words such as "India urgently needs" (p. 34) "[t]he notion of 'knowledge of many arts'... must be brought back" (p. 36), "exactly the kind of education that will be required" (p. 36) and "indeed what is needed for education in India" (p. 37) to project a compulsive sense of the discourse. They were found intensifying the already powerful discourses in the NEP

2020 text, based on the assertion of ancient India's superiority and its restoration and the espoused 21st-century goals.

In considering the framing of the NEP 2020's three-and-a-half-page-long introduction, the text engages the word "must" 19 times. An examination of those statements with "must" revealed that among them, at least on seven occasions, the word was alluding to the referential, predicational, argumentation, and perspectivization strategies of the NEP 2020 text demonstrated by the analysis above. To illustrate, a previously cited statement from the NEP 2020 introduction prescribed that "[t]hese [ancient] rich legacies to world heritage *must not only be nurtured and preserved* [emphasis added] for posterity but also researched, enhanced, and put to new uses through our education system" (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). A general tone and intensity of the NEP 2020 language, reinforced with the words, "must" and "should," determined a prescriptive nature of the document.

In the higher education reforms section, the NEP 2020 text intensifies its discourse of superior multidisciplinary education that purportedly existed in India by stating: "This [multidisciplinary] notion of a 'knowledge of many arts' ... *must be brought back to Indian education* [emphasis added], as it is exactly the kind of education that will be required for the 21st century (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). A compulsive intensification discourse strategy emerged evidently in these statements. To sum up, an exploration of the NEP 2020 text makes it evident that the intensifying discourse strategies employed in the NEP 2020 text function as its authors' compulsive prescriptions, making the discourses mandatory in the implementation contexts.

Furthermore, the general tone of the NEP 2020 authors' language does not allow variances, dialogues, discussions, much less resistance.

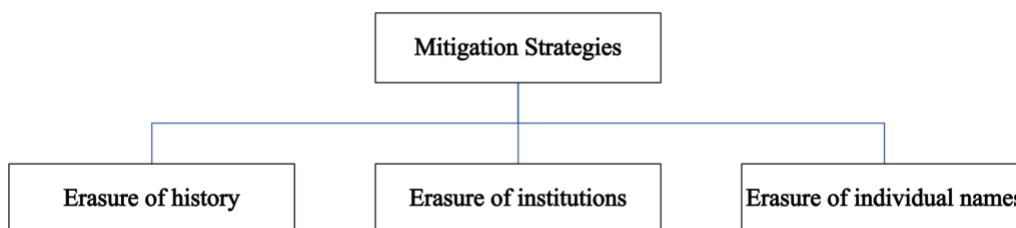
Mitigation Strategies

The mitigation discourse strategies in the method of discourse historical analysis (DHA) refer to the policymakers' intentional acts of exclusion, discrimination, silencing, eclipsing, erasing, or weakening of some relevant and crucial discourses from the policy text. A literature exploration on Indian higher education revealed significant historical factors, institutional agencies, and individuals who directed and contributed to the Indian higher education trajectory, especially during the 19th and 20th centuries (M. Alam, 2016; P. Alam, 2018; Bellenoit, 2007; Castelló-Climent et al., 2018; N. Kumar & Kumar, 2019; Lankina & Getachew, 2013; Rao, 2016, 2019; Sherman, 2018; Thapliyal, 2018; Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021).

However, the NEP 2020 text makes no references to such historical times nor names of institutional agencies and individuals. Therefore, after taking cues from the literature consulted, the NEP 2020's mitigation strategies were categorized into three: erasure of history, institutions, and individual names. Figure 5 presents the categories below.

Figure 5

Categories of Mitigation Discourse Strategies Discerned in the Text of India's National Education Policy 2020 Discerned from the Literature Survey



Erasure of History. The first and most apparent mitigation strategy evidenced by the literature and the NEP 2020 text was the complete absence of historical references between the 14th and the 20th centuries. While the NEP 2020 discourses emphasized the word “ancient India” and its synonymous terms repeatedly throughout the text to refer to the institutions, scholars, and education belonging to a period prior to the 13th century, an obvious question emerged was why there were no references to the later stages in history.

In other words, while the NEP 2020 text emphasized the superiority of ancient Indian education represented by the names referred to as institutions, individuals, systems, and civilizations, the same word was found erasing or eclipsing the education history of a period after the “ancient” times. However, scholarship demonstrates that India’s educational development was a continuum. It grew continuously from the Mughal period (16th to the mid-18th centuries) and the British colonial period (from the mid-18th to the mid-20th century).

For example, Jafri (2012) argued, in a survey of medieval India's education history by describing individual scholars, that the Graco-Arab tradition that dominated India during that period facilitated the transmission of knowledge and education. He presented a series of diverse scholars such as the 13th-century intellectual Raziuddin Hasan Saghani, the 14th century Sufi poet Shaykh Nizamuddin Aulia, historian Ziaud din Barni, and the 16th-century scientist Barni Shaykh Fatehullah Shirazi. This study, along with Alam (2018) and O'Hanlon (2011), noted that the Mughal emperors, especially Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar (1551-1602), protected preserved, and promoted the Sanskrit language, literature, and sacred centers of Hinduism and Jainism. Kinra (2020) further noted that the Mughal emperors tolerated and encouraged India's religious and cultural pluralism.

In the following period of British colonization (1858–1947), Indian education, significantly higher education, encountered a modernization of education through the appropriation of a western education system (Bellenoit, 2007). Research demonstrates that modern English education, facilitated by the colonial forces, worked as the force behind the first Indian struggle for independence as early as 1857. Thus, it caused the British empire's takeover of India's governance from the East India Company (Rao, 2016). Rao (2016) also noted that the first educational institution started by the British was the Sanskrit College in Banaras in 1792, established by Jonathan Duncan, the British Resident in the Northwestern province of Banaras.

Studies on colonial education further demonstrated that the educational initiatives by the British encouraged the promotion of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, and other local languages along with English. As a result of making education more accessible to

people from all social classes, social reform movements challenging caste structures emerged in India (Bellenoit, 2007; Rao, 2016; Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). When Dongerkery (1967) explored higher education history, he marked several breakthrough moments in Indian higher education during British colonialism. They included setting up several colleges, universities, commissions, and passing the Parliament Acts enabling university education in India. Similarly, the postcolonial period witnessed the exponential growth of education in India to sustain Indian democracy and enhance its developmental thrust (Bajaj, 2010; Sherman, 2018; Thapliyal, 2018).

However, the NEP 2020 text makes no references to any names belonging to the Mughal, British colonial period, and postcolonial democratic education as its sources of inspiration. In addition, the scholarship revealed the erasure of history on the contemporary Indian political milieu. For example, Bhagat-Kennedy (2019) indicated that the official tourism booklet published in 2015 by the Uttar Pradesh state government in India made no mention of the Taj Mahal, a Mughal monument and one of the seven wonders of the world, while it prominently marked the Hindu pilgrim sites in the state. To sum up, consistent with the analysis above, it can be argued that the NEP 2020's mitigation discourse strategies of omission of historical references after the 13th century India was not accidental but intentional.

Erasure of Institutions. A brief survey of scholarship on modern Indian higher education foregrounded prominently one institutional name: Christian missionaries (Bellenoit, 2007; Castelló-Climent et al., 2018; Dongerkery, 1967; Lankina & Getachew, 2013; Longkumer, 2019; Sen, 2015; Sitlhou, 2009; Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). Bellenoit (2007) argued that the Christian missionaries were the most influential actors in

Indian education during the British colonial period by introducing the Western education model. Although the missionary goal of education was to make the masses literate and make sense of the religious faith and teachings, the missionaries were also challenging the discriminatory approach of Indian education. In the efforts for facilitating a knowledge interaction platform, it can be argued that the Christian missionaries followed a western model of secular education significantly in India (Spear, 1951).

Moreover, the scholarship indicated that the missionary educators' commitment to India's social transformation goal of education, as defined by the Kothari (1970) in the report of the Education Commission, challenged the caste-based social discriminations and facilitated education of especially the people from the lower castes inspiring some the anti-caste reform movements in India (Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). However, it cannot be claimed that Christian education was instrumental in the anti-caste movements. Instead, as Tschurenev and Mhaskar (2021) further demonstrate, Indian educational reformers like Jyoti Rao Phule and Savitribai Phule and political and religious reformers like Gandhi and Ambedkar were chiefly instrumental in promoting anti-caste movements and secular education. Meanwhile, missionary education in India was criticized for its proselytizing efforts and the ideological domination of the West. However, though partially, scholarship acknowledged that it inculcated scientific temper in Indian education (Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Seth, 2001; Tiwari, 2006).

Research has also revealed that the minority group of Catholic educators among Christian missionaries was instrumental in introducing a development-oriented higher education model in India (Castelló-Climent et al., 2018). This study used the year 1911-locations of Catholic missionaries as an instrument to compare the location-wise

development of Indian districts. It is assumed that the night light density of a locality is an indicator of the locality's development, and higher education directly causes the development of individuals and the localities. Consequently, this study argues that if higher education caused development indicated by the gradual growth of night light density in the localities signifying the growth of industries, businesses, and infrastructures, the locations where Catholic missionaries engaged in higher education correlated positively with the development indicated by night light intensity. Furthermore, research shows that some of the Catholic higher education institutions established by the Jesuits are rated India's top institutions in different streams even today (Pinto, 2014).

Thus, the erasure of modern education history in the NEP 2020 can be argued as its mitigating discourse strategy. On the other hand, the text makes no references or allusions to Christian contributions to education in India. Further, the NEP 2020 does not mention Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore's three novel educational experiments, namely, *Viswa-Bharati*, *Santiniketan*, and *Sriniketan*, that discussed education in the early-1900s in the NEP 2020 text. Research has shown that while resisting discriminatory colonial education, these institutions adopted an egalitarian, globally-conscious, and harmonious model founded on Indian traditions and ethos (Das Gupta, 2008; Datta, 2018; Ghosh, 2015; Samuel, 2011). To sum up, in coherence with the analysis, it can be held that the NEP 2020's mitigation strategies have eclipsed modern secular and egalitarian educational models while the text glorified an ancient-India-discourse.

Erasure of Individuals. The NEP 2020 text referred to 18 individuals in a row to indicate scholars produced by the Indian education system. It stated: "The Indian

education system produced great scholars such as Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, Chanakya, Chakrapani Datta, Madhava, Panini, Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Gautama, Pingala, Sankardev, Maitreyi, Gargi and Thiruvalluvar, among numerous others, ...” (MHRD, 2020, p. 4). However, it was observed that this list of names from a period before the 15th century in history itself revealed the NEP 2020’s discourse strategy of mitigation.

However, the literature demonstrated evidence for the opposite. For example, while the NEP 2020 text emphasized integrating vocational education into regular education at all levels, it sourced the idea to the ancient model exemplified by Banabhatta’s novel *Kadambari* (p. 36). However, this idea had already been recommended more than five decades ago by the Education Commission headed by Kothari (1970). It stated:

As another programme to relate education to life and productivity, we recommend that work-experience should be introduced as an integral part of all education – general or vocational. We define work-experience as participation in productive work in the school, in the home, in a workshop, on a farm, in a factory or in any other productive situation. (Kothari, 1970, p. 10)

This concept of vocational experience endorsed Mahatma Gandhi’s education vision. The Commission stated:

In the curricula of most contemporary school systems, particularly in the socialist countries of Europe, a place is found for what is variously called ‘manual work’ or ‘work-experience.’ In our country, a revolutionary experiment was launched by Mahatma Gandhi in the form of basic education. The concept of work-experience

is essentially similar. It may be described as a redefinition of his educational thinking in terms of a society on the road to industrialization (Kothari, 1970, p. 11).

The above statements uncover two factors of NEP 2020's erasure strategy: Gandhi's name was replaced by the ancient India allusion. Similarly, independent India's architect and the father, Mahatma Gandhi, found no mention in the NEP 2020 text for inspiration despite his extensive writings on education (Allen, 2007; Bajaj, 2010; Gandhi, 2002; Kumar & Kumar, 2019).

Remarkably, the NEP 2020 text was found emphasizing the importance of science and research, especially in higher education. It suggested the names of astronomers and mathematicians from the ancient past to demonstrate the strength of the Indian system. However, the NEP 2020 text made no references to India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had emphasized scientific temper as the essence of education. In contrast, while emphasizing the need for modernizing education with science, technology, and research, the Kothari Commission referred to Upanishads and the architects of unique Indian culture.

The Commission also quoted Nehru in the report as follows:

Can we combine the progress of science and technology with this progress of the mind and spirit also? We cannot be untrue to science because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages. (Nehru, 1962, as cited by Kothari, 1970, p. 32)

The same report further acknowledged:

India has made many glorious contributions to world culture, and perhaps the grandest of them all is the concept and ideal of non-violence and compassion, sought, expounded and lived by Buddha and Mahavira, Nanak and Kabir, and in our own times by Vivekananda, Ramana Maharishi and Gandhi, and which millions have striven to follow after them. (p. 32)

Notably, the literature on Indian educational history and development also underscored some outstanding personalities acknowledging their unique contributions (Arora, 2009; Cabrera, 2021; Chakrabarty, 2016; Daniel, 2016; Das Gupta, 2008; Gandhi, 2002; N. Kumar & Kumar, 2019; N. S. Singh, 2016; Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). For example, Jyotirao Phule, Savitri Phule, and Fatima Sheikh were attributed with their contributions to education and social empowerment of women and socially discriminated untouchables of 19th century India. (Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). B.R. Ambedkar was acknowledged for his liberatory education vision for the Dalits in democratic India.

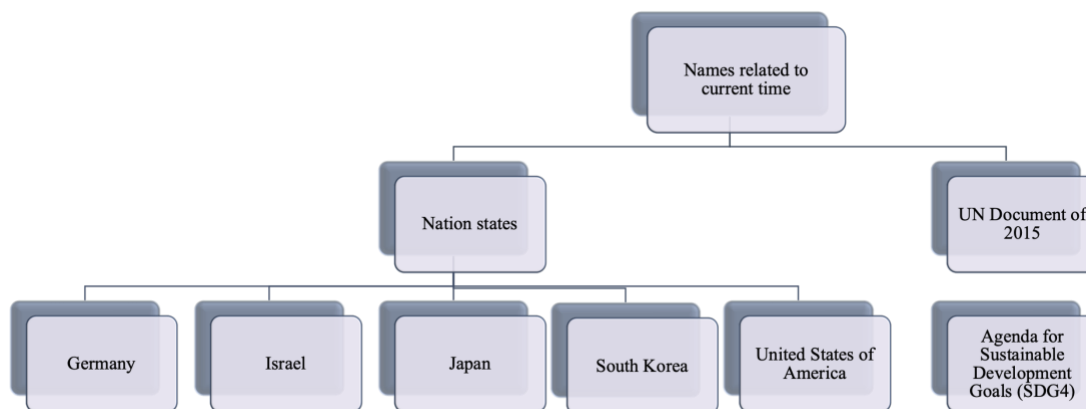
Consistent with the analysis above, it can be argued that while the NEP 2020 text highlighted some names from ancient Indian history, it strategically downplayed India's later history, educational progress, and the significant institutions and persons who spearheaded the progressive Indian education trajectory. To sum up, the NEP 2020-referred extrinsic names belonging to the past and constructed a robust discourse based on ancient India. It referred to an elitist, Sanskritized, male-dominated, Brahminic, and ancient Indian tradition presented as a model for achieving India's 21st-century educational goals while it erased the entire histories, agencies, and individuals represented in modern, secular, liberatory, and democratic education.

Analysis of Extrinsic Referential Strategies Related to Current Time

As Figure 1 demonstrated, the NEP 2020-referred names' extrinsic category was further divided into the names that belonged to the past and the names that belonged to the current time. Hence, current time references are analyzed below. Figure 6 below gives coded categories under the names related to the current time.

Figure 6

Classification of Names Related to the Current Time in the Introduction and Higher Education Reform Section of India's National Education Policy 2020



As Figure 6 indicated, the names classified as current time were divided into nation-states or economies and the UN documents. The NEP 2020's references to some nation-states were found in its higher education section. The first mention was found when the NEP 2020 asserted the necessity of a national agency for funding research. To substantiate its assertion, the NEP 2020 stated:

Knowledge creation and research [emphasis added] are critical in growing and sustaining a large and vibrant economy, uplifting society, and continuously inspiring a nation to achieve even greater heights. Indeed, some of the most prosperous civilizations (such as India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece) to the

modern era (such as *the United States, Germany, Israel, South Korea, and Japan* [emphasis added]), were/are *strong knowledge societies that attained intellectual and material wealth* [emphasis added] in large part through celebrated and fundamental contributions to *new knowledge* [emphasis added] in the realm of science as well as art, language, and culture that enhanced and uplifted not only their own civilizations but others around the globe. (MHRD, 2020, p. 45)

This assertion claims that “knowledge creation and research” act as the critical factor of a vibrant economy's continuous growth, sustainability, and inspiration. It is substantiated with the evidence from the ancient past through the current time by citing ancient and current civilizations. The implicit warrant that emerges in this statement is that wherever “knowledge creation and research” happen, there is growth, sustainability, and inspiration for a vibrant economy. After listing a few possible research areas such as climate change, biotechnology, digital marketplace, and machine learning and artificial intelligence, the NEP 2020 text proposes its key higher education argument in the subsequent paragraph:

If India is to become a leader in these disparate areas, and truly achieve the potential of its vast talent pool to again become a leading knowledge society in the coming years and decades, the nation will require a significant expansion of its research capabilities and output across disciplines. (MHRD, 2020, p. 45)

Thus, the argument's orientation and force frame that the referred nation-states, the United States, Germany, Israel, South Korea, and Japan, as models for India to imitate in knowledge creation and research. It is further argued that multi-dimensional research is critical for national progress. Further, to demonstrate what prevented India from restoring the lost global leadership (a NEP 2020 discourse that was discussed earlier), the text

problematizes the lack of India's research funding by contrasting with the model economies:

Despite this critical importance of research, the research and innovation investment in India is, at the current time, only 0.69 percent of GDP as compared to 2.8 percent in the United States of America, 4.3 percent in Israel, and 4.2 percent in South Korea. (MHRD, 2020, p. 45)

Consequently, it becomes explicit that the NEP 2020 textual context of higher education reforms has presented the referred nation-states as the NEP 2020's aspirational goals. Hence, the emergent discourse is that India's higher education should follow the knowledge creation and research-focused education model demonstrated by these referred economies.

The United Nations 2015 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals document is referenced in the second paragraph of the introduction. It states:

The global education development agenda reflected in the Goal 4 (SDG4) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by India in 2015 - seeks to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" by 2030. Such a lofty goal will require the entire education system to be reconfigured to support and foster learning, so that all of the critical targets and goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development can be achieved. (MHRD, 2020, p. 3)

The above reference to the UN document acknowledges India's year 2030 aspirational goal and commitment to it, along with other nations. The reference to the UN document functions as a warrant in the statement that implicitly projects that wherever the UN's

“lofty goal” is attempted, a complete reconfiguration of the education system will be required. Built on this warrant is one of the NEP 2020’s key reform arguments:

This Policy proposes the revision and revamping of all aspects of the education structure, including its regulation and governance, to create a new system that is aligned with *the aspirational goals of 21st century education* [emphasis added], including SDG4, while building upon India’s traditions and value systems.

(MHRD, 2020, p. 3)

It was found that the NEP 2020 text referred to the UN document on two more occasions. The first was when the NEP 2020 explained standard-setting and accreditation details of school education. It stated: “This [regulatory measures for accreditation and transparent disclosure] will further improve India's progress towards achieving Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) of ensuring free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education for all children” (MHRD, 2020, p. 32).

The UN document found the following reference concerning the higher education recommendation for enhanced open distance learning (ODL) and online education. It mentioned: “Institutions will have the option to run Open Distance Learning (ODL) and online programmes, provided they are accredited to do so, in order to enhance their offerings, improve access, increase GER, and provide opportunities for lifelong learning (SDG 4)” (MHRD, 2020, p. 35).

Thus, as the analysis revealed, the references to the nation-states and the UN document together formulate a warrant to a central NEP 2020 discourse related to its aspirational 21st-century goals. The NEP 2020 text projected the 21st century goals as its aspiration to make India (again) like the referred nation-states or economies and to fulfill

the UN-defined educational goal by 2030. In other words, the NEP 2020 projected a discourse that the NEP 2020-imagined-education-reforms would make India great again. Implicit in this discourse is the NEP 2020's reform strategy defined and structured by the referred nation-states' educational approaches.

Analysis of Predicational Strategies Related to Current Time

Three phrases were identified and coded as predications that explicitly denoted the names related to the current time in the NEP 2020 text: a quality-based education, 21st-century education, and the knowledge society. Their denotative role of positively indicating the NEP 2020's aspirational goals was the rationale of coding them as predications. These phrases, employed in different combinations, were determined by the textual contexts where they appeared. For example, "quality" was combined with education, infrastructure, standard, institution, and more. Similarly, "the 21st century education" was found in combinations of 21st-century skills, 21st-century capabilities, and 21st-century requirements. "Knowledge society" was found combined with knowledge economy and knowledge creation. However, all these combinations in the textual context explicitly denoted the NEP 2020's espoused aspirational goals.

Predication Strategies of a Quality-Based Education

In the extraction and coding of the NEP 2020 textual data, the phrase "quality education" to designate the NEP 2020-envisaged education delivery was identified as a catchphrase. The concept of quality education was found compounded with the words such as "high-quality" and "highest quality," intensifying its power and impact. It was also observed that the expressions predicated the aspirational goals represented by the NEP 2020-referred current nation-states. Therefore, an appearance-frequency examination was made

to assess how often the phrases were used to denote the NEP 2020's reformed education.

Table 8 demonstrates the number of different combinations of the word quality that appeared in the text to express the NEP 2020-imagined reformed education.

Table 8

Appearance Frequency of the Combinations of the Word Quality in India's National Education Policy 2020

Sections of the Text	Quality of education and related concepts	High-quality of education and related concepts	Highest quality of education and related concepts	Total
Introduction	4	3	2	9
Higher education	35	20	5	60
School and other sections	40	33	1	74
Total	79	56	8	143

As Table 8 indicates, the term quality is frequently used in the 65-page NEP 2020 document. Out of 143 times, 60 appear in the higher education section, and five times highest quality is used, while the term “high-quality” is used 20 times. However, it was observed that the NEP 2020 text did not define the term quality when applied to education, especially to higher education. Meanwhile, in the opening paragraph of the NEP 2020 text, word combinations appear four times. They indicate a universal quality standard as their implied meaning. For example, the first paragraph states:

Universal high-quality education [emphasis added] is the best way forward for developing and maximizing our country's rich talents and resources for the good of the individual, the society, the country, and the world. India will have the highest population of young people in the world over the next decade, and our ability to provide *high-quality educational opportunities* [emphasis added] to them will determine the future of our country. (MHRD, 2020, p. 3)

Further, in the higher education section, the expression of quality is related to globally set standards. For instance, while describing the nature of the NEP 2020-reformed learning environment, the text stated: “Finally, all programmes, courses, curricula, and pedagogy across subjects, including those in-class, online, and in ODL modes as well as student support will aim to achieve *global standards of quality*” [emphasis added] (MHRD, 2020, p. 39). Thus, although there was no NEP 2020-defined meaning for quality in education, the predications alluded to the globally recognized standards as their reference.

In the literature survey of the previous chapter, a thorough examination of the use of quality in education policies was undertaken. It revealed that the word quality was an industrial term transposed to education as a vehicle of neoliberal economic globalization (Artuc et al., 2015; Ball, 2019; Ball et al., 2010; Dicker et al., 2019; Giroux, 2005a; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016; Romainville, 1999). Furthermore, the global quality standard referred to the European educational benchmarks and was continuously revised after the Bologna Process. Thus, consistent with the analysis, it emerges that the quality-driven NEP 2020 predications also represent the exact orientation of neoliberal standardization of education, especially higher education.

Predication Strategies of the 21st Century Education

The NEP 2020 text made 48 references predicatively to 21st-century education using different terms. When coded, it was found that the most referred phrases to denote 21st-century education were the variants of skill-education. For example, terms such as life skills, skill sets, higher-order skills, management skills, soft skills, vocational skills, and at times simply skills with or without listing some specific examples were used in varied textual contexts. In addition, it was found in different combinations denoting 21st-

century education. For example, the “21st century” was combined with capabilities, capacities, and requirements.

However, the phrase was found 21 times in the higher education section in different combinations, indicating a concentration of its appearance. It was further observed that the NEP 2020 has proposed to strengthen the National Skills Qualifications Framework (NSQF), a national structure for skill development constituted in 2013, for focusing on the 21st-century education requirements. Table 9 below summarizes the predicative combinations of the phrase “the 21st century education” in the NEP 2020 text.

Table 9

Predicative Combinations of “the 21st Century Education” in the Text of India’s

National Education Policy 2020

Predicative Combinations	Appearance Frequencies			Total
	In Introduction	In Hr. Ed. Section	In Other Sections	
21st Century Skills and its Variants	2	15	24	41
21st Century Education	1	2		3
21st Century Capabilities		1		1
21st Century Capacities		1		1
21st Century Requirements		1		1
21st Century Research and Innovation		1		1
Total	3	21	24	48

It was observed that in the textual contexts when 21st-century education was referred to, it denoted a general reference to the aspirational goals. However, when it was combined with words such as skills or capabilities, the predication indicated an individualized application of 21st-century education. For example, when the NEP 2020 declared its aim in the introduction, it stated:

This Policy proposes the revision and revamping of all aspects of the education structure, including its regulation and governance, to create a new system that is aligned with *the aspirational goals of 21st century education* [emphasis added], including SDG4, while building upon India's traditions and value systems.

(MHRD, 2020, p. 3)

The above statement explicitly expresses the predicational function of the phrase "21st century education" as a generic term by combining it with "aspirational goals." As the analysis of referential strategies indicated, "the 21st century education" is a general representative predication for the NEP 2020-referred current time models.

In contrast, when the predications were combined with the variants of "skills" including "life skills," "vocational skills," "soft-skills," and more, they translated the context into an individualized application of 21st century education. The following statements demonstrate it:

Given *the 21st century requirements* [emphasis added], quality higher education must aim to develop good, thoughtful, well-rounded, and creative individuals. It must enable an individual to study one or more specialized areas of interest at a deep level, and also develop character, ethical and Constitutional values, intellectual curiosity, scientific temper, creativity, spirit of service, and *21st century capabilities* [emphasis added] across a range of disciplines including sciences, social sciences, arts, humanities, languages, as well as professional, technical, and vocational subjects. (MHRD, 2020, p. 36)

As the statements clarify, the predications reflected the individuals' fitness within the NEP 2020's aspirational goals.

A brief literature survey revealed that 21st-century skill-based education represents the impact of digital technology and neoliberal globalization on global education (Buitrago-Flórez et al., 2021; Ghafar, 2020; Habets et al., 2020; Iñiguez-Berrozpe & Boeren, 2020; Klapwijk & van den Burg, 2020; Lourie, 2020; Volman et al., 2020; Yilmaz, 2021). Although scholars debate what constitutes 21st-century skills, their general economic orientation is not contested (Volman et al., 2020). The literature uses terms such as skills, competencies, capacities, soft skills, life skills, and more interchangeably. The scholarship survey also indicated that these terms are widely used in the current national education policies dominated by neoliberal themes.

To sum up, studies generally indicate that employability and the individual's fitness for the technology-governed knowledge economy are the determinant factors of 21st-century skills (Habets et al., 2020; Iñiguez-Berrozpe & Boeren, 2020; Klapwijk & van den Burg, 2020; Lourie, 2020). The NEP 2020 predication related to 21st-century education perfectly aligns with this view.

Knowledge Society Predication Strategies

In contrast with the individualized orientation of the 21st-century education predications, knowledge society predications represent a nationalistic aspirational goal. For example, at the beginning of the introduction, the NEP 2020 presented the concept of changing the knowledge landscape and developing a skilled workforce fit for the technology-governed world. It stated:

This National Education Policy envisions an education system rooted in Indian ethos that contributes directly *to transforming India, that is Bharat, sustainably into an equitable and vibrant knowledge society* [emphasis added], by providing

high-quality education to all, and thereby *making India a global knowledge superpower*. [emphasis added] (MHRD, 2020, p. 6)

As the vision defined, the goal of education is to transform India into a “vibrant knowledge society” and “a global knowledge superpower.” This nation-oriented strategy was identified whenever the NEP 2020 text references knowledge society or knowledge economy.

For example, eight references to knowledge society and its variants such as knowledge economy, knowledge hub, and knowledge creation were found in the higher education reform section. All those references were directly connected to an aspirational nation-building goal, implicitly projecting the knowledge society models such as the United States, Israel, Germany, North Korea, and Japan. However, it was noted that this predication was not found in the school reforms section. Table 10 demonstrates the knowledge society's predicative combinations and appearance frequency in different NEP 2020 sections.

Table 10

Predicative Combinations of “Knowledge Society” in the Text of India’s National Education Policy 2020

Predicative Combinations	Appearance Frequencies			Total
	In Intro.	In Hr. Ed. Section	In Other Sections	
Knowledge Society	1	4		5
Knowledge Creation		4		4
Knowledge Economy		1	1	2
Knowledge Landscape	1			1
Knowledge Hub		1		1
Knowledge Superpower	1			1
Total	3	10	1	14

As it is evident from Table 10, out of 14 predications of knowledge society variants, a concentration of 10 appearances was found in the higher education section. Of the remaining four appearances, three were in the introduction. However, the one reference to knowledge society found outside the introduction and higher education section was also related to the collective aspirational goal.

Knowledge capital was identified as one of the neoliberal critique frames of higher education in the theoretical framework of this study. Variants of knowledge capital such as knowledge society, knowledge economy, and others denote the reduction of knowledge into the economic realm. Scholarship suggests that the “knowledge society” is a post-industrial metaphor characterized by the shift of goods-production to a service economy, emergence of a dominant professional and technical class, supremacy of theoretical knowledge, governance of technology and technology-assisted assessment, and technology-based-intelligence for decision-making (Želazny, 2015). In other words, the term knowledge society summarizes the 21st-century skills promoted as digital literacy, collaboration and, teamwork in the labor market (Aznar-Díaz et al., 2020; Iñiguez-Berrozpe & Boeren, 2020; Peled et al., 2021).

Nodoushani et al. (2020) describe the knowledge society as a metaphor of industrial democracy where conscious capitalism engages in a participatory decision-making process. According to Kiss (2019), knowledge relativizes its definition in the process of integrating new and living knowledge. Thus, the omnipotent capitalist market determines what knowledge should survive for the future and what should perish. To sum up, in coherence with the theoretical framework and the scholarship-based analysis, it can be argued that the NEP 2020’s predication strategies of the 21st-century education and

knowledge society denote the current capitalist market-based global economy represented by the contemporary NEP 2020-referred nation-states.

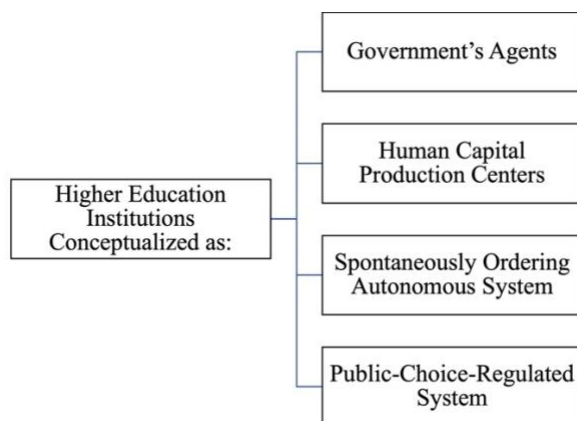
Analysis of Argumentation Strategies Related to Current Time

As explained earlier, the argumentation strategies denote the discourse speakers' justifications and rationale for the nomination references (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Figure 7 displays the four argumentation strategies that justified and rationalized the NEP 2020-referred current names.

Figure 7

Summary of Argumentation Strategies Justifying the Current Names Referred by India's National Education Policy 2020



As Figure 7 demonstrates, the NEP 2020 justified its higher education reforms under four institutional conceptualizations: higher education institutions such as the government's agents, the human capital production centers, a spontaneously ordering autonomous system, and a public-choice-regulated system. However, these conceptualizations were found mutually inclusive and complementary to each other. Hence the argumentation themes and their constituent principles were found to be

overlapping. Nevertheless, each of these conceptualizations with corresponding argumentation themes is separately summarized and analyzed below.

Institutions as Government's Agents

One of the major themes that emerged from the extraction and coding of the NEP 2020's reform agenda was the neoliberal organization of higher education on a principal-agent relationship (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Zepke, 2017). Following a principal-agent relationship, the NEP 2020 rationalizes organization-state interactions in this frame. Therefore, the relationship implies a deliberate institutional reconfiguration based on efficiency, a predefined hierarchy, predetermined performance measures, transparency, accountability, and public auditing. In this framework, the government also acts as a watchdog. Table 11 summarizes the argumentation themes against their fundamental agency principles.

Table 11

Summary of Argumentation Themes Framing Higher Education Institutions as Government's Agents in India's National Education Policy 2020

Agency Principles	Argumentation Themes
State-created conditions of market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All colleges, stand-alone institutions, and universities mandated to move to large multidisciplinary autonomous colleges or teaching or research universities ○ 'Light but tight' regulatory framework by introducing centralized multiple and multi-layered structures ○ Encouraging and simplified norms for starting private institutions ○ Encouraging academic-industry linkages and entrepreneurship ○ Philanthropic partnership for competitive efficiency building of higher educational institutions ○ Reconfigured teacher education by moving it to universities and colleges
Efficiency-based reconfiguration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Efficiency-based complete reconfiguration of higher education system
State-defined parameters of control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Regulated autonomy with standardized and continuously monitored central accreditation system
Performance measures and public audit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ System-enforced quality control and accountability ○ Audit through enforced transparency, efficiency, and public disclosure
State as consumer provider and the watchdog	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quality maintenance by continuous institutional and student performance assessment and review system ○ Regularized institutional development plans ○ Merit-based faculty appointments, assessments, and progression ○ Institutional administrative boards for governance and reporting

Note. This summary is extracted from the introduction and higher education sections of India's National Education Policy 2020

As Table 11 demonstrates, in an agency frame of relationship, the state creates and facilitates a condition for a market-based education by reconfiguring the institutions to multidisciplinary colleges or universities. A discourse on a 'light but tight' regulatory system is found emphasized in the NEP 2020 text while it proposes multiple and multi-layered regulatory structures for centralized control, regulation, and monitoring. It can be

observed that while the total regulatory power is mandated to the federal government, the states' role and the diverse Indian situations find no mention in the text. Similarly, in the reconfiguration and restructuring of higher education, the agency principle of efficiency is emphasized.

Furthermore, it is clear from Table 11 that according to the NEP 2020 text, higher education regulation is achieved by authoritarian and unidirectional parameters and prescriptions while the federally constituted structures will position themselves as the consumer-providers and watchdogs of the system. In other words, it can be argued that in the agency-frame of higher education reforms, nation-wide control mechanisms, efficiency, performance measures, and output-based incentives are highlighted rather than decentralized power, support, and enhancement of the diverse needs and situations.

Institutions as Human Capital Production Centers

As the literature review of this study indicated, the neoliberal theory of human capital generation argues that if the employable competencies of human capital are efficiently invested in factories and farms, they will produce greater returns (Devine, 2017; Dicker et al., 2019; Zepke, 2017). Critics of neoliberal higher education contend that the neoliberal policies translate the human capital production into skill-developing education and justify them as the economical investment for future prosperity (Ball, 2017; Devine, 2017; Giroux, 2005a). When the NEP 2020's argumentation strategies for the 21st-century skill-based education were extracted and coded, four human capital principles emerged, rationalizing the reforms. Table 12 summarizes the human capital principles and their corresponding reform themes from the NEP 2020 text.

Table 12

Summary of Reform Argumentation Framing Higher Education Institutions as Human Capital Production Centers in India's National Education Policy 2020

Human Capital Principles	Argumentation Themes
Education as capacity-building investment in people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Education as useful capacity building of each student ○ Creative potential as capital ○ Increase human resource efficiency ○ India to take lead of professional education to enhance employability
Institutions as factories or farms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Opportunities for multidisciplinary work-based education to develop high-quality employability ○ Education to train and develop employable talents ○ Internship in local industries and improving employability ○ Disruptive technology integration to education ○ Credit-based facilities for vocational plans ○ Integration of vocational education into mainstream education
Education as economic investment in human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To ensure India's economic future, world's highest young population to be prepared as skilled workers ○ Education as tool for economic and social upward mobility ○ Higher education for knowledge creation and economic development ○ Employment creating education for prosperous nation ○ Higher education for leading to India's fourth industrial revolution
Human capital as employability-based skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Holistic and multidisciplinary education to develop all 21st century capacities to create an employable workforce ○ Preparing a skilled nation to tap the changing employment landscape and global ecosystem ○ Developing learners' employable high order capabilities

Note. This summary is extracted from the introduction and higher education sections of India's National Education Policy 2020

As evident from Table 12, the NEP 2020's argumentation themes indicate that they promote the neoliberal ideology of human capital development by presenting higher education as a capacity-building investment in humans, institutions as factories or farms producing human capital, education as an economic investment, and human capacities as employable skills. Although education develops human capacities and employability, the

chief critique of the neoliberal approach to human capital is its selective definition of skills and competencies. Neoliberalism reduces human capacities to the technology-defined 21st-century labor market (Ball, 2017; Habets et al., 2020).

Institutions as Spontaneously Ordering Autonomous System

As the literature reviewed in this study revealed, the laissez-faire law of free-market theory, first proposed by Fredric von Hayek, assumes that self-regulating individuals' rationality and interests will govern and control the spontaneous ordering of the market (Herron et al., 2019; Zepke, 2017). Consequently, it minimizes the government's regulatory role in market operations. When applied to neoliberal higher education, this theory defines *autonomous institutions* as rational and self-regulating individuals who would spontaneously order the higher education system. An extraction and coding of the NEP 2020's higher education reforms indicated that four structuring principles of spontaneous order theory could be traced as justifying its reform themes. Table 13 summarizes those themes against their constituent principles.

Table 13

Summary of Argumentation Themes Framing Higher Education Institutions as Spontaneously Ordering Autonomous System in India's National Education Policy 2020

Spontaneous Ordering Principles	Argumentation Themes
Supreme value of autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Institutional autonomy, governance, and empowerment for self-regulation ○ Faculty and institutional autonomy for vibrant culture and innovation ○ Autonomy backed by public financial support and stability
Demand-regulated spontaneous self-organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Equal expectations of high-quality education across all types of institutions ○ Equitable opportunity for all institutions ○ Freedom to design own curricula ○ Easier formalities for setting up of higher education institutions
Competition and self-interest motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Eliminating hard separations, hierarchies, and 'harmful' silos ○ Autonomy and freedom to move from one category to another ○ Institutions free to have online and distance learning (ODL) integration for gross enrollment ratio (GER) enhancement ○ Culture of empowerment and graded autonomy, accreditation on a challenge mode
Knowledge as commodity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Internationalizing higher education ○ India to become a global study destination ○ International credit transfers

Note. This summary is extracted from the introduction and higher education sections of India's National Education Policy 2020

As Table 13 displays, the NEP 2020 insists on the institutional and faculty autonomy for self-regulation, empowerment, vibrant culture, innovation, stability, and public support. However, the analysis indicates that it is built implicitly on a spontaneous ordering principle of the neoliberal free market. Similarly, reforms requiring equal and high-quality expectations, equitable opportunities, freedom in designing curricula, and easing the setting up of private institutions facilitate demand-based spontaneous regulation.

By naming outstanding and stand-alone institutions as ‘harmful silos,’ the NEP 2020 suggests facilitating a challenging market competition between all categories of higher education institutions. In addition, it eliminates hierarchies and encourages mobilities between categories and grades to ensure competition. Finally, knowledge creation is treated as an internationally marketable higher education commodity. However, the critiques of neoliberalism argue that the spontaneously ordering system fails to address the issues concerning morality, values, justice, minorities, and exclusion (Herron et al., 2019). Consistent with the analysis, it can be argued that the NEP 2020 justifications for institutional and faculty autonomy are founded on free-market principles.

Institutions as Public-Choice-Regulated System

Following this study's theoretical framework, the previous chapter's scholarship review had examined the market's public-choice regulation theory proposed by Buchanan and Tullock (Zepke, 2017). This theory presumes that the individual's promptness and rightness of choice in a market is the key to one's success or failure (Buchanan & Yoon, 2008). The work of the government in this frame is to ensure the market's free and smooth functioning. When the public-choice theory is transferred to higher education policy fields, it becomes a competitive marketplace with multiple choices available for students. It is the responsibility of each student to choose the right action that determines their future. A category of argumentation strategies based on public-choice theory emerged in the analysis of the extracted and coded data from the NEP 2020 text. Table 14 presents three public-choice principles.

Table 14

Summary of Argumentation Themes Framing Higher Education Institutions as

Spontaneously Ordering Autonomous System in India's National Education Policy 2020

Public-Choice Principles	Argumentation Themes
Givenness of multiple choices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Multiple choice of disciplines to students in institutions ○ Flexibility, cross disciplinary and interdisciplinary thinking ○ Flexible curricular structures, combinations, multiple entry-exit points, lifelong learning ○ 4-year degree with 'research' and 3-year degree without research ○ Major and minor degree choices for the students ○ Choice-based credit system and criterion-based grading
Individual's responsibility to choose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Flexibility and ability to choose one's own path ○ Multiple entry-exit options, certifications, offered based on the student's choice
Market regulated by government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Learner-centered design, flexible pedagogy ○ Multidisciplinary choice-based education ○ Large multidisciplinary universities and colleges ○ Multidisciplinary undergraduate education ○ Students to become well-rounded across disciplines ○ International mobility, transfer of credits ○ Academic bank of credits

Note. This summary is extracted from the introduction and higher education sections of India's National Education Policy 2020

As Table 14 demonstrates, the NEP 2020 argumentations of multidisciplinary and choice-based education with the elements listed represent the givenness of a market condition of higher education with multiple choices. It also insists on the individual's responsible choice, thereby making the educational market and the government completely free of the failure of any student. Similarly, through stipulating educational design, flexible options, large educational settings, mobility, and academic credit banking, the government makes itself the regulator and facilitator of smooth market

conditions. However, in the market setting of gradation of choices and privileged access to high-graded choices, how justice works for disadvantaged students is not addressed.

To sum up, the NEP 2020 argumentation discourse strategies are found integrally meshed with both explicitly and implicitly neoliberal principles. They combine the neoliberal configuration of higher education where the institutions are perceived as government agents, human capital production centers, a spontaneously ordering autonomous system, and a public-choice-regulated system. Consistent with the preceding analysis, it can be argued that the questions of justice, exclusion, minorities, access, diversity, and equity are not adequately addressed under the neoliberal discourses.

Analysis of Perspectivization Strategies Related to Current Time

As noticed earlier in this chapter, the perspectivization strategies were two-directional: looking backward to the ancient Indian traditional models to restore them and looking forward to the 21st-century knowledge economy models to emulate them. Since the inspirational perspectivization strategies belonged to the previous analysis, the aspirational perspectivization strategies are analyzed here.

Aspirational Perspectives

In the coded NEP 2020 textual data representing its aspirational perspectives, a major theme was found centered on the 21st-century education goal. The 21st-century goal was identified as a repeated overarching perspective formulation of the NEP 2020 text. For example, in the introduction, the text stated:

This National Education Policy 2020 is *the first education policy of the 21st century and aims to address the many growing developmental imperatives of our country* [emphasis added]. This Policy proposes the revision and revamping of all

aspects of the education structure, including its regulation and governance, *to create a new system that is aligned with the aspirational goals of 21st century education*, [emphasis added] including SDG4 [UN's Sustainable Development Goals No. 4], while building upon India's traditions and value systems. (MHRD, 2020, p. 3)

As these statements clarified, the NEP 2020's aspirational goals were determined and guided by the 21st century aims by creating a new system aligned with those goals. However, in developing the perspectivization strategy, the NEP 2020 aligned the inspirational and aspirational goals together in many instances. For example, the introduction further mentioned:

[Ancient] Indian culture and philosophy have had a strong influence on the world. These rich legacies to world heritage must not only be nurtured and preserved for posterity but also researched, enhanced, and put to new uses through our education system. (MHRD, 2020, p. 4)

In the above statement, the NEP 2020 authors perspectivized a discourse incorporating the NEP 2020-projected ancient Indian education ideals into the present education system; the legacies will be nurtured, preserved for posterity, researched, enhanced, and put to new uses.

Again, while proposing the multidisciplinary higher education modeling the ancient Indian education, the NEP 2020 text asserted it as “exactly the kind of education that will be required for the 21st century” (MHRD, 2020, p. 36). Furthermore, the NEP 2020 text claimed that ancient India's institutional traditions had rich practices that transformed the countries of the current time. For example, the NEP 2020 text stated:

“India *urgently needs to bring back* [emphasis added] this great Indian tradition [of ancient institutions like Takshashila and Nalanda] to create well-rounded and innovative individuals, and which is already transforming other countries educationally and economically” (MHRD, 2020, p. 34). This perspectivization strategy implicitly carries the discourse of ancient India’s superiority and the urgency of restoring it.

Another perspectivization strategy of implementation timeframe was found suggested in the text. For example, the years 2030 and 2040 were repeatedly mentioned in the text. While the year 2030 was suggested 13 times in the entire document as the timeframe for several of the NEP 2020 prescriptions, the decade 2030-2040 was found suggested as the NEP 2020’s operational time. An illustration from the NEP 2020 text declared: “By 2030, only educationally sound, multidisciplinary, and integrated teacher education programmes shall be in force” (MHRD, 2020, p. 42). The NEP 2020-imagined higher education was found with the year 2040 target:

By 2040, all higher education institutions (HEIs) shall aim to become multidisciplinary institutions and to have larger student enrolments, preferably in the thousands, for optimal use of infrastructure and resources and for the creation of vibrant multidisciplinary communities. (MHRD, 2020, p. 35)

Thus, from the above analysis, it emerges that the NEP 2020’s aspirational perspectivization strategy is three dimensional: that ancient India had an education practice par excellence; that ancient tradition was *precisely* the same espoused as the 21st-century education adopted by the current successful nation-states; that India should restore the ancient tradition of education urgently. Consistent with the analysis, it can be

observed that these argumentations are found implicitly integral to the NEP 2020 justifications for its aspirational goals.

Analysis of Intensification/Mitigation Strategies Related to Current Time

In the NEP 2020 text, emphatic and authoritarian words, phrases, and usages indicating urgency, necessity, and prospects of reform implementations were analyzed under the intensification strategies. Consistent with the analysis above, it can be argued that the neoliberal marketization of education dominated the NEP 2020 discourse strategies related to nation-states of the current time. They metaphorized higher education institutions like the government's agents, human capital production factories or farms, technology-based knowledge creation centers, spontaneously ordering market systems and public-choice-regulated systems.

It also emerged from the analysis that the critical currencies identified for achieving the NEP 2020's aspirational goals were the 21st-century technology-based skills and competencies that would make the individual employable in the global labor market. Thus, the analysis revealed the two orientations of NEP 2020's discourse strategies related to the aspirational goals: individualistic, in developing the 21st-century skills, and nationalistic, in developing India as a knowledge society modeled by the neoliberal nation-states.

However, the extracted and coded data revealed a significant omission, namely, democratic education. The NEP 2020 text presented a top-down authoritarian power expressing its capacity to confidently resolve India's economy, education, and development problems. However, the democratic principles of justice were missing in the text that should address the unequally structured and complexly diverse Indian society.

India inherits a historically systemized power domination by elites and consequently unequally distributed power relations. These structural injustices precipitated the plight of marginalized castes and religious minorities and their educational backwardness, geographical disparities in educational access and equity, and exclusion of scheduled castes and tribes. As a result, the marginalized in India will not be qualified in the meritorious assessment (Giroux, 2011a, 2011b). In short, the question about educational justice to the diverse and complex Indian population, especially to the deprived, was found utterly absent in the text.

In contrast, it should be noted that the previous national policy documents on education clearly articulated their responsibility for and commitment to secure the secular, socialist, and democratic orientations prescribed by the Constitution addressing the questions of equity, access, and justice in education (Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD], 1998). It can be observed in the previous documents that they were built on the 1968 policy statement that was considered foundational. The 1968 document comprehensively attempted to address the diverse challenges of educational justice in India (D. S. Kothari, 1970). Contrastingly, although the word “justice” is found mentioned in the NEP 2020 document, in the articulation of policy measures, the document fails in addressing the complex challenges in ensuring the idea of democratic justice in India.

Chapter Summary

To summarize this analysis and discussion chapter of the NEP 2020 text, the central NEP 2020 discourse strategies are to be reiterated. Distinctly, by a strategy of juxtaposing the ancient and the 21st century education, the NEP 2020 was found constructing a discourse that the inspirational ancient Indian education was the same as the aspirational 21st century education goals. The analysis demonstrated that all the names referenced by the NEP 2020 were intended to construct a restoration discourse of a Sanskrit-based, ancient Brahminic model as 21st century India's higher education requirement. The analysis further revealed that in the inspirational and aspirational orientations, the crucial questions of democratic justice in educational access, secular ideals, geographic and community-based inequities, and other significant issues were not addressed.

Markedly, the analyses and discussions further revealed that subsequent discourse strategies functioned as solidifiers of the central discourse. Thus, the ancient India-based discourse explicitly promoted a nationalist restoration project while the 21st-century education discourse projected a neoliberal project of free-market higher education. Moreover, both these discourses were strategies to eliminate diverse and complex educational requirements and to accommodate the selective interests of the dominant and powerful social elites.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY ANALYSIS

This chapter analyzing the online survey responses collected from the faculty members of Jesuit institutions has the following five main takeaways:

1. 168 who participated in the survey suggested 397 names from which Indian education should draw inspiration, legitimacy, and authority. The names ranged from Rabindranath Tagore, A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Mahatma Gandhi, to various individuals and institutions predominantly responsible for creating postcolonial India as a secular, multi-religious, democratic republic.
2. The central discourse of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 combined a restoration project of an ancient Indian education model and a neoliberal economic project of the 21st-century knowledge society model. On a scaled response suggesting their disposition toward NEP 2020's dominant discourse, 66 percent of survey participants favored it, while the open-ended responses justifying their agreement/disagreement substantiated resistance than acceptance predominantly.
3. The survey analysis indicated that the participants' gender, years of service, geographical locations, level of familiarity with the NEP 2020, and religious identity did not profoundly influence their resistance disposition.
4. The survey responses demonstrated many variant discourses on education emerging. For example, the participants significantly recommended promoting democratic and secular education, pride in India's current educational institutions,

vibrant national diversity, historical continuity of education, delinking political motives from education, and minority communities' contributions.

5. Finally, the survey responses suggested that the teachers' subjectivity has potential for policy resistance.

This chapter summarizes the findings and discussions of the qualitative online survey conducted among the faculties of Jesuit higher education in India. It begins with exploring the findings related to the second research question that examines the discourses emerging from the faculty responses. Subsequently, this chapter explores the findings of the third research question investigating the emergent variant discourses from the response data. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary.

Findings for Research Question 2

Research Question 2

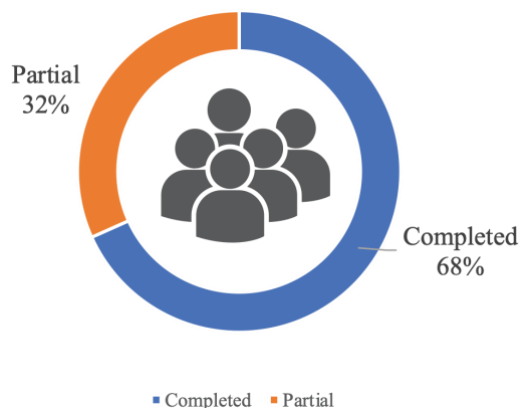
How do Indian Jesuit higher education institutions' faculties respond to the discourses of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020?

Response Rate

Although 247 participants began the survey, only 168 from 22 institutions completed it and submitted it. Therefore, the responses provided by the completed participants were considered for analysis. For analysis, every participant was assigned a number. A list of institutions and the number of participants is provided in Appendix C. Figure 8 gives the percentage of partial and complete survey participation.

Figure 8

Percentage of Partial and Completed Participation in the Online Survey on India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=247)

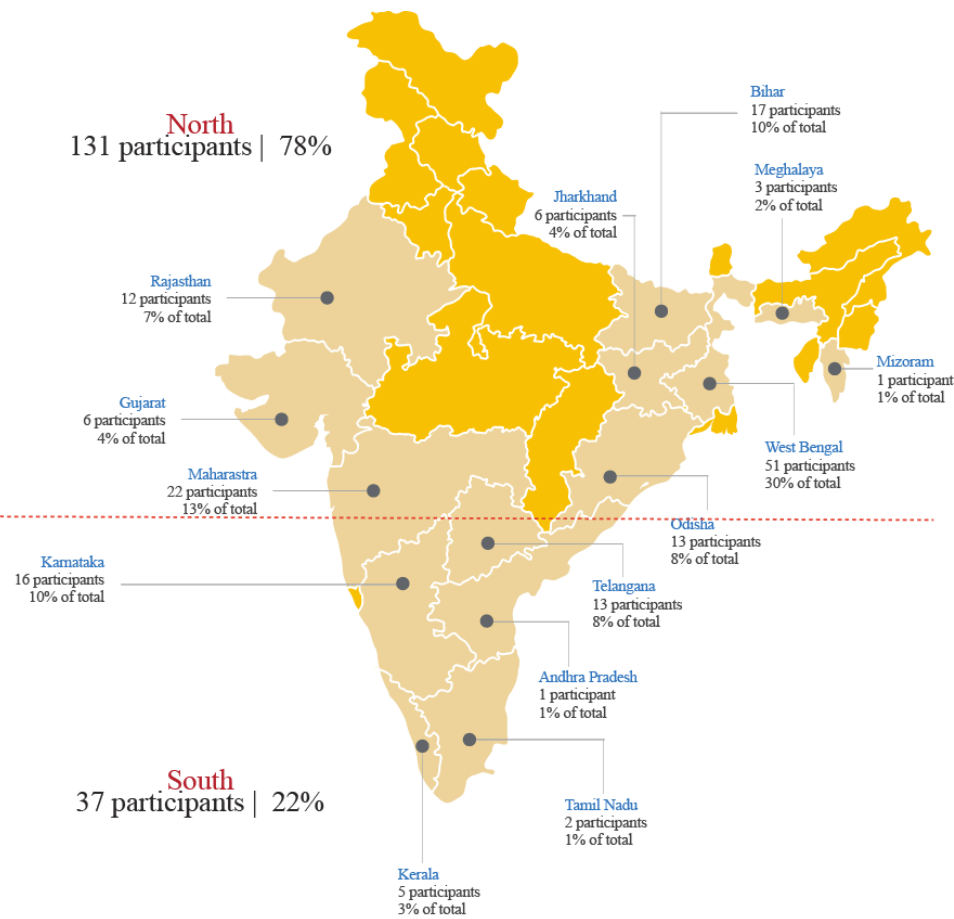


Note. N=247 faculties of Jesuit higher education institutions. 168 completed the survey, and 79 were left incomplete.

Jesuit higher education institutions are spread in 15 Indian states, and there are representations of the survey participants from 14 states except for Chhattisgarh. 131 participants (78 percent) were from Northern India, while 37 (22 percent) were from the South. While West Bengal had the largest number of participants (51), Andhra Pradesh and Mizoram had the least participation with one each. Figure 9 gives the geographical spread of the survey participants from India, indicating the states, number of participants, and their percentage approximated to the nearest whole number.

Figure 9

Geographical Spread of Survey Participants from 14 Indian States where Jesuit Higher Education Institutions are Located (N=168)



Note. Jesuit higher education institutions are in 15 states, while there are representations from 14 states except for Chhattisgarh. The percentages shown are adjusted to the nearest whole number.

Participants' Individual, Social, and Academic Identities

Gender Identity

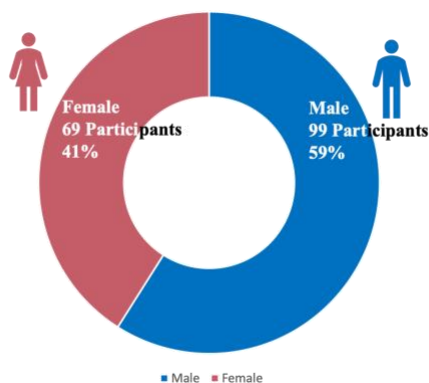
In the survey questionnaire, the personal identifiers were made optional.

However, the participants were asked to reveal their gender identity, professional status

as the faculty, years of service in higher education, and familiarity with the NEP 2020. Of the 168 participants, 99 identified males, while 69 identified females. Figure 10 demonstrates the percentage of male and female participants.

Figure 10

Percentage of Male and Female Participants in the Online Survey on India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)

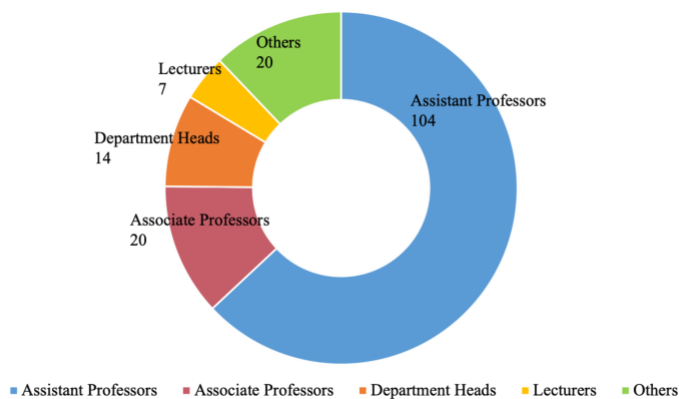


Professional Status

In this, options such as junior lecturer, lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, professor, reader, head of the department, and another category to specify were provided. Figure 11 presents the participants' professional status, indicating each category's number.

Figure 11

Professional Status of the Participants of the Survey (N=168)



Note. Of the 20 categorized as others, participants identified themselves in different roles such as principals, deans, readers, part-time faculties, and more distinct professional identities associated with teaching.

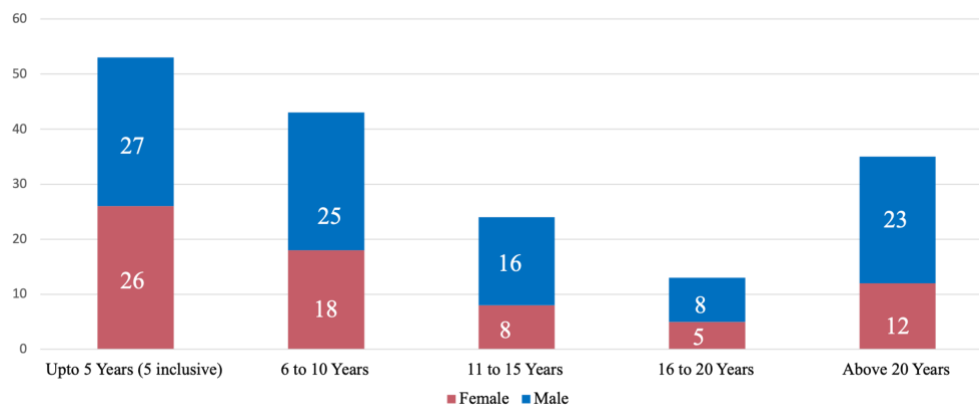
As Figure 11 indicates, professionally, 104 participants identified themselves as assistant professors, 20 as associate professors, 14 as department heads, and seven as lecturers. In addition, 20 participants identified themselves in different categories such as principals, deans, visiting faculties, readers, and more. They were classified under others.

Years of Service

In this question, options available were divided into five classes: up to five years, between 6 and 10 years, between 11 and 15 years, between 16 and 20 years, and 20 years and above. Figure 12 gives the distribution of service years, indicating the gender-wise combination and percentages on the population.

Figure 12

Distribution of Service Years of the Participants of the Survey on India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)



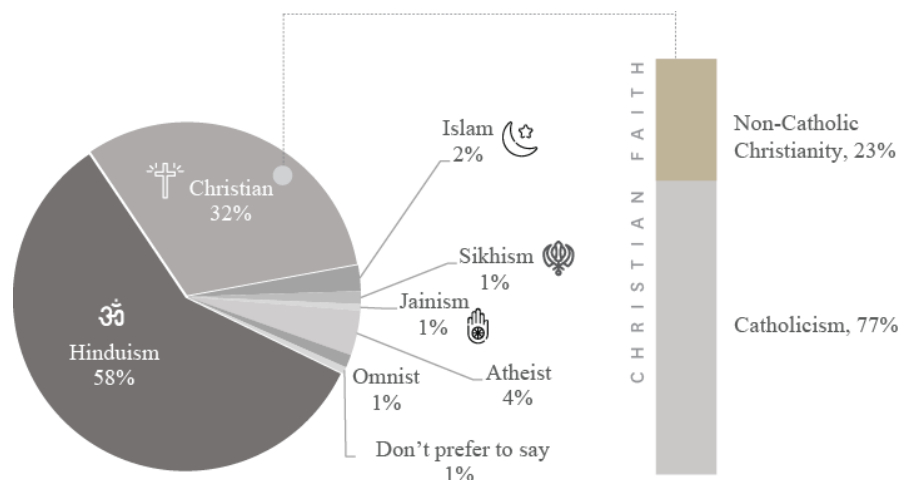
As the data regarding participants' years of service as faculty indicated, a group of 53 were in the beginning stage of their profession, having five or fewer service years. However, participants between 16 and 20 years of service made the smallest group, counting 13. Considerably, 35 participants were in the group, having served more than 20 years.

Religious Affiliation

The participants were asked to acknowledge their religious affiliation or practicing faith as part of the demographic information. Options were given in alphabetical order, such as Animism (Sarna), Buddhism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, non-Catholic Christianity, no religious faith, and others who could specify. Figure 13 summarizes the responses received on participants' religious affiliation, indicating each group's percentage on the population.

Figure 13

Religious Affiliation of the Participants of the Survey on India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)



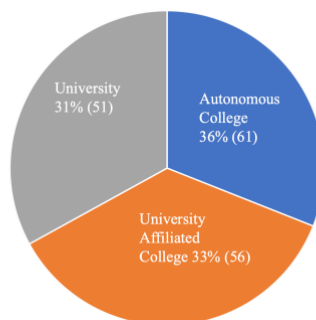
As Figure 13 reveals, a substantial number of participants (98=58 percent) identified themselves with Hinduism, while almost a third identified themselves as Christians. Figure 13 further shows that 77 percent (41) of the Christians identified themselves as Catholics, while the rest (12=23 percent) were Christians who were not Catholics. All other religions were nominal, while seven (four percent) indicated their atheist status.

Institutional Type

In India, higher education institutions are in three main categories: universities, autonomous institutions, and university-affiliated institutions. The survey participants were asked to indicate their institutional type, and the data collected are summarized in Figure 14.

Figure 14

Institutional Type and Percentages of the Participants of the Survey on India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)



As Figure 14 indicates, participation from the three types of institutions is close to equal. However, it was noted that while there are only two universities among the 38 institutions listed, survey participation from them was proportionately more considerable than others. However, an equal distribution indicates that the perceptions will have more institutional balance.

Familiarity with the NEP 2020

Part 2 of the questionnaire began with two demographic questions to assess the participants' NEP 2020 familiarity level and ways of encountering it. First, five choices such as "unfamiliar," "basic," "moderate," "advance," and "expert" levels, with a short description of each level, were given to indicate their familiarity. Then, to find the weighted mean of the participants' NEP 2020 familiarity, each level was given a score of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Table 15 demonstrates the survey participants' familiarity level with the weighted mean score for the population.

Table 15

Survey Participants' Familiarity with India's National Education Policy 2020 and the Weighted Mean Score of the Population (N=168)

Level	Description	Count	Weight	Weighted Score
Unfamiliar	Not familiar with the NEP 2020.	1	1	1
Basic	Had some ideas about the NEP 2020 gathered from the media.	29	2	58
Moderate	Not read the NEP 2020 text but familiar with the discussions in media and other forums.	82	3	246
Advanced	Read the NEP 2020 text and followed discussions in media and other forums.	50	4	200
Expert	Studied the NEP 2020 text and involved in writing, discussing, and debating about it.	6	5	30
	Total	168		535
	Weighted Mean Score			3.18

As indicated by Table 15, the population's weighted mean of 3.18 reveals that the participants' average level can be considered slightly higher than the moderate level. This measure indicates that although an average participant has not read the NEP 2020 text, she was familiar with its discourses by attending discussions in media and other forums.

Ways of Encountering the NEP 2020

The survey participants were also asked to indicate how they familiarized themselves with the NEP 2020 by choosing one or more options from the list provided. There were eight given choices, including a choice to clarify. Table 16 summarizes participants' different ways of encountering the NEP 2020.

Table 16

Matrix Indicating Mixed ways of Participants' Encounter with India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)

Choices of Encountering Ways	Encountered at least ONE of the ways among the choices									No. of Hits on the Choice
	Choice No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Conversations with colleagues	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	121
Media including print, electronic, & internet	2		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	132
Reading the NEP 2020 text	3			x	x	x	x	x	x	77
Trainings organized by govt. agencies	4				x	x	x	x	x	18
Trainings organized by institution	5					x	x	x	x	61
Writing critiques or debates	6						x	x	x	22
Involved in workshop/webinar	7							x	x	5
International exposure	8								x	1
Total		121	152	157	159	166	167	168	168	

In the matrix presented in Table 16, the total numbers in the bottom indicate the number of participants who chose at least one of the ways of encountering the NEP 2020, while the numbers in the extreme right indicate the number of participants who have marked the corresponding choice of encountering the NEP 2020. While a clear majority, 132 participants, indicated that their familiarity sources were various medial; 77 participants acknowledged that they had read the NEP 2020 text. While 18 participants

encountered the NEP 2020 attended training organized by government agencies, 61 had their own institutions' training programs. Among the participants, 22 were involved in writing critiques or debates on the NEP 2020, while five engaged in discussions, workshops, or webinars on the topic. One participant indicated an international exposure to encountering the NEP 2020. These data were found influential in the analysis of their responses.

Analysis of Faculty Responses

The discourse historical analysis (DHA) method proposed by Reisigl and Wodak was followed (Angermuller et al., 2014; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

However, all the DHA elements of discourse strategies were not identifiable from the response data. For example, the predicational strategies of employing stereotypical terms, evaluative attributions, or different labeling were not applied in the response analysis. Instead, the participants' responses on a five-point Likert scale for the 16 statements and their free responses for the open-ended questions indicated their argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification or mitigation strategies. Thus, the analysis of the referential strategies was followed by the analyses of argumentation, perspectivization, intensification, or mitigation strategies.

Analysis of Referential Strategies of Response Data

This analysis focused on the names suggested by the participants as inspirational foundations for India's education. In the survey, after checking the participants' agreement or disagreement to the inspirational and aspirational NEP 2020 discourses, they were required to suggest names of individuals, institutions, countries, or models that

they judged inspirational to Indian education. Once they made the first suggestion, they were asked to justify the suggestion with their reasons.

Although the participants were asked to propose three names, the questionnaire was designed in an implicit preferential order of names suggested. Suggesting the first name and its justification was made mandatory while the participant could skip proposing the second and third names. However, if the participants indicated the second and third names, they must justify each with reasons. For the accurate sense of analysis, a weighted score of three, two, and one were assigned for the first, second, and third suggestions, respectively. Thus, the weighted scores of the suggestions were taken for analysis. Although very few participants suggested more than three names, they were also counted with the weightage assigned to each level.

The names were first separated into individuals, institutions, countries, and others for categorization. Further, they were divided into different groups: names of individuals considered architects of postcolonial democratic India, individuals and institutions that represented the ancient India discourses of the NEP 2020, prominent and current Indian educational institutions, and persons and institutions from abroad and nation-states other than India. A main category of individual Jesuits and Jesuit institutions within and outside India was also named. They were categorized separately.

Several names were found outliers that were not represented by any of the categories mentioned above. Strangely, some participants suggested categories such as socialism, American Civil War, the education system, and more. Those were categorized separately as outliers. Some indicated "no names" or similar signs designating a "no names" option among these outliers. They, too, were separated into a different category.

Table 17 summarizes the categories, number of suggestions with their corresponding weighted scores.

Table 17

Categorization of Survey Participants-Suggested Names Inspirational to Indian Education and their Corresponding Weighted Score

Category of Names	Suggestion Sequences			Total Names	Weighted Total Score
	1 (Weight=3)	2 (Weight=2)	3 (Weight=1)		
Architects of postcolonial democratic India	85	50	47	182	402
Current premier Indian institutions	24	29	16	69	146
Name of persons/institutions outside India	14	17	10	41	86
Name of ancient India Representations (Individuals and institutions)	19	8	2	29	75
Jesuits/premier Jesuit institutions (India and abroad)	12	6	15	33	63
Outliers (uncategorized)	9	17	17	43	78
Total	163x3	127x2	107x1	397	850

As Table 17 projects, the survey participants suggested 397 names. When they were assigned weightage according to the preferential order, the weighted score of 402 for the architects of postcolonial India contrasts with the NEP 2020's referential strategies of individuals' names. It was noted that the NEP 2020 text did not make any references to any of the names suggested by the survey participants. The next category of India's current premier higher education institutions marks a weighted score of 146. This score also contrasts with the NEP 2020 references of the ancient Indian institutions.

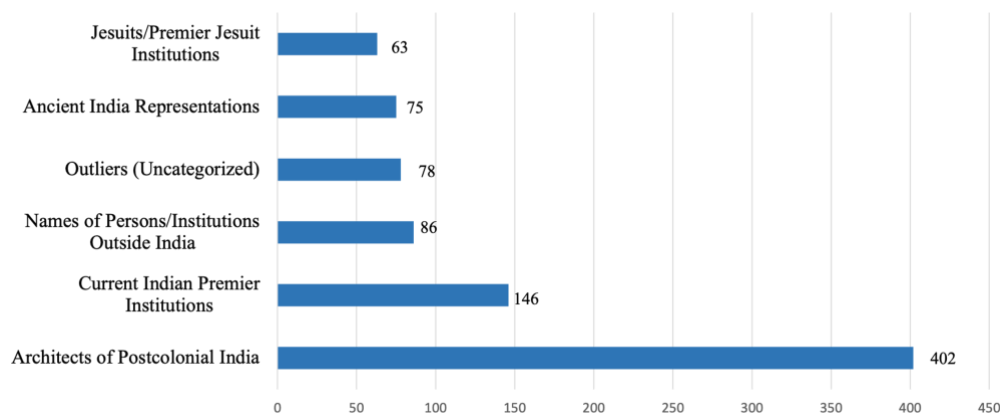
The third category with a weighted score of 86 reflects the persons, institutions, and nation-states outside India. This category also has several other names not identified

by the NEP 2020 referential strategies. For example, some survey participants suggested Paulo Freire or Finland. Finally, the names belonging to the ancient Indian tradition eulogized by the NEP 2020 placed fourth with a weighted score of 75.

Prominently, from Table 17 emerged a different category, namely, Jesuit institutions, with a weighted score of 63. A variety of names suggested by the participants could not be categorized. Therefore, the outlier category constitutes a large number by a weighted score of 78. Figure 15 organizes the data on an ascending weighted score order.

Figure 15

Ascending Order Organization of Survey Participants-Suggested Categories of Names Inspirational to Indian Education and their Corresponding Numbers (N=850)



As a noteworthy observation, Table 17 and Figure 15 reveal that with a substantially higher weighted score of 402, the participants acknowledge the architects of Indian democracy as their first choice of inspiration. This observation contrasts with the NEP 2020 discourse strategies of mitigation, a complete erasure of relevant and significant names to contemporary Indian democracy. In addition, the second category of current premier Indian institutions also contrasts with the NEP 2020's erasure discourse strategies by referring only to the ancient Indian institutions.

The analysis also reveals that the survey participants preferred various educational institutions and revolutionary pedagogies outside India to the NEP 2020-projected ancient Indian names. However, some participants have suggested ancient Indian names as inspirational, with a weighted score of 75, indicating a substantial endorsement of the NEP 2020-projected discourse strategies. At the same time, a new category of Jesuit institutions that emerged also merited the research's attention. Although the survey participants were from the Jesuit institutions, they have a national and global reputation in higher education (Castelló-Climent et al., 2018; Heredia, 1995).

In summary, the data organized in Table 17 and Figure 15 demonstrate that the survey participants suggest various names and titles as inspirational sources to Indian education in contrast to the NEP 2020's limited and narrowed references. Moreover, the richness of data compels the researcher to explore the names more deeply to foreground the emerging discourses.

References to Educators of Democratic India

The survey of literature for this study revealed that democratic educators, who conceived a sovereign republic of India during the colonial times and developed postcolonial Indian democracy, have been substantially influential in constructing the national destiny since the Independence in 1947 (D. Allen, 2007; Bajaj, 2010; Cabrera, 2017; Gandhi, 2002; Gopalkrishnan & Galande, 2021; Sherman, 2018; Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). The survey participants' preferences indicated by choice of names align with a secular and democratic view of education against the NEP 2020-projected nationalist and Sanskrit-dominated education vision. Table 18 below demonstrates the

most prominent 16 names suggested by the survey participants and their corresponding weighted score.

Table 18

Names of Postcolonial India's Architects as Inspirational for Indian Education Suggested by the Survey Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Rabindranath Tagore	72	Amartya Sen	8
APJ Abdul Kalam	59	Aurobindo	8
Mahatma Gandhi	41	Jawaharlal Nehru	7
Vivekananda	40	Jagadish Chandra Bose	6
B R Ambedkar	32	Sudha Murthi	6
S Radhakrishnan	29	Gopal Krishna Gokhale	5
Savitri Phule	16	N R Madhav Menon	5
Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar	13	Ramachandra Guha	5

Among the first 16 names suggested by the participants, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar, and Jawaharlal Nehru, the literature reviewed referred to them as representatives of democratic education in postcolonial Indian history. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (1931 – 2015), whose name was not reviewed, was the 11th President of India, a scientist by profession who engaged in inspiring and educating youth through his writings and speeches (Ibrahim, 2019; Narasimha & Balakrishnan, 2015; Radhika, 2019).

Savitri Phule, the only woman, listed in the top 16 names, was also referred to in the literature review of this dissertation, known for her contributions to women's education in India. Consistent with the analysis, it can be argued that the sharp contrast in nature and volume of the names referred by the survey participants indicate their allegiance with the democratic ideals of education promoted in postcolonial India.

References to the Premier Institutions of Contemporary India

As indicated by Table 17, the second-highest number of references by the survey participants was to the current Indian premier institutions of higher education. Table 19 gives the first 16 institutions and models preferred by the participants with their weighted scores.

Table 19

Top 16 References to Indian Premier Institutions and Models as Inspirational by the Survey Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Indian Institute of Technology	31	Jamia Milia University	4
Indian Institute of Science	14	Ashoka University, Haryana	3
Jawaharlal Nehru University	13	Ekalavya, Uttar Pradesh	3
Indian Institute of Management	11	Hyderabad Central University	3
Viswa Bharati	7	Kerala Model	3
Shantiniketan	6	Osmania University	3
Delhi University	5	Ramakrishna Mission	3
Banaras Hindu University	4	Teach for India	3

An obvious contrast emerged between the NEP 2020's and the survey participants' institutional references. While the former refers to ancient India's institutions as primary and inspirational, the latter suggests that contemporary Indian institutions can model education. In the NEP 2020 text, allusions to some Indian premier higher education institutions were made as 'harmful silos' negatively. For example, while introducing the restructuring of higher education, the NEP 2020 stated:

This [large multidisciplinary institutions] would help build vibrant communities of scholars and peers, *break down harmful silos* [emphasis added], enable

students to become well-rounded across disciplines including artistic, creative, and analytic subjects as well as sports, develop active research communities across disciplines including cross-disciplinary research, and increase resource efficiency, both material and human, across higher education. (MHRD, 2020, p. 34)

However, the survey participants' references to Indian premier universities, colleges, and institutions apparently challenge the NEP 2020 makers' perception. While the survey participants suggest that the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Indian Institute of Science (IIS), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Indian Institute of Management (IIM), and such others can model future India's education, the NEP 2020 implicitly argues that they are 'harmful silos' to be broken down by implementing the NEP 2020 stipulations. It is also noteworthy that the two universities founded by Tagore, Viswa Bharati, and Shantiniketan, were among the top 16 names suggested by the survey participants.

References to Persons/Institutions Outside India

As Table 17 demonstrated, survey participants referred to 86 persons or institutions outside India. Table 20 lists the top six names suggested by the survey participants with their corresponding weighted Scores.

Table 20

Top Six References to Persons/Institutions Outside India as Inspirational by the Survey Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Harvard University	10	Finland	6
Oxford University	9	Japan	6
Paulo Freire	8	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	4

In the names listed in Table 20, there are references to three universities, one individual, and two nations. According to the survey participants, Harvard and Oxford were the two universities at the top of the references to inspire Indian education. As an individual from abroad, Paulo Freire (1921 – 1997), a Brazilian educator, activist, and visionary who advocated liberatory pedagogy as a praxis of the oppressed, was referred with a weighted score of eight (Freire, 2018). Finland and Japan were also referred to inspire Indian education, followed by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). It is noteworthy to mention that while the NEP 2020 refers to no revolutionary educators, some survey participants considered Paulo Freire inspirational to Indian education.

References to Ancient India Representations

As indicated by Table 17, the survey participants' references to inspirational names had included ancient Indian names referred to by the NEP 2020 text. As a result, eight names were suggested by the participants from this category. Table 21 gives the list with the corresponding weighted score.

Table 21

Ancient Indian References as Inspirational by the Survey Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Nalanda	26	Ancient Indian Gurukulas	5
Chanakya	15	Buddha	5
Takshashila	11	Susruta	3
Aryabhata	9	Vikramasila	1

As Table 21 demonstrates, the top ancient Indian reference by the survey participants was to Nalanda with a weighted score of 26. While the NEP 2020's Takshashila and Vikramasila were found, Vallabhi was not found in the participants' list. However, a common reference denoted the ancient Indian schooling, namely, ancient Indian gurukuls. It represented the Brahminic tradition of Vedic training of one master and a few disciples. The list of ancient Indian references had a weighted score of 75, far lower than references to postcolonial Indian names. Consequently, consistent with the analysis, it can be held that some survey participants endorse the NEP 2020 discourses on restoring Indian education based on the ancient Indian models.

References to Jesuits and Premier Jesuit Institutions

A different category of the survey participants' inspirational references was Jesuits and Jesuit institutions, both from India and abroad. General references to Jesuit education were categorized as global Jesuit institutions, while the specific names were listed accordingly. Table 22 lists the names referred and their corresponding weighted score.

Table 22

Global Jesuit References as Inspirational by the Survey Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Global Jesuit Institutions	26	Dominic Savio, SJ	1
St. Xavier's College, Mumbai	9	Frazer, SJ (St. Xavier's Mumbai)	1
St. Joseph's Institutions, Bengaluru	8	Ignatius Loyola	1
Loyola College, Chennai	4	Loyola Academy, Andhra Pradesh	1
Ignatius Loyola	2	St. Xavier's College, Kolkatha	1
St. Joseph's College, Trichy	2	University of San Francisco	1
Xavier's Society of Education	2	Xavier Institute of Management (XIM) B	1
		Xavier Labor Relations Institute	1

As Table 22 indicates, 15 individuals and institutions from within and outside India, including the global Jesuit institutions. References to three individuals included Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. The other two individuals referred were former educators of St. Xavier's College, Mumbai. Although the list can be biased because the survey participants were Jesuit institutional loyalists, Jesuits have had a global reputation for centuries in education. Thus, it emerges that some of the survey participants suggest that India should take inspiration from the Jesuit model of education.

A Weighted Score Approach to the Survey-Referred Names

The survey participants were given an independent question on their recommendation of names that would be inspirational to Indian education. Although implicit was a question that sought the names aligned with or contrasted with the NEP 2020-referred names, it was assumed that the participants responded independently and directly. Consequently, an analysis of names based on the weighted score is expected to

reveal the implied discourse of the references. Table 23 below displays the names that gained a weighted score of 10 and above. All the references suggested by the participants are listed in Appendix D.

Table 23

Weighted Score-based Organization of References as Inspirational by the Survey

Participants of India's National Education Policy 2020

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Rabindranath Tagore	72	Savitri Phule	16
APJ Abdul Kalam	59	Chanakya	15
Mahatma Gandhi	41	Indian Institute of Science	14
Vivekananda	40	Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar	13
B R Ambedkar	32	Jawaharlal Nehru University	13
Global Jesuit References	32	Indian Institute of Management	11
Indian Institute of Technology	31	Takshashila	11
S Radhakrishnan	29	Harvard University	10
Nalanda	26		

Note. Names that gained a weighted score of 10 and above are listed in this table.

As Table 23 reveals, the first eight names with the highest weighted score represent postcolonial India's democratic and secular educational ideals. Rabindranath Tagore's name stood far high from others, with a weighted score of 72. He championed liberatory education, harmony, and a universal and nature-bound vision of education (R. Basu, 2010; Das Gupta, 2008; Datta, 2018). The survey participants preferred A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, a name representing contemporary India's democratic and secular aspirations, next to Tagore. Similarly, the survey participants referred to Gandhi, Vivekananda, Ambedkar, S. Radhakrishnan, and Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, who advocated self-reliant modern India through education above others.

On institutional references, global Jesuit references and the Indian Institute of Technology were preferred above Nalanda and Takshashila, the two institutional references highlighted by the NEP 2020 discourse strategies. Other institutional references such as the Indian Institute of Science, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and the Indian Institute of Management have also taken prominence in the list of survey references. It is also noteworthy that an institution outside India, namely Harvard University, is preferred only after several premier Indian institutions. This observation contrasts with the NEP 2020 vision of adopting the 21st-century models from outside India.

However, the references to Nalanda, Chanakya, and Takshashila, the names strategized by the NEP 2020 discourses, find a place in the weighted score list of above 10. Therefore, it can be interpreted as indicating an endorsement of the NEP 2020 discourses among the participants. Consistent with the analysis, it can be argued that while there is a robust discourse of democratic and secular education in India among the survey participants, a substantial, though not so powerful, discourse based on restoring ancient India can be discerned in the response data.

To sum up, the referential discourse strategies of the response data stand in contradiction with the NEP 2020 referential discourse strategies. For example, the first category of names referred by the survey participants represented democratic and secular education that constructed postcolonial Indian history. Similarly, the survey participants preferred the individuals and the institutions that determined the nature of Indian modernity and educational development to restoring ancient tradition discourse and the 21st-century globalization discourse of the NEP 2020.

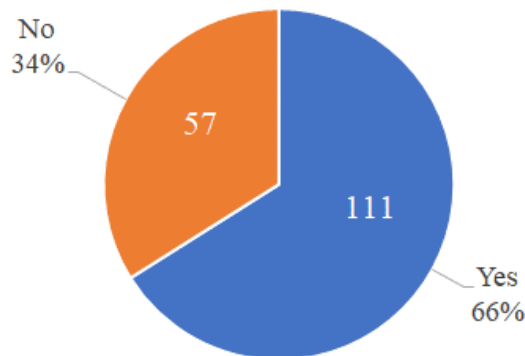
Analysis of Faculty Responses to the NEP 2020's Discourse Strategies

In the survey questionnaire, part three examined whether the participants agreed with the NEP 2020's referential discourse strategies. For this purpose, the questionnaire stated the following: The NEP 2020 text acknowledges two inspirational models for its conceptual designing of the future Indian education. First is the ancient Indian tradition represented by Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramasila, and Vallabhi and scholars like Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, and Varahamihira. The second inspiration comes from the 21st-century knowledge society models of countries like the United States, Israel, South Korea, and Japan. The relevant extracts from the NEP 2020 in a pop-up text were available for the participants on an optional basis.

As a sequel to the above statements, the participants were asked if they agreed the referenced traditions, institutions, and countries constitute the model of Indian education. Again, they could answer affirmatively or negatively. They had to give reasons for their response. Of the 168 participants, while 111 (66 percent) agreed with the NEP 2020's referential strategies, 57 (34 percent) disagreed. Figure 16 demonstrates the nature of agreement or disagreement.

Figure 16

Survey Participants' Agreement Level to the Referential Discourse Strategies of Inspirational Ancient Indian Names and Aspirational Current Nation-State Names in India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)



Note. Ancient India-based referential strategies were represented by the names such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, and Varahamihira, while the current nation-states were represented by the United States, Israel, South Korea, and Japan.

Agreement/Disagreement Arguments

The participants' agreement/disagreement indication was followed by their reasoning and justification in their free statements. Most of the participants gave more than one reason in the space provided. Those statements were extracted, coded, and thematically organized for analysis. A few participants gave some reasons contradicting their agreement/disagreement status. Although their number would not substantially impact the dataset, the reasons were categorized according to their merit irrespective of the agreement/disagreement. Table 24 summarizes the reasons for agreement and disagreement, indicating the respective percentage of the total population.

Table 24

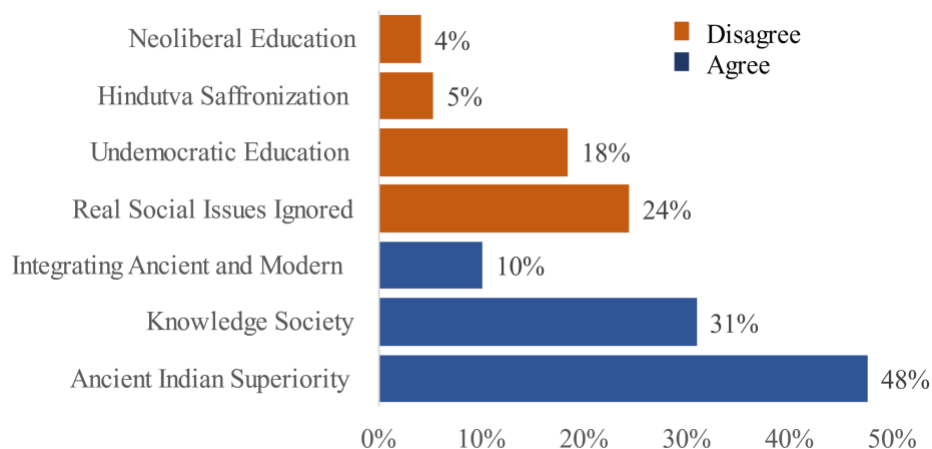
Summary Arguments of Survey Participants' Agreement/Disagreement with the Discourse Strategies of India's National Education Policy 2020 and the Corresponding No. of Participants with their Percentage Impact on the Population (N=168)

Nature of Response	Justifications	Participants' Count	Percentage on Population
Agreement – YES	Ancient Indian superiority	80	48
	Knowledge society	52	31
	Integrating ancient and modern	17	10
Disagreement – NO	Real social issues ignored	41	24
	Undemocratic education	31	18
	Hindutva saffronization	9	5
	Neoliberal education	7	4

As Table 24 indicates, the reasons for agreement aligned perfectly with the NEP 2020's argumentation discourses of ancient Indian superiority and knowledge society aspiration. However, the themes that emerged from the arguments for disagreement represented new discourses conflicting with the NEP 2020 discourses. Figure 17 demonstrates the arguments in agreement and conflict with the NEP 2020 discourses with their percentages to the total number of survey participants.

Figure 17

Summary Arguments of Survey Participants' Agreement/Disagreement with the Discourse Strategies of India's National Education Policy 2020 with their Percentage Impact on the Population (N=168)



Close to a half of the population (48 percent) argued for restoring ancient India's superiority which was identified as one of the powerful discourse strategies of the NEP 2020 text. Similarly, a large group of participants (31 percent) justified the NEP 2020's aspirational discourse strategy to transform India into a powerful knowledge society. Finally, although not as powerful as the abovementioned arguments, a group of participants (10 percent) argued for integrating the ancient and modern that reflected the NEP 2020's intentional discourse strategy.

In contrast, almost a quarter of the participants (24 percent), who refused to agree with the NEP 2020's discourse strategies, argued that the NEP 2020 had ignored real social issues that confront India. Another weighty argument from the dissenters confronted the NEP 2020's undemocratic approach (18 percent). Although quantitatively minor, 5 percent of the population pointed out the saffronizing Hindutva orientation in

the NEP 2020 discourses. Similarly, 4 percent of participants resented the neoliberal themes in the NEP 2020 text. A detailed list of elements categorized under each argumentation theme is given in Appendix E.

In addition to the justification to the agreement/disagreement response, the participants were given an open space to express their additional thoughts about the NEP 2020 freely. This question was attached at the end of the 16 Likert scale statements. Of the total 168 participants, 40 responded. When their responses were extracted, coded, and organized, they aligned with the above themes. It was further noticed that the dissenters used the free space more than those who agreed with the NEP 2020 discourses. Table 25 demonstrates the emerged themes from the data.

Table 25

Summary of Themes Emerged from the Participants' Free Thoughts about India's

National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)

Nature of Responses	Arguments	Participants' Count	Percentage on Population
Dissenting	○ Undemocratic education	13	8 percent
	○ Ignoring real social issues	12	7 percent
	○ Neoliberal education	8	5 percent
	○ Hindutva saffronization	2	1 percent
Agreeing	○ Knowledge society	4	2 percent
	○ Integrating ancient and modern	2	1 percent
	○ Ancient Indian superiority	2	1 percent
Ambiguous	○ Unclear responses	4	2 percent

Note. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

As Table 25 illustrates, the same argumentation themes surfaced from the participants' free thought expressions. However, 13 participants perceived undemocratic orientations in the NEP 2020 discourses, while 12 saw the NEP 2020 ignoring real social issues confronting contemporary India. Neoliberal motives and the Hindutva

saffronization agenda implied in the NEP 2020 were arguments of eight and two respondents. Participants in favor of the NEP 2020 discourses argued for the aspirational goal of the knowledge society (4), the merging of ancient and modern education goals (3), and ancient India's restoration (2). However, four ambiguous responses were expressing personal comments about the survey could not be classified into any of these categories.

Responses to Higher Education Discourses

The online survey questionnaire had 16 statements that expressed four kinds of discourse strategies on higher education. While three sets voiced the extracted NEP 2020 strategies, one projected a democratic vision of higher education. In each set of four statements, the NEP 2020 discourses presented higher education as a privatized individual prospect, an attempt to restore ancient Indian tradition and heritage, and an orientation to the neoliberal global market. In contrast, a set of four statements presented four dimensions of India's democratic education.

Participants indicated their level of agreement to each statement on a five-point Likert scale by responding "strongly disagree," "disagree," "neutral," "agree," or "strongly agree." For the analysis, each response was given a weightage of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. First, the scores were tabulated against each corresponding weightage and response. Then, the weighted mean of each category and the weighted mean of each group were calculated separately for comparison and analysis.

Group 1: Higher Education as a Privatized Individual Good. The first category of statements numbered 1, 5, 9, and 13 presented higher education as a privatized individual prospect. They asserted higher education as a socially claimed asset,

individualized private endowment, a success attained by exercising free choice, and a valued commodity. Table 26 summarizes the weighted mean for each statement and the weighted mean for the group score. Figure 18 below demonstrates the weighted mean graphically on a five-point scale.

Table 26

Summary of Weighted Mean Scores for Group 1 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Privatized Individual Good (N=168)

	Q. 1	Q. 5	Q. 9	Q. 13
Higher Education Presented as	Socially claimed asset	Individualized private endowment	Success attained by exercising free choice	Valued commodity
Weighted Individual Mean	2.93	2.69	3.76	3.26

Figure 18

Weighted Mean Score for Group 1 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Privatized Individual Good (N=168)



As Table 26 and Figure 18 demonstrate, the responses to the statements expressing higher education as an individually oriented private good have a weighted mean score of 3.16. Although the mean scores for perceiving higher education as a socially claimed asset and an individualized private endowment show lower than the other scores, the group mean indicates that the participants moved more toward agreeing than being neutral or disagreeing.

Group 2: Higher Education as the Restoration of Ancient Indian Tradition.

The second category of statements numbered 2, 6, 10, and 14 presented higher education to restore the glorious ancient Indian tradition. They projected higher education as reinventing the holistic and multidisciplinary education that prevailed in ancient institutions such as Takshashila and Nalanda, promoting rootedness and pride in Indian heritage, restoring India's ancient Vishwa Guru position, and an ancient way to transform India like the developed nations. Table 27 shows the weighted mean for each statement and the weighted mean for the group score. Figure 19 below illustrates the weighted group mean graphically on a five-point scale.

Table 27

Summary of Weighted Mean Scores for Group 2 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Restoring Ancient Indian Superiority (N=168)

	Q. 2	Q. 6	Q. 10	Q. 14
Higher Education Presented as	Reinventing Takshashila and Nalanda	Promotion of Indian rootedness and pride	Restoring India's Vishwa Guru position	Transforming India with the ancient way
Weighted Individual Mean	3.45	3.22	3.28	3.26

Figure 19

Weighted Mean Score for Group 2 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Restoring Ancient Indian Superiority (N=168)



As Table 27 and Figure 19 display, the survey participants responded to the statements projecting higher education as an attempt to restore ancient Indian superiority

has the weighted mean score of 3.30. Responses to the individual statements also did not show considerable variation, and the weighted group mean also indicated that the responses move more toward agreeing than being neutral or disagreeing. However, the responses also indicate that the participants are divided in their opinions or tend to take a neutral position because the mean score did not accurately position "agree" or "strongly agree."

Group 3: Higher Education as an Orientation to Neoliberal Globalization.

The third category of statements numbered 3, 7, 11, and 15 proposed higher education in neoliberal terms of economic globalization. They presented higher education as workforce generation for economic growth, success creation by institutional efficiency-building, increased access by technology-based-online rendering, and the way to make India the 21st-century knowledge economy. Table 28 provides the weighted mean for each statement, and Figure 20 below displays the weighted group mean on a five-point scale.

Table 28

Summary of Weighted Mean Scores for Group 3 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of an Orientation to Neoliberal Globalization (N=168)

	Q. 3	Q. 7	Q. 11	Q. 15
Higher Education Presented as	Workforce generation for economic growth	Success creation by efficiency-building	Increased access by technology-based online rendering	Way to make India a knowledge economy
Weighted Individual Mean	3.64	3.40	3.02	3.79

Figure 20

Weighted Mean Score for Group 3 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of an Orientation to Neoliberal Globalization (N=168)



As is evident from Table 28 and Figure 20, the survey participants responded slightly more positively to the neoliberal discourses of higher education than to the previous discourses. The weighted group mean score of 3.46 indicates that the participants were positively inclined to the neoliberal education discourses rather than neutral or negative. The weighted average score of the individual statements also showed that the responses were positively tended. However, the score also indicates a divided response pattern by either a majority choosing to be neutral or several of them disagreed with the neoliberal discourses while several others agreed.

Group 4: Higher Education as Promoting India's Democracy. The fourth category of statements numbered 4, 8, 12, and 16 propositioned higher education in democratic discourses. The statements argued higher education as the means to enable India's political and economic equality, the process of student-preparation for constructive democratization roles, citizenship education based on cultural commonality and equal treatment, and promoting global peace, non-violence, and harmony. Table 29 shows the weighted mean for each statement, and Figure 21 below demonstrates the weighted mean for the group on a five-point scale.

Table 29

Summary of Weighted Mean Scores for Group 4 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Promoting India's Democracy (N=168)

	Q.4	Q. 8.	Q. 12	Q. 16
Higher Education Presented as	Means to India's political and economic equality	Student-preparation for constructive democracy	Citizenship education founded on cultural commonality	Promoting global peace, non-violence, and harmony
Weighted Individual Mean	4.05	3.93	4.04	3.89

Figure 21

Weighted Mean Score for Group 4 Statements Projecting a Higher Education Discourse of Promoting India's Democracy (N=168)



Table 29 and Figure 21 clearly show a relatively higher weighted mean than the previous groups. For example, the statements that presented higher education as a praxis of equality (Q. 4) and democratic citizenship (Q. 12) scored higher weighted mean scores (4.05 and 4.04 respectively), indicating that relatively a substantial number of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the statements. They also indicate a consensus on a democratic higher education discourse among the participants. The group weighted mean (3.97) also indicates higher proximity to "agree" when compared to other groups' weighted mean scores. The analysis demonstrates that the participants are more inclined to the democratic principles of higher education.

Argumentation Discourse Strategies of Resistance and Acceptance

The survey participants were to justify their disposition of resistance level to the NEP 2020 by giving reasons. Most of them gave more than one reason for their disposition. In some cases, especially those who chose to be in the moderate, medium, and high resistance segments, the participants indicated some reasons for accepting and some for resisting. However, they were treated indiscriminately for analysis without relating to the resistance disposition level they expressed. Each of the reasons was counted as one reason either in favor or against the NEP 2020 discourse. The statements were extracted, coded, and thematically organized for analysis. Table 30 and Figure 22 below summarize the themes that emerged with their corresponding numbers and percentages of participants, respectively, for analysis.

Table 30

Themes Emerged from the Survey Participants' Justifications of their Acceptance/Resistance Disposition toward India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020

Nature of Justifications	Justification Themes	No. of Participants
In Favor of the NEP 2020 Discourses	○ Creating global standard-based knowledge-society	31
	○ Much awaited reforms (Need for reforms)	26
	○ Empowering institutions, teachers, and students	15
	○ Reinventing ancient Indian superiority	6
	○ Enhancing development of India	5
Total		83
Against the NEP 2020 Discourses	○ Problematics of implementation - Short of resources or political will	54
	○ Undemocratizing education	51
	○ Hasty reform move	35
	○ Politically driven saffronizing education	29
	○ Excluding / discriminating socio-religious minorities	25
	○ Regressive reforms	17
	○ Neoliberalizing education	15
○ Elitist/dominant class-favoring education	8	
Total		234

Figure 22

Percentage Impact on the Total Population of the Participants' Disposition toward India's National Education Policy 2020 on a Segmented Resistance Scale (N=168)

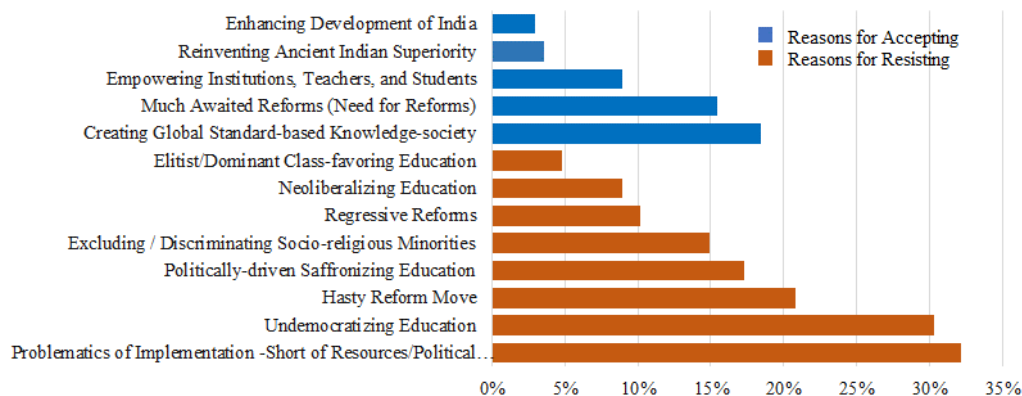


Table 30 and Figure 22 indicate an overwhelming proportion of justifications against the NEP 2020 discourses, with 234 while the participants expressed 83 in favor. Aligning themselves with the NEP 2020's aspirational discourse of transforming India into a knowledge society, 31 participants (18 percent) have expressed their affirmative disposition. 26 participants (15 percent) were seen considering the reforms much needed and long-awaited. While 15 participants (9 percent) supported the NEP 2020 reforms as they perceived them empowering the institutions and communities, seven (4 percent) justified their disposition with the much-acclaimed NEP 2020 discourse of restoring ancient Indian education. Finally, five (3 percent) supported the reforms for its development orientation.

In contrast, 54 participants (32 percent) were apprehensive of the problematic components of the NEP 2020 implementation. They were doubtful if India's present ruling regime had the political will and resourcefulness for implementing the massive NEP 2020 reform plans. Similarly, 51 participants (30 percent) perceived undemocratic

elements in the NEP 2020 discourses. In contrast to the 26 participants' view of long-awaited reform, 36 participants (21 percent) considered that the NEP 2020 reform move was hasty and without any ground preparation. In addition, a relatively large number of 29 participants (17 percent) perceived a politically driven nationalist agenda of saffronizing education in the NEP 2020 reforms. Similarly, 25 participants (15 percent) expressed concerns about excluding or discriminating socially and religiously minoritized communities.

Another justification represented by 17 participants (10 percent) claimed that the NEP 2020 reforms were regressive and taking the nation on a backward track. In contrast to the NEP 2020 favoring the view of a knowledge society-based, 15 participants (9 percent) were critical about the neoliberalizing elements of the NEP 2020 reforms. Finally, eight participants (5 percent) registered their justifications by indicating that the NEP 2020 reforms are divisive and favor dominant and elitist interests in education. The themes extracted from the responses are provided in Appendix F of this study.

Thus, from the participants' data that justify their disposition toward the NEP 2020 reforms, it emerges that a proportionately higher number of reasons were for resistance than acceptance. Similarly, the intensity of the argumentations also indicates the participants' apprehension, conflicts, and lack of trust in the NEP 2020 discourse strategies. It was surprising that in the context of justifying their dispositions, the NEP 2020's prominent discourse strategy based on reviving ancient Indian education found relatively few representations (4 percent) while a perception that the NEP 2020 is regressive found higher justifications by 10 percent of the participants.

While the scaled response of resistance data centered around the midpoint signifying moderate or medium resistance, the open statements of participants' justifications favored more resistance. However, this study had no means or measure to compare this perceived difference. Furthermore, the participants articulated their fears and apprehensions on the implementation and democratic policy fields in a relatively higher proportion than other policy resistance fields.

For example, participant No. 205 asserted a refusal to state any justification by indicating, "I would rather not answer," while they marked resistance of 75 on a zero-100 scale. Similarly, participant No. 213 stated that "it [the NEP 2020] has decriminalization and prejudice against sections of the society," marking a resistance of 80 on the scale. In summary, it can be argued that the participants' argumentation strategies intrinsically and implicitly were embedded with their perspectivization, intensification, and mitigation discourse strategies of resistance rather than compliance.

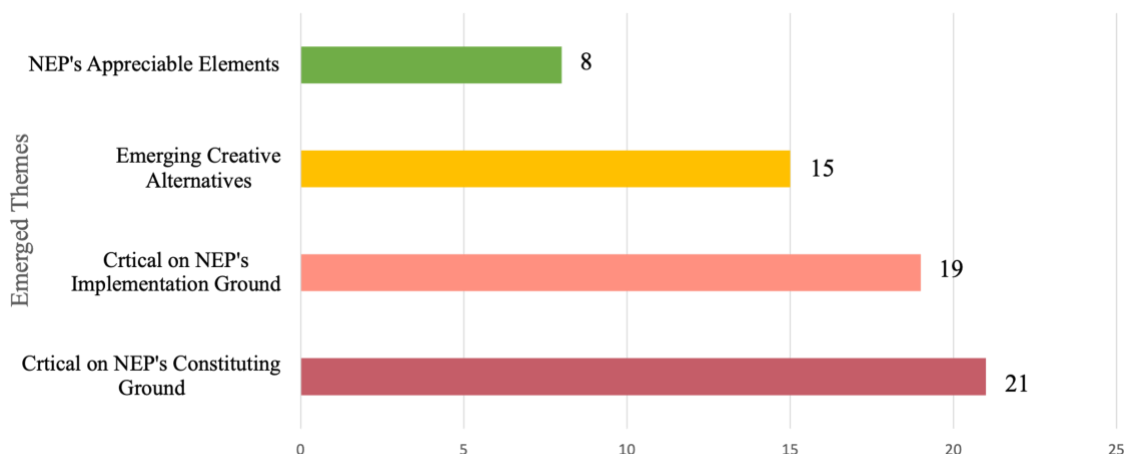
Additional Argumentation Discourse Strategies of Resistance

After completing the formal questionnaire, the participants could express any additional thoughts about the NEP 2020 and higher education in India. Of the 168 participants, 44 (26 percent) responded. They were assessed as participants' free expressions over the NEP 2020 discourses above their formal survey responses. Consequently, the responses were carefully extracted, coded, and thematically organized for analysis. Four major categories emerged as themes in the additional thoughts shared by the participants. Figure 23 below summarizes the themes.

Figure 23

Summary of Themes Emerged from the Additional Free Thoughts Shared by the Survey

Participants of India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 (N=168)



As the data presented in Figure 23 reveal, out of 63 additional points shared by the participants, 40 were critical of the NEP 2020 on its constituting and implementation grounds. In this study's discourse historical analysis frame, provided by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), it is crucial to examine the speakers' perspectivization, intensification, and mitigation discourse strategies. In the analysis of the response data, the participants are the speakers, and the additional thoughts appear to be performing these three functions of their discourses.

As a significant category of themes, 21 were critical of the conceptualization of the NEP 2020 reforms. They reinforce and clarify some of the references and arguments proposed by the respondents. For example, a shared perception asserts that the NEP 2020 is a politically oriented discourse on higher education to bring back the caste-based hierarchies at the cost of the democratic diversity of India. To cite an example in the words of participant No. 152: "There appears saffronization is the hidden agenda for the

government [*sic*]. It will create more class/caste culture and division among people/communities. India will move back to its notorious caste culture with time [*sic*].”

Furthermore, the critical perspectives of these free expressions emphasize the underlying influence of corporatization of higher education in the NEP 2020, its contradictions with the Right to Education (RTE) Act of India, and its denial of the minorities’ rights for education. For example, participant No. 199 remarked: “I feel that the NEP 2020 has some hidden political agenda that profits private investors in the education sector. I see how certain boards of education are being hijacked by people who wish to perpetuate hatred, false ideas and homogenize learning.”

Similarly, the free expressions of the participants critically perspectivize the NEP 2020 implementation with 19 views. They perceive the NEP 2020 reforms as exclusive and discriminatory against the marginalized populations, misleading, on the one hand, and the other, facilitating centralized control against the democratic distribution of power. For instance, participant No. 84 views: "I believe it [the NEP 2020] has a huge potential of saffronizing higher education and popularising [the] ruling party propaganda as mainstream ideas in education [*sic*], which will be devastating for India's democracy [*sic*].” Participants’ additional comments underscore the NEP 2020’s mitigation discourse strategies of sloganizing multidisciplinary and holistic higher education with a hidden and politically motivated marketization agenda.

At the same time, a 15-point-recommendation foregrounded some creative alternatives, such as promoting a context-based approach rather than a homogenized national approach to education. Participants also suggested that education should be creating a critical, pluralistic, and egalitarian social structure. Another recommendation

added that education should be promoting a secular society. One participant proposed a joint parliamentary committee reviewing the NEP 2020 before its implementation. Some prioritized peace and harmony-based education. As Figure 23 revealed, the participants have highlighted some positive aspects of the NEP 2020, including its global and nationalistic approach, research, and skill-focused higher education. Participants' additional thoughts are listed under four categories in Appendix G of this study.

Faculty Responses: Discerning Resistance

As one of the central concerns of this research, the researcher examined the response data to discern if the participants, representing a significant stakeholder group of teachers, utilize their subjective spaces of response toward policy resistance. The theoretical framework and the critical scholarship reviewed in this study powerfully asserted that teachers' subjective resistance potential is intrinsic in the intentional quotidian acts of cultural and political significance (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Bracho, 2019; Dunn, 2018; Dunn et al., 2017). Inspired by Foucault, Ball and Olmedo (2013) argue that the teachers' subjective space of self-expression has a resistance potential in policy contexts.

From the theoretical perspective of resistance power, this study intended to examine if the survey participants engaged their subjective spaces of policy response for resistance or compliance. To that end, it asked the participants to indicate their disposition to the NEP 2020 on a resistance scale ranging from zero to 100, where zero denoted "no resistance" or "total acceptance," while 100 indicated "total resistance" or "zero acceptance." The participants were also required to justify their disposition with reasons.

Since it was a mandatory part of the questionnaire, 168 participants responded by reflecting their disposition. However, some participants misunderstood the scale as an acceptance measure. At the same time, their justification statements indicated their proper disposition. For example, a participant showed 100 on the scale and stated below that "I completely agree with the NEP 2020." Wherever the disposition index and the justification contradicted, such scores were reversed on the scale. For example, the resistance was corrected to zero in the abovementioned case.

After such correction of the scores, the resistance range was divided into seven segments. The first segment that marked no resistance was classified as "zero resistance." Then, on the resistance scale, one to 10 was assigned "low resistance." 11 to 40, "moderate resistance," 41 to 60, "medium resistance," 60 to 90, "high resistance," and 91 to 99, "great resistance." Finally, the resistance score of 100 was marked as "total resistance."

Further, to assess the average value on the resistance scale, each of the categorized segments was given a weight assigning 1 to 7 ascending order starting from zero resistance. Next, the weighted mean score was calculated by multiplying the number of participants under each segment with the corresponding weight. Finally, the sum of the weighted score was averaged by the total number of participants (N=168). Table 31 and Figure 24 demonstrate the distribution of the scores on each segment, the percentage of the population, the weighted score, and the weighted average score of resistance.

Table 31

Classifications of Segments on the Resistance Scale with Corresponding Number of Participants, Weighted Score, and Percentages (N=168)

Score Class	Segment Title	Assigned Weight	No. of Participants	Weighted Score	Percentage
0	Zero resistance	1	8	8	5 percent
1 – 10	Low resistance	2	11	22	7 percent
11 – 40	Moderate resistance	3	36	108	21 percent
41 – 60	Medium Resistance	4	49	196	29 percent
61 – 90	High resistance	5	54	270	32 percent
91 – 99	Great resistance	6	5	30	3 percent
100	Total resistance	7	5	35	3 percent
Total			168	669	

Figure 24

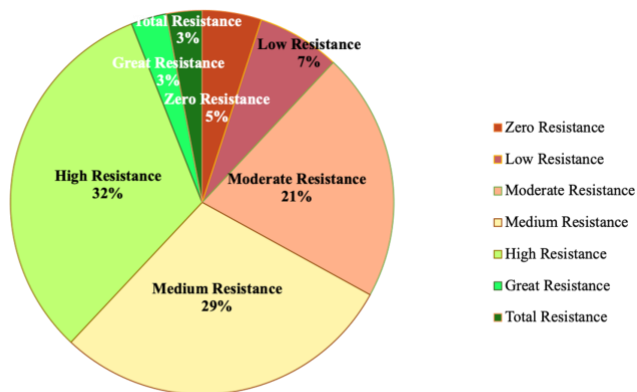
Weighted Mean Score of the Participants' Disposition to India's National Education Policy on a Segmented Resistance Scale (N=168)



As Table 31 presents, the largest population (54) was on the high resistance level (61 – 90), while 49 of them chose to be on the medium resistance zone (41 – 60). At the same time, 36 participants showed moderate resistance (11 – 40), while 11 participants demonstrated a low resistance tendency (1 – 10). Finally, eight participants indicated zero resistance (0) level resistance. However, the number of respondents at a great resistance level (91 – 99) and total resistance (100) were five each, showing a lesser number than their counterparts. Consequently, as Figure 24 demonstrates, the weighted mean score of resistance showed 3.98, within the medium resistance zone of this classification. Figure 25 shows the participants' percentage distribution of the responses on the resistance scale.

Figure 25

Percentage Distribution of the Participants' Disposition toward India's National Education Policy on a Segmented Resistance Scale (N=168)



As evident from Figure 24, close to a third (32 percent) of the total participants chose to be within the high resistance to the NEP 2020 discourse category. At the same time, slightly over a fifth (21 percent) of the population indicated a moderate resistance to the NEP 2020. A relatively considerable number of participants (29 percent) chose to remain medium resistant between 41 and 60 on the scale. Thus, the moderate and medium resisters constitute 50 percent of the population. However, a comparatively considerable percentage, 7 and 5, showed low resistance and zero resistance, respectively, while a minority of three percent each showed excellent and total resistance to the NEP 2020.

Gender-wise Resistance Disposition

In the demographic distribution, 59 percent and 41 percent of participants identified male and female, respectively. The weighted scores of their disposition to the NEP 2020 reforms were averaged to examine the gender-wise weighted mean score. Table 32 below demonstrates the gender-wise distribution of participants among

segments and their corresponding weighted score, and Figure 26 presents the weighted mean on a seven-point scale based on the class segmentation.

Table 32

Gender-wise Distribution of Survey Participants with their Corresponding Number and Weighted Score (N=168)

Row Labels	Weight	Female Nos.	Weight x Nos.	Male Nos.	Weight x Nos.
0-Zero Resistance	1	5	5	3	3
1-10: Low Resistance	2	6	12	5	10
11-40 Moderate Res.	3	12	36	24	72
41-60: Medium Res.	4	22	88	27	108
61-90: High Resistance	5	22	110	32	160
91-99: Great Resistance	6	2	12	3	18
100: Total Resistance	7	0	0	5	35
Total		69	263	99	406

Figure 26

Gender-Wise Weighted Mean Score of the Survey Participants' Resistance toward India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)

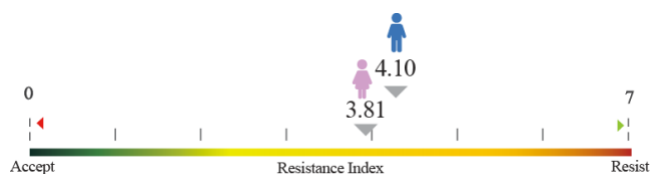


Table 32 reveals the distribution of both female and male participants heavily clustering around the segments of moderate resistance (11-40), medium resistance (41-60), and high resistance (61-90). Consequently, the female and male's weighted mean shows 3.81 and 4.10, respectively, indicating relatively a thin difference between the gender groups. However, it can be argued that the male group showed comparatively higher resistance to the NEP 2020 reforms than the female group. Moreover, to designate

the slight difference between the groups, the former falls within the medium resistance segment while the latter falls within the moderate resistance zone. It can also be noted from Table 32 that while five male participants showed total resistance, no female participants demonstrated the same level.

The NEP 2020 Familiarity-based Resistance Disposition

In the demographics of the sample population, the survey participants identified themselves under five categories of their familiarity with the NEP 2020. Table 33 below demonstrates the participants' familiarity level with their corresponding number and the assigned weight to assess the weighted mean of each group.

Table 33

India's National Education Policy 2020 Familiarity-Wise Distribution of Survey

Participants with their Corresponding Number and Weighted Mean Score (N=168)

Categories	Assigned Weight	Distribution of Participants				
		Unfamiliar	Basic	Moderate	Advanced	Expert
0 Zero Resistance	1		1	5	2	
1-10 Low Resistance	2		1	4	6	
11-40 Moderate Res.	3		10	13	12	1
41-60 Medium Res.	4	1	9	27	12	
61-90 High Resistance	5		7	27	15	5
91-99 Great Resistance	6		1	2	2	
100 Total Resistance	7			4	1	
Nos. x Individual Weight		4	110	335	192	28
Weighted Mean Score		4.00	3.79	4.09	3.84	4.67

Table 33 demonstrates the concentration of more participants within the three middle categories of the distribution band. It also reveals that the weighted mean score of the expert category is higher (4.67) than others which is a closer score toward high

resistance. The distribution table further shows that five out of six participants of the expert category were high resisters of the NEP 2020. However, those who identified themselves as having advanced knowledge of the NEP 2020 are distributed almost equally among the mid-segments of resistance, while among the participants of the moderate familiarity group, a more weightage is seen toward high resistance, especially with four on total resistance. Consequently, it can be assumed that the participants' NEP 2020 familiarity level was not a critical factor in determining the resistance level.

Religion-wise Resistance Disposition

The participants' demographic information also provided their religious affiliation or practicing faith. Participants identified themselves in eight categories including those who declined to mention their religion. Table 34 gives participants' religion-wise distribution within the seven resistance segments and the weighted mean score of each religious category.

Table 34

Religion-wise Distribution of India's National Education Policy 2020 Survey

Participants with their Corresponding Number and Weighted Mean Score (N=168)

Resistance Segments	Weight	Hinduism	Catholicism	Non-Catholic Christianity	Atheism	Islamism	Omnism	Sikhism	Declined	Jainism
0 Zero Resistance	1	5	2		1					
1-10 Low Res.	2	8		1	1					1
11-40 Mod. Res.	3	27	6	1		1		1		
41-60 Med. Res.	4	23	15	5	2	2	2			
61-90 High Res.	5	31	15	5		1		1	1	
91-99 Great Res.	6	1	1		3					
100 - Total Res.	7	3	2							
Total		98	41	11	7	4	2	2	1	1
Weighted Category Score		376	175	50	29	16	8	8	5	2
Weighted Mean Score		3.84	4.27	4.55	4.14	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	2.00

As Table 34 discloses, the weighted mean score of all religious categories, except those who declined to declare her/his religious faith and belonged to Jainism, remained under the medium resistance to the NEP 2020. Although all the participants were from the Catholic higher education institutions of the Jesuits in India, on the resistance scale to the NEP 2020, all groups were in the same class of resistance with relatively minor differences. While the Catholics had 4.27 weighted mean resistance, Hindus had 3.84 weighted mean resistance within the medium and moderate resistance segments. In the extreme segments, while five Hindus and two Catholics totally accepted the NEP 2020 reforms, three Hindus and two Catholics totally resisted the reforms. As a result, the sample population indicated that religion was not a crucial factor in resistance to the NEP 2020 reforms.

North-South Resistance Disposition

The demographics of this study had information about the participants' institutional location. Accordingly, of 168 participants, 131 (78 percent) and 37 (22 percent) were from the North and South of India, respectively. Table 35 presents the distribution of participants between the north and south of India and their corresponding level of resistance to the NEP 2020 discourses.

Table 35

North-South Distribution of India's National Education Policy 2020 Survey Participants with their Corresponding Number and Weighted Mean Score (N=168)

Resistance Segments	Assigned Weight	Participants North	Weighted Score	Participants South	Weighted Score
0 Zero Resistance	1	6	6	2	2
1-10 Low Resistance	2	10	20	1	2
11-40 Moderate Res.	3	30	90	6	18
41-60 Medium Res.	4	37	148	12	48
61-90 High Res.	5	42	210	12	60
91-99 Great Res.	6	4	24	1	6
100 Total Resistance	7	2	14	3	21
Total		131	512	37	157
Weighted Mean Score		3.91		4.24	

As Table 35 indicates, the weighted mean of participants from the south (4.24) is relatively higher than those from the north (3.91). While the participants from the north indicated moderate resistance to the NEP 2020, those from the south were within the medium resistance segment. However, three out of 37 from the south and two out of 131 from the north showed total resistance. In contrast, six from the north and two from the south showed zero resistance. However, it can be argued that the resistance level between

participants from north and south showed relatively the same with a minor degree of contrast.

Experience-based Resistance Disposition Analysis

The participants' demographic information provided the data regarding their years of service in Jesuit higher education. This research examined how the number of years of experience reflected the participants' reaction to the NEP 2020 discourses. It was expected that if the participants became more resistant or compliant as they progressed in their years of service, it could indicate a general trend of faculty reaction. Table 36 displays the distribution of participants' year-wise classification and their resistance disposition within the seven segments.

Table 36

Distribution of the Survey Participants According to Their Years of Service and the Corresponding Segment of Resistance toward India's National Education Policy 2020 (N=168)

Resistance Segment	Assigned Weight	Up to 5 years	6 to 10 years	11 to 15 years	16 to 20 years	Above 20 years
0 Zero Resistance	1	4	2		1	1
1-10 Low Resistance	2	7	2		1	1
11-40 Moderate Res.	3	12	12	2	1	9
41-60 Medium Res.	4	16	10	8	6	9
61-90 High Res.	5	10	15	11	3	15
91-99 Great Res.	6	1	1	2	1	
100 Total Resistance	7	3	1	1		
Total		53	43	24	13	35
Total Weighted Score		195	170	112	51	141
Weighted Mean Score		3.68	3.95	4.67	3.92	4.03

As Table 36 shows, nearly a third of participants (53 or 32 percent) were beginners in the career having five or fewer years of service. While the beginners

indicated the lowest resistance level with a weighted mean score of 3.68, the score is relatively higher when the number of years increases. However, the faculty members with service years between 11 and 15 showed the highest resistance score with a weighted mean of 4.67. Their score appeared closer to the high resistance segment. The faculty members having experience of 20 or more years also showed comparatively higher resistance with a weighted mean of 4.05. However, all groups that remained within the moderate or medium resistance segments indicated less influence of the number of years on policy resistance.

In summary, it emerges that while the participants' scaled resistance marked around the midpoint on the scale of zero to 100, their justification statements revealed a higher volume of resistance. However, this study had no tool to measure this apparent difference.

Markedly, the participants' demographic background was not influential in their resistance disposition. However, from the analysis and discussion, a dominant discourse strategy of democratic principles of higher education emerged from the references and the argumentations proposed by the survey participants. Furthermore, the additional argumentations perspectivized and intensified the discourses of resistance to the NEP 2020 and the democratic foundations of Indian education embedded in the survey responses.

Findings for Research Question 3

Research Question 3

What are the variant discourses emerging from faculty?

As evident from the research question, there was no dedicated survey question integrated into the questionnaire to answer this research's third question. Therefore, the researcher had to explore through the response data to extract the explicit and implicit discourses embedded in the faculty responses. As a result of critical engagement with the response data, the following discourses were powerfully emerging.

Democratic and Secular Foundations of Indian Education

A recurring and powerful NEP 2020 theme in the text was about the foundations of Indian education. It asserted in different ways that India had a solid foundation and tradition of multidisciplinary and holistic higher education in the ancient past that had been lost. However, the NEP 2020 text does not clarify the reasons or the process of losing ancient glory. Instead, a robust discourse of re-casting Indian education on the ancient Indian system was found integral to the NEP 2020 text in the textual analysis. Therefore, the NEP 2020 text emphatically asserts a restoration discourse by claiming that ancient Indian tradition had the subtle elements of the 21st-century skill-based education followed by the contemporary developed knowledge economies.

While the NEP 2020 text sourced its inspiration from the ancient Indian references, in sharp contrast, the survey respondents sourced their inspiration of Indian education from the democratic and secular foundations provided by the educators and visionaries of postcolonial India. To cite, participant No. 77 reacted: "Ancient models are too backward looking (traditional and conservative), [while] other contemporary

capitalist-driven models are too individualistic, neoliberal, and right-wing. We need something which is modern, yet culturally and financially inclusive, accessible, and democratically oriented." Critical perspectives of "narrow nationalism," and "regressive ideology" were repeated in the response data.

Furthermore, as the analysis of the inspirational sources referred by the survey respondents disclosed, the weighted score for the references related to postcolonial Indian democracy and education was 402 out of 850. An overwhelming assertion of names that signify Indian democratic history can be considered organic and spontaneous to India's contemporary consciousness, while excluding such a reference by the NEP 2020 text can be intentional. Therefore, consistent with the analysis, it can be argued that a clear majority of the survey responses asserted authoritatively that Indian education, significantly higher education, is not to be re-founded on the ancient tradition. Instead, it should continue to build on the democratic and secular ethos of India's modernity.

Pride in Current Indian Institutions of Higher Education

When asked to name the inspirational models for Indian education, the survey respondents referred to various premier Indian higher education institutions, gaining a weighted score of 146. It was the second-highest category of names indicated by the survey participants after the individuals' names. The analysis revealed emphatically that the volume of the current institutional names was almost two times more than the weighted score gained by the ancient institutions (75) referred to by the NEP 2020.

To substantiate their assertion of India's current premier institutions as models, some participants insisted on focusing on the organic development of culture and education. For example, participant No. 42 stated: "India needs her own model of

progress, which could learn important lessons from open-source movement, open education and the likes rather than copying parts randomly from various cultures which have their own evolutionary track[s].” The extraction and coding of the response data reveal the participants’ confidence in and conviction about evolving Indian educational trajectory, especially after the Independence in 1947.

Consequently, the emerging variant discourse contrasted with the NEP 2020 emphasis on pride and rootedness in ancient India's institutions. Therefore, consistent with the analysis, it emerges that while the NEP 2020 text ingrained a robust discourse of "a rootedness and pride in India, and its rich, diverse, ancient and modern culture and knowledge systems and traditions” (MHRD, 2020, p. 6), the response data emphasized the source of India’s pride and rootedness to the modern and democratic institutional culture represented by the referenced institutions of contemporary India.

Promoting India’s Vibrant Diversity

Another variant and powerful discourse that emerged from the survey responses is an insistence and acknowledgment of India's multicultural diversity. When 168 survey participants proposed one to three names that they thought were inspirational to Indian education, 397 emerged. The names were of the individuals and institutions from within and outside India, various nation-states, ideologies, and several other uncategorized titles. The rich diversity of names represented India's multiple cultures, languages, religions, historical settings, geographies, and more.

In articulating their reactions, the survey participants emphasized the felt diversity of India that has been ignored or backgrounded by the NEP 2020 text. To illustrate, participant No. 99 criticized that “there is a tendency to centralize [power] (stresses the

central govt's role [*sic*]); [the NEP 2020] lacks acceptance of diversity (does not mention the rich plural tradition of India or the contribution of the minorities)." The same participant further noted that the NEP 2020 "tends to view culture in a monolithic Brahmanical manner" that eliminates diverse views of the cultural fabric.

Consequently, the survey responses' diversity in the proposed names contrasted sharply with the inspirational and aspirational NEP 2020 references. As the discourse historical analysis (DHA) revealed in this chapter, the NEP 2020-referred names of 18 individuals and four institutions emerged chiefly from a homogenous culture, language, religious background, and historical time. The analysis also disclosed that all the references, except Thiruvalluvar's, belonged to the dominant class of social hierarchization. Thus, in coherence with the analysis, it can be argued that while the survey data embraced the rich diversity of India, the NEP 2020 discourse strategy denied it by proposing homogenous and dominant references.

Building India's Future on a Historical Continuum

According to the discourse historical analysis (DHA) method proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the referential discourse strategies are crucial in determining the strategies of predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification, and mitigation. What names or titles do the speakers use to define or determine the discourse strategies. In the analysis of the names proposed by the survey participants, it became apparent that those names and titles belonged to different historical times. For example, the participants referred to Savitri Phule, a prominent woman educator and social reformer of 19th century British India and A.P.J. Abdul Kalam of 21st century democratic India.

Furthermore, references to the names that represented various historical periods were intrinsically integrated with their specific historical conditions and contributions. In other words, the persons or institutions found inspirational to the future Indian education were also integrated with their specificity in history. For example, it can be argued that the survey participants suggested that Savitri Phule emphasized the significance of women's education in present India (Tschurenev & Mhaskar, 2021). Since the survey included various names that gathered past and present Indian history toward the future, a robust discourse based on historical continuity emerges.

Some participants clearly articulated the relevance of this argument. For example, participant No. 224 stated:

Most of the clauses in [the] NEP [2020] seems inappropriate to the present academic situation [of] India. A total washout of the older systems of education is something unacceptable as we have apprehensions about the implementation of the new education policy. It also tries to take away the power of the state governments in terms of its control over the school education system which was successfully implemented over decades [*sic*].

Another participant (No. 195) also commented on the necessity of blending the old and new harmoniously by observing that “there is [an] over emphasis of going back to tradition instead of being rational to [create] a balance [between the] new and old system.” Thus, the names proposed by the survey participants contradict the NEP 2020 discourse strategy of erasing history and building education on ancient antiquity. Instead, the survey participants refer to names that organize Indian history on a continuum.

Confronting the Political Motivations of the Education Policy

One of the major criticisms that emerged from the survey responses was the NEP 2020's political motivations. As the analysis and discussion of the argumentation strategies of the response data revealed, various concerns over the problematics of the NEP 2020 implementation created a strong resistance potential. For example, the survey participants' perceptions expressed a lack of trust in the present regime; criticized the undemocratic trends in the NEP 2020 discourses; carried the fear of an agenda of saffronizing Indian education; were apprehensive about the NEP 2020's discriminatory and harmful approach to religious minorities; perceived a hasty and unprepared policy reform step; exposed the NEP 2020 neoliberal trends; and expressed their apprehensions over an approach favoring dominant social classes.

To cite an example, participant No. 196 stated: "I think that the Policy [NEP 2020] has not been based on a complete understanding of contemporary society and its needs. It grows out of an ideological need of a certain political group and does not allow [any space] for self-reflection." Participant No. 112, who registered total resistance to the NEP 2020, stated: "it [the NEP 2020] is ultimately [designed] to meet the vested interest of the regime [and] so [it is] totally unacceptable." Many participants have stated the underlying political orientations and motivations of the NEP 2020 text in manifold ways in their responses.

Analysis of the argumentation strategies of the response data further revealed that the responses were dominated by critical observations and concerns over the NEP 2020 reforms. To illustrate, out of 317 reasons extracted from the justifications for resistance, while 83 reasons (26 percent) supported the NEP 2020 reforms, close to three-quarters of

the reasons (234 in number) were critical of the NEP 2020. In addition, the analysis of the argumentations demonstrated clearly that the participants perceived the nationalist political discourses embedded in the NEP 2020 reform prescriptions.

Recognition for Christian Contributions to Indian Education

A particular category emerged from the response data of names: global Jesuit references. The survey participants named individual Jesuits, Jesuit institutions of higher education in India and abroad, and some indicators that represented Jesuit education ideals. Although the participants were biased from Jesuit institutions, they suggested several other names that belonged to different categories and representations. Consequently, it can be analyzed as an intentional acknowledgment of Christian contributions, especially of the Jesuits, in Indian education.

For example, participant No. 109 opined that “first of all, we need to acknowledge the contribution made by the Christian educational institutions.” Furthermore, participant No. 131 asserted that “India includes myriad languages, cultures and socioeconomic groups. A one-size-fits-all approach does not account for minority and marginalized groups and the challenges they face in higher education and its access.” Several participants who acknowledged the Christian educators and the missionary initiatives by proposing their names indicated an insistent message of integrating Christian contributions and values to Indian education.

In contrast, there were no references to Christian or any other minority communities in the NEP 2020 discourses. The absence of such references in the NEP 2020 was contrasted with the scholarship evidence for Christian contributions in Indian higher education (Castelló-Climent et al., 2018; Clarence et al., 2019; Heredia, 1995;

Pinto, 2014). In the analysis earlier, it was identified and argued as the NEP 2020's mitigation discourse strategy. Consequently, consistent with the analysis and the data provided by the responses, it becomes explicit that the survey respondents recognized and acknowledged the Christian, especially the Jesuit, contributions to Indian education. Thus, according to the survey data, Indian education should draw its inspiration from the Christian and Jesuit models.

Emerging Space of Subjective Resistance

This study was motivated by a search for teachers' resistance potential in the education policy spaces. The researcher drew inspiration from scholarship that asserted the resistance potential available at the subjective spaces of quotidian counter acts of teacher responses in policy contexts (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). As a result, in exploring the data with the second and third research questions, the researcher had an implicit task of discerning the expressions of resistance ingrained in responses. The response data's extraction, coding, and thematic organization indicated a proportionately higher volume of themes against the NEP 2020 discourses.

Furthermore, analysis of the resistance scale indications revealed that 38 percent of the survey participants resisted the NEP 2020 reforms above the medium level indicating high, great, and total resistance levels. To substantiate the resistance potential of teachers' subjectivity, the verbalizations of the participants' resistance pointed more toward reasons to resist than to support. For example, participant No. 113 resisted the NEP 2020 for its elision of critical thinking in education to demonstrate a few examples. The same participant adds: "I believe that NEP 2020 is all about painting with broad-

brush strokes, which in our case, that is social science, frowned upon. I do not think there is much scope of cultivating critical thinking if the NEP 2020 is adopted."

To cite another illustration of expression of resistance, participant No. 104 states:

In the case of the NEP 2020, the agenda is so glaring that it obfuscates any materially useful outcomes. The decolonization project in this case has turned into a xenophilic one – a slippery slope to a nation of rigid followers with zero original thought, in my opinion.

On similar lines, most of the survey participants had some points to disagree with the NEP 2020. However, the vast disparity between the reasons for justification of the personal disposition toward the NEP 2020 revealed that.

Thus, the analysis indicated the immense potential available at the participants' subjective spaces and the power in articulating the discourse strategies of nomination, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation. However, while the faculty m expressed their resistance power in reasoning and justifying their perceptions, they were found hesitant to identify themselves on the higher side on a digitally verifiable resistant scale. In other words, the survey participants were expressing their subjective resistance in verbalizations rather than on a digitally measurable scale of resistance.

To illustrate, one of the participants (No. 110), while placing disposition level at 62 on the resistance scale, wrote: "Although the NEP 2020 looks and sounds good, many ideas are unrealistic, and there seems to be an overdose of nationalism and too much focus on traditional mode which seems to have a hidden agenda of Hindutva." Thus, the articulation of resistance was more potent than on a scaled format. In short, the responses provided rich and thick data to confirm that faculties' responses had substantial resistance

potential when they articulated their concerns, conflicts, protests, and apprehensions about the NEP 2020 reforms.

Chapter Summary

Substantially drawn from the analysis of the textual data of India's NEP 2020 discourses and the analysis of the faculty survey responses from the Jesuit higher education institutions of India, three research questions of this study were answered. First, the analysis revealed that the NEP 2020 text was dominated by a higher education discourse of restoring and re-founding an ancient Indian tradition to transform India's future to the 21st-century knowledge society modeled by the world's developed economies. It was revealed in the analysis that all the NEP 2020 prescriptions of reforms were justified, perspectivized, intensified, and mitigated on an overarching discourse strategy of inspiration from ancient India's tradition and an aspiration toward 21st-century neoliberal marketization of higher education.

However, the analysis of the response data of the faculties of Jesuit higher education institutions of India exposed counter-discourses to the NEP 2020's dominant themes. The analysis of the survey responses revealed the democratic and secular ideals of education founded on India's rich diversity and historical continuity. The study also revealed that the faculty members' subjective responses to policy discourses are also a space for resistance potential powerfully articulated by the survey participants. The next chapter will explore the future orientations and recommendations emerging from this study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter of the study presents a summary and some significant conclusions drawn from the data analysis and discussions of the previous chapters. It begins with summarizing the overview of the research problem, purpose of the study, and methodology. Next, a discussion of the implications on current literature and some significant unanticipated outcomes are followed. Finally, the chapter's conclusions suggest the study's broader and discipline-specific implications and relevant recommendations for future research.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to analyze the dominant discourses that framed India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020's higher education vision and to examine the responses of faculty members of Jesuit higher education institutions to such discourses. Supported by critical scholarship, this study employed a combined three theoretical lenses. First, a discourse historical analysis (DHA) frame proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) to extract the discourse strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification or mitigation. It was enhanced by critique of neoliberalism frame suggested by Zepke (2017) that helped to recognize the structuring neoliberal principles in the NEP 2020's discourses. Finally, a resistance frame as care for subjectivity theorized by Ball and Olmedo (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013) was integrated to discern from the survey participants' responses, their subjective disposition, and the dynamics of adoption, adaption, or rejection of the NEP 2020 discourses.

When this methodological tool was adopted to analyze the NEP 2020 text, the names referred to as authorizing and legitimizing its discourses were identified and critically examined. It was followed by an extraction and analysis of the discourse strategies of predications, justifications, organizing viewpoints, amplifications, and erasures employed in the text. Consequently, the analysis revealed the hidden discourses that posited and legitimized the NEP 2020's higher education vision and the various implicit issues intrinsic to those discourse strategies. At the next level, the data collected from online qualitative survey responses of 168 faculty members from 22 Jesuit higher education institutions in India were analyzed.

The survey sought to collect the participants' relevant demographic details and responses to the following perspectivizations: higher education as a means for the individualized prosperity and privilege; as a praxis for restoring an ancient Indian heritage; as an economic project of neoliberal marketization; and as a public responsibility for social transformation and democratic citizenship. Further, the survey sought the participants to suggest names that they considered inspirational for Indian education. Since the analysis of the NEP 2020 text demonstrated that its discourses were legitimized and authorized by its references to the ancient Indian names and the neoliberal economies, it was crucial to seek what names the survey participants would suggest for legitimizing Indian education policy.

Finally, the survey gathered the participants' disposition to the NEP 2020 reforms and their defenses. Consequently, the analysis revealed how the NEP 2020 was felt at the implementation sites facilitating the researcher to discern the spaces of resistance in the limited space of Jesuit higher education institutions.

Synopsis of the Major Findings

The analysis of the NEP 2020's textual discourses revealed that its higher education vision was founded on restoring an ancient tradition of India's education to achieve the aspirational goal of making India the 21st-century economic superpower like the developed world economies. In conformity with scholarship, the analysis demonstrated that the NEP 2020 references were exclusive to the institutional and individual representation of a homogenous idea of ancient India that thrived in a Sanskrit-governed, Brahminic, and elitist supremacy on the one hand and a neoliberalized capitalist Western economies on the other (Anand, 2011; Chatterjee, 2010; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007). Further, when the analysis exposed the Hindu nationalist hidden political project of a Hindu nation, it demonstrates the dinosaur of neofascism coming alive.

For example, the analysis showed that the NEP 2020's underlying discourse strategies to restore an ancient Indian tradition were framed and legitimized by its exclusive references to four ancient Brahminic and Buddhist centers of education such as Thakshasila and Nalanda and 18 ancient individuals. They represented a Sanskritized, Brahminic, and elitist educational model. Similarly, as the analysis revealed, the neoliberal economies such as the United States, Germany, and Israel were referenced to frame and legitimize the creation of a 21st-century knowledge society based on technology and skill-development education. Consequently, consistent with the analysis, it can be concluded that the NEP 2020 discourses conceal the dangerous collusion of a religiously defined political majoritarianism with neoliberal capitalism producing a neofascist structure that destabilizes democracy (Bhatty & Sundar, 2020; Framke, 2016; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019; Poruthiyil, 2021).

Further, according to the scholarship, the neoliberal discourses impact and interfere with local cultures and nationalism in coercive and subtle ways (Adhikary & Lingard, 2019; Artuc et al., 2015; Chacko, 2019; Chatterjee, 2010; Mangla, 2018). They present higher education policy as the most efficient means to national economic progress, skill-based education producing human capital, institutional autonomy and freedom for efficiency, centralized regulation, choice-based opportunities, knowledge society creation, and individualized private prospects. Consistent with the scholarship, the analysis of this study revealed how those, as mentioned earlier neoliberal capitalist interests were ingrained into the NEP 2020's discourses of Hindu nationalism framing the restoration of an ancient Indian tradition and heritage. Consequently, the NEP 2020's discourse strategies protect the interests of the economically powerful and socially elite castes facilitated by the neoliberalized Hindu nationalist government.

The NEP 2020 text adopted an erasure strategy of suppressing references to democratic education that conceals its implicit contradictions, inequalities, tensions, and conflicts. Consequently, the policy unaddressed the local contexts' geographical, social, linguistic, religious, and cultural diversities. For example, the NEP 2020 referenced no institutions or individuals related to the historical period after the 14th century that modeled its educational frame. Thus, as the literature and the analysis revealed, the NEP 2020 references were exclusive to the representations of an imagined homogenous idea of an ancient India governed by a Sanskrit-based, Brahminic, and elitist supremacy on the one hand and the other the neoliberal capitalist economies of the West (Anand, 2011; Chatterjee, 2010; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007).

Further, the analysis demonstrated a robust discourse of India's superiority based on three "ancient India" predications: heritage, holistic and multidisciplinary education, and "Vishwa Guru" (universal teacher). Analysis of the argumentation strategies revealed that the NEP 2020 justified and reinforced the references to ancient Indian names, superiority created by such names, and a need to restore such a tradition. As the perspectivization strategy, the analysis uncovered a discourse of inspiration attached to the ancient Indian references and predications.

Additionally, by engaging the DHA technique of exploring the intensification or mitigation discourse strategies, the analysis unmasked what the NEP 2020 text concealed with its amplification of ancient India-based discourses. While the NEP 2020 text emphasized a discourse of restoring an ancient Indian educational heritage to make India the world's superpower, it erased India's recent history, institutional names responsible for educating India, and the leaders who brought to light the idea of a secular, democratic, and pluralistic India.

Moreover, the contemporary references-related discourse strategy analyses revealed how the NEP 2020's references to five nation-states and the UN document legitimized a 21st-century technology-centered vision of neoliberal education. The NEP 2020 textual strategies supported the discourses of quality, knowledge society, 21st-century education, neoliberal principles, and aspirational perspectivization. The analysis further revealed that there were no references to any contemporary Indian names.

In sharp contrast, the analysis of the online survey data received from 168 faculty members of Jesuit higher education institutions revealed discourses opposed to the NEP 2020 direction. The survey data presented an overwhelming proportion of references to

individuals and institutions that represented the making of contemporary India. Although the NEP 2020's ancient Indian references were also found in the survey data (29 references with a weighted score of 75), the analysis demonstrated their vast and contrasting proportion with 397 names with a weighted average of 850. Moreover, the survey-proposed names emerged from India's postcolonial democracy, premier higher education institutions, historical continuity, and Christian missionary education, especially the contributions of Jesuits.

Although Jesuit educational references were not unexpected in this survey, the participants' acknowledgment and underscoring of the global Jesuit higher education model was prominent. Such references were significant for Indian higher education that follows the Western model, predominantly introduced by the Jesuits in Europe and by Christian missionaries globally. Those references were also significant because they came from a group familiar with the Jesuit educational ideals and practices.

Furthermore, the Jesuit institution faculty survey responses demonstrated a powerful expression of resistance, producing various critical discourses. They problematized the NEP 2020's conceptualization and implementation contexts. For example, survey analysis revealed that 17 percent of participants challenged the NEP 2020's hidden political conceptualization of saffronizing education. Although this criticism sounded weak, with a relatively small percentage articulating it, it appears robust when it is read against the literature survey of this study which emphatically indicates how saffronization of education had been a major criticism against the Hindu nationalist regimes.

Markedly, 32 percent of survey participants were critical of the NEP 2020's unrealistic implementation strategies without adequate resources and political will for actualizing the same. This critique stood out as the survey participants' most prominent critique against the NEP 2020. In addition, the survey data underscored the relevance of a secular, pluralistic, democratic, and critical education against the monolithic, Sanskrit-dominated, and narrowly nationalistic education ideals proposed by the NEP 2020. In short, the response data articulated the participants' subjective resistance to the NEP 2020 discourses indicating a potential for challenging the NEP 2020 discourses.

An apparent difference between the survey participants' responses to the scaled and open-ended survey questions had some unanticipated results. Analysis of the scaled resistance, indicated on a zero-100 scale, and the justifications to an open-ended question, explaining their subjective dispositions, demonstrated a difference in their intensities. To illustrate, the weighted average of the survey participants' resistance was 3.98 on a seven-segment scale, reflecting a moderate resistance level between 11 and 40 on the zero-100 scale. Moreover, the participants' segmented break-up indicated that half of them remained within the level of moderate and medium resistance.

However, the responses to the open-ended questions that justified their disposition toward the NEP 2020 appeared voluminous large. While 74 percent of the survey participants endorsed the eight themes that registered resistance and protest toward the NEP 2020, only 26 percent had endorsed the five favorable themes. However, this research had no analytical tool or convincing internal evidence from the data to measure or explain this disparity. It appeared that the survey participants felt more comfortable expressing their open responses in words than on a resistance scale. Perhaps, some

possible indications necessitate more research. Of 247 faculty members of Jesuit institutions who attempted the survey, 79 left partially done, and some of them expressed an element of fear such as "I am scared to say," or "I don't want to write." Thus, the reasons for the disparity remained external to the data of this study.

When the names suggested by the survey participants were analyzed based on their weighted average, of the total score of 850 to represent the inspirational sources of Indian education, 402 (47 percent) represented the architects of postcolonial India. Those references suggested India's secular, democratic, and multicultural identity. Additionally, a weighted score of 146 (17 percent) represented contemporary India's premier higher education institutions. Together they constituted 64 percent of the weighted score. In contrast, the percentage on the weighted score for the names and institutions of ancient India was only nine.

This contrast was significant for two reasons. First, it was expected that the majoritarian Hindu nationalist regime that dominates contemporary Indian politics would endorse its discourses in the survey responses. Secondly, since 78 percent of the participants were from the north Indian states, the heartland of the Hindu nationalist discourses, and 58 percent of the participants acknowledged their religion as Hindu, it was anticipated that the responses would reflect a profound influence of the NEP 2020-referred names. However, this contrast possibly indicated the presence of the secular, democratic, and multicultural values shared by the faculty members from the Jesuit institutions.

Similarly, while seeking the survey participants' religious identities as part of the demographics, it was anticipated that those belonged to the Christian minorities will

indicate high resistance level on the scaled resistance to the NEP 2020 reforms compared to their Hindu counterparts. However, the weighted average resistance score of the Hindu participants showed high moderate resistance level on a seven-segmented resistance scale (3.84) while participants from the Christian minorities registered medium resistance level (4.27 by Catholics and 4.55 by non-Catholic Christians). Consequently, an anticipation that the participants' religious affiliation might significantly influence and determine their resistance level to the NEP 2020 reforms was surprisingly proved wrong, with the results indicating their closeness in resistance levels.

Implications on Current Literature

As the literature review indicates, critical scholars enter the policy's textual contexts with questions that explore: who wins and who loses; who benefits and who does not; what the policy says and what it is silent about; and whose voices are included and whose are excluded (Diem et al., 2014). In other words, the critical discourse scholarship problematized the dynamics of power and domination in the policy construction and implementation spaces (Bacchi, 2000). In contrast, this study entered the policy's textual field with the DHA tool of exploring the references or nomination categories that the policymakers had employed to authorize and legitimize their recommendations. It was followed by exploring other discourse strategies suggested by the DHA method. Consequently, the DHA approach enabled the analysis to identify and explore the discourse strategies that reinforced or disrupted power structures.

Academically, this study offers an answer to the critical scholars' quest for a subjective space for policy challenge and resistance (Bacchi, 2000; Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). As Bacchi (2000) observed, critical analysts failed to open a policy

challenge space because of “an overemphasis on the constraints imposed by discourse/s and a tendency to concentrate upon some groups, those described as ‘having’ power, as the makers and users of discourse” (p. 55). Some discourse theorists have attempted to address this by analyzing resistance in protesting actions such as resignation (Dunn, 2018; Dunn et al., 2017). Markedly, this study revealed that while 74 percent of the survey participants shared justification themes of concerns and resistance to register their disposition toward the NEP 2020 reform discourses, only 26 percent of the participants shared supportive themes. Similarly, while 62 percent of the themes were critical of the NEP 2020, only 38 percent were favorable.

The resistance themes opened a spectrum of resistance spaces: they problematized various concerns related to the NEP 2020 implementation; criticized the NEP 2020's undemocratic orientations; disagreed with the hastiness and unpreparedness in its formulation and dissemination; protested a perceived politically driven saffronization agenda of the NEP 2020; feared implicit discrimination of the marginalized and the minority communities; perceived a regressive reform direction; resisted a neoliberalizing reform move; and objected to a step toward reinstating elitism in higher education. Thus, as the survey analysis revealed, an opportunity to verbalize the subjective responses to the policy possibly opened a collective space of subjectivities for policy challenge and resistance.

Pointedly, the critical literature on neoliberalism reveals that the national education policies across the contemporary world are dominated and governed by neoliberal principles (Blanco Ramírez, 2014; Dicker et al., 2019; Lewin-Jones, 2019; Romainville, 1999; Sarakinoti & Philippou, 2020; Vettori, 2018; Vidovich, 2001).

Scholarship illustrates "quality," originating from the industrial background, as an overtly conspicuous term in contemporary higher education policies. It has been employed to eulogize global standards approach and assessment measures in higher education (Artuc et al., 2015; Ball, 2015b; Giroux, 2005a; Kallo & Semchenko, 2016). However, confirming the critical scholars' argument, this study also demonstrated that the overtly used term "quality" in the NEP 2020 text played out as a vehicle of neoliberalism. "Quality" in the NEP 2020 text represented its aspired knowledge society goal and neoliberal higher education marketization model.

The analysis of this study uncovered a substantial ground of Hindu nationalist orientations in the NEP 2020's selective references. These orientations confirmed the arguments in the literature that Hindu nationalism, founded on the Hindutva discourses, had been a politically constructed project toward realizing a Hindu nation but democratically resisted (Anand, 2011; Doniger, 2009, 2015; Jaffrelot, 1999, 2007; Mitra, 2013; Panikkar, 1997, 2011; Subramaniam, 2019). To cite an example, although saffronizing education was not the most prominent challenge of the survey participants, the theme is significant as it has been consistently confronted by democratic resistance and secular protest in history (Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Bhatia, 2020; Gohain, 2002; Hansen, 1999). Thus, consistent with the literature, the survey analysis also revealed the participants' apprehensions about the narrowly defined Hindu nationalism in framing the NEP 2020 discourses.

Methodologically, critical scholarship approaches policy studies with the theories framed either by structuralism or post-structuralism. While structuralism problematizes the policy discourses that stabilize and reinforce the preexisting power structures or

hegemonic structural relationships, post-structuralism problematizes the policy discourses that fluidify power by facilitating the privileged disciplines of knowledge to determine hegemony and social domination (Anderson & Holloway, 2020). When the discourse historical approach (DHA) proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) was adopted, this study revealed that the NEP 2020 discourses do both these functions.

Consequently, the findings of this study exposed that the NEP 2020's discourse strategies implicitly and simultaneously reinforce the preexisting caste-based dominant power structures and disrupt power by creating new knowledge-based relations of control. In other words, on the one hand, the NEP 2020's restoration discourses, based on ancient Indian tradition, implicitly reinstate and reinforce a Sanskritized Brahminic model of casteist social hierarchy. On the other, the NEP 2020 disrupts the existing democratic education by promoting a knowledge economy model based on the technology-driven neoliberal 21st-century education. Similarly, this study also uncovered the NEP 2020's mitigation strategy of erasure that vanished the Christian missionary contributions from India's higher education discourses and created new power relations based on private and philanthropic institutional structures.

Noticeably, this study makes a novel methodological contribution to the education policy scholarship by employing the DHA tool for analysis. As a result, identifying and problematizing names that authorize and legitimize the policy propositions opens the methodological path to explore the discourse strategies. As this study demonstrated, such an analysis can yield significant critical insights into the hidden discourses of policy formulation and its vision. Thus, adopting the DHA method or similar critical discourse frameworks analyzing racism could be a methodical tool for education policy analysis.

Significantly, this study also contributed to the research scholarship on the critical discourse studies by analyzing India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020. The literature surveyed did not demonstrate any study analyzing the NEP 2020 discourses. Therefore, this study could be considered one of the first attempts to analyze the NEP 2020 discourses.

Markedly, this study used an online qualitative survey method to collect the higher education faculty members' responses and reactions, primarily necessitated by the Covid 19 pandemic-related constraints and limitations. The results indicated the efficacy of the online qualitative survey method by providing comprehensive qualitative data for analysis. At the same time, the literature survey indicated that the scholars analyzing education policies adopted other qualitative data collection methods such as personal and focus group interviews, case studies, grounded theory, participatory methods, and study of letters, documents, or written responses (Bracho, 2019; Burman et al., 2017; Courtney, 2017; Fischman et al., 2019; Mulimbi & Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Sanders, 2019). Alternatively, this study opened the possibility of employing an online qualitative survey method for data collection.

Conclusions

The analyses and findings of this study precipitate some obvious and pertinent questions. Why did the 21st century India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 frame education on an overarching and emphatic restoration discourse of an ancient Indian tradition? Why didn't the NEP 2020 text refer to the leaders, institutions, or principles responsible for creating the world's largest secular, multireligious, diverse, and democratic republic? Why did the NEP 2020 makers completely negate any references to

the names of the agencies and institutions that constructed modern India's educational trajectory from the text? Moreover, why did the NEP 2020 text trumpet the higher education reforms as a globally oriented economic project? These questions throw light on the hidden elephant in the NEP 2020 room.

The political hegemony that precipitates the NEP 2020 discourses reveals the hidden elephant. As the literature survey exposed, India's contemporary political context is dominated by a historically evolved regressive Hindu nationalism (Clarence et al., 2019; Sosa, 2019). The Hindu reformist movements from the 19th century politically promoted a Hindu nation project of reinventing and revitalizing an imaginary ancient Hindu golden age. Scholarship further argued that the idea of a preexistent Hindu nation emerged from the western orientalist's invention of a glorious ancient Hindu civilization as existed before the 13th-century invasion of Muslim rulers and subsequent European colonization.

Thus, for the Hindu reformists, freeing India from the British was a political project of restoring an ancient Hindu nation. Although the restoration move had preceded Mahatma Gandhi-led India's massive freedom movement of the 20th century, the postcolonial political contestations caused the emergence of India's secular and socialist ideas as the electoral choice of the people of India over the Hindu nation. Meanwhile, the political project of realizing the Hindu nation crystallized in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded by the Nagpur-based Hindu radical reformer Savarkar in 1925, continued its efforts on an adopted Nazi ideology of a militarized conquest. As a practical way, the RSS ideologues projected the Muslims, Christians, and Communists as the enemies to be eliminated from the restored Hindu nation.

With its political compromises, the RSS was raised to hegemonic power when the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), under the leadership of prime minister Narendra Modi gained electoral victory over the federal and several of the state governments. Consequently, as the scholarship revealed, the Hindu nationalist projections of the much contradicted and contested ethnicity-based nationalism, divisive schizophrenic nationalism, myth-based bionationalism, and the right-wing populism began overpowering Indian political discourses (Anand, 2011; Anderson & Jaffrelot, 2018; Jaffrelot, 1999; McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019; Subramaniam, 2019). However, all these contradictory nationalisms crystallized in one predication: an idea of an ancient Hindu nation that was India.

The analysis and findings of this study revealed the NEP 2020's foundations on a discourse of restoring an ancient Indian educational tradition. The textual analysis exposed the NEP 2020's discourse strategy of referring selectively and exclusively to the ancient institutional models such as Takshashila and Nalanda and individuals such as Charaka and Chanakya to represent the ancient glorious but lost tradition. The four institutional models represented the ancient centers of elitist, exclusive, and patriarchal Hindu and Buddhist religious training while the individuals represented the Sanskrit-based, Brahminic, elitist, and narrowly defined Hindu philosophy and culture.

The NEP 2020 discourses were emphatic and insistent on restoring the ancient past represented by these references. Thus, consistent with the analysis and the evidence from the scholarship, it can be concluded that the NEP 2020 discourses appeared more a political subtext of restoring a Hindu nation than an educational project for social transformation and democratic citizenship. In other words, the NEP 2020 discourses

concealed the elephant of a Hindu nationalists' political project of a Hindu nation which metamorphizes itself into a neofascist project.

The NEP 2020's discourse strategies above impact Indian education, especially higher education, in two significant ways. First, the restoration discourse strategy of reinstating an ancient Indian model promotes reestablishing and reinforcing a caste-based hierarchical social structure that denies democratic justice, equitable access, and rights, especially to the outcastes known as Dalits and the religious minorities in India. Furthermore, education would be transformed into a strategic tool for political and social domination by establishing a restored Hindu nationalistic ideal as normative. Secondly, the disruptive strategy of eulogizing the 21st century technology-based neoliberal educational scheme, the NEP 2020, posits the establishment of a knowledge society model determined by the power of privileged knowledge disciplines. Consequently, higher education would be redesigned as a vehicle of neoliberalism destabilizing democratic structures favor a capitalist takeover (Ball, 2015; Giroux, 2005, 2011; Zepke, 2017).

The analysis and findings of this study further revealed that the NEP 2020 text demonstrated its discourse power equally in what it posits and what it negates. As the discourse strategies exposed, the NEP 2020's ancient India-based references and predications posited its arguments, perspectives, and amplification of the hidden political project of a Hindu nation. Thus, the articulated discourses attempted to make the multidisciplinary, holistic, and high-quality elitist education that the text claimed as existent in antiquity and extinguished by unstated causes. Following a strategy of

repeated references and allusions to the exclusive ancient models, the NEP 2020 text appeared to create a euphoria of restoring the lost glory and pride through education.

At the same time, the analysis demonstrated the NEP 2020's erasure strategies that negated the secular and democratic foundations of postcolonial Indian education. It exposed how the NEP 2020 strategies made the multicultural and pluri-religious Indian reality invisible. The findings showed how the NEP 2020 was silent on geographic and ethnic diversity. Furthermore, it exposed how NEP 2020 mystified the contributions and existence of minority communities in India. In short, the discourse strategy of mitigation appeared a powerful tool intentionally employed by the NEP 2020 makers.

Consequently, the negation strategy reinforces three Hindu nationalist ideologies that emerged from this study. First, by negating India's secular and democratic foundations, the NEP 2020 reforms created and reinforced space for a caste-based social hierarchy to construct the restored Hindu nation. Second, it confirmed a right-wing populist political agenda of homogenizing India as the Hindu people and prioritizing a 'politically fabricated' Hindu religious majoritarianism over secular and pluralistic democracy, diversity, and a plurality (McDonnel & Cabrera, 2019).

Third, by the single stroke of erasing the contributions of Christian missionaries and other minorities and the centuries of modern Indian history, the NEP 2020 endorsed and reinforced the categories of enemies of the Hindu nation. This point merits further explanation. As the literature review indicates, Hindu nationalism, rooted in the Nazi ideology, nourishes itself by creating an enemy specter (Anand, 2011; Jaffrelot, 2007; Panikkar, 1997). In India, the Hindutva ideologues reify the categories of Muslims, Christians, and Communists as enemies of the Hindu nation.

The analysis and findings also revealed the neoliberal discourses around the NEP 2020's aspirational goal of making India a global superpower. However, a more profound and critical look into the findings exposes possibly the more unjust dimensions of the NEP 2020 discourses. By claiming that ancient Indian education had been the same as 21st-century skill-based education, the implicit discourse presumes that the restored Hindu nation will be the global superpower framed by the neoliberal times. However, consistent with the analysis of this study, it appears that the NEP 2020 discourses project the aspiration of an economic superpower created by the corporate model of higher education.

When this presumption is placed against the findings that emerged from the neoliberal critiques of this study, it suggests that the NEP 2020's imagination of higher education to make India a global superpower is the privilege of a minority. That minority should be the economically powerful, educationally meritorious, socially elitist, geographically privileged, and technologically advanced. Moreover, that minority is the same dominant social class in the traditional caste-based hierarchization of Indian society. Consequently, the NEP 2020-envisaged equity turns into a strategy to reinforce and fortify a stratified and unequal society with its espoused equal opportunities for the less privileged and marginalized majority. Thus, as the NEP 2020's subtext implicitly suggests, providing online and vocational education to the less privileged majority establishes educational justice and equity.

In sharp contrast, the survey responses analyzed in this study reveal the gravitation force of the democratic education ideals profoundly felt in the field. The massive volume of various names the survey participants shared acknowledged the

aspirations of economic and social justice, equity, access, diversity, and unique Indian goals of social transformation and democratic citizenship. Consequently, the survey analysis emphatically demonstrates an orientation toward democratic education ideals. Furthermore, the analysis and findings foreground a critical question about the receptivity of the NEP 2020 at the implementation contexts.

The disparity between the responses to the scaled and open-ended survey questions throws light on a significant resistance dimension felt at the subjectivity spaces of the survey participants from Jesuit institutions. It appears that many conversations were going on among the faculty members who participated in the survey expressing their apprehensions, mistrust, critiques, concerns, anxieties, fears, resistances, and protests, along with some appreciations about the NEP 2020 reforms. For example, articulations of the faculty members' resistance justification revealed a huge difference between resistance and acceptance themes. Of the 13 themes emerged justifying the respondents' disposition to the NEP 2020 discourses, 74 percent of the survey participants endorsed the resistance themes, against 26 percent who favored the acceptance themes. Further, the survey responses indicated that of 168 participants, 72 percent developed their familiarity with the NEP 2020 from conversing with their colleagues and from some other sources. Thus, the disparity between the scaled and open-ended responses possibly indicated that the conversations were more critical than favorable about the NEP 2020 reforms among the Jesuit institutional participants.

Additionally, the survey analysis revealed organic and counter-discourses emerging from the survey participants from Jesuit institutions. Such discourses prioritize the democratic vision of education, addressing the actual issues of communal diversity,

disparity, equity, and equality in access over the restoration of ancient India and making the nation an economic superpower. However, these themes are to be followed up by more studies.

The survey data appeared to fill a gap in the research on policy resistance. Critical discourse theorists and analysts have been criticized for creating no space for challenging policy discourses while the analyses problematized various policy issues (Bacchi, 2000). However, this study opened policy response as a space for challenge and resistance. It urges the researchers to let the stakeholders speak up their responses. The act of survey participation opened the subjective space of critical consideration, thinking, reflection, and evaluation before articulating the response. Moreover, the responses to the open-ended questions assumed a potential resistance power and a collective subjective space for policy challenge.

Moreover, this study opened another more expansive space for policy conversations. The internet age of technology and social media suggests a more practical and effective to gather the faculties' conversations through an online survey. The survey questions functioned as triggers for critical consideration of some of the NEP 2020 issues. They necessitated the responding subjects to reflect critically and responsibly articulate their reactions to the policy discourses. Since the survey offered open and private space, the responding subjects could confidently articulate their reactions. Thus, as this study revealed, the online survey opened a global space for responsible and critical reactions in policy implementation sites.

Finally, it appears significant to ask what this study suggested about the NEP 2020 directions on its implementation spaces. A disparity in the participants' responses to

scaled and open-ended questions suggests a valid clue. The analysis demonstrated that while the scaled resistance score indicated moderate and medium resistance, the justifications thereof by the open-ended responses revealed the participants' resistance high in volume and intensity. Although this study had no tool to measure and reason out the difference, it exposes a silent and hidden volcano in the NEP 2020's implementation spaces. While the NEP 2020 discourses suggest a hidden elephant of Hindu nationalism in the text, the survey responses suggest a hidden and eruptible volcano of resistance in the implementation sites. Thus, the policy direction that emerged from this study's cues suggested the policy challenges be adequately attended to and addressed by the responsible authorities.

Significant Implications on Indian Higher Education

As the findings revealed, this study unfolds how the NEP 2020 discourses recast India's higher education by the two dominant orientations: a political orientation of restoring India as a Hindu nation and an economic orientation of making India a neoliberal superpower. Moreover, scholarship suggests that religious nationalism's collusion with neoliberal capitalism creates neofascism which gains its ideological power from the German National Socialism and Italian Fascism (Bhatty & Sundar, 2020; Framke, 2016; Poruthiyil, 2021).

However, education being central to social transformation and democratic citizenship, some significant implications of this study directly address the policymakers, higher education leadership, religious minorities, educational scholars, the Jesuit leadership in India. For the NEP 2020 makers, this study presents a critical challenge by exposing the underlying discourses and their undemocratizing, neoliberalizing, and

fascist power capable of destabilizing the idea of a secular, democratic, and pluralistic republic of India envisaged by its Constitution and the architects. This study compels and urges policymakers to revisit the NEP 2020 and reorient the policy articulations to safeguard the world's largest democracy's educational justice.

Manifested by the volume and intensity of responses at the survey participants' subjective spaces of self-expression, suggests that teachers, as the subjects of policy, are the subjects of resistance too. Following the argument of Ball and Olmedo (2013), this study had posited in its theoretical framework a task to discern resistance power in teachers' subjectivity. Since neoliberal rationalities intended to produce performing teacher subjects, as this study suggests, the same subjects were the site of resistance. In this space, resistance power moved in the opposite direction of the policy power. Thus, this research gives glimpses of hope in empowering higher education faculty members for policy conversations and resistance.

Similarly, this study hopes for a possible space for critical intervention in the policy spaces. As the analysis of discourse strategy of erasure exposed, the NEP 2020 negated the religious minorities' existence and contributions, while the survey exposed the participants' acknowledgment of diversity and Christian contributions to higher education. Consequently, a space for critical intervention in policy implementation can also be discerned emerging in the survey data. Thus, the study points to the possibility of opening more spaces at the Jesuit institutional level for policy conversations among the subjects.

Finally, the findings have several implications for the Indian Jesuit higher educational leadership. This study suggests some opportunities and threats as well. As a

significant opportunity, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in India can potentially grab the internationalization opportunities made possible in the NEP 2020 discourses. Since the NEP 2020 opens opportunities for the globally renowned universities to open their campuses in India and collaborate with Indian institutions, Indian Jesuit institutions can become global by collaborating with the high-ranked Jesuit universities abroad. Thus, the Jesuit higher education institutions can develop and offer a globally recognized education at home in India.

Jesuit higher education attempts to indiscriminately reach out to all sections of the diverse Indian population. Moreover, guided by Jesuit global leadership's recent principles and priorities, it follows a preferential option for the poor and the marginalized (Clarence et al., 2019; Sosa, 2019). However, if the NEP 2020 prescriptions are adopted uncritically, Jesuit higher education will be inaccessible for a large section of students from marginalized communities. Although the NEP 2020 prescribes scholarships and free ships to the students from socially and economically disadvantaged groups (SEDGs), the entire financial burden is put on the institutions causing an exponential escalation of education cost and minimized opportunities for the students from marginalized communities. Consequently, higher education will be accessible only to the economically affluent and elite and a few from the marginalized majority. Thus, the Jesuit ideal to reach out equitably to all sections will be threatened.

This study also represents the voice of a group of faculty members engaged in serving the education needs of a democratic country through Jesuit institutions. As the study findings suggest, they voice resistance by articulating the issues involved in the NEP 2020 discourses from their perspectives. Those articulations are significant in a

democracy that should be caring for minorities. Therefore, this study has unique implications for the Jesuit leadership in education to walk this talk more widely and creatively.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study opens several research areas in the textual and survey analyses. Of the 65-page NEP 2020 document, this study invites the researchers to consider the school reforms, online and vocational education reforms, and ongoing education discourses for critical analysis. Similarly, for survey data of this study urges future researchers to explore the responses from various stakeholders such as schoolteachers, administrators, parents, staff, students, and the public. Since the national education policy impacts the entire population as the stakeholders, this study might be a humble first step in the mighty and comprehensive task.

Moreover, this study invites future scholars to go beyond the Jesuit institutions to capture the responses of the minority communities across the nation. It is significant to listen to the educators of different minority communities like leaders of Muslim educational trusts, Catholic educational societies, different community educational leaders, staff members, students, parents, alumni, and more fields of minority higher education institutions. Significantly, this study also opened the need for comparative research between the discourses of various stakeholder groups such as different minority sections.

Methodologically, this study adopted a combination of three critical theoretical lenses as policy as discourse using discourse historical analysis (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), critique of neoliberalism (Zepke, 2001), and a resistance frame of care for

subjectivity (Ball, 2016; Ball & Olmedo, 2013). However, this study suggests using different methods and lenses for more comprehensive results. For example, when a critical ethnographic method is employed, the analysis could reveal the deeper dimensions of tensions and conflicts surrounding the policy contexts demonstrating some possible solutions (Grimaldi & Serpieri, 2010). Similarly, an inter-textual approach comparing and analyzing the previous and present policies will reveal the transitional orientations of the policies and their underlying intentions (Smith, 2008).

Further, for an in-depth critical analysis of the topic, this study urges future scholars to adopt more qualitative methods, including and not limited to personal interviews, group discussions, self-reports, and participatory research approaches. For example, personal interviews and group discussions with the respondents could reveal more profound dimensions of their dispositions, disclosing the inner layers of their reasoning. Additionally, interviewing the policymakers could give their perspectives and justifications for the policy discourses, making the study more critical and balanced.

Finally, the disparity between the responses to the scaled and open-ended questions observed in this research points to a deeper future research area. When the elements of fear or anxiety expressed by some participants are taken as a possible research indication, it is essential to ask how the NEP 2020 is felt in the emotional sphere of the stakeholders. Consequently, if the field indicates negative emotional responses, the research interest is furthered by investigating the cause for the same. Thus, this study triggers several future scholarly interventions in the education policy field.

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APPENDIX A
SURVEY INSTRUMENT



Hello,

I am Vincent Pereppadan, a final year doctoral student in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco. I am working on my dissertation research project on **India's National Education Policy (NEP), 2020**, focusing on higher education reforms. I am surveying the faculties of Jesuit institutions of higher education to study their responses to the NEP 2020 discourses. I would greatly appreciate your participation in this survey study.

Survey Purpose

This survey investigates perceptions and responses of the faculties of Jesuit higher education institutions related to the NEP 2020's educational vision. As a faculty member in a Jesuit institution, your perceptions and responses are significant to provide insight into the analysis of the NEP 2020 discourses and the faculty reactions.

Confidentiality and Anticipated Benefits

I assure you that all your response records will be kept confidential. An ISO certified agency is being employed in collecting the survey data and initial the analytics. However, all the personal and institutional identifiers will be separated and protected by a password accessible only to the researcher. Once the study purpose is accomplished, the unique identifiers will be permanently deleted from the database. Further, no institutional or individual identifiers will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. The results will be reported in aggregates and impersonal statements so that no individual or institutional data will be shared with anyone, including your institution or any other organizations. The anticipated benefit of this study is an understanding of the faculty responses to the NEP 2020 reforms. I will be happy to share the summary research findings with you if you indicate your preference at the end of the survey.

The survey takes approximately **10 to 15 minutes** to complete. It has two parts: personal information and the survey questions. Please be advised that your participation is strictly voluntary with no monetary benefits. Your refusal to participate involves no consequences for you and you are free to discontinue from participation at any time. If you generously consent to participate in this survey, please answer "yes" to the question below and proceed. If you have any questions regarding the survey, please do not hesitate to email me vpereppadanpoulose@usfca.edu or the chair of my dissertation committee Prof. Jane Bleasdale jbleasdale@usfca.edu.

Thank you in advance for your significant contribution to this research and for completing this survey.

With gratitude,

Vincent Pereppadan

Do you freely agree to participate in this survey? Yes

Part 1
Personal Information

Please answer the following demographic questions about you and your institution.

1. Your name (optional)

2. Your gender

- Male
- Female
- Other

3. Name of your institution

4. Type of your institution

- University
- Autonomous College
- University-Affiliated College
- Other

5. State in India where your institution is located

6. The title describes your professional status (optional)

- Junior lecturer
- Lecturer
- Assistant professor
- Associate professor
- Professor
- Reader
- Head of the department
- Other

7. Your field of teaching

- Language
- Science
- Math
- Technology/Computer
- Liberal Arts
- Commerce
- Other

8. How long have you been a faculty in higher education?

- Up to five years
- Between six and ten years
- Between eleven and fifteen years
- Between sixteen and twenty years
- Twenty-one and above

9. Your religious faith and practice?

- Hinduism
- Islam
- Buddhism
- Catholicism
- Non-Catholic Christianity
- Jainism
- Animism (Sarna)
- No religious faith
- Other

10. How will you describe your annual income? (optional)

- Less than rupees six lakhs
- Between rupees six lakhs and twelve lakhs
- Between rupees twelve lakhs and eighteen lakhs
- Above rupees eighteen lakhs
- Other

Part 2

Survey Responses

Based on your understanding of and approach to the National Education Policy (NEP), 2020, please give your independent and personal response to the following questions. To consult the NEP 2020 in the government website, click here.

https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/NEP2020_Final_English_0.pdf

I. How will you describe your familiarity with the National Education Policy 2020?

- **Expert:** I have studied the NEP 2020 text and involved in writing, discussing, and debating about it.
- **Advance:** I have read the NEP 2020 text and followed discussions in media and other forums.
- **Moderate:** I have not read the NEP 2020 text but familiar with the discussions in media and other forums.
- **Basic:** I have some ideas about the NEP 2020 gathered from the media.
- **Unfamiliar:** I am not familiar with the NEP 2020.
- **Other** (please specify)

Note. Some relevant excerpts of the NEP 2020 are given as pop-up along with some questions if you are unfamiliar with the text. For consulting the full text, please follow the link given above.

II. What are the different ways that you have encountered the NEP 2020?

- Media including print, electronic, and internet sources
- Conversations with colleagues
- Trainings organized by your institution
- Trainings organized by government agencies
- Reading the NEP 2020 text
- Writing critiques or debates

- Other

III. **Your vision of Indian higher education:** There are sixteen statements below related to different views about Indian higher education. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement on the Likert scale given along with each statement

1. The worth of one's higher education is indicated by the measure of one's job quality, standard of living, financial and social power, and social prestige and position.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
2. India's ancient tradition of holistic and multidisciplinary education traced to Takshashila and Nalanda was clearly scientific, vocational, skill-based, and professional, integrating liberal arts, exactly like the required needs of the twenty-first-century education.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
3. The main purpose of higher education is to provide future workforce with training in skills and knowledge to carry out productive employment and thereby promote country's economic growth.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
4. India's education should enable students to enhance economic and political equality of all Indians by addressing discriminations based on gender, caste, religion, language, and region.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
5. Each student should pay for one's higher education because education is a private good to benefit the individual's need for development and attainment of higher positions in society.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
6. Promoting rootedness and pride in the ancient Indian heritage and legacy should be one of the highest goals of education.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
7. A hierarchized institutional accreditation process based on efficiency, performance assessments, and ranking should be the driving force of institutional success in higher education.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)

8. Education in India should be an ideal mechanism for preparing students to undertake constructive roles in a democratic republic envisaged by the Indian Constitution.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 9. Education becomes more effective if it is structured on a system governed by students' free choice between limitless possibilities, competition for meritorious success, graded curriculum according to each one's talents, and autonomy of every institution.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 10. India should restore the ancient position of Vishwa Guru (world's teacher) by internationalizing higher education.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 11. Offering twenty-first-century technology-based online education will ensure equitable education and access to all, especially to the marginalized, in Indian higher education.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 12. Educational institutions should provide every citizen with a sense of common cultural harmony and shared membership in society, based on a principle of equal treatment to all.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 13. Higher education is the most valuable commodity that an individual can possess to achieve the desired social positions against one's competitors.
(Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)
 14. India urgently needs to bring back the ancient tradition of large multidisciplinary university education existed in Takshashila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramashila to transform the country like other developed nations.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 15. To make India a twenty-first-century knowledge economy, higher education system should be regulated as autonomous multidisciplinary universities with meritorious faculties, providing maximum flexibility and choices for students.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
 16. Indian higher education should be promoting global peace, non-violence, and harmony as envisaged by the Indian visionaries like Gandhi, Tagore, and Aurobindo.
(Strongly AGREE, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly DISAGREE)
- IV. Would you like to add any of your views that are not listed above? (Optional)
-
- V. The NEP 2020 text acknowledges two inspirational models for its conceptual designing of the future Indian education. First is the ancient Indian tradition represented by Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramasila, and Vallabhi and scholars like Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, and Varahamihira. **(POP-UP-TEXT: Intro**

para 2 p. 4)* The second inspiration comes from the twenty-first-century knowledge-society models of the countries like the United States, Israel, South Korea, and Japan. **(POP-UP TEXT: Intro para 3, p. 3 and para 17.1, p. 45)***

1. Do you agree that these traditions, institutions, and countries constitute the model for present Indian education? Yes No WHY?

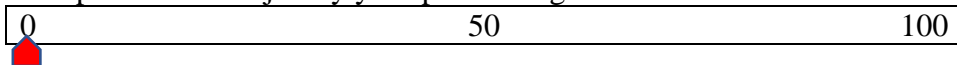
Your reasons:

2. WHAT NAMES would you suggest as inspirational sources for Indian education?

Names:

Your reasons:

- VI. Given your familiarity with the NEP 2020, position the pointer below between 0 and 100 to indicate your disposition of acceptance/resistance to the National Education Policy. 0 on the extreme left indicates zero resistance and total acceptance, while 100 on the extreme right denotes total resistance and zero acceptance. Please justify your positioning with reasons in the box below.



Acceptance

Resistance

I react to the NEP 2020 as indicated above because:

Your reasons:

- VII. Are there any other thoughts you would like to share about the NEP 2020 and higher education in India?

Thank you very much for participating! Your participation is critical and significant for my research. I am happy to share with you the essential findings of my study when it is complete. Please indicate your preference:

I want to receive the summary findings of this research study:

Your preferred email if you answered yes:

I'm not particularly eager to receive the summary findings of this research study:

End of the survey.

*Excerpts from the NEP 2020 text given as pop-up for the participants:

The rich heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought has been a guiding light for this Policy. The pursuit of knowledge (*Jnan*), wisdom (*Pragyaa*), and truth (*Satya*) was always considered in Indian thought and philosophy as the highest human goal. The aim of education in ancient India was not just the acquisition of knowledge as preparation for life in this world, or life beyond schooling, but for the complete realization and liberation of the self. World-class institutions of ancient India such as Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi, set the highest standards of multidisciplinary teaching and research and hosted scholars and students from across backgrounds and countries. The Indian education system produced great scholars such as Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, Chanakya, Chakrapani Datta, Madhava, Panini, Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Gautama, Pingala, Sankardev, Maitreyi, Gargi and Thiruvalluvar, among numerous others, who made seminal contributions to world knowledge in diverse fields such as mathematics, astronomy, metallurgy, medical science and surgery, civil engineering, architecture, shipbuilding and navigation, yoga, fine arts, chess, and more. Indian culture and philosophy have had a strong influence on the world. These rich legacies to world heritage must not only be nurtured and preserved for posterity but also researched, enhanced, and put to new uses through our education system. (From NEP 2020 Introduction page 4, para 2)

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Knowledge creation and research are critical in growing and sustaining a large and vibrant economy, uplifting society, and continuously inspiring a nation to achieve even greater heights. Indeed, some of the most prosperous civilizations (such as India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece) to the modern era (such as the United States, Germany, Israel, South Korea, and Japan), were/are strong knowledge societies that attained intellectual and material wealth in large part through celebrated and fundamental contributions to new knowledge in the realm of science as well as art, language, and culture that enhanced and uplifted not only their own civilizations but others around the globe. (From NEP 2020 Part II page 45, 17.1)

APPENDIX B
LIST OF NOMINATION/REFERENTIAL CATEGORIES IN THE INTRODUCTION
AND PART II TEXT-FIELD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY, 2020

Referential Category		Referenced Names
Extrinsic category	Institutions	Takshashila, Nalanda, Vikramshila, Vallabhi (4/2; 36/11.1)
	Individuals	Charaka, Susruta, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta, Chanakya, Chakrapani Datta, Madhava, Panini, Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Gautama, Pingala, Sankardev, Maitreyi, Gargi and Thiruvalluvar (4/2)
	Civilizations	Civilizations such as India, Mesopotamia, Egypt (45/17.1)
	Literature	Banabhatta's Kadambari (36/11.1)
	Contemporary economies	United States of America (USA), Germany, South Korea (43/16.1; 45/17.1; 45/17.3) Israel, Japan (45/17.1; 45/17.3)
	International documents	[UN's] Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 (3/2)
Intrinsic category	Institutionalized entities	Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), Multidisciplinary Education and Research Universities (MERUs) (38/11.11) National Research Foundation (NRF) (34/9.3) Department of Science and Technology (DST), Department of Atomic Energy (DAE), Department of Bio-Technology (DBT), Indian Council of Agriculture Research (ICAR), Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), and University Grants Commission (UGC) (46/17.10) Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR), Veterinary Council of India (VCI), National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), Council of Architecture (CoA), National Council for Vocational Education and Training (NCVET), Professional Standard Setting Bodies (PSSBs) (47/18.7)

Referential Category	Referenced Names
Frameworks	National Higher Education Qualification Framework (NHEQF) (47/18.6) Global Citizenship Education (GCED) (37/11.8) Academic Bank of Credit (ABC) (37/11.9) Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) (38/12.2) Institutional Development Plan (IDP) (39/12.3; 41/13.6) National Skills Qualifications Framework (NSQF) (44/16.1; 47/18.6)
Structures	Higher Education Grants Council (HEGC) (47/18.5) General Education Council (GEC) (47/18.6) Board of Governors (BoG) (49/19.2) Eminent Expert Committee (EEC) (49/19.4) International Students Office (39/12.8) National Committee for the Integration of Vocational Education (NCIVE) (44/16.6) Higher Education Commission of India (HECI) (47/18.2) National Higher Education Regulatory Council (NHERC) (47/18.3) National Accreditation Council (NAC) (47/18.4)
Social categories	Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), Other Backward Community (OBC), and other Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs) (40/12.10)
National Documents	National Education Policy 1986, modified in 1992 (NPE 1986/92) (4/6) Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (4/2) Justice J. S. Verma Commission (41/15.2)

APPENDIX C
LIST OF JESUIT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION SELECTED
FOR THE STUDY AND THEIR STATUS OF PARTICIPATION WITH
THE NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

Serial No.	State	Name of Institution	Place	Participation Status Yes/No	No. of Participants
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Andhra Loyola College	Vijayawada	Yes	1
2.	Assam	St Xavier's College	Tezpur	No	0
3.	Bihar	St Xavier's College of Management & Technology	Patna	Yes	17
4.	Chhattisgarh	Loyola College	Kunkuri	No	0
5.	Gujarat	St Xavier's College	Ahmedabad	Yes	6
6.	Jharkhand	St Xavier's College	Dumka	No	0
7.	Jharkhand	St Xavier's College	Hazaribagh	No	0
8.	Jharkhand	St Xavier's College	Ranchi	Yes	6
9.	Jharkhand	Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS)	Ranchi	No	0
10.	Jharkhand	St Xavier's College	Simdega	No	0
11.	Karnataka	Loyola College	Bengaluru	Yes	7
12.	Karnataka	St Joseph's College	Bengaluru	No	0
13.	Karnataka	St Joseph's Commerce College	Bengaluru	No	0
14.	Karnataka	St Joseph's Evening College	Bengaluru	Yes	8
15.	Karnataka	St Joseph's First Grade College	Hassan	No	0
16.	Karnataka	St Aloysius Evening College	Mangalore	No	0
17.	Karnataka	St Aloysius College	Mangalore	Yes	1
18.	Karnataka	Loyola College	Manvi	No	0
19.	Kerala	St Xavier's College	Trivandrum	Yes	2
20.	Kerala	Loyola College of Social Sciences	Trivandrum	Yes	3
21.	Maharashtra	St Xavier's College	Mumbai	Yes	21
22.	Maharashtra	St Vincent's College of Commerce	Pune	Yes	1
23.	Meghalaya	Loyola College	William Nagar	Yes	3

Serial No.	State	Name of Institution	Place	Participation Status Yes/No	No. of Participants
24.	Mizoram	St Xavier's College	Aizwal	Yes	1
25.	Odisha	Xavier University	Bhubaneswar	Yes	13
26.	Rajasthan	St Xavier's College	Jaipur	Yes	12
27.	Tami Nadu	Loyola College	Chennai	No	0
28.	Tamil Nadu	Loyola College	Mettala	Yes	1
29.	Tamil Nadu	Loyola College	Vettavalam	No	0
30.	Tamil Nadu	Arul Anandar College	Karumathur	No	0
31.	Tamil Nadu	St Xavier's College,	Palayamkottai	No	0
32.	Tamil Nadu	St Joseph's College	Trichy	Yes	1
33.	Telangana	Loyola Academy	Secunderabad	Yes	13
34.	West Bengal	St Xavier's College	Burdwan	Yes	4
35.	West Bengal	St Xavier's College	Kolkata	Yes	9
36.	West Bengal	St Xavier's University	Kolkata	Yes	36
37.	West Bengal	St Joseph's College	Darjeeling	Yes	2
38.	West Bengal	North Bengal St. Xavier's College	Rajganj	No	0
Total				Yes=22 No=16	168

APPENDIX D
LIST OF NOMINATIONS SUGGESTED AS INSPIRATIONAL TO INDIAN
EDUCATION BY THE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS OF INDIA'S NATIONAL
EDUCATION POLICY 2020 IN THEIR WEIGHTED SCORE ORDER

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Tagore	72	Azim Premji	4
APJ Abdul Kalam	59	Banaras Hindu University	4
Mahatma Gandhi	41	Jamia Milia University	4
Vivekananda	40	Loyola College, Chennai	4
B R Ambedkar	32	Massachusetts Inst. of Technology	4
Global Jesuit Institutions	26	Ratan Tata	4
Indian Institute of Technology	31	S Ramanujan	4
S Radhakrishnan	29	Socialism	4
Nalanda	26	Subhash Chandra Bose	4
Savitri Phule	16	10+2 school system	3
Chanakya	15	Bhutan	3
Indian Institute of Science	14	CV Raman	3
Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar	13	Education for All	3
Jawaharlal Nehru University	13	Ekalavya, Uttar Pradesh	3
Indian Institute of Management	11	Gerard 't Hooft	3
Takshashila	11	Germany	3
Harvard University	10	Great men/women	3
Aryabhata	9	Hiram College, Ohio	3
Oxford University	9	Hyderabad Central University	3
St. Xavier's College, Mumbai	9	Israel	3
Amartya Sen	8	Kerala Model	3
Aurobindo	8	Liberal ideology	3
Indian Gurukulas	8	Liberalism	3
Paulo Freire	8	Maulana Azad	3
St. Joseph's Inst., Bengaluru	8	Mother	3
Jawaharlal Nehru	7	Norway	3
Viswa Bharati	7	Osmania University	3
Finland	6	Rajiv Gandhi	3
Jagadish Chandra Bose	6	Ramakrishna Mission	3
Japan	6	RT Sane	3
Shantiniketan	6	Sir Ken Robinson	3
Sudha Murthi	6	Sonam Wangchuk	3

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Buddha	5	Susruta	3
Delhi University	5	Teach for India	3
Gopal Krishna Gokhale	5	Technology	3
NR Madhav Menon	5	United states of America	3
Ramachandra Guha	5	Value-based education	3
Ashoka University, Hariyana	4	Vellore Institute of Technology	3
Ambedkar University, Delhi	2	Choice-based education	1
American Civil War	2	Defense Research Dev. Org.	1
Apostolic Carmelite Institutions	2	Denmark	1
Aristotle	2	Deshabandhu CR Das	1
Barefoot College	2	Dominic Savio, SJ	1
Catholic education	2	Frazer, SJ (St. Xavier's Mumbai)	1
CMC Vellore	2	Fun learning	1
Competency-based education	2	HA Giroux	1
Cooperation	2	Helen Keller	1
D S Kothari	2	Ignatius Loyola	1
Democracy	2	Inclusive, liberal, trans. edn.	1
Einstein	2	India	1
Equity	2	Indian Space Research Org.	1
European Union	2	IT-integrated education	1
FLOSS Model	2	Jyoti Nivas College, Bengaluru	1
Friedrich Froebel	2	Learner approach	1
Good college	2	Love	1
Harish Chandra Research Inst.	2	Loyola Academy, Andhra	1
Homi Bhabha	2	Mary Wollstonecraft	1
Humanistic Education	2	MOOC - Online NEP 2020 project	1
Ignatius Loyola	2	Philip Kotler	1
Independent Research Centers	2	Ram Mohan Roy	1
Indian Statistical Inst., Kolkatha	2	Unhealthy regulatory barriers	1
J. Krishnamurthi	2	Research on ancient India	1
Javadpur University	2	Sai Baba	1
Kuriakose Chavara	2	Salasians of Don Bosco	1
Madras University	2	Satyendranath Bose	1
Model	2	Scientific temper	1

Names	Weighted Score	Names	Weighted Score
Nature	2	Student-centered learning	1
Negative model of private HEIs	2	UGC funded institutions	1
Pierre de Fermat	2	Vikram Sarabhai	1
Practical approach	2	Vikramasila	1
Quality education	2	No names or ambiguous	22
Ramesh Bhonde	2		
Romila Thapar	2		
St. Joseph's College, Trichy	2		
St. Xavier's University, Kolkata	2		
Stanford University	2		
Xavier's Society of Education	2		
Academic autonomy	1		
Aditya Kumar	1		
Amir Khan	1		
Be observer	1		

APPENDIX E
 ARGUMENTATION ELEMENTS OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS'
 AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT WITH THE DISCOURSE STRATEGIES OF
 INDIA'S NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY 2020 (N=168)

Response Nature	Argument Theme	Argument	Participant count	Percentage Impact		
Agreement = YES	Ancient Indian Superiority	Time-tested model	28	17 percent		
		Solid foundation	12	7 percent		
		Values	12	7 percent		
		Inspirational model	5	3 percent		
		Person-oriented education	4	2 percent		
		Pride	4	2 percent		
		Revival need	3	2 percent		
		Self-realization goal	2	1 percent		
		Character formation	1	1 percent		
		Continuity	1	1 percent		
		Cultural pride	1	1 percent		
		Holistic approach	1	1 percent		
		Model	1	1 percent		
		Multifaceted tradition	1	1 percent		
		National focus	1	1 percent		
		Positive vibes	1	1 percent		
		Success	1	1 percent		
		Vishwa guru	1	1 percent		
		Total			80	
			Knowledge Society Goal	World-class model	16	10 percent
Need of the Hour	6			4 percent		
Success	6			4 percent		
Time-tested model	5			3 percent		
Development	3			2 percent		
Technology model	3			2 percent		
Employment & entrepreneurship education	3			2 percent		
Skill development	2			1 percent		
Values	2			1 percent		
Competency-based education	1			1 percent		
Flexibility	1			1 percent		
Future orientation	1			1 percent		
Specialization	1			1 percent		
Multidisciplinary education	1			1 percent		
Efficiency based	1			1 percent		
Total				52		

Response Nature	Argument Theme	Argument	Participant count	Percentage Impact
	Integrating	Development	7	4 percent
	Ancient and Modern	Choosing best practices	4	2 percent
		Global village	1	1 percent
		Holistic	1	1 percent
		Nation-building goal	1	1 percent
		Pillars of education	1	1 percent
		Values	1	1 percent
		Wholesome student development	1	1 percent
	Total		17	
Disagreement = NO	Real Social Issues Ignored	Critical social analysis required	23	14 percent
		Regressive	5	3 percent
		Discriminatory	3	2 percent
		Excluding poor	3	2 percent
		Ignores cultural diversity	2	1 percent
		Imbalanced approach	2	1 percent
		Eroding values	1	1 percent
		Discrimination, marginalization	1	1 percent
		Poor funding	1	1 percent
	Total		41	
	Undemocratic Education	Discriminatory education	8	5 percent
		Excludes poor	5	3 percent
		Destroys public education	4	2 percent
		Ignores diversity	2	1 percent
		Imposes uniformity	2	1 percent
		Rigid framing	2	1 percent
		Against critical thinking	1	1 percent
		Against egalitarianism	1	1 percent
		Diversity; economic disparity	1	1 percent
		Economic disparity	1	1 percent
		Erasure of post-independent education	1	1 percent
		Hailing irrelevant tradition	1	1 percent
		Ignores minorities	1	1 percent
		Regressive	1	1 percent
	Total		31	
	Hindutva Saffronization Goal	Backward looking	2	1 percent
		Exclusively elite	1	1 percent
		Hostility-based ideology	1	1 percent
		Ignores modern science	1	1 percent

Response Nature	Argument Theme	Argument	Participant count	Percentage Impact
		Mitigating Buddhist values	1	1 percent
		Narrow nationalism	1	1 percent
		Obsessed with past	1	1 percent
		Outdated ideology	1	1 percent
	Total		9	
	Neoliberal	Commodifying education	2	1 percent
	Education	True skills and freedom ignored	1	1 percent
		Capitalistic, individualistic, undemocratic	1	1 percent
		Market autonomy	1	1 percent
		Market domination	1	1 percent
		Obsessed with Western model	1	1 percent
	Total		7	

Note. Percentages are adjusted to the nearest whole number.

APPENDIX F
THEMES EMERGED FROM THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE SURVEY
PARTICIPANTS' RESISTANCE / ACCEPTANCE DISPOSITION TOWARD
INDIA'S NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY 2020

Themes Against the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.	Themes Against the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.
Problematics of Implementation	54	Undemocratizing Education	51
Problematic implementation	36	Undemocratic	29
Short of resources	5	Denies students' rights	2
Corruption	3	No consultations	2
Challenging	2	Against diversity	1
Ambitious but no political will	1	Centralized regulations	1
Destroys small institutions	1	Corrupt reservation system	1
Impractical	1	Destroys public education	1
Lack of funds	1	Discriminatory against poor	1
Implementation left to states	1	Divisive	1
Red-tape bureaucracy	1	Hostile to post-independent reforms	1
Requires improvisation	1	Ignores local realities	1
Unprepared	1	Ignores urban-rural divide	1
Hasty Reform Move	35	No social analysis	1
Hasty institutional changes	7	No space for critical thinking	1
Unclear pathway	6	Promotes caste-based discrimination	1
Grey areas	3	Racist and communal	1
Unconvincing / unrealistic	3	Rigid	1
Unprepared system	3	State-controlled autonomy	1
Imbalanced	2	Substance less rhetoric	1
Need review and modifications	2	Undemocratic narrow outlook	1
Good on paper	1	Weakening public education	1
Inadequate on primary education	1	Politically driven	29
Inappropriate	1	Saffronizing Education	
Lacks transition framework	1	Politically driven agenda	12
Loopholes	1	Hindutva saffronization of education	4
No infrastructure	1	Excessive nationalism	2
Sudden and huge changes	1	Hidden ideology-driven	2
Superficial	1	Revivalism	2
No public consultation	1	Dogmatic traditionalism	1
		Hatred propagation	1
		Narrow view	1

Themes Against the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.	Themes Against the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.
Excluding/Discriminating Socio-religious Minorities	25	No education talk	1
Discriminatory	8	Restoring caste-based social structure	1
Excluding the marginalized	5	Reviving ancient-India discourse	1
Denies minorities' rights	2	Unconvincing ancient-India theory	1
Ruins institutions of the underprivileged	2		
Unjust to teachers	2	Regressive	17
Christian minorities' contribution erased	1	Regressive	11
Homogenizing education	1	Average Standard	1
One-solution-for-all	1	Outdated policy	1
Promotes exclusivism	1	Back to caste-structure	1
Socially discriminatory	1	Ancient tradition focused	1
Xenophobic	1	Concerns restructuring of schools	1
		Test-score system continued	1
Neoliberalizing Education	15		
Marketization of education	5	Elitist/Dominant Class-Favoring Education	8
Commodifying education	2	Dominant class favoring	4
Industry-oriented	2	Biased in favor of the dominant class	2
Technology-dependent	2	Discourages languages	1
Digital divide	1	Sanskrit domination	1
Imitation of neoliberal economies	1		
Teachers become powerless	1		
Westernization of education	1		

Themes in Favor of the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.	Themes in Favor of the NEP 2020 Reforms	Nos.
Creating Global Standard-Based Knowledge-Society	31	Much Awaited Reforms (Need for Reforms)	26
Flexibility	6	Need For Reforms	14
Global Standard-Based Education	5	Revolutionary Restructuring	4
Choice-Based Education	4	Long-Awaited Reform	3
Autonomy	3	Well Structured	2
Skill-Based Education	3	Comprehensive	1
Research	2	Experimental	1
Adaptation for Achieving Goals	1	Transforming Education	1
Internationalization of Education	1		
Job-Creation	1	Reinventing Ancient Indian Superiority	6
Knowledge Society	1	Reviving Ancient Tradition	3
Merit-Based	1	Holistic	1
Outcome-Based Education	1	Integration of Ancient and Modern	1
Quality Education	1	Value-Promoting	1
Transdisciplinary	1		
Empowering Institutions, Teachers, And Students	15	Enhancing Development of India	5
Empowering Students	10	Developing Education System	1
Mother Tongue-Based	2	Holistic	1
Teachers' Empowerment	1	Improves Primary and Secondary Education	1
Character-Building	1	Overall Development	1
Youth Empowering	1	Progressive	1

APPENDIX G
SUMMARY OF THE ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS SHARED BY 44 PARTICIPANTS
OF THE SURVEY ON INDIA'S NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY 2020

Themes	No. of Comments
Critical on NEP 2020's Constituting Ground	21
Politicizing Indian higher education	5
Caste-gender-hierarchies reinforced	2
Not grounded on Indian diversity	2
Capitalist control	1
Diverse socio-political factors ignored	1
Eroded secular education	1
Grounded on contradictions with RTE Act	1
Grounded on corporatizing principles	1
Grounded on unrealistic understanding of India	1
Grounded on western-model commercialized education	1
Minorities' Constitutional rights ignored	1
Non-consultative grounding	1
Tribal land-grab	1
Undemocratically intolerant to activists	1
Unprepared infrastructure	1
Critical on NEP 2020's Implementation Ground	19
Challenging implementation	1
Commercialization of higher education	1
Corporatization of education	1
Curtailing academic freedom	1
Dangerous loopholes lead to centralized control	1
Destructive on implementation	1
Discriminatory against lower classes on implementation	1
Discriminatory market governance	1
Excluding marginalized	1
Hard to implement	1
High hopes	1
Implementation agents are unfamiliar with NEP 2020	1
Imposing conscious harm to education	1
Impractical on implementation	1
Impressive slogans of multidisciplinary and holistic education	1
Infrastructural limitations not addressed	1
Mounting negativity around NEP 2020	1
Success depends on judicious implementation	1
Unrealistic project	1

Themes	No. of Comments
Emerging Creative Alternatives	15
Context-based benchmarking rather than one national standard	1
Critical, pluralistic, and egalitarian	1
Ensuring secured future of students	1
Ensuring teacher quality	1
Include environmental studies	1
Mixture of practical skill-based modules	1
No external assessment	1
Parliamentary Joint Committee reviewing NEP 2020	1
Prioritize early English instruction	1
Prioritize regional languages	1
Secular-minded citizen-forming education	1
Top-down institutional implementation recommended	1
Treat public-private sectors equally	1
Real-life-based educational projects	1
Prioritize peace and harmony	1
NEP 2020's Appreciable Elements	8
34-year awaited reform	1
Global integration	1
Globalizing Indian education	1
High school reforms are feasible	1
Higher ed. Opportunity for all	1
One national system	1
Research focused and more government spending	1
Vocational skill-focused	1

APPENDIX H

IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Attachments:

- Expedited Review Approved by Chair - IRB ID: 1592.pdf



IRBPHS - Approval Notification

To: Vincent Pereppadan Poulose
From: Richard Gregory Johnson III, IRB Chair
Subject: Protocol #1592
Date: 05/29/2021

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your request for human subjects approval regarding your study.

Your research (IRB Protocol #1592) with the project title **HIGHER EDUCATION DISCOURSES OF INDIA'S NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY: ANALYSIS AND TEACHER COUNTERSPACES IN JESUIT INSTITUTIONS** has been approved by the IRB Chair under the rules for expedited review on **05/29/2021**.

Any modifications, adverse reactions or complications must be reported using a modification application to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS via email at IRBPHS@usfca.edu. Please include the Protocol number assigned to your application in your correspondence.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Richard Gregory Johnson III
Professor & Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
University of San Francisco
irbphs@usfca.edu
[IRBPHS Website](#)