

SWAPO demonstration in Oshakati

PART THREE: THE STRUGGLE

Chapter Eight

Creating an imperative reform framework

This part, including chapter eight, nine, and ten, focuses on the reform struggle, i.e. the attempts to alter teacher education within the landscape that has been painted in the previous chapters. To establish a counter-hegemonic discourse and conditions for change three major tasks were tackled: Creating an imperative reform framework of steering documents discussed in chapter eight; developing practical programme imprints discussed in chapter nine; and creating local agency for reform and change discussed in chapter ten.

The creation of a reform framework and its imperative mandate that is discussed in this chapter was based on the policy to undo the previous system as outlined in the development brief *Toward Education for All*.

What is extraordinary in this document is that it goes beyond a concern for quantitative improvements (more children in more schools will have a basic 10 years of education available) to targeting qualitative goals of preparing thoughtful citizens in inclusive schools to participate in democratic government.¹

The participatory and democratic notions were at the forefront in the reform. The conceptualisation of the teacher education reform as a national piloting created further motivation for staging an unusual process. This process included two overlapping phases. The focus of the first phase was the creation of a national reform agenda while the focus of the second phase was an attempt to develop decentralisation and ownership. These two phases of the reform process did not always support each other and created at times contradiction and conflict.

¹ Tabachnick, B. R. (1998) Useful Educational Research in a Transforming Society. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol. 24, No. 2. 101-108. p. 102.

The struggle over a national reform agenda

The creation of a national reform agenda out of the previous ethnic division started by replacing all previous teacher education programmes with one programme for all. The work on the steering documents for this change process started in 1992. The two ministries of education finally approved the BETD Broad Curriculum in the beginning of 1998. Subject syllabi were by 2000 coming close to final revision and approval. The processes in between are dealt with here.

The *BETD Broad Curriculum* is the main guiding policy document for the programme. It contains the rationale and aims, admission regulations, the main structures, recommended pedagogical approaches and methods, assessment and evaluation guidelines. A course syllabus was developed for each subject in the programme based on the framework established in the Broad Curriculum. The preparations during 1992 meant that a Broad Curriculum document and subject syllabi documents for the first year of study in the BETD were worked on by the CCG and the nine subject panels established during 1992². The final work on these documents was carried out during the *Induction Seminar for Teacher Educators*, held at OCE during the period January 12 - 21, 1993. This seminar was the first in a series of *national seminars* sponsored by TERP with the extended aim of supporting the creation of a national agenda for teacher education. These national seminars were unique in the sense that teacher educators from all colleges came together to plan and assess their work. The seminars were planned and organised by NIED and TERP, together with selected colleges and educational regions. Representatives were invited from ministerial headquarters, educational regions, the Faculty of Education at UNAM, foreign projects, student teachers, and teachers' unions. The procedures were more or less the same during these seminars. The 2nd *National Seminar* was held at WCE during the period 29

² See p. 105 and Appendix 4.

August - 4 September, 1993 and the 3rd *National Seminar* held in Swakopmund 21 - 26 August, 1994. Invited keynote speakers addressed issues relevant to the reform process from international perspectives.³

The bulk of the time during the national seminars was shared between inputs, discussions and reports from college groups on different issues of the BETD programme. Much time was also used for different working groups, mostly along subject lines, but also for cross-college groups sharing experiences and resolving of common issues. The national seminars worked as a kind of clearinghouse, where draft documents were presented, grievances and positive experiences brought to the fore, and plans made for the future. More than half of the total time was used for inputs and discussions about pedagogical themes related to the programme.⁴ Some of these themes were broad in scope, like the ones introduced by the keynote speakers. Other themes were directly related to the BETD like School-based Studies, learning through production, team teaching, and integration. Much time was used for planning activities. These activities were usually organised either within subject areas across colleges or within colleges but across subject areas. The assessment procedures in the BETD, which was based on a combination of continuous and summative assessment, created a lot of anxiety, and time was used for that issue especially during the first seminar. The evaluation of the programme was continuously attended to throughout the seminars. The BETD documents were introduced and discussed at all seminars but

³ Professor Kallós, Umeå University, Sweden, was the keynote speaker at the Induction Seminar at OCE. He talked about the international trends in teacher education. Professor Grant, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA talked about the changing role of the teacher educator at the 2nd National Seminar at WCE. Professor Gerwel, Adviser to President Mandela and former Dean at the University of Western Cape, South Africa, addressed the issue of quality in teacher education at the 3rd National Seminar in Swakopmund. The presence of these external scholars was also a sign of a different international perspective beyond the previous mainstream South African influences. A 4th National Seminar took place in the beginning of 1996 with a different focus than the previous ones and will be addressed in a different context later on.

⁴ See Table 15, Appendix 10.

more at the end when the overall cohesion of all documents was looked at. Other issues discussed were related to external support, staff development at the colleges, in-service teacher education, and teachers' career structures. A general trend in the seminars was that more time was used for broad pedagogical themes, planning, and assessment issues at the start, while a more even distribution of time across different aspects was noticed at the end of this process.

After the induction seminar almost half of all teacher educators looked forward to start with the BETD the week after the seminar. Some saw the BETD as an idealistic programme and envisaged problems ahead of them. As one participant expressed it: "The theories and philosophies seem bright, but the practical implementation can to a certain extent be problematic"⁵. However, the positive attitudes towards the future outnumbered the negative ones and one teacher educator said, that it was a privilege to participate in the seminar and "I could enrich myself and I am feeling good to take up the challenge to make BETD a success".⁶

The second and third national seminars attended to the subject syllabi for years 2 and 3, as well as other issues like the assessment policies (2nd seminar) and School-based Studies (3rd seminar). There was an expectation from many teacher educators that the national seminars were organised to solve their practical problems instead of being a national forum for exchange of opinions on principles related to the teacher education reform. This discrepancy was related to the different expectations on teacher educators. Within a decentralised system the teacher educators were supposed to be the developers of subject syllabi and the related practice at the colleges. On the other hand some teacher educators expected NIED and the CCG to give specific directives towards the different parts of practice, teaching, learning or assessment. However, the value of the national seminars as expressed by teacher educators was

⁵ Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:c) National Induction Seminar for Teacher Educators. Seminar Report. Windhoek: MEC. p. 55.

⁶ Ibid. p. 55.

related to the feeling of support they generated and the creation of a forum that reduced isolation.⁷

Many other meeting points between teacher educators at the different colleges, NIED officials and project staff were organised between the three initial national seminars. These inter-college workshops and seminars were usually organised within subject boundaries with representatives from the different colleges. During 1993 - 1994 there was a total of fourteen (14) inter-college workshops/seminars organised for different subject areas in the BETD like ETP, Early Childhood Education, Namibian languages, and Social Studies.⁸ In addition, each college organised its own workshops/seminars, when teacher educators met to develop their work in specific areas. As an example, during the period January - June 1994 there was a total of eleven (11) college workshops organised with external support from TERP.

The first group of BETD students finalised their studies at the end of 1995. An early revision of the BETD Broad Curriculum and Subject syllabi was envisaged based on findings from the national evaluation, monitoring exercises and other information from colleges.⁹ Monitoring exercises were carried out in 1993 and 1994. These exercises meant that members of the CCG visited the colleges and carried out classroom observations and interviews. The composite report from the monitoring in October 1993 was one of mixed impressions. The overall impression was a positive one, while there were also expected shortcomings observed, that motivated the process perspective on the reform. For example, there seemed to be a general lack of information given to the students about the different national documents for the programme.¹⁰ This was interpreted as

⁷ Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:c) op. cit.

⁸ TERP Project Reports, 1993 - 1994. Windhoek: TERP Documents.

⁹ The National Evaluation of the BETD is reported under the subheading 'From assessment as control to assessment for development, p. 198 ff.

¹⁰ National Institute for Educational Development (1994) Monitoring of the Implementation of the BETD at the Colleges of Education. Windhoek: MEC.

a remnant of the common sense about teaching and learning as being a transmission process based on an uneven distribution of information.

Towards participation and change

The second phase to create an imperative reform framework was one characterised by decentralisation, participation, and involvement. Based on a decision taken by the CCG an appraisal process of the BETD started with the issuing of a procedure document to the colleges in April 1995.¹¹ This document included guidelines for staff and students' meetings at the colleges. CCG members at NIED followed the same guidelines. The minutes from the meetings at the colleges and NIED were handed over to the CCG member who had been selected as the National Broad Curriculum Co-ordinator for the appraisal process. The information was presented to the 120 participants in the *Broad Curriculum Appraisal Workshop*, 25 - 27 October, 1995, in Okahandja.¹² According to the report from this workshop the majority of comments regarding change related to the structure of the programme, the subjects of the three years of study, and the specific subject area syllabi.¹³

It was at this workshop that the main structure of the BETD programme was altered from one year of common foundation studies for all student teachers to a foundation block comprising term 1 and 2, and with the specialisation starting term 3 during the first year.¹⁴ The main reason for changing the structure of the programme was the strong

¹¹ National Institute for Educational Development (1995:a) Plan for the Appraisal of the BETD Broad Curriculum (BC) and the Subject Area Curricula by MBEC/NIED in conjunction with the Colleges of Education. Okahandja: NIED Working Document.

¹² Representatives of the year 2 and 3 student teachers from all colleges were also invited to the workshop, as they had been involved in the preceding appraisal activities at college level.

¹³ National Institute for Educational Development (1995:b) Report on The Broad Curriculum Appraisal Workshop, October 25 - 27. Okahandja: NIED Working Document.

¹⁴ See Figure 2 and Figure 3, Appendix 10.

requests from colleges and individual members of the CCG for an earlier specialisation based on the perception that this would improve the student teachers' knowledge of the school subjects.

The previous structure had been in place since the first drafts in 1992. It was based on the notion that the education system needed teachers with broad and flexible competencies that could answer to the diverse needs of the country. One reason for broad competencies was that a small group of BETD graduates would be able to teach all subjects from grade 1 - 7, i.e. the grades in a small primary school. In a future, when enough BETD graduates were serving in schools, it would even be possible to offer all grades in basic education (1 - 10) at a small village school as an alternative to the boarding school tradition. A related issue was that a teacher would be able to follow a group of students through many grades. However, it was apparent already during the data collections for the national evaluation in 1994 that modifications were called for by the teacher educators at the colleges in the structure of the BETD. Calculated on college level there were between 60 - 85% who wanted to see modifications in the structure, while 5 - 20% wanted radical changes. The modification dealt with the organisation of the specialisation during year 2 and 3 but did not produce any suggestions of limiting the time for the common foundation studies, which became an issue later on during the appraisal process. The few radical changes were in most cases calls for a return to a more traditional model of teacher education with an early separation of students following the three different grade levels in basic education.¹⁵ This was also what happened as a result of the appraisal exercise.

A consequence of the new structure was that student teachers had to select their specialisation option as part of the application process prior to the studies. Previously the choices were made at the end of the first year for their phase level and during the second year for their

¹⁵ Frykholm (1997) op. cit. pp. 24-29.

specialisation with a possibility for guidance from the teacher educators together with the students own experiences from the studies. Another consequence was that the pedagogical idea to keep student teachers together as long as possible was altered to an earlier specialisation with a possible risk for status and gender differentiation amongst the student teachers. An early specialisation did also increase the significance of previous academic achievements in the students' choices. The hope was that through an earlier specialisation the student teachers' subject knowledge would increase in response to the many calls for such a development. A proper analysis of the reasons for these calls was never carried out. The fact that these calls continued even after the modification of the programme was an indication of that at least some of the reasons behind these calls had to be found elsewhere. They were probably related to the broader war of position over the preferential right of interpretation over teacher education combined with the meagre possibilities for further studies at UNAM that became a struggle over accreditation.

When the changes of the foundation and specialisation blocks took place and the specialisation block was allowed to expand with another term at the expense of foundation block there were two ways to go. One was to include more of the same type of subject knowledge and the other was to introduce a counter-hegemonic type of expansion that was based on classroom observations. It was argued in the CCG that the extra term should be used to introduce students to subject studies through an expanded project approach. The idea was that students should collect information related to the learning of school subjects according to the students' specialisation. If teacher educators systematically organised and gave direction to the focus of the students' observations, they could build the other specialisation studies on the data that students had collected themselves, and by that base the specialisation studies on empirical data from classrooms. It was also agreed in this workshop that the programme should follow a *thematic framework* based on themes developed from the Education Theory and Practice (ETP) subject area. However, neither the

idea to develop a model for generating subject knowledge nor the thematic framework for the BETD syllabi was developed in full.

The next major event in the development process of the national guiding documents was the *Fourth National Seminar*, held at NIED during 15 - 19 January, 1996. This seminar assembled 140 teacher educators, 35 BETD students, and 25 representatives from NIED/MBEC, MHEVTST and support projects adding up to a total of 200 participants. A new draft of the Broad Curriculum had been prepared. This draft became the document from which all activities emanated during the seminar. The aims of this seminar were outlined as below.

- To elaborate the agreed thematic framework for the year 1 BETD by developing a multi-layered process that enables task-based syllabuses to be constructed from the aims of the Broad Curriculum.
- To promote democratic processes for educational programme development through the creation of inter-college networks.¹⁶

The *multi-layered process* was an attempt to create a connection between the stated goals of teacher education and the activities within the BETD programme. It was schematically presented as a working framework for the renewal of the broad curriculum and subject syllabi in the BETD. This was an attempt to adapt to a presumed logic that would make it possible to trace activities in the programme back to the general goals of teacher education as expressed through the nineteen (19) statements in the BETD Broad Curriculum.¹⁷

The multi-layered process was presented as a relationship between five different layers in the BETD programme. In a written comment to this presentation Nyambe suggested that there should be a direct link

¹⁶ National Institute for Educational Development (1996:c) Report on The Fourth National BETD Seminar, January 15 - 19, 1996. Okahandja: NIED Working Document, p. 2.

¹⁷ MHEVTST and MBEC op. cit. pp. 4-5.

between tasks and the general BETD competencies, to safeguard a circular feedback through the competencies.¹⁸ By that Nyambe wanted to accomplish that "statements of student competencies will directly link up with the aims and lead to a reflection on concrete outcomes related to the aims".¹⁹

The multi-layered process was introduced as a way to construct guidelines for specific levels of the programme based on the ethos of broader levels. The first to happen was that the nineteen Broad Curriculum Aims were transformed into the General BETD Competencies. This happened through a clustering of the aims and each cluster was given a heading that later on was developed into the General BETD Competency Areas. These competency areas were broad and few in numbers and developed through negotiation and sharing. The competency areas were spelled out in the broad curriculum as to what students should have achieved on the completion of the BETD. To develop the student teachers' abilities in these competency areas, eight aspects of the teaching profession were identified. These aspects were introduced as professional themes for all studies in the foundation block and further developed as specific competencies through the subject topics in the specialisation block.²⁰

The list of Broad Professional Themes/Competencies in the Broad Curriculum was immediately followed by a sentence starting with "students performance will be assessed in terms of these competencies...".²¹ This confirmed that the multi-layered process also was seen as a device to narrow the gap between the aims and objectives and the assessment procedures of the programme.

¹⁸ See Appendix 11.

¹⁹ Nyambe, J. (1996) Curriculum Development through a Multi-Layered Process. Undated commentary to a NIED presentation.

²⁰ See Appendix 12.

²¹ MHEVTST and MBEC op. cit. p. 6.

It was during this phase of the appraisal process that *competencies* surfaced as an important concept in the BETD. In previous versions of the Broad Curriculum (e.g. June 1994 and January 1996) competencies as a concept was only used in general terms in the rationale and aims of the programme. "The student teacher's actual achievements and competencies will be assessed in a variety of ways, giving an all-round picture of their development" or "The main aim of the Basic Education Teacher Diploma is to develop the professional expertise and competencies....".²² In contrast, the Broad Curriculum, which became the approved document in March 1998, gave competencies a more prominent position as a result of what was called curriculum development through a multi-layered process.²³

The fourth national seminar turned out to be the starting point of the second phase in the development of steering documents for the BETD. It was expressed in the second aim of the seminar: "to promote democratic processes for educational programme development through the creation of inter-college networks".²⁴ The background to this ambition to move initiative and involvement closer to the colleges was the combined effects of stronger demands of involvement from college staff and the tendency of a stronger hold on the power by a few foreign hands in the CCG.

The *college network* was established after the fourth national seminar. Each college selected a *Broad Curriculum Co-ordinator*, who also became the college representative in the CCG. Teacher educators were engaged in the inter-college network and subject area groups through

²² National Institute for Educational Development (1996:a) BETD Broad Curriculum. Okahandja: Draft Working Document, January 1996. pp. 1-2.

²³ National Institute for Educational Development (1996:b) Curriculum Development through a Multi-Layered Process. Okahandja: NIED document for the 4th National Seminar, January 1996.

²⁴ National Institute for Educational Development (1996:c) op. cit. p. 2.

which the new syllabi, including Topics and Tasks, were produced.²⁵ The finalisation of the Broad Curriculum was still an issue very much dependent on work carried out by the members of the CCG. Therefore, the production of the new Broad Curriculum was also strongly influenced by advisers working at NIED, even though it also at times went through broader participatory processes through seminars and other types of consultations with colleges.

Frameworks for the syllabus development was introduced from NIED in connection with syllabus seminars, while the actual production of syllabus content was made by teacher educators through the network. The production of syllabi went through a phased process as it was paralleled with the finalisation of the Broad Curriculum that had to be at least one step ahead of the syllabus production. This process was organised from NIED, while the teacher educators at the four colleges were the ones who produced the syllabus content through subject area workshops headed by subject co-ordinators at the colleges.

It took the rest of 1996 and 1997 to finalise the Broad Curriculum and draft syllabi through intensive work by all involved, i.e. teacher educators, NIED and project staff. The major national events related to the appraisal and renewal process of the BETD programme organised with the involvement of colleges, NIED, and TERP, between the work carried out at the institutions involved, added up to ten major workshops and seminars during the period October 1995 to October 1997.²⁶

In summary, the appraisal and renewal process involved a lot of people, almost all teacher educators in the country. However, this involvement did not guarantee ownership. The process was rather complex and sometimes difficult to follow. It was directed from NIED by a combination of necessity and will due to the perceived need for co-

²⁵ This network operated informally since 1996 and was formally instituted in September 1998. The subject co-ordinators were distributed across the colleges with 8 from WCE, 4 from CCE, 3 from RCE, and 6 from OCE.

²⁶ See Appendix 13.

ordination and control over the creation of an imperative reform framework. The evaluations of the different activities indicated that participants often recognised the seminars/workshops as informative, explanatory, and a step in the right direction. The majority of participants thought that it was a good start for sharing of ideas and that the new Broad Curriculum structure and the subject areas changes were good. The introduction of the multi-layered process, learning task maps, and the assessment plan were appreciated by the majority. The strengthening of the inter-college network and the formulating of broad criteria were seen as useful. The evaluations of the inter-college subject syllabus workshops showed that many participants appreciated the opportunities to work on different aspects of their own subject areas syllabi. However, there were also quite large portions of the participants who were less happy with the Broad Curriculum structure and questioned the supposedly participatory and democratic approaches used in its development. Many questioned the assessment principles and individual participants expressed their concerns in many of the inter-college subject syllabus workshops. Calls for curriculum experts could still be heard as late as March 2001.²⁷

The overall impression was that the construction of an imperative reform framework became soon a contested issue in the war of position of teacher education after the initial enthusiasm.

Annotation: forces at work at policy level

There were often calls for changes in connection with the development of the steering documents for the BETD programme. People in charge felt obliged to respond. If the suggested changes were perceived as a threat against the policy, they were dismissed with the motivation that they were against the policy of learner-centred education, assessment, or any of

²⁷ From post-observation interview, O3.

the framework statements in the Broad Curriculum. In connection with such controversies it was often mentioned that the nineteen goal statements in the Broad Curriculum had stayed the same since the start of the reform. This was given as proof of that the policy was untouchable while its implementation could vary.

These and similar requests in writing from the colleges that were not considered by NIED created a feeling of lack of power amongst the college staff that led to the questioning of the participatory and democratic approaches.

I don't want to politicise the issue. But there were a lot of differences between people. Some people had a greater input to give and a stronger voice because of advantages. But because of political reasons their voices were not welcomed always. That created a passiveness from their side. There was also a little bit of reluctance from time to time to take part.²⁸

NIED had the task to spearhead the reform and as a newcomer on the arena it encroached on the territories of others and became the threat that it was meant to be.²⁹

The policy was an untouchable area and part of the imperative framework. When the most outspoken opponents critiqued the programme, a reservation was often added that the BETD policy was acceptable. This acceptance was often expressed in terms of "nobody is questioning learner-centred education".³⁰ When such expressions came from the previously (and still) privileged strata it could be seen as a way to gain an entrance ticket to the reform arena and the war of position.

All along the reform process there was a difference in the presence of voices from the two opposing blocs. The voices from the counter-hegemonic bloc conquered the preferential right of interpretation at an early stage. The voices of the hegemonic bloc were often silenced in the

²⁸ Interview F2, 2001.

²⁹ Swarts (ed) op. cit.

³⁰ Interview F2, 2001.

public debate as representatives of the past regime. It also became obvious at an early stage that carriers of hegemonic identities adopted a less confrontational survival strategy. Disengagement became the order of the day with the effect that the voices of the hegemonic bloc were not heard too often except at strategically important occasions like in connection with the Presidential Commission in 1999.³¹

There was a general problem connected with the two phases in the process to establish a reform framework. This problem related to the contradiction between the ambitions to create a national agenda and the expectations of decentralisation as an expression of democracy.³² NIED as the central power demanded a conditional participation by the colleges as a matter of urgency to create a national agenda out of the previous ethnic authorities. There was force involved in this process, as no college would be allowed to remain mentally or practically in what was already known to everybody, i.e. the traits of the apartheid system. Therefore, the national agenda took preference over participation and democracy.

The first documents were developed by the CCG although we consulted. If one is very honest it was more like consultation after the fact. Certain decisions were taken. In order to make progress at that time it was necessary to start in that way otherwise it had taken us up to this point to come up with the programme.³³

This force created problems. It was used as an argument against the intentions. Teacher educators did not feel that they were listened to: "From the beginning they claimed that we were involved but we did not know how".³⁴ This was calculated by the organisers as the price that had to be paid to avoid a new type of merger between ethnicity and class

³¹ Government of the Republic of Namibia (1999) *Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training*. Windhoek.

³² Dahlström, L. (2000:c) op. cit.

³³ Interview F1, 2001.

³⁴ Interview F3, 2001.

under the guise of participation and democracy. There was a fear to give the colleges too much power to direct the development of the BETD programme early in the reform process. This fear was based on the view that the cultural and social capital of the different colleges could create disparate developments resembling the past.

The dilemma was that within this imperative policy framework there was a need to create degrees of freedom for participation and ownership. The appraisal process was an attempt in this direction, even though still under the direction of the CCG at NIED.

From the beginning we just heard somebody was going to attend a CCG meeting. We did not know what they were going to discuss and afterwards what they had discussed. Today proposals are discussed with the people to see if it is suitable for us. We are involved now.³⁵

The college network for syllabus development was a way to involve the teacher educators in the formulating of the steering documents for their own practice. The multi-layered process was introduced as a means to keep track of the broad vision as it filtered through the layers of reinterpretations. Sometimes the broad ethos of the philosophy got lost when it was transformed to identifiable entities of content.

The war of position over subject content became in many ways a symbolic struggle between the opposing views of teacher education. The echoing calls from one side read: more traditional subject content. These calls sometimes coincided with a symbiosis between new and old traditional intellectualism. BETD students and graduates, who had social aspirations beyond being teachers in basic education, together with university scholars and some foreign teacher educators at the colleges, who adhered to a traditional academic disciplinary paradigm, found a common basis in the advancement of subject content. From this perspective, the BETD programme needed a stronger focus on subject

³⁵ Interview F3, 2001.

knowledge that could more easily be translated into the traditional knowledge paradigm. This was contrary to the intentions of the BETD and to the policy under the slogan Education for All. Therefore, the common call from the other side was about the deeper understanding of learning about the learning of subject content placed within a view of teacher education that included a *critical literacy of pedagogy*. Intellectual alliances were also observed in this camp between teachers, teacher educators and foreign advisors, who saw themselves as intellectuals in pursuit of the expressed policy. However, their position as the supporters of the new policy in making placed them often in a defensive position, as the tools to transform the new policy into practice were not available as ready-made formula but had to be created along the road.

This resulted in a dichotomised war of position over subject content that translated and simplified the new policy to general methods that in an odd way were thought of as something that could work without subject content. The effect was a weakening of the policy by the changed balance between the foundation and specialisation blocks and the furtherance of competencies in the programme. On the other side, the attempt to trace the broad policy through the multi-layered process and the introduction of programme imprints like critical inquiry, school-based studies, and continuous assessment worked as an intellectual counter-force in pursuit of the new policy. These imprints are attended to in the next chapter.

