

**CIVIC EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN NEPAL:
AN INTERRELATIONSHIP STUDY
(1950-2006)**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social
Sciences of Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

By

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RECOMMENDATION

I certify that the dissertation of Mr. Bidur Prasad Phuyal, now being forwarded for the award of Doctor of Philosophy entitled **Civic Education and Democracy in Nepal: An Interrelationship Study (1950-2006)**, has prepared under my supervision. Therefore, I recommend the dissertation for evaluation.

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled **Civic Education and Democracy in Nepal: An Interrelationship Study (1950-2006)**, is prepared by Mr. Bidur Prasad Phuyal, under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examinations by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled "Civic Education and Democracy in Nepal: An Interrelationship Study (1950-2006)" was submitted by Bidur Prasad Phuyal for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in POLITICAL SCIENCE. I hereby certify that the Research Committee of this Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted it for the sought degree.

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Civic Education and democracy are interchangeable words without which social transformation and development of a country is impossible. Nepal is a developing society. She is trying to attend social transformation and development through implementation of appropriate civic education on the one hand, and by institutionalization of democracy, on the other hand. Realizing the significance of these two concepts, the dissertation is thus designed to study civic education and democracy in Nepal: an interrelationship study 1950-2006.

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ABSTRACT

This study has been carried out aiming at determining the interrelationship between democracy and civic education, the space civic education was given in the Nepalese education system, and the relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepalese political system.

The study was based on the assumption that for emancipation of individuals, the main task of civic education should be to make people aware of the causes of social problems and prepare them to fight back those problems. In line with this, civic education should lead the people to take actions for transformation of the society. The study is also based on the reproduction theory in the sense that the people who were governed the country were the ones who controlled education and they all were doing things to reproduce and continue what they believed useful for the country as well as for them. This study has been designed to look into the relationships between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics gaining insights from the above theoretical considerations.

Adopting historical approach to research for the development of the methodology of the study, significant political theories were reviewed and relevant political and educational events that took place in the past were critically examined. Empirical information was collected through interviews with academicians, politicians, educationists, teachers, and students, and classroom observations of the delivery of civic education. The information gathered through theoretical assumptions was analyzed and interpreted by using the interpretative theory practiced in social science. Similarly, empirical data were collected from individuals (interviewees) and institutions (classrooms) regarding the nature and ways of imparting civic education, and the political development of Nepal and the contribution of civic education to the process of democratization of Nepali polity.

The study reveals that the political system of a country, democracy, education system, and civic education are correlated concepts. It was also revealed that civic education in Nepal received comparatively better position when the political system was democratic, and when it was undemocratic, the space of civic education was downgraded. A weak link was found between formal civic education and the process of

democratization of the Nepali politics. The implication was that there was need for integration of proper contents of civic education and effective delivery systems for making civic education contributory to the process of democratization of the political system of the country. Nepal was found to have partially followed the international trends while examining the Nepal trends of delivery of civic education against the international trends; Nepali's delivery of civic education involved only conceptualization of civic knowledge, teaching civic education contents as a separate curriculum under a formal setting, and active learning of civic knowledge, skills and virtues.

Thus Nepal's civic education was at rudimentary stage in terms of status, content coverage, delivery process and contribution to the process of democratization of the political system of the country. The implication is that in order for civic education to support the democracy in the country, there is need for simultaneous development in the infrastructural development for and delivery of civic education. In addition, strengthening institutional process of democracy and a provision for effective delivery of civic education are also necessary. The thesis could be condensed by saying that no country would be able to promote democratic process in absence of civic education, in turn; no civic education would be meaningful in absence of democratic process.

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List of Acronyms

APSA	American Political Science Association
ARNEC	All Round National Education Committee
BC	Before Christ
BPEP	Basic and Primary Education Project
BS	Bikram Shambat
CICED	Centre for International Civic Education
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HMG/N	His Majesty's Government/Nepal
HLNEC	High Level National Education Commission
HOR	House of Representatives
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
LBMB	Law Books Management Board
MoE	Ministry of Education
MRD	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NEC	National Education Commission
NEFAS	Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies
NESP	National Education System Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NNEPC	Nepal National Education Planning Commission
OL	Optional Language
PEP	Primary Education Project
SAARC	Association of South Asian Regional Cooperation
SPCE	Society for the Promotion of Civic Education
TU	Tribhuvan University
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNO	United Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
VC	Vice-Chancellor
VDC	Village Development Committee
WB-UNICEF	World Bank-United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Education in every nation is considered the main factor for the over all development of a society. So, great concern has been shown towards good, productive and critical educational system which would help to prepare effective human resources for the attainment of socio-economic and political objectives of the society. Therefore, importance is given to the civic education for preparation of the enlightened, critical and democratic citizenry in the country. The tradition of formal education has been long in other countries. But in Nepal, it is a recent phenomenon of less than six decades. Failure of democratic experiences in the past and the present crisis is the result of lack of preparation of the citizen in civic sense, values, and practices. So, the issue of civic education as part of formal education from past to the present is an area of critical importance, a necessary component in the present Nepalese context for both theoretical as well as practical purpose of educational planning. Philosophers, political thinkers, and educationists have pinpointed the interdependence of democracy and civic education. According to Branson, "Civic Education in democracy is the education in self-government."¹ Similarly Aristotle says, "if liberty and equality, as in thought by some are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attended when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost."² This statement would indicate that until and unless people develop their awareness to participate in the affairs of states, meaning of democracy could hardly be relevant. It means civic education should take the responsibility of making people aware of the political activities which emphasize individual rights and freedom. Also, civic education acknowledges personal dignity and value observing capacity on the basis of the rule of law. Recognition of the individual will to fulfill responsibilities, participation in the common good, constitutional government and universal adult suffrage are some other characteristics of civic education. To make and unmake government with participant political culture that is,

¹ Margaret Stimmann Branson, *The Role of Civic Education*, Sept. 1998, p. 2. Online [Http://www/civiced.org/articles-role.html].

² Ibid, p. 2.

effective political involvement all fall under the purview of civic education. In addition, civic education helps people get involved in their political system by informing people about how their government works, what government official responsibilities are, what areas of the political process are open to citizens' involvement and what kind of things citizen can do to affect political outcomes.³

Politics is defined as a process for who gets what, when and how,⁴ and civic education provides citizens the opportunity of rational choice in the political process. Prevalence of poverty is a human phenomenon, directly related to the exclusion or creation of groups of population due to uneven distribution of goods and services to all regions and section of population. These are all the matter of politics. This problem could be treated through the means of civic education. Civic education enhances individuals to think on how, where, and whom the resources are to be allocated. Promotion of cultural heritage, continuity of human civilization in the society and conservation of nature are essential parts of human life and society. Preservation and promotion of the same can be done only with the help of civic education. On the whole, democracy is a human phenomenon and promotion of democracy is possible only through civic education. For a country like Nepal, which is caught in the multifaceted problems and vicious circle of poverty, civic education is an essential element for preparation of democracy.

While looking at global trends, there are some components in civic education that work for democracy.⁵ These components are development of common strength, establishment of the civic education institutions and international exchanges, cooperation in the development and implementation of civic education programs. During the 1990s, tremendous interest emerged throughout the world in the development and implementation of educational programs in schools to help young people to prepare competent and responsible citizens in democratic political systems. That strategy of schooling mostly focused on direct civic education programs at the pre-collegiate level

³ *Civics in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2001), p. 58.

⁴ Ananta Raj Poudyal, *A Study on Civic Education and Culture of Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Kathmandu Center for Research and Studies, 2004), Vol. III, p. 3.

⁵ Charles N. Quigley, *Global Trends in Civic Education*, A Speech given at the Seminar for the Needs for New Indonesian Civic Education Center for Indonesian Civic Education (CICED), Indonesia, March 29, 2000, p. 1, Online [<http://www.civiced.org/index.php>].

although attention is increasingly being focused on students in colleges and universities and in some places in community or adult education.

Reviewing the global practices of governance would reveal that civic education received more importance under democratic polity and less under undemocratic regime showing incompatibility in the way they treated it. With the fall of communism in the world, educational programs supporting emerging democracies seemed to have come into vogue. The new approach lays emphasis on civic education or education for democracy. Apparently, there is widespread recognition in the established democracies that democracy requires more than the writing of constitutions and the establishment of democratic institutions. Along with democratic practices, the content of civic education has also changed concomitantly. Accordingly, the newly emergent democratic states are prone to give as much importance to civic education as a separate subject or by integrating it with social studies, language, and even science and mathematics. The political change of 1990 and reestablishment of democracy in Nepal also focused on the education system to empower the young generation with the civic ideas for strengthening the democracy in the country.

In the past, most of the programs of civic education were limited to the developed nations in the world. Now, there has been an increasing tendency among educators of the countries of emerging and advanced democracies to work together sharing ideas, programs, and experiences which are mutually beneficial in schooling of youth. Throughout the 1990s, there has been a rapid increase in the development of international networks of civic educators. The extent of such communication and cooperation now constitutes an international movement in civic education. Different institutions are constituted and engaged in the development of civic education in different countries of the world. For example, Western Europe and the German Federal Center for Civic Education have been engaged for decades in the promotion of educational programs supporting democracy in the West. The Germans and more recently, others have directed their attention to states that were formerly a part of East Germany. The German Center also has a history of programs with other Western European Nations and, since the fall of communism, German center has increasingly included representatives of Eastern European Nations and the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union (EEN/NIS). For about twenty years, American

educators have taken part in collaborative programs cosponsored by the Center for Civic Education.

1.1.1 Global Trends of Civic Education and Democracy

In addition to noting the emergence of international networks and the cooperation among people working in the field of civic education, John Patrick, the Executive Director of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University at Bloomington has identified nine trends that have broad potential for influencing civic education in the constitutional democracies of the world. In the conceptualization of civic education he has pointed out three interrelated components-civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic virtues.⁶ Many educators throughout the world have focused their programs upon the development of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic virtues. In their views, Civic knowledge consists of fundamental ideas and information that the learners must know and use to become effective and responsible citizens of a democracy. Civic skills include the intellectual skills needed to understand, explain, compare, and evaluate principles and practices of government and citizenship. They also include participatory skills that enable citizens to monitor and influence public policies. Civic virtues include the traits of character, dispositions and commitments necessary for the preservation and improvement of democratic governance and citizenship. Examples of civic virtues are respect for the worth and dignity of each person, civility, integrity, self-discipline, tolerance, compassion, and patriotism. Commitments include a dedication to human rights, the common good, equality and the rule of law.⁷

Meanwhile, civic educators have stressed systematic teaching of democratic governance and citizenship such as popular sovereignty, individual rights, the common good, authority, justice, freedom, constitutionalism and rule of law, and representative democracy. The other components include field visits and the case studies for the students. Teachers would require students to apply core concepts or principles to the analysis of case studies. The use of case studies was expected to bring the drama and vitality of authentic civic life into the classroom and would require the practical

⁶ John, Patricks, *Global Trends in Civic Education for Democracy*, ERIC Digest, ERIC Learning House for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Retrieved from January 5, 2007. Online [[http:// www.civiced. org/index.php](http://www.civiced.org/index.php)].

⁷ Ibid,

application of fundamental ideas or concepts to make sense of the data of civic reality. Similarly, development of decision-making skills was another important component practiced in school curriculum. Teachers used case studies of political and legal issues to help students develop decision-making skills. Students were taught to identify issues, to examine the alternative choices and the likely consequences of each choice, and to defend one choice as better than the others. Comparative and international analysis of government and citizenship was one of the important contents of the school civic education practiced in the world. The global resurgence of constitutional democracy also aroused interest in the comparative method of teaching and learning about government and citizenship. Effective civic education requires students to compare institutions of constitutional democracy in their own country with institutions in other democracies of the contemporary world. The expectation is that this kind of comparative analysis will deepen students' understanding of their own democratic institutions while expanding their knowledge of democratic principles. Further, this kind of comparative analysis is likely to diminish ethnocentrism, as students learn the various ways that the principles of democracy can be practiced.⁸ The other important aspect was the methods used in teaching civic education curriculum. Development of participatory skills and civic virtues through cooperative learning activities proved one of the practiced pedagogical approaches in civic education curriculum. Teachers emphasize cooperative learning in small groups, which requires students to work together to achieve a common objective. Through these teaching and learning techniques students could develop various participatory skills and the civic virtues associated with them. Learners involved regularly in cooperative learning situations tend to develop such skills as leadership, conflict resolution, compromise, negotiation, and constructive criticism.⁹ And they develop such virtues as tolerance, civility, and trust.¹⁰

Global trends in 1990 highlight different resources being used in the teaching of civic education. The use of literature to teach civic virtues was one of the resources

⁸ Kermit L. Hall, *The Power of Comparison in Teaching about Constitutionalism, Law, and Democracy*, Paper presented to the Conference on Education for Democracy at The Merston Center of The Ohio State University, March 4-7, 1993. ED 372-025.

⁹ Robert E. Slavin, Synthesis of Research on Cooperative Learning. *Educational Leadership* 48 (February 1991), p. 71-82.

¹⁰ Robert J. Stahl, and R. L. Van Sickle, Eds. *Cooperative Learning in the Social Studies Classroom: An Introduction to Social Study*, (Washington DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1992).

popularly used in teaching civic education. Civic educators recognized that the study of literature, both fictional and historical, exposed students to interesting people who had exemplified civic virtues in dramatic situations. The characters in these stories, therefore, proved to be the role models for students. At the very least, they are positive examples of particular civic virtues that can help students understand the meaning and importance of morality in civic life.¹¹ Sandra Stotsky, an expert on using literature to teach civic virtues, stressed the educational value of exposing learners "to characters who exhibit such traits as courage, hope, optimism, ambition, individual initiative, love of country, love of family, the ability to teach at themselves, a concern for the environment, and outrage at social injustice."¹² Civic educators seek active involvement of students in their acquisition of knowledge, skills, and virtues. Examples of active learning include systematic concept learning, analysis of case studies, development of decision-making skills, cooperative learning tasks, and interactive group discussions that are associated with teaching civic virtues through literary study. Experts argue that intellectually, active learning in contrast to passive learning is associated with higher levels of achievement. Furthermore, it enables students to develop skills and processes needed for independent inquiry and civic decision-making throughout a lifetime. These are capacities of citizenship perceived by many as needed to make a constitutional democracy work.

In the development of curricula and classroom lessons, teachers recognize that civic virtue and intellectual and participatory skills are inseparable from the body of civic knowledge or content. They assume that if learners want to think critically and act effectively and virtuously in response to a public issue, they must understand the terms of the issue, its origins, the alternative responses to it, and the likely consequences of these responses. This understanding is based upon their knowledge. And the application of this knowledge to explain, to evaluate, and to resolve a public issue depends largely upon the cognitive process skills of the learners.

Basic content or subject matter and fundamental cognitive processes or operations have been reported to be interrelated factors of teaching and learning. Educationists argue that to elevate one over the other—content over process or vice

¹¹ John J. Patrick, *Global Trends in Civic Education for Democracy*, ERIC Digest, Retrieved from August 17, 2008. Online [<http://www.ericdigests.org/1998-1/global.htm>].

¹² Sandra Stotsky, *The Connection Between Language Education and Civic Education*, ERIC Digest. Bloomington, (IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1992)

versa-is a pedagogical flaw that interferes with effective civic education. Academic content and process-civic knowledge, virtues, and skills-must be taught and learned in tandem to fulfill the mission of civic education, which is the development of individuals with the capacity to establish, maintain, and improve democratic governance and citizenship in their country and throughout the world.¹³

A review of the literature based on the countries which introduced civic education as a subject of study reveals that both the contents and processes of civic education are complementary to each other. The study was conducted during the 1990s by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), a consortium of 53 educational research institutes representing different countries. IEA has its head office in Amsterdam. The goal of the study was to "examine...ways in which young people are prepared for their roles as citizens in democracies and societies aspiring to be democracies."¹⁴ The first publication of the study based on 24 countries including both developed and developing democracies came out by the IEA Civic Education Project in 1999. It was revealed that there was a common core of topics across countries in civic education. Furthermore, there was unanimity among authors of the national case studies that civic education should be based on important content that crosses disciplines. It was also found that Civic education through out the countries have included matters and learning methods consonant with participative and interactive mode related to life in a non-authoritarian environment and cognizant of the challenges of social diversity. They were constructed keeping in view the parents, the community, and nongovernmental organizations as well as the school.¹⁵

Despite extensive efforts, there has not been universal success in any country in achieving these goals for all students. In the United States, the recent National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics revealed that only 25% of students are proficient in the subject. However, some studies showed that trained teachers and effective programs in civic education could make a difference. For example, the effect of class project program in civic education in Bosnia and Herzegovina was reported to have

¹³ See for detail in Patrick, op.cit. f. n. 11

¹⁴ Scheille Tourney-Purta, John Judith and Jo Ann Amadeo, (eds). *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, IEA 1999.

¹⁵ Charls N. Quigley, *Global Trends in Civic Education*, Retrieved from August 15, 2007. Online [<http://www.civiced.org/index.php>].

made participant students more supportive of the rule of law and respecting fundamental political and human rights.¹⁶ The studies showed that students in these programs had a clear understanding of the fundamental values and principles of their heritage and its relevance to their daily lives. The students who read the civic education subject were more tolerant, supported rights not only for themselves but also for those who differed from them, more politically efficacious and participated in political life than other students. It is believed the young people have become more critical of the current state of affairs, more interested in working to narrow the gap between the ideals of the system and the reality and have the kind of citizens required for a democracy to survive and flourish. This observation shows that civic education can work if it is implemented in an appropriate way. Certain common factors that have hampered the implementation of sound civic education program are as follows:

- Continuation of the authoritarian political cultures
- Slow process of institutional change both in the content and form.
- Non-effective methodology.
- Inadequate resources to carry out the necessary tasks such as decentralization of curricular development and its formulation as per the need of society.
- Resistance to democratic teaching styles and the empowerment of students, interactive methodology, discussion, debate, simulation of democratic procedures, low status of civic education compared with other disciplines such as mathematics, science, language arts, and history.
- Problem in developing proficiency in the field.
- Lack of adequately trained teachers in civic education, not having the resources to train them and no research on the qualifications of teachers of civics are common problems. It is estimated that more than 70 % of the civic education teachers lack adequate training to provide instructions.
- Finally, dealing with diversity and helping students learn to deal productively has appeared to be the gap between the ideals and reality in democratic political systems.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Approaches to Civic Education: Lesson Learned*, (Washington: U.S. Agency for International Development, May 2001), pp. 12-19.

¹⁷ Quigley, op. cit. f. n. 5, pp. 3-4.

1.1.2 Working Framework

Gaining insights from the above observations, as institutional processes provide value and stability in society, it is argued that establishment of proper institutions is the prime requisite for the development of civic education and democracy. Ultimately, a free society and democracy are interrelated. Both the processes must rely on the knowledge, skills, and virtue of its citizens who elect public officers. Likewise, for the establishment, preservation and improvement of any constitutional democratic institution, civic education is necessary. Civic education, therefore, is essential to the establishment, preservation, and improvement of any constitutional democratic institution.

The goal of civic education should be communicated to students who are the responsible citizens of the future in order to make them committed to the fundamental values and principles of democratic institutions. Their effective and responsible participation requires acquisition of a body of knowledge and of intellectual and participatory skills. Effective and responsible participation is also promoted by development of certain dispositions or traits of character that enhance the individual's capacity to participate in the political process and contribute to the healthy functioning of the political system and improvement of society.

Institutions, formal as well as informal, disseminating civic values can help to develop citizens' knowledge and skills and shape their civic character and commitments. The family, religious institutions, the media, and community groups are some of the institutions which exert important influences on the people about the knowledge of civic education. In the United States, at least, schools bear a special and historic responsibility for the development of civic competence and civic responsibility. Schools fulfill that responsibility through both formal and informal curricula beginning in the earliest grades and continuing through the entire educational process.¹⁸

Formal instruction in civics and government should provide students with a basic understanding of civic life, politics, and governance. It should help them to understand

¹⁸ See for detail *American System of Civic Education in Campaign to Promote Civic Education*, Retrieved from September 15, 2008. Online.
[http://www.civiced.org/index.php?page=campaign_to_promote_civic_education]

the functioning of their own and other political systems as well as the relationship of their nation's politics and government to world affairs. Formal instruction provides a basis for understanding the rights and responsibilities of citizens in any constitutional democracy and a framework for competent and responsible participation. Hence, it could be said that the formal curriculum augmented by related learning experiences in both school and community enables students to learn how to participate in their own governance. In a similar manner, the informal curriculum refers to the governance of the school community and relationships among those within it. These relationships between formal and informal must embody the fundamental values and principles of constitutional democratic institution.

The accomplishment of these tasks would insure that improvement efforts in civic education should be well coordinated and that they form a comprehensive and rational approach to the improvement and institutionalization of effective programs in civics and government in any nation. It is obvious that addressing all of these tasks at one go would require time and resources available to few organizations or institutions. Therefore, depending upon the circumstances in a nation, it would be reasonable to focus attention solely on the development of standards, a curriculum framework, or a teacher education program. In other circumstances a set of tasks might be addressed such as the implementation of a pilot program including development of curricular materials, teacher training, classroom instruction, and evaluation. Thus, it could be admitted that this is the institutional approach that has been wisely chosen by the Center for Civic Education Development (CICED).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A cursory study of the development pattern of civic education in the global context in general and available resources on Nepal in particular would help state that neither the civic educational process has appeared conducive towards promotion of democracy nor have the democratic practices appeared effective enough to design civic education according to the needs of the society. Though Nepal is caught in a vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment, problems affecting the civic education and democracy of Nepal are due to lack of adequate institutions and educational infrastructures. The problems could be stated as the ineffective coordination between

polity and education, besides shortsightedness in policies. During the Panchayat system, the rulers' philosophy and intentions influencing the civic education marred the promotion of civic education towards appropriate direction. And, in the later years, political instability appears to be the serious problem to help design civic education for transformation of society. As one affects the other, the present work has been designed-carried out to study the relationships between civic education and the democratic practices in the country.

1.3 Some Assumptions

Some assumptions on the civic education and democracy are:

- The lower the degree of literacy rate in the country, the lower would be the level of consciousness in society.
- The lower the level of consciousness in society, the lower will be people's assertiveness for their rights.
- The lower the level of assertion of civic rights, self-vigilance as the price of liberty may appear dubious.

Thus, the work is designed to study civic education and its relation with democracy in Nepal.

1.4 Objectives of the Study.

The objectives of this study are:

- To determine the interrelationship between civic education and democracy.
- To determine the place of civic education in the education system of Nepal.
- To examine the relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics.

1.5 Rationale for the Study

The rationales for the study are:

- First, the study would provide a thematic guidance to help understand the education system of Nepal with regard to democratization of the society.

- Second, it would help to find out the relationships between civic education and democratic processes in Nepal.
- Third, the study would provide requirements for the promotion of civic education and democracy.
- Fourth, the conclusions of the study would provide some academic inputs to the literature of civic education and democracy of Nepal.
- Finally, the study would provide some guidelines for policy makers and other parties concerned to promote civic education and democracy in Nepal.

1.6 Methodology of the Study

Research in the field of Political Science, as research in other fields, involves the process of gathering, processing and interpreting data. Since the study mainly focuses on the historical development of politics, education and civic education, insights for the development of methodology were gained also from descriptive research. In a way, it was necessary, for the study, because of its nature, to adopt historical approach to research for the development of methodology. The historical approach to research leads us to understand and assess the past events, significant political theories, and their present role (McNabb, 2005).

In addition, the study was interested to collect some empirical information. For that purpose, it was proposed to conduct interviews, and observe classroom delivery.

In order to collect information for the study, the following steps were followed.

a. Deskwork

It includes selection of the information collected from different literature reviews such as books, articles, journals, research papers, internet sources, etc. It also includes reviews of relevant study reports, research reports and the reports of commissions submitted to Nepal government. The reviews are presented organizing different chapters.

b. Interview

Interviews were conducted on different issues of civic education related to reading materials, teaching methods and status of curriculum. A number of people of such categories of respondents were interviewed. The list is available in appendix E.

Separate questionnaires were prepared for interview with academicians, educationists, politicians, teachers and students. The list of the questionnaires is available in appendices A, B, C and D. The themes and topics included in the questionnaires were decided by gaining insights from the review of the literature related to education and democracy, and the issues related to interrelationship between civic education and democratization process of Nepali politics and place of civic education in the system of school education in Nepal.

c. Observations

In order to get insights on how civic education was delivered in the classrooms, the investigator conducted participatory observation in six schools with a view to identifying the learning process in civic education.

d. Sample Population

For interviews, a list of academicians, educationists, politicians, teachers and students was made. The proposed number of the people to be interviewed was as follows:

Academicians	15
Educationists	15
Politicians	15
Teachers	15
Students	30

By involving the above number of people, it was thought that necessary information would be gathered regarding the situation of democracy in different times and the implementation of civic education. This number of population will be enough to get a picture of the status of education, democracy and civic education.

The total number of people who participated in the study is available in appendix E. mainly, the sampling size comprised of the people involved in civic education and democracy.

Due to unavailability of some of the people listed, the following list has been prepared according to the actual number of people who participated in the study. About 56% of the proposed respondents were participated in the study. This participation has represented the categories of the respondents proposed. Being a qualitative research, the size of the sample to be statistically representative does not make sense. So, this sample is enough for the present study.

Academicians	5
Educationists	5
Politicians	10
Teachers	10
Students	20

- Availability: A list of people who could give useful information in the area of investigation was prepared. They were contacted for the purpose of interview. It was difficult to find all the people mentioned in the list to give the investigator ample time for an interview. Those who were willing to give time were included in the sample. The list of people who were interviewed is given in appendix E.

While selecting respondents from academicians, educationists, politicians, teachers, and students, the investigator made a list of probable interviewees. They were phoned or contacted personally by the investigator. Only those respondents who were able to provide time were interviewed face to face using the questionnaire developed for that purpose.

For the selection of schools, the investigator visited some boarding and public schools in the Kathmandu metropolitan area and adjoining villages. Finally, the investigator selected six schools (three private and three public schools). The names of the schools which participated in the study are

available in appendix F. The schools were selected mainly on the basis of students' willingness to participate in discussions.

It must be mentioned that due to the fragile political situation, it was not possible to visit outside Kathmandu for the purpose of data collection though it was desirable.

The field study/data collection

Data were collected by utilizing two processes i.e. interview and class observation. The data collected through interviews helped to understand the existing position of civic education and some insights for improvements. The class observations helped to understand the contents and process of delivery of civic education and the activities carried out in the classrooms.

Analysis of the data

The questionnaires filled in with the information provided by the respondents were collected. The data collected through interviews and observations were organized under some headings for the purpose of analysis. The information collected from interviews was organized under the headings like concepts of civic education and democracy, status of civic education, reform needed in civic education, Nepal's developmental trends in civic education, why there are ups and downs of civic education and democracy, etc. Similarly, the information collected from classroom observations was organized under the headings- subject matter, teaching method, instructional materials, students' participation, and teacher's activities, etc.

The data collected through questionnaires and class observations were converted into qualitative information under the above headings. They were analyzed and interpreted using qualitative data analysis approach. Insights were gained from the analyses and interpretation so as to lead the discussions to conclusions. Because of the nature of the study, no statistical processing was carried out.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The following were the limitations of the study:

- a. This study is mainly based on the deskwork. It is mainly based on reviews of literature. For empirical data, a small number of people were involved.
- b. Though civic education is a multifaceted approach, only selected variables such as socio- cultural, economic and political aspects have been taken into consideration. Furthermore, it was constraint for an individual researcher, if not impossible, to cover the whole history of Nepal to analyse the relation between civic education and democracy. Therefore, consideration of most vibrant period of political reform (1950 – 2006) is made in this study. This is also a limitation of the study.
- c. This study has adopted historical approach to data collection and qualitative approach to data interpretation. It has not used statistical processing for data analysis.
- d. Because of the political situation, the field study was confined to the Kathmandu Valley.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This study is organized into Seven Chapters.

According to the research content, Chapter I deals with Introduction, Background, Problem Statement, Objectives, Some Assumptions, Methodology, and Limitations. The Second Chapter and Third Chapter deal with the review of the literatures, survey of education and democracy, general trends of civic education and institutional framework for civic education and theoretical framework of the study in the light of the first objective of study. In a similar manner, Chapter III gives the picture of state policy, education status, and education policy of Nepal till 1950. This chapter also highlights the status of civic education in the early period of Nepal. Taking into account of the second objective, Chapter IV discusses political interregnum, education, and civic education survey from 1950-1960. Chapter V is devoted to the discussions of state policy, education policy and civic education status from 1960 to 1990. Chapter VI is designed with a view to explore the third objective of the study on the basis of restoration of democracy, education policy and status of civic education and its role for the promotion of democracy from 1990 to 2006. Chapter VII includes findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter II is concentrated on review of the related literature. An Extensive survey of literature related to democracy, education and civic education was made so as to clarify the position of civic education in the world as well as in Nepal. The survey was also made to justify the rationale for the study and to draw some issues in civic education. An extensive literature, documentation, and researches over the recent years in the field of civic education have been amassed. National, international, and local educational agencies and their programs have given greater interest in the civic education, citizenship education, or in the name of moral education. Similarly, in the process of education, several programs of students' engagement in civic responsibilities, democratic foundations, participatory and cognitive skills development, and development of attitude of self-efficacy in society have been practiced. The extensive survey of literature from the ancient Greek philosophers' contribution to civic education to the concerns and issues of civic education of 21st century was made. Books, journals, magazines, encyclopedia, research reports, national state documents, international documents, national and local agencies practices and programs, internet sources were reviewed.

The construct of civic education has broader implications in all aspects of the subject. Civic education is a very complex subject which includes knowledge, cognitive and participatory skills, attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions related to democracy and human rights in the name of contents. The nature of civic education in both approaches of formal and non-formal education is discussed in the literature. The literatures outlined and described the formal and non-formal aspects of civic education because civic education is not only provided through formal education but also through non-formal education. The nature of the curriculum, curriculum materials, examples/models of different education programs and classroom delivery approach are included in formal education. The non-formal education includes outside classroom activities that can manifest the civic sense and skills necessary for life and assessment techniques.

The Society for the Promotion of Civic Education (SPCE-2001) outlines the authentic documents on civic education in the Nepalese context from primary to secondary education. Similarly, Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) produces some notable documents that speak about civil society, civic education and democracy. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDIA) conducts multi-part research through USAID's civic education programming. This research highlights the contributions of civic education to the development of more active and informed democratic citizenry. This showed the impact of both adult and school-based civic education programs on participants' behaviors and attitudes.

From the study of above documents, the elements of civic education are cognitive contents-civic rights, duties, justice, challenges to civic society, environmental threat and sustainable development and gender issues. The other suggested approach of providing civic education in the schools is the students' projects such as outer class activities publishing wall magazines, involvement in debates, clean school environment, and working in groups under the facilitation of the teachers. Being evaluative in the Nepalese civic education from the past to the present, education during Rana regime was indifferent in providing civic education to the public. Very few schools were established during the Rana Regime and these schools did not include civic education, neither as a separate subject nor in an integrated form. Even during the Panchayat system, very little importance was given to civic education for generating consciousness.

A moral education course was introduced so as to produce guided individuals, but it was not adequate raising consciousness (critical) towards the promotion of critical civic education in the society. After the reestablishment of democracy in 1990, the curriculum of civic education was included in integrated form as part of social study and also as a separate subject. However, different versions and vision of the civic education were floated in the society. Some claimed that civic education should be separate and made a compulsory subject and there were others who suggested for integration of it in other subjects' curriculum.

In the international context, civics and civic education are used interchangeably. In the past, civics was directly related to the act of educating and preparing a citizen in the society as a responsible person. In modern times, this sort of preparation of citizen goes to civic education. The contents of civics were democracy, freedom and individual

rights including the structure, function and the problems of the government at the local, state, national and international level.¹⁹ In the 21st century, the scope of civic education as well as issues widened due to complex social setting in the world. Universal rights, human rights, multi-party democracy, rule of law, educational development, civic sense, poverty alleviation, socialization, civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition remained the contents of civic education in the 21st century. United States Agency for International Development (USAID), International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA), National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), and other civic institutions were involved in research related to civic education that focused on effectiveness of promoting civic sense and behavior in students, civic education achievement like mathematics and sciences among them. Such studies helped to improve and promote civic education internationally. Similarly, several institutions and universities in Europe are working for the development of civic education in their respective countries. Research School of Social Science in Australia is working for the development of the civic education. Development of curriculum and reform of civic education in general were the contribution of the Research School of Social Science in Australia. In Australia, it was opined that the reform of civic education should be based on the state policy evaluation. Similarly North West Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, U.S.A. recently surveyed nearly hundreds reports on the state of civic education in the world so as to attain re-conceptualization of civic education. The analysis of the reports concluded that civic education is not working for what it was aimed to work. In a nationwide study on civic education, University of Texas researchers found wide spread neglect of civic education.²⁰ In the Zambian context, several civic education programs conducted by non-governmental organization were found effective only among privileged element of the society. The contents of the civic education were citizen's knowledge and values related to civics, and methods of imparting such knowledge and values through informal methods such as dramas, street shows, etc to

¹⁹ *The World Book Encyclopedia*, C1-C2 Volume 4 World Book, Inc., (Chicago: A Scott Fetzer Company, 2000), p. 604.

²⁰ Harry Esteve, *Johnny can read, but he isn't taught about civics*, 2000. Online [<http://ptg.djnr.com/ccroot/asp/publib/sto...>].

prepare citizens as active voters.²¹ So far reviewed international literature on civic education shows commonalities in the contents of civic education practiced every where in the democratic countries. Basically, the contents that are commonly focused are multi-party democracy, human rights, and people's roles in the globalized world, respect of others right, etc.

2.1 Education and Democracy: Meaning and Concept

The meaning of education is defined in various ways. Scholars are of the opinion that "Education is the life long process by which human beings learn about the world around them. An educated person is not simply someone who has achieved success at school, but rather a person who has gained a wide experience of the life and culture of a society and who continues to mature intellectually, emotionally, and socially".²²

Education as a life long process begins with mother's care and ends after death. Education is thus imparted through three modes: formal, non-formal and informal. The nature, form and modes of education have been different in different periods of human history. Ancient philosophers have defined education in a comprehensive manner. Philosophers and thinkers like Socrates (469-399 B.C), Yajnavalkya (About 600 B.C.) and modern thinkers such as Dewey (1859-1952), Gandhi (1869-1948) and others had defined education as enlightenment of soul by which individuals know the real meaning of life.²³ As the meaning of education is all round development of personality, its aim is defined as 'dispelling error and discovering truth' (Socrates, 469-399 B.C.). It is focused 'to the development of body and soul and of all the perfection which they are capable of doing thing best' (Plato, 427-347 B.C.). Plato states that 'the one sufficient thing is the guardians' education: if they are well educated, they will see everything'. It is emphasized as 'creation of a sound mind in a sound body' (Aristotle, 384-322 B.C.). As the Rigveda advocates, 'noble thought comes from every side'. The linkage of education is 'attainment of a sound mind in a sound body' (Locke, 1632-1704). Education imparts knowledge to the 'development from within' (Rousseau, 1712-1778). It is 'realization of

²¹ Michael Brantton, Philip Alderfer, Georgia Bowser and Joseph Temba, *The Effects of Civil Education on Political Culture: Evidence from Zambia*, 1999, Online. [[http:// Proquest. Umi. Com/pqdweb? Ts=10231](http://Proquest.Umi.Com/pqdweb?Ts=10231)].

²² *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit. f.n. 1 p. 345.

²³ J.C. Aggarwal, *Essentials of Educational Psychology*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1995), p. 6. 13

all the possibilities of human growth' (Parker, 1837-1902). According to Dewey (1859-1952) education is 'increasing social efficiency'. It is argued that education makes 'life to harmony with existence' (Tagore, 1861-1914). Education is the 'all-round drawing out of the best' (Gandhi, 1869-1948). Education is said to be for 'training the intellect, refinement of the heart and discipline of the spirit' (Radhakrishna, 1888-1975). Most of the scholars, philosophers and educationists have, thus, defined education in the form of product that is a complete individual fostering innate potentialities. Some have taken concern of education to politics, society and development. However, the attainment of product is directed towards process and outcomes. Reviewing the thought over education, education is focus to be a discipline, means and ends, and tools for development. So, apparent relation between education and democracy can be very clearly traced out.

Regarding the importance of education, Plato is of the opinion that the state is an important educational institution and he calls it the 'one great thing', under which an individual finds opportunities to excel his all round development. For Socrates, virtue is knowledge. To continue his saying, to know good is to do well, and it emphasizes the need to cultivate one's soul".²⁴ Regarding an issue of how long a man should be involved in education, the great philosopher Plato has given a long profile of different stages of education. Plato recommended a state-controlled, compulsory and comprehensive scheme of education. Plato proposed elementary education that would be confined to the guardian class till the age of 18, followed by two years of compulsory military training and then by higher education for those who are qualified. At the age of 20, a selection was made. The best ones would take an advanced course in mathematics, which would include arithmetic, plain and solid geometry, astronomy and harmonics. Higher education was to cultivate the spirit of free intellectual enquiry. The first course in the scheme of higher education would last for ten years. At the age of thirty, there would be another selection. Those who are qualified would study dialectics or metaphysics, logic and philosophy for the next five years. They would study the idea of Good and the first principles of being good. They would receive partial experience for ruling. They would accept junior positions in military and political life till the age of thirty-five. This period

²⁴ Quoted in Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy, *A History of Political Thought: Plato to Marx*, (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., 1999), p. 75.

would last for the next fifteen years. By the age of fifty, the philosopher ruler would be fully equipped with the knowledge of ruling. He would devote the greater part of his time to contemplation and philosophy, along with political obligations. Since he would have grasped the idea of Good, he would be in a position to do good to the community.²⁵

The true goal of education for both Plato and Aristotle was to inculcate the values of civic virtues. They framed an educational system which would impart a moral liberal education rather than a study of political science. Both believed that education would be an effective remedy for corruption and instability that affected the states of their time, by injecting into the citizens a sense of rights and obligations. The fact that Plato recommended state-controlled compulsory education implies that he rejected its privatization and commercialization. Interestingly, this idea has remained a cornerstone of western societies. The guru of laissez faire and the minimal state, Adam Smith, insisted that education should be under the control of the state. Both Plato and Aristotle committed to the idea of state-controlled education. Plato emphasized training in self-sacrifice for rulers and obedience for the ruled; Aristotle emphasized the need to match the educational objectives to the form of government.²⁶

Unlike ancient philosophy of education as stated by Plato and Aristotle, critical philosophy keeps emphasis on 'critical individual'. Paulo Freire has made criticism in the formal education being a 'banking education' to prepare an 'adapted educated person' rather than a critical one. He says that education is suffering from narration sickness. But knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.²⁷ Freire stresses non-formal education for suppressed class because formal education was limited only to elites. He focuses life orientation process of conscientization and he presents education for liberation. He has considered education as a means for making a critical civic, an end of education.

On the contrary, in most of the modern societies the education system is expected to be a major source of new ideas and knowledge. Creating new ideas and knowledge in the field of education is an innovative function of the system of education. In a modern

²⁵ Ibid, p. 77.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (England: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 9/45-46.

society, education is expected to maintain a delicate balance between historical and traditional experiences of the past and the needs of the emerging society. Education helps the learners, the young and the old to grow. It is the function of education to see that individuals are trained in a way that they are capable of adapting the heritage of values that exist. Much further than the progressive educationists, the radicals are of the opinion that learning is growing, and growing involves learning new things. Education does not operate in its full sense as it is expected to be operating unless it recognizes and relates itself to the evolutionary future. It is, therefore, indispensable to review the system of education to understand the status of civic education to prepare citizens for contemporary needs of society.

As compared to the ancient and modern philosophy of education, during the ancient period of Nepal, education system was based on the belief and ideals of life of the people and their attitude towards religion. During the Vedic Age, education was managed under the system of Gurukul, Rishikul, Devkul and Pitrikul. Traditional type of education system mainly conformist or non-critical approach was dominant before then. In the Licchavi period, the education system was based on the Veda, grammar, justice, philosophy, literature and astrology. During the Malla regime, the education system was directed towards the classification of caste and barna, inherited from the Manusmriti, the ancient Hindu epic. In fact, the Shah period was also not much different. There were no other sources for acquiring education except the traditional sources like Veda and philosophy.²⁸ In this way, from the Ancient period till the early Shah regime (1769-1846), education system was based on the religion, custom, behavior, attitude, and ideals prevalent in the contemporary society.

During the Rana regime (1846-1951) education was not common to all. Under the century of autocratic family rule, opportunity of education was unimaginable since people's fundamental rights were completely restricted. If general people wanted to acquire education, they had to go outside the country. With the establishment of Durbar High School (1853) in Kathmandu, modern education began in Nepal. Jaya Prithivi

²⁸ Gopinath Sharma, *History of Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Mrs. Hemkumari Sharma, 2043), pp. 15-39.

Bahadur Singh published Achharanka Shikshya as the first Nepali vernacular textbook.²⁹ Dev Shamsher established Bhasa Pathsalas (1900). Tribhuvan Chandra College was established in 1918, renamed Trichandra College later. In 1934, the S.L.C. Board was established. At that time, the structure of education consisted of lower primary (grades 1-2), upper primary (grades 3-5), middle (grades 6-8) and high schools (grades 9-10). In 1938, the structure was changed. It was three years of primary, four years of middle school and three years of high school education. Before 1951, people were suppressed under the tyranny rule of Rana and education was only for the Rana family and the elite class. At that time, there was no room for any creative work and provisions to improve civic awareness and education that was necessary.

In 1951, there were only eleven secondary schools with 1680 students. There were no more than two hundred schools. National literacy rate was only two percent. There was a need to increase the literacy rate. The education code was published in 1954 with emphasis on election of school management committee for wider public participation in education. Before 1954, there were six types of schools in Nepal- English Schools, Basic Education Schools, the Sanskrit Schools, the Gompa (Buddhist Monastic) Schools, the Madarasa Schools and the Bhasa Pathasala (Vernacular) schools at primary level. The Ministry of Education made five years of primary education. In the same year, Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) initiated a comprehensive national education system. The NNEPC in 1956 published its report entitled 'Education in Nepal'. The recommendation of the report of NNEPC was implemented. It was related to social, cultural, economic and political aspects of the country. Until 1956, there was not any provision for teaching of Civics and Social science in Nepal.³⁰

The general trends for civic education with emphasis on modern values started after the political change of 1951. In 1957, College of Education was established. In 1958, the Department of Education published primary and lower secondary curriculum. In 1959, Tribhuvan University (TU) was established which was to prove as the milestone to the development of higher education in Nepal. Then all colleges were brought under one umbrella of TU. In 1960, a section in Department of Education was established for

²⁹ Khadga Man Shrestha, Enhancing the Quality of Education at the School Level, *Distance Education 2058*, (Bhaktapur: Distance Education Center, 2058), p. 53.

³⁰ *Reports of the Nepal National Educational Commission*, Sardar Rudra Raj Panday et al.(Ed.) (Kathmandu: College of Education, 1956), pp. 64/82-83.

the first time to look after curriculum and textbook. In 1961, the All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) published its report but nothing new was initiated with regard to secondary education. It recommended for changing the higher education system to strengthen and control of the then HMG (His Majesty's Government was changed into Nepal Government after the April revolution of 2006) in all education institutions. It gave some knowledge about the social subject at primary level where students were taught about human relationship and their neighborhood. The partyless Panchayat System, which denied democracy in the country, sought to bring about some superficial educational reforms from the primary level to higher education. Until 2007 (1951), there was only one college, twenty-one secondary schools, 203 middle schools, 321 primary schools, and thirty-one libraries. By 2018 (1961), this number had increased to one university, twenty-seven colleges, 138 secondary schools, 368 middle schools, 3,163 primary schools, 122 libraries and 1,878 adult education centers.³¹ But this report did not mention about the technical subjects and the appropriate educational system of Nepal. Likewise, from 1951 to 1970, the number of educational institution had increased and overall literacy rate was improved in Nepal. But focus on civic education as a separate subject was yet to be given.

In 1971, the National Education Committee was formed and it prepared National Education System Plan (NESP). The NESP specified education goals explicitly for the first time. This report analyzed the education system of that time and explained the difficulty and problems.³² It added a strong development thrust to the education system clearly mentioning that education should support nation building. Lower secondary education was extended from fourth to seventh grades and secondary education included eight to ten grades. It prescribed a uniform curriculum in the country with a view to ensuring national integration and bringing about a uniform standard of education throughout the country. The objective of each level of education was specified. The objective of primary education was to impart literacy, lower secondary education was aimed at character building and the aim of secondary education was to produce skilled workers by imparting vocational training. For the fulfillment of the civic awareness the then HMG/Nepal started teaching civics in IX and X grades and Nepal Parichaya at

³¹ *Report of the Sarbangin National Education Committee*, (Kathmandu: Ministry of Education, Department of Education Nepal, 2018), pp. 1-2.

³² *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, (Kathmandu: Ministry of Education, 2028), pp. 3-6.

intermediate level. Then Civics became an optional subject for IX and X grades in Nepal with the advent of New Education System Plan in the early seventies. But there was not any agency formed to measure the influence and impact of these subjects.

New national education system plan was planned to bring about revolutionary change in the education sector, but its real purpose was to intensify popular faith in the panchayat system. The new education system plan ran out of steam with the student's movement of 1979, which had the effect of putting the panchayat system itself in trial. Afterwards, the Royal Higher Education Commission, formed in 1981, reviewed a number of the basic features of the national education system plan. In the course of implementing its report, which came out in 1982, Mahendra Sanskrit University was established, various institutes were glorified with the name of Faculties, and some other minor cosmetic changes were affected.³³ In 1981, primary education was again made of five years, lower secondary two years and secondary three years. In 1984, HMG implemented Primary Education Project (PEP) with the assistance of WB-UNICEF in six districts (Jhapa, Dhankuta, Tanahun, Kaski, Dang, Surkhet) as a pilot project. In 1991, BPEP master plan identified external and internal financial support needed for achieving the goal of education for all. After the reinstatement of democracy in the country in 1990, it was realized that education has a key role to play in bringing about social change, and in the reconstruction of the nation as a whole. The weaknesses inherent in the National Education System Plan made it counter-productive. Educational institutes became a means to get a certificate than to get knowledge.³⁴

Moreover, the human rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990, and democratic values and norms demanded that the fundamental goals of education be changed. The peoples' aspiration and contemporary trends affirm in one voice that the national education system should be reformed to make room for innovation. For this, the government constituted the National Education Commission (NEC) in February 1990. Its goals were to achieve the human rights enshrined in the constitution and the democratic values and norms as well as social justice. Its other responsibilities were to give a concrete form to the concept of equal opportunity for

³³ *Report of the National Education Commission*, (Kathmandu: National Educational Commission, Keshar Mahal, 1992), p. 1.

³⁴ Bidur Prasad Phuyal, *Civic Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Kathmandu Center for Research and Studies, Occasional Paper, Vol. II, No. II, Year 2001), pp. 12-13.

education, to fulfill the national aspirations in the field of education, and to make it correspond with the international context.³⁵ Some recommendations of the report, which came out in 1992, were implemented. Primary education was made of five years; and six-year was the age for enrolment. It also recommended for the structure of school education as-lower secondary (classes VI-VIII), secondary (classes IX-X), and higher secondary (10+2) levels of schooling.³⁶

In the same year (1992) National Council for Non-formal Education was formed as the policy making body for non-formal education at the national level. In 1998, a High Level National Education Commission was established. The Commission recommended for making education reforms in Nepal accordingly. It suggested that management of schools must be devolved to local elected bodies, i.e., the Municipalities, Village Development Committees (VDC'S) and Ward Committees. Such bodies should have the authority to modify, within broad limits, local learning needs- and thus the syllabi, modes and media of instruction, the school calendar, as well as the hiring and firing of teachers.³⁷

Nepal made a promise at a UN conference on education to ensure 'Education for All' by 2015.³⁸ But the government is far from prepared to even ensure primary education to thousands of children who have literally no access to school education or literacy classes. Under the national plan, however, an action plan for achieving the goal of making arrangements for appropriate development of education for the children throughout the country by 2015 was prepared. That could not be properly materialized due to political instability in the country. The draft of Nepal's Tenth Plan was being formulated, childhood development would be one of the main subjects of the periodic plans, but that also remained far from being implemented due to political conflict in the country.³⁹ The Seventh Amendment of the Education Act authorized the government to provide financial support to the Early Childhood Development Centre. But most of the schools have neither qualified teachers, nor adequate educational materials to teach the

³⁵ *Report of the National Education Commission*, op. cit. f.n. 15, p. 1.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 37.

³⁷ *Report of the High Level National Education Commission*, (Kathmandu: National Educational Commission, Keshar Mahal, 1998), pp. 4-7.

³⁸ *The Kathmandu Post*, 28 April 2002, p. 1.

³⁹ *The Kathmandu Post*, 11 Feb. 2002, p. 2.

students properly. Due to incompatibility between the education and state polity on employment, there was a large section of educated youths continuing to remain unemployed.⁴⁰ The government's commitment to achieve the universal enrollment started from the Seventh Development Plan and it continued until the Eleventh plan. Raising literacy rate has been provided importance in the educational programs after the World Declaration of "Education for all".⁴¹ There is, however, a serious problem in its implementation because of the politics of the country.

Nepal is currently burdened with many internal conflicts, volatile politics, the escalating Maoist movement, declining cultural and social status and a deteriorating economy, more than half of the nation's people still live under abject poverty, marking the travesty of the whole working of democracy.⁴² Literacy rate has been increasing very slowly in Nepal. The current national literacy ratio is only fifty-six percent.⁴³ And, women, lower castes, ethnic and regional groups and the poor, have much lower literacy ratio. For some groups, the ratio is as low as ten percent.⁴⁴ It is, therefore, not surprising that the matter and issues of civic education have been sidelined.

2.2 Overview of Civic Education in Global Perspective

"Civics is the rights and responsibilities of citizens ... Students in the United States and many other countries learn about such subject as democracy, freedom and individual rights. They study the structure, function and problems of the government on the local, state, national and international levels, and the students learn about other economic, political and social institutions. Civics teachers encourage students to participate in student government, school publications, and other school organizations. Students may also become involved in voter registration drives and conservation project".⁴⁵

The above quote implies that civics imparts-the knowledge about democracy, freedom and individual rights. From the knowledge about civics, people learn about the structure, function and problems of the government at the local, state, national and international levels. And, students know about the economic, political and social

⁴⁰ *The Kathmandu Post*, 15 March 2002, p. 4.

⁴¹ *The Kathmandu Post*, 27 April 2002, p. 4.

⁴² *The Kathmandu Post*, 3 May 2002, p. 4.

⁴³ Online [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk:List_of_countries_by_Human_Development_Index]

⁴⁴ *Nepal Human Development Report 1998*, (Kathmandu: Nepal South Asia Center, Second Report, 1999), p. vi.

⁴⁵ *The World Book Encyclopedia*, C1-C2 Vol. 4, World Book, Inc., op. cit. f.n. 1, p. 604.

institutions. Obviously two streams of civic education are seen for ordinary people and school students. Both non-formal and formal approaches of civic education for the development of democratic society are accepted. Barber stresses the importance of civic responsibilities: "A common assumption of U.S. participatory democracy is that every citizen recognizes and understands his or her civic duty".⁴⁶ According to M.S. Branson, "Civic education in a democracy is education in self-government. Democratic self-government means that citizens are actively involved in their own governance; they do not just passively accept the dictums of others or acquiesce to the demands of others."⁴⁷ As Aristotle said in politics, "If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attained when all person alike share in the government to the utmost".⁴⁸ Likewise, civic education is a key to democracy.⁴⁹ It means civic education assumes a major theme in democracy, opens the main gate to democracy, and becomes a path to participatory politics.

Within democracies, people exercise political control. Citizens become involved in their government and meet political officials to express their concerns and desires, petitioning and demonstrating peacefully.⁵⁰ How the content of civic education or civics is transformed is the main issue of educating the citizen. Russ Landry in this regard in *The Real World of Civic Education, Teen Courts and Peer Courts*, opines that the transfer of values, morals and civic virtue from one generation to the next has always been a goal of parents, educators and society as a whole. Again, Landry adds, "we must assist our schools and educators by creating social institutions and patterns of interaction that can foster positive identities among adolescents, cultivating citizenship and a commitment to civic ideals. Teen courts provide an institutional method of teaching accountability, reflection and empowerment. Peer courts can be used to address school rule infractions and can be conducted in schools as a model for classroom management

⁴⁶ Leath T Engelhardt, and John E Steinbrink, *Teaching Students about Their Civic Obligation Jury Duty*, 2001, p 3, Online [<http://proquest.com/pqd web/Ts.>].

⁴⁷ Margaret Stimmann Branson, *The Role of Civic Education*, Sept. 1998, p. 2. Online [<Http://www/civiced.org/articles-role.html>].

⁴⁸ Ibid.,.

⁴⁹ Ibid, P. 2, Phuyal, op. cit. f.n. 16, PP. 12-13 and also see Dev Raj Dahal, *Civil Society in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Center for Development and Governance, 2001), p. 68.

⁵⁰ *Civics in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2001), p. 51.

and civic education".⁵¹ Cotton Kathleen, a writer for the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, recently surveyed nearly one hundred reports on the state of civic education. She concluded that civic education was not working well. It was also reported that a nationwide study by university of Texas researchers found widespread neglect of civic education.⁵² Irony and chaos is visible both in practice and effects of the civic education for the development of democracy.

McAllister stresses, "It is not clear what should be taught under the heading of civic education". He puts emphasis on civic education because, for him, civic education goes to the heart of democracy. The most important requirement for the functioning of representative democracy is the existence of knowledgeable citizens, which is possible through civic education. Mass opinion surveys have consistently found that most citizens who are knowledgeable about politics constitute a positive factor for democracy.⁵³ From the perceived position and roles of civic education in the development of cultured democratic society, the conceptual understandings and nature of civic education vary both in substance and form. Civic education is defined in many ways. In educationists' view, civic education is a public good in its own right, while politicians see it as a means of promoting political participation and, indirectly, enhancing their own public standing.⁵⁴ In Macedo's arguments: 'Liberal civic ideals' are indeed crucial and the public schools are one of the transmitters of civic education.⁵⁵ Nowadays, viewing as an important concept, civic education covers every area of society and is spreading broadly. Civic education is to be accessed by and disseminated to the larger section of the society through the media by organizing a sort of workshop to journalists where civic journalism could be propagated. Mass media may be a potent agent and could be utilized as a catalyst to popularizing themes on civic education.⁵⁶ In the context of Nepal, Rongong

⁵¹ Loss Landry, *The Real World of Civic Education: Teen Courts and Peer Courts*, 2000, pp. 1-2, Online [<http://proquest.umi.com/pqd web? Ts.>].

⁵² Harry Esteve, *Johnny can read, but he isn't taught about civics*, 2000, p. 1, Online [<http://ptg.djnr.com/ccroot/asp/publib/sto...>].

⁵³ IAN McAllister, *How Can Civics Best Promote Democracy*, 2001, p. 1, Online [<http:// Ptg djnr.com/ccroot/ asp/publib/sto...>].

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵ William M. Shea (Reviewed by Stephen Mace do), *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy*, Sept. 2001, p. 1, Online [<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb>].

⁵⁶ *Civic Herald*, Quarterly News Bulletin, (Kathmandu: Society for the Promotion of Civic Education, Volume: 2, May 21, 2002), p. 1.

and Shrestha explain that civic education may be considered in different dimensions- educational, social and political which are interrelated. Unless a person is well aware of his civic duties and responsibility, he would not be able to perform his civic duties properly. Good governance among different organizations, political parties, etc. would not be possible unless civic responsibilities and duties are properly disseminated. So, in order to disseminate or sensitize the general mass of people about the civic sense, an effective mechanism of strategy needs to be developed. However, the implementation of the civic education program may not be possible through any single institution. So there should be multi-sectoral coordinated efforts of different concerned agencies.⁵⁷ Civic education encourages to participate in the public policy and to join its activities for every member of the society.⁵⁸ Likewise, civic education depends on the actual life as well as democratic ideals. Civic education may be defined in different ways in different political systems.⁵⁹

However, role of civic education is directly related to the strengthen of democracy.⁶⁰ The main reasons are that civic education emphasizes the universal rights, human rights, multi-party democracy and rule of law. It also stresses educational development, civic sense, poverty alleviation, socialization, civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition.⁶¹ USAID in a study argues that inappropriate education system is a hurdle for society. This study has recommended for a thorough investigation into the matter to better understand how and under what conditions civic education contributes to the development of a more active and informed democratic citizenry. USAID initiated the study to measure the impact of both adult and school-based civic education programs on participant's democratic behaviors and attitudes.⁶² It is believed that such a study strengthens democracy in a society.

⁵⁷ Rajendra Kumar Rongong, and Dhruva Shrestha, Civic Education: A Concept Paper, Paper Presented at the Workshop -Seminar of the Society for the Promotion of Civic Education, June 10, 2002, p. 1

⁵⁸ Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan, and Shiva Raj Dahal, 'Civic Education', In Ananda Prasad Shrestha and Shiva Raj Dahal. (Ed.). *Samakalin Nepali Samaj*. (Kathmandu: Nepal for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) and Fredric Abert Stiffung (FES), 2057), p. 33.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 53-56.

⁶⁰ Branson, op. cit. f.n. 29, p. 2.

⁶¹ Phuyal, op. cit. f.n. 16, pp. 12-13.

⁶² *Approaches to Civic Education: Lesson Learned*, (Washington : U.S. Agency for in International Development, May 2001), p. 6.

For the development of civic education, family, religious institutions, media, and community groups can exert important influences. Schools bear a special and historic responsibility for the development of civic competency and civic responsibility. Schools fulfill that responsibility through both formal and informal education beginning with the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process.⁶³ The concerns of civic education for school education are the essential ingredients for designing curriculum for civic education. Thinking on the relation between education and democracy, the picture of Nepal of 1951 was desperately ineffective since the national literacy rate was only two percent. The primary concern of civic education through non-formal approach was to create civic culture committed to the deeper democracy in public and private life, which was not realized. As a matter of fact this situation still remains in the present context. The three realms of civic education are socialization, humanization (people's concern in human rights activities) and participation of citizens in public lives.⁶⁴ Understanding of relation between democracy and education particularly of civic education is necessary for social leaders, educationists and political leaders. Otherwise, the role of civic education may not be realized in national education policy frame.

Democracy is a form of government which includes equality, political tolerance, accountability, transparency, regular, free and fair election, accepting the results of election, economic freedom, prevention of the abuse of power, bill of rights, human rights, multi-party system, and the rule of law. Democracy can be defined as a government run by the people and working on behalf of the people with a system of government in which power is held by the people and exercised indirectly through elected representatives.⁶⁵ School education should provide opportunity for students to gain practical experience in democratic practices in different forms and in different works. In the United States, component of the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA 1999) report focuses that the national perspective on the status of civic education especially as it relates to rights and responsibilities of citizens are mixed, at best. In describing student experiences, middle school teachers noted that American students often participate in state and nationally

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 31, p. 68.

⁶⁵ *Civics in Nepal*, op. cit. f.n. 32, pp. 53-58.

sponsored programs that introduce them to the legislative and judicial processes. The role of the citizens in American democracy is emphasized; by focusing on civic life at grades nine to twelve.⁶⁶ For introducing democracy and integrating civic values into the classroom, it is necessary to teach children about history, civic responsibilities and government including the legislative branch. Learning about democracy helps children to become caring citizens who will make the nation stronger. A good education system is a crucial component of a thriving democracy. In the farewell address to the U.S Congress, the first American president George Washington said that a government is best served by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights. Again, Thomas Jefferson agreed: If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.⁶⁷ In fact, all adults teach young people civic values by examples. Young people learn strong civic values from teachers and adults who show respect for others, appreciate the good in society and support those trying to make things better.⁶⁸ The U.S Department of Education promotes civic education in many ways and works for raising achievement scores. Raising achievement scores means raising the civic sense and practice of the individuals in working life. Civic engagement in school education curriculum in the United States scores significantly higher than the international mean with regard to measures of civic attitudes such as trust in government institutions, positive attitudes toward immigrants, and support for women's political rights.⁶⁹ It means civics developed students trust in governmental institutions, good attitude towards immigrants and women's political rights.

In Australia, the Primary School Syllabus, published in 1904, included a civics and morals course, which covered imperial history and topics such as responsibilities, duty and patriotism. This remained a core part of the curriculum in most states until the 1930s, when criticism of its nationalistic focus resulted in its abandonment as a separate subject. Alone among the states, civic education remained on the curriculum in Victoria, although it was subsumed under the heading of 'social studies'. In 1970s it became a separate subject called politics, covering Australian political institutions and foreign

⁶⁶ Engelhardt and Steinbrink, op. cit. f.n. 28, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁷ Dick Riley *Integrating Civic Values into the Classroom*, 2000, pp. 1-2, Online [<http://proquest.umi.com./pqd web>].

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Susan A. Adler, *As Civic Ed Study*, 2001, p. 1, Online [<http://djnr.com/ceroot/asp/publib/sto>].

policy. During the last two decades, there has been a sort of renaissance in civic education. In 1988, civic and citizenship education were examined by the senate standing committee on employment, education and training which concluded that students should be provided with the knowledge to make them 'active citizens'.⁷⁰ Similarly, the effects on political culture of several civic education programs conducted principally by nongovernmental organization in Zambia are appraised through a comparison of results from two social surveys. Surveys findings are: a) Civic education has observable positive effects, but mainly among privileged elements in society. b) Civic education has consistently greater impact on citizen's knowledge and values than on their political behavior, and c) With the possible exception of informal methods such as drama shows, means have yet to be devised to induce citizen's to become active voters.⁷¹

In its editorial note, Society for the Promotion of the Civic Education (SPCE) emphasizes the role of civic education as:

"For a democracy to survive and flourish a critical mass of its citizens must possess the skill, embody the values, and manifest the behaviors that accord with democracy. They must know enough about the basic features of a democratic political system to be able to access it when their interest are at stake, and they must believe in the importance of certain key democratic values; such as tolerance for divergent viewpoints and support for the rule of law. It is essential that people have a basic understanding of the process of democracy by imbuing civic values into their everyday life".⁷²

The above mentioned observations on civic education amply indicate that it is necessary for formation of civil society to strengthen democratic culture, to explain human rights, to promote rule of law, to emphasize the teachings related to civic education such as holding seminars, creating awareness in citizen's rights and responsibilities. It also emphasizes the necessity to introduce moral education and democratic culture in the school level curriculum from the very beginning. In this context of international disposition of education, location of the states of civic education from historical perspectives may be prove to be crucial.

⁷⁰ McAllister, op. cit. f.n.35, p. 1.

⁷¹ Michael Alderfer Brantton, Georgia Bowser Philip and Joseph Temba, *The Effects of Civil Education on Political Culture: Evidence from Zambia*, 1999, p. 1, Online [[http:// Proquest. Umi. Com/pqdweb? Ts=10231](http://Proquest.Umi.Com/pqdweb?Ts=10231)].

⁷² *Civic Herald*, Quarterly News Bulletin, op. cit. f.n. 38, P.1.

Civic education is a new phenomenon in Nepali context and may hence require multifaceted efforts. As an answer to the question why civic education is facing problems, Anand Aditya remarks that: "In view of low efficiency of resource input and weak utilization capacity, an effective strategy in civic education in Nepal will demand not only increased allocation of resources, but also imaginative ways to approach investment planning."⁷³ Since civic education is the corner stone of political democratization, effective democratic planning demands a strategy framework for investment. Appropriate policies and packages on civic education for the right kinds of target groups in society will therefore have to be devised and implemented. Civic competence and citizenship education are the key staples of democracy. There are three specific points in implementing civic education policies/program:

- The less developed the country, the higher the rate of return one may expect in intangible returns from civic education inputs from all levels of education.
- In a developing country like Nepal, investment in human power may be more conducive to overall growth and development than investment in machine.
- Rates of returns in intangible terms are likely to be successively higher for primary level than for secondary and higher education.⁷⁴

As for the program objectives, Aditya proposes that the civic education has to be designed not only to acculturate the individual child learner at school to the values of community, nation and global neighborhood but also to cultivate the skills required to infuse the critical discerning attitude and skills with civic competence, capacity, and confidence in the learner. For the completion of the civic education program at the primary and secondary levels, it should enable the child to:

- a. Comprehend and explain civic/ political process, phenomena and developments in a comparative framework;
- b. Analyze the significance of events and processes in a holistic way and infer patterns and draw conclusion; Assess the overall impact of various social and political phenomena; and

⁷³ Ananda Aditya, Strategy for a New Education Program, *Space Time Today*, June 7, 2002.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

- c. Respond reasonably to social needs and demand and be able to cope with situation of social stress with crisis in a responsive way.⁷⁵

Aditya emphasizes the nature and roles of civic education program, which should grow in both magnitude complexity as the grades increase.

Shrestha and Dahal describe the importance and scope of civic education. They also explain civic education as civic knowledge, civic skills and civic dispositions.⁷⁶ Again they deal with the civic education and character building, which are co-related with each other. Those people, who are able to get a citizenship, become able to get civic education. According to Dahal, civic education aims to equip boys and girls for life in the public realm and engage them in the analysis of major rules and regulation of society, public and private institutions, actors and vital social issues enabling them to find ways to resolve social problems.⁷⁷

In the history of school education of Nepal, civic education was as an optional subject for IX and X grades until the advent of New Education System Plan 1971. In the early seventies, civic education was taught in the form of civics in high schools and colleges as one of the optional subjects. Later it was renamed as Nepal Parichaya at the intermediate level. With the dawn of multi-party democracy in 1990 and promulgation of the new constitution, government modified the school course on social studies and college course in Nepal Parichaya.⁷⁸ After 1990, the curriculum for classes I to V was provided ten percent weight-age in social education in the name of civic sense as good behavior and rights and duties.⁷⁹ From the curriculum of classes VI to VIII, students learn about ten percent course of civic education included in social education in the name of civic sense as the rights and duties, use of equal rights, quality of good citizen, quality of good citizenship, use of civil rights, introduction to civil and citizenship and government and its three organs-executive, legislative and judiciary.⁸⁰ From the

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ananda Prasad Shrestha and Shiva Raj Dahal, (Ed.) *Samakalin Nepali Samaj*, (Kathmandu: NEFAS and; Fredric Abert Stiffung, Chaitra, 2057), pp. 35-37.

⁷⁷ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 31, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Primary Level Education Curriculums*, (Bhaktapur: Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare, Primary Level Curriculum Textbook Development Unit, 2049), p. 27.

⁸⁰ *Lower Secondary Curriculums*, (Bhaktapur: Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre, 2050), p. 106.

curriculum of IX and X, students learn another ten percent of civic education included in social education in the name of civic sense such as the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990, fundamental rights and duties, short introduction of constitutional organization, role of political parties in the multiparty system and the role of people's participation in the election campaign.⁸¹ Likewise, civic education is being taught in an integrated way with social education in America.⁸² Again civic education is taught in India from Primary level to Higher Secondary level as Civics as a separate subject.⁸³ From the review of the literature, it is necessary to measure the impact of civic education in the life of people. Again question is raised whether civic education is necessary as a separate subject or it may remain as its status quo for the implementation of civic education and strengthening democracy.

In 1998, the Higher Secondary Educational Board took initiative to design a course on civic education under the title 'Contemporary Society' and circulated the idea to a number of Higher Secondary Schools. As a consequence, two books have been prepared on the theme: 'Samakalin Nepali Samaj', 1999 and 'Civics in Nepal', 2001.⁸⁴ About the roles of civic education and matters to be incorporated in school curriculum, Dahal writes: "With the dawn of democracy in Nepal, the importance of civic education has increased. Efforts are being made to teach several hundred students from different schools (private and public) in the program intended to acquire civic knowledge and skills to develop their virtues for their role in public life".⁸⁵ Accordingly, a new curriculum has been called 'Contemporary Nepalese Society' involving: principles of democracy and knowledge about constitution, rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenships, conflicts in Nepalese society and how they are solved, social justice and human rights, transformation of people into public life. It provides knowledge for citizen about democratic issues, which are tied to flourish democratic culture.⁸⁶

⁸¹ *Secondary Education Curriculum Compulsory Social Education*, (Bhaktapur: Ministry of Education, Education Curriculum Centre, 2050), pp. 21-42.

⁸² Ramesh Prasad Gautam, Today's Children and Importance of Civic Education, *Civic Herald*, Tri-Month News Bulletin, (Kathmandu: Society for the Promotion of Civic Education, 19, Feb. 2002), Year 1 Vol. 11, p. 3.

⁸³ *Teaching of Civics*, (Delhi: Doaba House, 1982), pp. 20-33.

⁸⁴ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 31, p. 6.

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. 68-69.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

As regards to the Civics in Nepal, it is designed in accordance with the Higher Secondary Education Board Curriculum for grade XII course, namely, 'Contemporary Nepalese Society'. It includes an introduction to society, challenges facing Nepali society, civic education, rights and justice, environmental and sustainable development and women in society.⁸⁷ These two books 'Civics in Nepal' and 'Contemporary Nepalese Society' have been prepared. It is still to be known how far they would influence the study of civic education and bring about positive changes among students. Nepal has been facing the politics of deadlock, confrontation and political paralysis but the situation may have changed after the democratic movement of 2006. The political leaders of Nepal are often caught in factional fights, even at the expense of weakening the authority of the political society to mediate and communicate between the state and citizens. And the boisterous behavior embedded in their political culture has often produced a politics of deadlock, confrontation and mutual paralysis rather than mutual accountability, tolerance and compromise.⁸⁸ For removing the present political crisis of Nepal, it is necessary to find out the solution of two major questions: what may be the solution for the present political crisis and how to attain the fruits of democracy. The political scenario has witnessed a change from the compromise reached between seven party alliance and rebel Maoists after the democratic movement of 2006.

In course of re-conceptualizing civic education for democratization, the Nepalese society may be restructured as a result of the mandate of the Janandolan of 2006. A concept paper on civic education by Rajendra Kumar Rongong and Dhruva Shrestha presented at a Workshop Seminar Organized by Society for the Promotion of Civic Education on June 10, 2002 may have even more justified the issue of re-conceptualization. This concept paper presents an interesting scenario of civic education. It deals with the concept, objective and institutional arrangement for civic education in a following manner.

"The research team has been able to come out with the status of inclusion of concepts on civic education in the curricula presently ongoing in formal schooling. The finding of the study clearly indicated that there is a concept relating to civic education, however, the recommendation focused on the reconsideration of the school curricula from the point of view of civic

⁸⁷ *Civics in Nepal*, op. cit. f.n. 32, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 7.

education which could be an expensive task though it would later be a long lasting but an effective task".⁸⁹

Based on the findings of the research, recommendations were made for the school curricula from the point of view of civic education. This study indicates the virtual absence of delivery, both in content and in process of the civic education programs. It is necessary to reform curriculum, reading materials and methodology in teaching, both in the content and in the process of civic education. So, it is necessary to instilling the core democratic beliefs and values, and encouraging active and informed political participation in the civic education programs. Again, something more has to be worked out regarding economic, civic and socio-cultural values. Civic education content, curricula and textual materials are yet to be examined. It is necessary to identify some of the common values that have to be inculcated in students, teachers, parents and the other stakeholders of education. The aspects which may be in our common values are tolerance, compassion, respect for the seniors, affection for the juniors, cooperation, truthfulness, honesty, non-violence, respect towards the ancestors, international brotherhood and sisterhood and open-heartedness. Civic education is an earnest arena for social organization. So, the civic education approach in Nepal has yet to be developed in accordance with the growing challenge of democracy/society.

Lack of teacher's skills and quality in civic knowledge are the challenge in civic education in Nepal.⁹⁰ But in Nepal, the institutions of civic education are not adequately in place and foundation is still far from solid because a serious civic education program has yet to be started. Looking at the overall scenario of present Nepal, one could come to the conclusion that 'due to the lack of proper civic education, the democratic exercise of Nepal is in crisis'.⁹¹ From the critical review of all description, evaluation and planning of civic education in Nepal, the goals and contents of civic education, so far, attempted to define clearly, it is still not decided who should take the responsibility for civic education-formal or non-formal. Similarly, clarity is not seen in mode and pedagogical consideration of civic education. These are both apparent in concept as well as in process of civic education in Nepal.

⁸⁹ Rongong and Shrestha, op. cit. f.n. 39, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Phuyal, op. cit. f.n. 16, pp. 12-13.

⁹¹ Trailokya Nath Upraity, Democracy and Civic Education, *Civic Herald*, (Kathmandu: Society for the Promotion of Civic Education, 19 Feb. 2002), No. 1, Year. 1, p. 4.

2.3 Meaning of Democracy: Historical Context

The meaning of democracy has been changed as the human society developed different theories, paradigms, concepts and nuances over a period of time. Moreover, the content reflects similar connotation such as self rule by the people and has thus proved as an ideal procedural implication for democracy. Greek philosopher Cleon (422 B.C.) defined democracy as: "That shall be democratic which shall be of the people, by the people, for the people".⁹² In the Greek vision of democracy, the citizen is a whole person for whom politics was the natural social activity. Civic sense and educated persons were crucial factors to mobilize and sustain democracy which is equally valid even today for democratic development of politics. In other words, ancient democracy involved an ideal of civic virtue. Political theorists thus consider that the Athenian democracy has become baseline of the modern democracy,⁹³ particularly the Athenians who favored the idea of city-state latter changed into the nation-state and this transformation led to new democratic values and practices in the literature of political science.⁹⁴ Advocates of democracy sometimes appear to believe that the values of democracy constitute the complete universal value, a *sin qua non* to modern democratic values.

Political theorists claim that modern democratic ideas and practices are a product of two major transformations in politics. The first ideas and practices relate to what swept the ancient Greece and to the fifth century Rome and the second began with the vaster domain of the nation, country, or national state.

⁹² V.D. Mahajan, *Political Theory*, (New Delhi: S. Chand and Company (Pvt.) Ltd., 1988), p. 793.

⁹³ Ancient Democracy or Democracy in Ancient City-State: A high degree of democracy was found in the Greek city-state. A Greek city-state seldom numbered more than 20,000 citizens. By the time of Pericles in the 400 B.C., every citizen of Athens had a right to appear and vote in the popular assembly, and in the committee of the assembly that served as criminal courts. Every freeman had the right to speak as he wished. Freemen took turns in serving as magistrates and other officers. The equality of citizens did not extend to women and slaves. Pericles introduced the custom of paying citizens for participating in the assemblies and in the courts. This practice of paying for political activity contributed to the decline of Athens. Athenian democracy was a system of citizen's self-rule in a society in which the great majority of the population was not citizens. Each citizen was equally entitled to attend, vote and speak at gatherings of the assembly which decided all the major issues in the city-state or polis by simple majority vote. Among city-states, Athens was not the only democratic state in the ancient Greek but it was the most stable and long-lived and the best documented because it was politically most important and culturally the most brilliant and creative of all the city-states. Athens will therefore serve as our model of democracy as the Greeks evolved it and understood it. So, the Athenian democracy was involved as an ideal of civic virtue in the name of democracy in ancient city-state.

⁹⁴ Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) pp. 2-3.

For Aristotle, the dominant principle in democracy is freedom. It is the majority of the free born who rule in democracy and the majority is usually to be identified with the poor who rule in their own interest. Aristotle believed that the political conflicts of his day were principally due to a clash between two economic groups, the rich and the poor, who supported two different types of constitution oligarchy and democracy animated by different political principles, wealth and freedom. Aristotle did not think that a state in which a rich majority governed could be properly called a democracy. Suppose a total of one thousand three hundred; one thousand of these are rich, they give no share in government to the three hundred poor, who also are free men and in other respects like them; no one would say that these thirteen hundred lived under a democracy. Yet democracy, both in ancient Greece and in the politics of the past two centuries has never been achieved without a struggle.⁹⁵

Democracy as a dispensable instrument will therefore lead to a preference for an educational system with some of the same general goals of the educational system designed to produce Guardians in Plato's Republic. Aristotle suggests that the polis or city-state is the natural context for human flourishing, indeed the only context in which humans can hope consistently to achieve their highest ends.⁹⁶

For Aristotle, democracy means the rule of the poor and freeborn rather than the rule of the rich. The rule of the poor majority, the 'demos', could easily degenerate into a form of autocracy, where the popular majority ignored the limits of the laws and imposed its will regardless. For the period of early and later modern political theory, two antitheses dominated the debate on democracy between monarchy and republic and between liberalism and liberal democracy, and more participatory or direct forms of democratic politics. Mill and de Tocqueville were concerned with the possible degeneration of democracy and they feared its perversion into democratic despotism and majority tyranny. A democratic system is justified because it creates and guarantees human beings, their freedom, and equality which is certainly one of the key concepts of democratic theory and basic values. Both ancient and modern conceptions of democracy are the rule of the people. The only difference is in the classical theory; the people are

⁹⁵ Anthony Arblaster, *Democracy*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994), p. 713.

⁹⁶ Josiah Ober, Quasi-Rights: Participatory Citizenship and Negative Liberties in Democratic Athens, In Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, jr. and Jeffrey Paul (Ed.), *Democracy*, (England: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 29-30.

identified with a section, or part of the population, whereas in modern theory they are identified with the population as a whole.

Eighteenth century Britons used the term 'democracy' in conjunction with 'Monarchy' and 'Aristocracy' as an essential part of the mixed or balanced constitution of Great Britain. The theory of mixed or balanced government was as old as the Greeks and it had dominated western political thinking for centuries. It was based on the ancient categorization of forms of government into three ideal types, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy - a classical scheme derived from the number and character of the ruling power: the one, the few or the many respectively.⁹⁷ For Monarchy, it was order or energy, for Aristocracy, it was wisdom; for democracy, it was honesty of goodness.

In 1776, the American independence movement overthrew the hereditary monarchy from the country and established a republican state. Thus, the American Revolution created a democracy that made Americans the first people in the modern world to possess a truly democratic government and society.

Similarly, the French revolution of 1789 completely transformed the social and political identity of the civilized world. It led to the collapse of the grandest and proudest of the monarchies of the old regime, the secular power of the Catholic Church and created the first republican government to rule with its laws and institutions, which today are still a model for democratic governments throughout the world. Then the advent of a new age of law, right and justice of a modern society established the liberty and equality for its citizens.⁹⁸ French Revolution laid the stress on participation and the new political system was defined in constitutional terms, legislation, institutions, and their functioning.

The term democracy in the course of the nineteenth century was described as a system of representative government on which the representatives were chosen by free competitive elections where most male citizens were entitled to vote. Likewise, Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as "government of the people, by the people, for the people".⁹⁹ It means democracy is that form of government where people actively participate in their governmental organization. In democracy, citizens take part in government in two ways i.e. directly and indirectly. People take part directly when they gather together to work out laws and plans. People take part in government indirectly

⁹⁷ Charles S. Maier, *Democracy Since the French Revolution*, John Dunn (Ed.), *Democracy*, (New York: Oxford University Press. 1994), p. 131.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁹ *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit. f.n. 1, p. 68.

when they elect representatives who act for them. Most countries have this representative form of democracy because it would be impossible to gather all citizens at the same time.

Democracy is defined in many ways by various scholars: “Liberty lies in the hearts of men, when it dies, no constitution, no law, no court can save it”¹⁰⁰ Democracy is a good thing because it makes people happier and better.¹⁰¹ The democratic process is a search for truth.¹⁰² Democracy is everywhere praised, yet nowhere achieved.¹⁰³ Democracy is hard to love.¹⁰⁴ From the various scholars' view, we come to a conclusion that democracy is a good path to search for truth. For this reason, democracy is very hard to love because everywhere it is praised but found nowhere.

Karl Marx introduced a new paradigm of democracy. That is, he defined proletarian dictatorship in place of modern liberal bourgeois democratic system. He propagated state appropriateness in place of private capitalism. The overall sweep of the Marxist historical schema relegates democracy to a subsidiary role in the drama of human development. Every novice to Marxism is taught that the basic and determining factors of all human history are economic. History in this account is the history of how men are organized for the purposes of producing the goods they need and for distributing them. The slogan of socialism from Lenin to Gorbachev remained the same as ‘For each according to his ability, to each according to his work’.¹⁰⁵ State socialism as an economic model has been undermined by its own social and political contradictions and its politico-economic model-the virtual equation of socialism with democracy-has been the source of many problems: seize the state in the name of the people, nationalize the means

¹⁰⁰ Brien O ‘Connell, *Civil Social: Definitions and Participation*, 2000. Online [http://proquest.umi.com./pqd web Ts.], P. 3].

¹⁰¹ Mukherjee and Ramaswamy, op. cit. f.n. 6, p. 338.

¹⁰² Jose Antonio Cheibub and Adam Przeworski, *Democracy, Elections, and Accountability for Economic outcomes*, In Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, Bernard Manin (Ed.), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, (UK : Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Democracy*, Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (Ed.), (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press Ltd., June 2000), p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (New York : Oxford University press, 2000), p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Neil Harding, *The Marxist-Leninist Detour, Democracy*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 157/173.

of production, and have the rudiments of a new democracy, a people's democracy, a workers' democracy.¹⁰⁶

In the twentieth century, democratic ideas have exerted a powerful influence in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America where many countries are currently addressing the difficult challenges inherent in the apprenticeship of freedom".¹⁰⁷ Then democratization process started spreading, all over the world. Democracy exists when three conditions are fulfilled: where regular competitive election takes place, when free participation of individuals and groups is in the electoral and political process, and when democratic leaders and institutions are autonomous.¹⁰⁸

According to W.B. Gallie, "Democracy is an 'essentially contestable concept'. It is an inherently debatable and changeable idea, 'freedom,' 'equality,' 'justice,' 'human rights,' and so forth. Democracy is one of the most durable ideas in politics, and it has become in the twentieth century, one of the most central".¹⁰⁹ Macpherson's focus is on the word 'democracy' that is used everyday. Everybody knows that democracy in its original sense is a rule by the people or a government in accordance with the will of the bulk of the people. But it could also be a bad thing-fatal to individual freedom and to all the grace of civilized living. That was the position taken by pretty nearly all men of intelligence from the earliest historical times down to about a hundred years ago. But within the last fifty years or so, democracy has again become a good thing.¹¹⁰

Francis Fukuyama has suggested democracy in its liberal-democratic form. However, from the classical Greeks to the present day, the enlightened and educated saw democracy as one of the worst types of government and society imaginable and for them democracy was synonymous with 'the rule of the mob,' and was a threat to all the central values of civilized and orderly society. In recent years, political theorists have examined traditional themes in democratic theory and given them novel interpretations. The nature of popular sovereignty, the limits of democratic political authority, and radical forms of

¹⁰⁶ Michael Kaufman, *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy, and the Transformation of Social life*, (London : Zed Books Ltd., 1997), p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Jean Baechler, *Democracy: An Analytical survey*, (Paris : United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1995), p. Preface.

¹⁰⁸ Jeff Haynes, *Third World Politics*, (UK : Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 1998), p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Arblaster, op. cit. f.n. .77, 1994, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ C.B. Macpherson, *The Real World of Democracy*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966), Chs. 2 and 3.

democracy that involve greater levels of citizens' participation, have all been subjects of intense debate.

The basis of a democratic state is liberty, which, according to the common opinion of men, can only be enjoyed in such a state; this they affirm to be the great end of every democracy. Connell's stress on liberty is: "Liberty lies in the hearts of men; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it"¹¹¹ One principle of liberty is for all to rule and be ruled in turn. Indeed, democratic justice is the application of numerical not proportionate equality, whence it follows that the majority must be supreme and that whatever the majority approve must be the end and hence be just. Every citizen, it is said, must have equality. Therefore, in a democracy the poor have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme. Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu and Edmund Burk have expressed their own ideas on democracy, franchise, and people's participation.

Whitehead describes that the establishment and consolidation of democratic regimes require strong commitment from a broad range of internal political force, with which the great majority of really functioning democracies become established, or has been re-established.¹¹² In democracy, citizens can promote their interests and hold the power of rulers in check. It is also a means of collective problem-solving method of all the members of the society. Democracy is hard to love because in a democracy public opinion often counts for something; uncertainty shadows.¹¹³ Young expresses the two models of democracy as aggregative and deliberative. Both models share certain assumptions about the basic framework of democratic institutions that democracy requires the rule of law, voting behavior, freedoms of speech, assembly, association and so on. Democracy is a mechanism for identifying and aggregating the preferences of citizens. In a deliberative model, democratic process is primarily a discussion of problems, conflicts, and claims of need or interest and in a normative ideal, democracy means political equality.

The vast majority of third world countries were at one time or another colonies of a few Western countries, including Belgium, Britain, France, Japan, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United States. Third world politics is affected from many aspects of the interaction of domestic and global factors with the recent international changes, such as the end of cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union and third wave democratization. The importance of the Third World politics is focused on five third world regions: Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia, East and South East Asia,

¹¹¹ Brien O 'Connell, *Civil Social: Definitions and Participation*, 2000. Online [http://proquest.umi.com. /pqd web Ts.], p. 3.

¹¹² Laurence Whitehead, *The International Dimengion of Democratization*, (New Work : Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 3.

¹¹³ Young, op. cit. f.n. 86, p. 5.

the Middle East and North Africa and Sub Saharan Africa (Haynes, 1998). Haynes explains the Third World as:

"One fundamental aspect of what might be called 'third world-ness' is that virtually all countries which are conventionally placed in this category were, at one historical period or another, a colonial possession of a foreign power. Beginning in Latin America in the nineteenth century, the decolonization trend quickened after World War II; Dozens of former colonies in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Middle East gained political independence after 1945".¹¹⁴

Still in the Third World countries there are significant political, economic and religious differences among them. The term 'Third World' has both political and socio-economic connotations. There are some arguments that the third world no longer exists, it is meaningless. But Haynes does not believe that the term 'Third World' has outlived its analytical usefulness, for two main reasons: One has to do with economic development; the other has to do with the construction of nation-states.¹¹⁵

Third world states are facing two similar problems: one is how to develop economically and another is how to build nation-states. Third World obscures often-considerable cultural, economic, social and political differences in individual states. It has advantages over common alternatives like 'the south' or 'developing countries'. Many 'Third World' countries lack satisfactory, sustained levels of economic growth; real, as opposed to cosmetic, governmental concern with redistribution of wealth to alleviate poverty; democratic politics characterized by the regular election of representative governments; satisfactory standards of human rights, an equal position for women with men in politics and development; sustained concern with protection of the natural environment; and, finally, adequate standards of education and literacy.

The extraordinary range of theoretical work on new developments in democratic theory, deliberative democracy, feminism, the Internet and 'micro-democracy' testifies to the vitality and renewal of the democratic ideal and reaches out to a host of formerly included groups, to new areas and places in society and even into cyberspace. The complexity of modern politics and the increasing globalization of the market confront democracy with new challenges. Democracy is facing deep problems in both theory and

¹¹⁴ Haynes, op. cit. f.n. 90, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

practice in the 'Third World'. The economic and political instability characterized many Third World countries in the 1980s and 1990s, and their emergence reflected a growing societal desire to change things more generally in the midst of upheaval and instability due to widespread ethnic and religious conflicts. Ethnic conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa and widely spread in South Asia is also an important factor in the Third World. In South Asia, conflict is continuing between Buddhists and Hindus in Sri Lanka since 1980 and in India between Hindus and Muslims from time to time. In Jammu-Kashmir, separatist struggles challenge the state's authority. Ethnic/religious identity posed a traditionalist obstacle to modernize a country. The idea of modernization is usually linked with Western-style-education, economy, urbanization and industrialization, and to a rationalization of previously 'irrational' views, such as religious beliefs and ethnic separatism.

The important point is that social change had not been seen throughout the Third World societies, with only social and political conflicts becoming apparent. Ethnic and religious dimensions of conflicts had often reasserted. The issue of economic growth and development is of central importance to analysis of third world politics. So, the impact of the religious and ethnic conflict on democracy in the third world mainly in south Asia is challenging. These difficulties arise with conflicting demands of multicultural societies, the phenomenon of identity politics and its divisive and particularistic appeals to citizens. Samuel Huntington, a noted American political scientist, has written on democracies' 'third-wave of democratization' that has challenged authoritarian and militaristic regimes in Europe (Spain, Portugal), and has intensified uncertain outcomes, notably, by movements of 'people power' in developing countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia and Mexico.¹¹⁶ The third wave began with the democratic transitions in Greece, Spain and Portugal in the mid-1970s and at the end of the 1980s democracy was given a further fillip by the demise of communist governments in Eastern Europe. The third wave democracy extended its effect to vast geographical areas that included Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern/Eastern Europe and Africa and Asia. In recent years with the end of the cold war, democratization has become one of the most crucial issues on the international political scene. Then many states are undergoing an extraordinary and difficult transition to democracy that is deeply influenced by the new international

¹¹⁶ *Democracy*, op. cit. f.n. 85, p. 1.

context. By the impact of the democratization process in Asia, seven formerly non-democratic regimes-Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea and Mongolia have become democratized. The twentieth century was supposed to see the victory of democracy; it gave rise in its course to the establishment of mass totalitarian regimes of communism and fascism. This system abused the name of democracy and coerced millions of people in the name of a rigid ideology. The so-called democratic century ended with manifestation of virulent ethno-nationalism within Europe itself, giving rise to the evils of 'ethnic cleansing'. There is little evidence here of any universal or inevitable trend towards democracy. Michael Mann argues that many modern regimes, which claim to be democratic, exhibit a pronounced tendency toward ethnic and political cleansing. Mann has so far also suggested that genocide is the dark side of democracy.

In defining democracy from the Asian perspective, two economists-Amaratya Sen and Mahathir Mohammed-have different views. Amartya Sen argues that democracy has universal value of its intrinsic importance in human life because democracy has a universal role to play in preventing the abuse of power, and in helping people to formulate and understand their own needs, rights and duties. Democracy may be based on certain values of secularism and willingness and ability to compromise, which in turn depend on a particular history and set of social conditions, which suit western society but do not hold true in large parts of the world today. Mahathir defends the idea of 'Asian democracy,' open to ideas of individual rights and to values of diversity than its 'Western' component that democracy is related to a particular time and place. If this is the case, then by 'democracy', Hitler's Germany could be considered a democracy and so could the people's democracies of the former Soviet Bloc.¹¹⁷

There is a large gap between the ideals of popular sovereignty and the reality of contemporary democratic societies. Through modern institutions of structured political parties, regular elections and the operations of pressure groups, democracy works as a mechanism, an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. Classical theory of democracy from the ancient Greek world envisaged the city-state as the unit of popular rule.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, P. 2.

The varieties of democracy observed around the world in recent times can operate with the three main types that correspond to the First, Second and Third Worlds. The First World run on capitalist principle, Second World run on socialist principle and Third World run on mixed principle combining capitalist and socialist features. The twentieth century, particularly during the second half, has witnessed four important changes in the world setting of democracy. The problem from a democratic perspective is still in process. The scale of crucial decisions has expanded beyond the nation-state to transnational systems of influence and power.

The Nepal's case, in the history of the development of the changing concept and meaning of democracy, is not much different from the world trend. In the beginning Nepalese democracy was defined under the kingship, in which general theory of the democracy was applicable. After the political movement of 1950, Nepal for the first time in her history experienced democracy but it did not sustain for long. In 1960, Nepal reverted back to active monarchy and still claimed to be a democratic state. The so called monarchical democracy continued till 1990, and the people's movement of the 1990 converted the national polity to constitutional monarchy and this democracy continued till 2001. Again Royal takeover was repeated and this was dismantled after second people's movement in 2006. Now the country is heading toward a full democracy, with features of inclusive democracy.

2.4 Origin of Democracy and its Development in Nepal

According to the recorded history of Nepal, the Kiratis were the first rulers followed by the Lichchhavi period, from the fifth century onwards. Nepali historians call Lichchhavi rule as the Golden Age because of the beginning of the first written script and introduction of coins in the country. The Lichchhavi period was believed to be more democratic than the Kirat period because the kings participated in people's pain and happiness. According to many historians, it is said that people supported the Lichchhavi rulers. The Malla period continued till the Gorkhali conquest of 1769. Prithivi Narayan Shaha, the first Shaha king, established his rule in the first place by 'a straight forward military conquest'. He derived his authority on the basis of Hindu religion and its cultural ethos and he was both de-jure and de-facto sovereign that made monarchy the ultimate and absolute political authority, responsible to none. Application of Hindu religion and its cultural ethos appeared to be in more effective form during the Rana rule of 1846-1951. The survival of the Rana rule for one hundred and four years thus mainly depended on its capacity to repress the political awakening of the society. At that time, only a few limited educated families and elite class knew something about constitution,

political rights and democracy and rest of the people were unaware of constitution, political rights and democracy.

Evidently, as soon as the people of Nepal became conscious of their human rights the Rana edifice of power simply crumbled like a house of cards in the revolution of 1950. Demolishing the long Rana family rule, constitutional system of multiparty democracy was instituted for the first time in 1951 in Nepal. Then there came the interim constitution of 1951, which was a temporary one, "for the working of the Interim Government during the Interim period".¹¹⁸ The interim constitution of 1951 marked the beginning of democracy in Nepal. It envisaged the values of liberal democracy as practiced elsewhere in the world. These values were king-in-parliament, sovereignty of people, multiparty system, independent judiciary and such other attendants for a democratic polity. However, in course of the conflicting political process, these democratic features got sidelined, and in the place of democracy, monarchy asserted the sovereign role in Nepalese politics. Despite the sovereign role of monarchy under the constitution of 1959, the political parties of Nepal made a tactical compromise with the monarchy for gradual institutionalization of democracy through the parliamentary process.¹¹⁹ But the thesis that the monarchy was antithetical to democracy and modernization proved to be a valid premise in the context of Nepalese politics. For the king, democracy and modernization of Nepalese society appeared to be an anathema. King Mahendra dismissed the parliamentary government in a coup in 1960, and ruled without any constitution during 1960 to 1962.¹²⁰ Then the King, asserting himself as an active monarch, put a complete stop to the parliamentary process without giving fair trial to it. His firm determination to rule the country by himself rather than remain content with democratic governance put the country into a political hibernation for thirty years. He tailored a partyless polity in 1960, providing his 'active leadership' accountable and answerable to none. He also gave a full and authentic account of the Panchayat constitution with the first amendments to the constitution in January 1967, and second in December 1975 by the new King Birendra. The partyless Panchayat polity in the

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 24.

¹¹⁹ Ananta Raj Poudyal, Monarchy and Democracy, In Anup Raj Sharma, (Ed.), *Essays on Constitutional Law*, (Kathmandu : Nepal Law Society, June 2000), vol. 32, pp. 40-41/48.

¹²⁰ Agrawal, H.N. (1980). *Nepal a Study in Constitutional Change*. New Delhi : Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. p. VIII.

constitution moved the constitutional development towards monarchical absolutism.¹²¹ The king legitimized his absolute rule for thirty years declaring Nepal a Hindu state. For thirty years under his absolute rule there were no political institutions, and economy fast slid down to crisis point. Per capita income hovered between the US \$ 160 to 170, thus the ranking of Nepal was as one of the least developed among the developing countries of the world.

The 'Third Wave' of democratic process in 1980 swept the globe dismantling communist totalitarian regimes. By the impact of the 'Third Wave', Nepal also restored parliamentary democracy in 1990 and absolute monarchy was transformed into a constitutional entity.¹²² The constitution of 1990 underlined sovereignty of people, bicameral legislature, multiparty system, and guarantee of fundamental rights and other human rights of people along the lines of the Westminster model. It guaranteed the standard civic and political rights of the citizens by providing for an elected government accountable to the parliament:

"And whereas, it is expedient to promulgate and enforce this constitution, made with the widest possible participation of the Nepalese people, to guarantee basic human rights to every citizen of Nepal; and also to consolidate the adult franchise, the parliamentary system of government, constitutional monarchy and the system of multi party democracy by promoting amongst the people of Nepal the spirit of fraternity and the bond of unity on the basis of liberty and equality, and also to establish an independent and competent system of justice with a view to transforming the concept of the rule of law into a living reality".¹²³

It guaranteed the source of sovereign authority of the independent and sovereign Nepal as inherent in the people. The Constitution of Nepal 1990 did in effect transfer sovereignty from the crown to the people. In the exercise of political power, the cabinet was responsible to the parliament. As a result, political parties experimented within twelve years with nearly everything that the constitution permitted in terms of government making. But the frequent changes of the government proved that it could not be helpful for the stabilization of democracy and economic development of the country.

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 129.

¹²² Sridhar K. Khatri, Democracy: The Global and Nepalese Experience, *The Institutionalization of Democratic Polity in Nepal*, (Pokhara : T.U. Prithivi Narayan Campus, 2000), pp. 50-51.

¹²³ *The Constitution of The Kingdom of Nepal of 1990*, (Kathmandu : Law Book Management Board, 1990), p. 1.

Nepal has had ample experience in and exposure to consolidating democratic process and working for the development of the country. But the more conducive democratic behavior was yet to develop at the required level. Traditional values such as amoral families, primordial loyalty, ethnicity, caste and class feelings, and communalism seemed to have systematically crept into Nepalese political culture hindering the participatory process of the general public. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, Nepal was facing the problem of good governance, pure/patriotic leadership, corruption and political criminalization, extreme polarization within and between political parties and other institutions as never before. Nepal was once again facing problems of civil service neutrality, which serves to undermine decision-making process for development and leads to weak democratic culture.

A recent study of the relationship between civic participation and governance found that in those civic communities marked by active participation in public affairs, citizens expected their governments to follow high standards, and they willingly obeyed the rules that they imposed on themselves (Transparency International Source Book 1996). The Human Development Report 1992 focuses five elements in this respect: personal security, rule of law, freedom of expression, political participation, and equality of opportunity. A political freedom index was computed accordingly. Likewise, Nepalese democracy is at transition and still faces different problems even after thirteen years of democratic exercise. And there are other challenges that lie ahead. They are huge despite remarkable progress that the country has made in its very brief existence as a modern nation-state: a majority of people still lives in absolute poverty.¹²⁴

Democracy in Nepal ultimately faced a powerful challenge in the Maoist people's war which had started in February 1996. The movement unleashed by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in the name of people's war took a heavy toll on men, money and materials. About 14,000¹²⁵ people have already lost their lives. Of its various demands, establishment of a republican system challenging the parliamentary process is a menace on the democracy of Nepal. Similarly, critical support of the other left parties who were in the parliamentary exercise is also a sensitive issue. Under such circumstances, the constitutional role of the monarchy seems equally important to

¹²⁴ *Nepal Human Development Report 1998*, op. cit. f.n. 26, P. Foreword.

¹²⁵ *Kantipur*, (Kathmandu : Kantipur Publication, Sunday, January 21, 2007), Nepal National Daily, p. 6.

nurture the nascent stage of democracy together with the democratic parties of Nepal. But Nepalese democracy seems to be facing problems to find its roots in the society and question is pointed to present democracy from all quarters of society. Nepal is facing poverty, underdevelopment and illiteracy. It is search for a meaningful citizen's role in the affairs of state

Various factors have been identified with regard to the above stated problems for democracy of Nepal. An insufficient civic education system is considered to be a barrier for healthy democratic development. Civic education emphasizes respect for and protection of individual rights and freedom. It acknowledges individual's dignity and worth, observing the rule of law, recognition of the individual will to fulfill responsibilities, participation in common good, constitutional government, and universal suffrage. Civic education opens up the innate faculty of mind. But the path of democratic process is yet to be dealing in the context of democratic movement for the benefit of Nepal. Again, on 1 June 2001, an unfortunate incident, the Royal Massacre, befell on the Royal family. Then King Gyanandra inherited the throne. When the king took executive power on 4 October 2002, the Nepalese democratic political scenario was changed. Looking at the overall scenario one could come to a conclusion that due to lack of proper civic education, the Nepalese democratic exercise was in crisis. In the ongoing crisis of Nepalese politics, people's second movement, 2006 has just been completed demanding complete inclusive democracy.¹²⁶ The government was mandated for conducting constituent assembly to draft a new constitution of Nepal and establish inclusive democracy. For its fulfillment, the Constituent Assembly election was completed on April 10, 2008. Members of the Constituent Assembly met until very late at night on May 28, 2008 and decided to implement the republican agenda with an overwhelming majority. Out of the 564 members present in the meeting, 560 went in favour of declaring the country a federal democratic republic, while only four members of the Rastriya Prajatantra Party-Nepal voted against it. In this way, the 239-year-old institution of monarchy was discarded after declaring Nepal a federal democratic republic. As a result, the importance of civic education has further escalated in the present context. So what contents and procedures are necessary for the promotion of inclusive democracy is

¹²⁶ Lok Raj Baral, *Nepal quest for participatory Democracy*, (New Delhi : Abroit Publisher, 2006), p. 1.

presently the main issue of civic education in the country. The contents and process of inclusive democracy¹²⁷ which may be expected are listed below.

2.5 Inclusive Democracy

Fotopoulos (2001) writes, "An inclusive democracy, which involves the equal distribution of power at all levels, is seen not as a utopia (in the negative sense of the word) but as perhaps the only way out of the present crisis."¹²⁸ In the context of Nepal, inclusive democracy means sharing of power and authority by all caste/ethnic, gender, linguistic, religious, cultural and regional groups through caste/ethnic, linguistic and regional autonomy and sub-autonomy, proportional representation and special measures under a federal structure of government by using the processes of round table conference, right to self-determination, referendum and constituent assembly.¹²⁹

The constellation of the following eight structural elements is the expected model of inclusive democracy in Nepal at this historical juncture: (a) federalism (b) ethnic, linguistic and regional autonomy and sub-autonomy within autonomy (c) proportional representation and (d) special measures or affirmative action will be appropriate and the procedure will be (a) round table conference (b) right to self-determination (c) referendum and (d) constituent assembly.

a. Structural Elements

i. Federalism

Federalism is an arrangement under which power is distributed equally to all regions, with each region maintaining an identical relationship to the central government. Within federalism different levels are necessary, they are indicated as autonomous nations and regions, federal nation-state, federal judiciary and federal government.

¹²⁷ Krishna B. Bhattachan, *Expected Model and Process of Inclusive Democracy in Nepal*, Paper presented in an international seminar on the Agenda of Transformation: Inclusive in Nepali democracy organized by the Social Science Baha at Birendra International Convention Centre in Kathmandu, 24-26 April, 2003, P. 7.

¹²⁸ Takis Fotopoulos, *Inclusive Democracy*, in Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy, Routledge, 2001, P. 3. Retrieved from December 26, 2007. Online [http://www.nepalresearch.org/publications/bhattachan_inclusive_democracy.pdf].

¹²⁹ Krishna B. Bhattachan, Nepal: From absolute monarchy to "democracy" and back-*The need for Inclusive Democracy*, Retrieved from December 26, 2007. Online [<http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/newsletter/nepal.htm>]

ii. Autonomy

Autonomy is to be classified on ethnic, linguistic and regional basis. If we apply these three criteria, the expected picture of autonomy can be obtained in four eco-regions which are mountains, hills, inner Terai and Madhes. The contents of autonomy include land rights, control over natural resources, and creation of executive, legislative and judicial institutions and use of language within the autonomous and sub-autonomous regions.

iii. Proportional representation

Proportional representation is a universal key to power sharing in a double sense. It opens many doors to political participation and may also be used as gateways by new groups arising from new cleavages. The guiding criteria for proportional representation in all public offices would be classified on the basis of gender, caste and ethnicity, region, language, religion and political parties.

iv. Special measures

The above mentioned structural elements may not satisfy all large and small groups, thus a policy of partly remedial and partly preferential system may have to be designed for such groups. These groups need special measures in political representation, employment, education and housing on the basis of gender, caste and ethnicity, region, language, and religion.

b. Procedure related elements

i. Round Table Conference

All organized groups and their prospective rulers have never come together in a round table to be familiar with each other's concerns and aspirations. These differences can be ironed out through referendum, constituent assembly, right to self-determination and federalism. Round table conferences would have to be organized at three levels namely, local/community, regional and national levels.

ii. Right to self-determination

Autonomy and sub-autonomy based on ethnicity, language and region are critical structural elements, which would have to be decided through right to self-determination. In Article 1, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic,

Social and Cultural Rights state, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Universally accepted criteria for self-determination such as intolerability, historical right, ethnic composition of the population and expression of the people's will are all applicable in Nepal. So in the Nepalese context, right to self-determination means the right to accept autonomy. It is known as autonomy of combined groups/region and sub-autonomy within regions.

iii. Constituent Assembly

According to Canada at the Forks Workshop, "Constituent assembly is a group of citizens/individual stakeholders gathered together to discuss general issues with a purpose to present the public will or the people's mandate of governance." The overall objective of a constituent assembly is to generate set propositions and to expose them to a nationwide referendum. In deeply divided multi-cultural societies like Nepal, the whole political system should correctly address the identity politics, and constitution is the core instrument to do so. It looks like all political actors now increasingly recognize constituent assembly as a preliminary step towards making people sovereign, institutionalizing inclusive democracy and building durable peace. Constituent assembly can be conducted by selecting the tier system. One of the necessary tiers is representation of different caste, ethnic, language, religious, gender and regional groups. Civil society organizations and political parties and independent elections can be other tiers. The delegates of the constituent assembly should have to travel in all parts of the country to have a face-to-face interaction with the citizens at large. Mass media should also play a key role in disseminating information coming out of such meetings.

iv. Referendum and Public Propositions

Referendum and public propositions should be adopted as one of the effective processes of inclusive democracy. Referendum should be done at three levels and public propositions should be on three fields, which are as follows:

Three levels of referendum

Federal Referendum: Propositions of federal concern and/or significance should be passed through federal referendum.

Nation's or Regions' Referendum: Propositions of nations' or regions' concern and/or significance should be passed through national or regions' referendum.

Local Referendum: Propositions of local concern and/or significance should be passed through local referendum.

Three Fields of Public Propositions

Constitutional Issues: Referendum on whether the existing political system should be changed or not, whether any constitutional provisions must be changed or not should be done in every five years. This will give hope to losers to win next time. This will indeed prevent them from raising arms or indulging in insurgency or revolution or radical activities for change in the constitution or the political system.

Legislative Issues: Referendum on legislative issues should be done every two years.

Development Issues: Referendum on development issues should be done every two years.

2.6 Civic Education: Changing Concept and Its Roles

Meaning of civic education changes over time reflecting the changes that have taken place in society. The present society is information age society and the complexities of the society change as the social structure and the type of the society change. Accordingly, the level of consciousness and education is also changing at present. So, what meaning was given to civic education in the past is different from the meaning and nature of civic education at present. The term 'civics' was used as we conceive 'civic education' at present. Civics then consisted of the meaning of rights and responsibilities of the citizens in a country. The contents of the study of civics were democracy, freedom, individual rights, social structure, function and problems of the government at local, national, and international levels. Civics teachers, then, encouraged students to participate in student governments, school publications, and other school organizations. Students might also have become involved in voter registration drives and conservation project".¹³⁰ Barber stresses on the importance of civics: "a common assumption of U.S. participatory democracy is that every citizen recognizes and

¹³⁰ *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit. f.n. 1, p. 604.

understands his or her civic duty".¹³¹ The present meaning of civic education, according to M.S. Branson, is education in self-government. Democratic self-government means that citizens actively involve in their own governance; they do not just passively accept the dictums of others or acquiesce to the demands of others".¹³² It means: civic education is a main theme in democracy and opens the main gate to democracy as a path of politics.

The meaning of civic education in the context of Nepal has also changed from past to the present. In the past, students at school and even early years of colleges did study civics as it was taught in other countries. There was no special curriculum of civic education in Nepal. So the meaning of civics was accepted as rights, responsibilities, and tolerance in Nepal too as in other part of the world. But, political changes and complexities the Nepalese society has had to witness have been so intensive that they necessitate a homegrown course of civic education. In order to disseminate or sensitize the general mass of people about their civic sense, an effective mechanism of strategy needs to be developed so as to devise a country specific civic education. Implementation of the civic education program may not be possible through any single institution; multi-sectoral coordinated efforts of concerned agencies may therefore have to be relied upon.¹³³ Similarly, civic education encourages individuals to participate in public policy making and to join in activities of the society.¹³⁴ Thus it may have to depend upon the actual life as well as democratic ideals accepted in the country. Therefore, civic education has to be defined in different ways in different political systems.¹³⁵

The above understandings of civic education over time in the past so far may lead to defining civic education as utilization of constitutional rights; motivation to respecting other's rights, faith in citizenship, social awareness, equal opportunity and working to strengthen democracy. It also imparts knowledge of citizen's orientation towards responsible behavior, politeness, truthfulness, social qualities and identifying social needs. Besides, it has to lay stress on character building, education, human relationship, and positive contribution to society. Similarly civic education is the performance of duties and responsibilities by maintaining ethics, self-reliance, discipline, and respect to elders and love to juniors.

Civic education in modern times should not be understood merely as instruments for preparing the people to vote and bring in their representatives to power. The very concept needs to be modified and rationalized to inculcate values such as tolerance

¹³¹ Engelhardt, and Steinbrink, op. cit. f.n. 28, p. 3.

¹³² Branson, op. cit. f.n. 29, P. 2.

¹³³ Rajendra Kumar Rongong and Dhruva Shrestha, op. cit. f.n. 38, P. 1.

¹³⁴ Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan, and Shiva Raj Dahal, Civic Education In Ananda Prasad Shrestha and Shiva Raj Dahal (Ed.), *Samakalin Nepali Samaj*, (Kathmandu : Nepal for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) and; Fredric Abert Stiffung (FES), 2057), p. 33.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pp. 53-56.

against the forces of violence, the culture of tolerance against forcible imposition of the will of the powerful, and the willingness to seek solution of conflicts and disputes through peaceful means. Moreover, there is also the need of using the potentials of civic education for preparing young peoples to possess strong character and social morals against the negative influence from excessive exposure to commercial mass information culture.¹³⁶

In the history of the world civilization, different types of society may have progressed through stages of agricultural, industrial and technological characters. The role and responsibilities of a citizen differ at each stage; hence the roles of civic education also differ. Each political system has defined fundamental rights and duties of citizen and is expected to prepare citizens in accordance with the fundamentals through education. Upon this assumption as well, the role of civic education differs according to the political system of a country. Basically, civic education has to focus directly on strengthening democracy.¹³⁷

In the international scenario of civic education as discussed above, civic education emphasizes universal rights, human rights, multi-party democracy and the rule of law. It also stresses on education development, promotion of civic sense, poverty alleviation, and socialization, enhancement of civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition.¹³⁸ Seeing the Nepalese context, Rajendra Kumar Rongong and Dhruva Shrestha have described organs of civic education as civic knowledge, civic skills and civic dispositions.¹³⁹ They argue that civic education and character building are co-related to each other. The people's movements of 1990 for the restoration of democracy and the second people's movement of 2006 for restructuring the state have increased the role and importance of civic education in the Nepalese context.

The roles of civic education should be realized in the following aspects:

a. Civic Education for Good Governance

Governance is a term that applies to the exercise of power in a variety of institutions. The objective of good governance is to direct, control and regulates

¹³⁶ *Dossier*, (Kathmandu : Society for the Promotion of Civic Education (SPCE), 2003), P. 95.

¹³⁷ Branson, op. cit. f.n. 29, p. 2.

¹³⁸ Phuyal, op. cit. f.n. 16, pp. 2-4.

¹³⁹ Rongong, and Shrestha, op. cit. f.n. 38, pp. 35-37.

the activities in the interest of the people as citizens. It is the exercise of the political power to manage a nation's affairs. It also means a human aggregate and the people's representatives who are acting together on a collective task of public welfare. Three concepts accountability, legitimacy and transparency are cardinal to most definitions of the government.¹⁴⁰ Under good governance, government remains accountable to people, and vigilant to securing human development.¹⁴¹ If we want to strengthen good governance, civic education becomes essential. The main theme of civic education in a democracy is education in **self-government**.¹⁴² Democratic self-government means citizens are actively involved in their own governance.

b. Civic Education for Cultural Heritage

In general, culture is defined in reference to art, music and literature. Following to anthropological definition, it is related to describe the total aspect of human activities. Culture or civilization includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by human being as a member of society. In the meantime, culture is the evolutionary process in response to particular historical circumstances, including the diffusion of ideas, or cultural traits from other cultures. Culture varies from place to place and therefore defined as 'vague abstraction'. However, modern cultural anthropologists are of the opinion that particular cultural forms are developed and survive according to their utility in achieving social integration. In contrast, culture is also defined as the shared norms in the social bond. The question of culture could be a range of interpretive tools that attempt to account for the diversity of conflict within cultural formations, it is said to be a discourse theory and interdisciplinary to the traditional social science.

Cultural heritage is the manifestation of traditions acquired from the predecessors in the symbolic form owing to the process of modernism. As no society can live without traditions, and challenge of modernization is to transform traditions into modernity. Civic education provides knowledge through experiments which serves as guidelines for the preservation of culture and

¹⁴⁰ Dev Raj Dahal, Good Governance in Nepal Context, *The Telegraph Weekly*, September 26, 2001, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Ananta Raj Poudyal, Governance in Nepal, *Essays on Constitutional Law*, (Kathmandu : Nepal Law Society, March 2001), Vol. 33, p. 2.

¹⁴² Self-government: Government formed by the people to govern them by themselves to the most practicable extent possible. Not every people of the nation are capable of forming self-government but the educated and enlightened people can form the self-government. The question remains, however, the extent to which government by the people themselves may be extended. Retrieved from January 5, 2008, Online [<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-government>].

heritage, and for a continuity of human civilization in the society. Preservation of cultural heritage is related to self-governance, and therefore, civic education should address this issue in a competent manner.

c. Civic Education for Poverty Alleviation

Poverty alleviation is a long human aspiration which is directly related to the problems of uneven distribution of goods and services. Hence the objective of poverty alleviation is to provide justified distribution of goods and services to all sectors, regions and sections of the population. Civic education refers to a process in which resources are put to better use in a country, a region or a sector of society. The term better means is an explanation of how and for whom, and at the same time the best possible development that can take place in the society, which is also another version of civic education.

d. Civic Education for the Conservation of Nature

Global warming caused by major industrial accidents, depletion of ozone layer and environmental degradation is one of the serious threats to the nature. The truth is only the benefit from the nature can no longer is viewed as the ideal way of reconciling material progress. Equally, respect for the human condition and respect for the natural assets that mankind have is a duty of each and every civilized society. It is necessary to hand it on, in good condition, to the generations to come. Solution of this intellectual or political challenge, therefore, fundamentally lies on civic education, as it advocates the sense of "nature is life".

e. Civic Education for Civil Society

Modern society has three basic components: capital, state and the people with all their associations and organizations, constituting civil society. There are a number of reasons that establish the relevance of civil society in the contemporary world.

First, the trinity of freedom, social justice and solidarity form the core value of civil society. These values represent the three generations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Civil and Political Rights (first generation), Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (second generation) and the Rights to Development, Self-Determination¹⁴³ and International Co-operation

¹⁴³ Self-determination: Autonomy and sub-autonomy based on ethnicity, language and region is crucial structural element, which should be decided through right to self-determination. Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Universally

(third generation). Second, a civil society comprises small bottom-up associations, which are accessible to citizen participation thus making it attractive for more and more citizens to public life. Third, civil society tries to mediate between the general and particular interests, between the base and super structure and between the political and economic societies for the welfare of the majority of citizens who are poor, powerless, deprived and alienated from the mainstream democratic and development process. Fourth, the civil society captures a vision of conscious opposition to authoritarianism, domination and exploitation of citizens and provides an opportunity to mobilize counter knowledge and draw on the pertinent forms of expertise to make its own translation. Fifth, civil society seeks to influence state for policy making and helps in shaping up public opinion and collective information. Sixth, civil society builds a commitment to the protection of the social sphere and public good by removing plenty of constraints from the realization of constitutional rights, economic and political entitlements and opportunities for civic empowerment. And finally, a civil society gives impetus to a community building project within and across the national borders to universalize individual and national life. It also motivates the citizens, governments and the states to move towards regional and international co-operation.¹⁴⁴ These are the essential components of a civil society. The roles of civil society became apparent in the peoples movement of 2006 for the development of democracy. Therefore, civic education should take the role of strengthening the components of civil society. Civic education in part and whole should be responsible in creating critical mass of civil society for ensuring equity and justice in the democratic society.

f. Civic Education for Development

The notion of how a society changes and achieves its development is not new or novel in current debates. From classical antiquity through the enlightenment, right up to modern times, there have always been ideas and theories about how societies change and develop. Development is defined in terms of three dimensions: economic, social and political.

Economic development means the increase in the efficiency of the production of system of a society. Social/Cultural development includes changes

accepted criteria for self-determination such as intolerability, historical right, ethnic composition of the population and expression of the people's will are all applicable in Nepal. Therefore in the Nepalese context right to self-determination means right to accept autonomy, autonomy of combined groups/regions, sub-autonomy within autonomy and merge with federal government. Retrieved from January 5, 2008. Online [<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-determination>].

¹⁴⁴ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 31, pp. 10-14.

in attitudes, values and behaviors. Political development is understood to mean the equal distribution of power and the absence of domination of anyone group over another. Political development thus includes political participation, access to political position, and the development of national integration, cohesion and identity.¹⁴⁵ Good civic education promotes economic, social/cultural and political status of the people. So civic education is the most important factor to development and it is possible only through the quality of the citizens. Every citizen should be critical and constructive on the three dimensions of development-economic, social and political.

g. Civic Education for Democracy

Civic education emphasizes respect for and protection of individual rights and freedom. It acknowledges individual's dignity and worth, observing the rule of law, recognition of the individual will to fulfill responsibilities, participation in the common good, constitutional government, and universal suffrage. Civic education opens up the innate faculty of mind. Many people very often understand democracy as a form of government. However, the meaning of democracy transcends the form of government and includes the culture of the society that should reflect humanism, pluralism, justice and respect among the people.

In democracy, equality, political tolerance, accountability, transparency, regular, free and fair election, economic freedom, control of the abuse of power, bill of rights, human rights, multi-party system and rule of law are accepted as important components. Civic education should impart and provide opportunities to experience the value of these democratic ingredients to the youth as well as other ordinary people. When a mass of people inculcates all these potentialities, democracy sustain forever.

Based on the above discussions, it is plausible to argue that good governance, cultural heritage, poverty alleviation, conservation of nature, civil society, development and democracy should be made the important contents of civic education in order for civic education to allow to play a crucial role.

2.7 Interrelationship between Civic Education and Democracy

There are two human inventions which may be considered more difficult than any other they are: the art of government and the art of education. Naturally civic

¹⁴⁵ *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, (London: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, 1996) Second Edition, Vol. 3, p. 1648.

education and democracy are therefore inextricably interwoven. The concept of civic education is self-rule and democracy is education in self-government.¹⁴⁶ Civic education often includes the study of political institutions, democratic institutions, and their values, commitments, assumptions, and challenges. For example, a content-based unit emphasizing political institutions could explore different styles of government, the diverse responsibilities of government, governments of the past, or governments of the present. In such settings, students could study the government of their own country and/or the governments of other countries.

Civic education may also include "a study of the purpose of government, the nature of law, and the way that private behavior affects the public order and the political system, and the international context of politics."¹⁴⁷ In such circumstances, teachers can create lessons that explore why people form governments, how governments are formed, why governments enforce laws, and how different types of laws shape society. Civic education can also focus on geography, symbols associated with different countries and governments (e.g. flags, national anthems, historical sites, buildings, monuments), and more provocative topics such as the nature of propaganda, the role of the press, civil disobedience, public life, diversity, global issues, tolerance, negotiation, war and peace, human rights, and societal dilemmas (e.g. finding a balance between individual beliefs and majority rule, individual rights and public safety, power of the people and power of the government). In democratic societies, civic education emphasizes civic participation and the skills necessary for informed and responsible citizenship. It also explores the political process with an eye towards understanding how it promotes the rights and responsibilities of the individual and the responsibilities of government. In such settings, civic education seeks to reinforce values such as liberty, equality, justice, and the common good, which are the basic components of the democratic system.¹⁴⁸

Civic education includes rights of the individual, rules of laws, individual freedoms, and societal dilemmas, responsibilities of the individual, cultural pluralism, responsibilities of the government, and building a civil society, which are the common

¹⁴⁶ Ananta Raj Poudyal, *A Study on Civic Education and Culture of Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Kathmandu Center for Research and Studies, 2004), Vol. III, No. III, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Quigley, C.N., & Bahmueller, C.F. (Ed.). *Civitas: A framework for Civic Education Calabasas*, (CA : Centre for Civic Education, 1991), p. 3 (See also Online [<http://www.civiced.org/civitasexec.html>]).

¹⁴⁸ Quigley and Bahmueller, op. cit. f.n. 129, p. 3.

phenomena of democracy. Education for civic engagement and responsive governance has been the objective of political Science. Supporting and sustaining quality civic education has been an important theme throughout the history of American Political Science Association (APSA est. 1903) in the United State of America. Most recently, creating a standing committee dedicated to civic education and democratic engagement of the people, APSA has striven to disseminate resources to support civic education and engagement in pre-college education as well as in higher education and it has thus become an important institutions for the development of civic education and democracy in the twenty-first century. (Online Global Trend\Civic Education.htm)

2.8 A Comparative Study of Civic Education and Democracy in South Asia

It is reported that civic education and democracy in South Asia is in vulnerable condition, and in addition, Nepal's case is even more critical. Among the South Asian nations, India introduced the parliamentary form of government and has remained a democratic state since the day of its independence in 1947. Indian democracy is considered as one of the successful democracies in the world. The Indian constitution happens to emphasize the concepts of sovereignty of the people, secular state, fundamental rights, multiparty democracy and rule of law. It will be interesting to look into how India has been able to develop the democratic norms and values, and ensure people's participation in the political process through competitive multiparty system. Apparently India's political system has acquired resilience by providing value and stability in society. It taught civic education from primary level to higher secondary level as Civics, a separate subject in the school curriculum.¹⁴⁹ Communication media, mass media, interest groups, I/NGO, political parties are promoting awareness in the people of India in informal ways as well. Despite democratic development and effective provision of providing basic values of civic education, the Indian society seems yet to be conflict ridden. It is facing the Hindu-Muslim conflict, Bodo and Mijoram independent movement and Maoist people's movement in a noticeable way and India is also facing the challenges of poverty, illiteracy, religious and ethnic problems. While India is doing

¹⁴⁹ *Teaching of Civics*, (Delhi : Doaba House, 1982), pp. 20-33.

its best to provide civic education, the Indian society encounters multitude of challenges to be dealt with.

Pakistan and Bangladesh have been suffering from their routine military coups. The repeated military takeovers and undemocratic regimes have discouraged democratic processes in Pakistan and Bangladesh. During brief political regimes, the democratic institutions could not also flourish due to political frictions and despotic attitude. The problems have compounded because of feudal and sectarian cultural practices as well. In these countries, education system has been hardly designed towards democracy. Three major problems-army rule for a long time, subordination of political parties by military and bureaucracy in real politics, and failure to frame viable constitution are the problems of Pakistan and Bangladesh.¹⁵⁰

But in Pakistan very little attention has been paid to promote understanding on political and democratic rights among the citizens. Rather, denial of democratic and electoral rights, restrictions imposed on freedom of expression, democratic activities and political action have resulted in spreading apathy towards democracy both in principle and practice. Realizing a strong need to initiate a civic education process that can enable citizens to exercise their political choices and rights in much more conscious manner, a group of concerned citizens have established a center for civic education in Pakistan to inform, inspire and involve the citizens in understanding the principles and practices of active citizenship and democracy.¹⁵¹ Ahmad (2003)¹⁵² has pointed out some independent variables influencing school curriculum of civic education. He has divided history of education into different eras and captured the basic characteristics of different government and their influence in civic education curriculum. Both internal and external political, cultural, and social forces were found influential. It is argued that four independent variables influenced the education policy makers' vision of civic education: the garrison nation-state, the Cold War exigencies, religious extremism and feudalism. In symbiosis, each of these four hegemonic forces has set the agenda for what is to be

¹⁵⁰ Krishna Hachhethu, *Party Building in Nepal: The Nepali Congress Party and The Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), (1990-1995)*, An Unpublished Dissertation, Submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, T.U. August, 2000, p. 13.

¹⁵¹ Online [Global Trend\cedu.htm].

¹⁵² Iftikhan Ahmad, *Civic Education in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis*, Online [<http://civiced.indiana.edu/papers/2003/1053188078.doc>]

included in or excluded from the school curricula. In a sense, these hegemonic and ideological forces envisage a distinct social order in Pakistan and such social order rules out religious tolerance, gender equality, liberal and progressive thinking, and political dissent. Hence the government schools in Pakistan have been fostering a conformist, intolerant and undemocratic civic culture.

Sri Lanka is the least developed in political literature of South Asian countries. Sri Lanka introduced parliamentary form of government that ruled the country but after the general election in 1977 the parliament changed the constitution. Then Sri Lanka introduced the presidential form of government. But the demand of Tamil for a separate state there created a conflict between Sinhalese and Tamil, which is running since three decades. From these circumstances Sri Lanka is facing democratic and ethnic problems. About a three-decade-old conflict in Sri Lanka indicates several critical issues to be addressed while making civic education curriculum. The level of education of the country is the highest among the south Asian nations. The role of civic education should be to inculcate multiple identities in an individual to increase social tolerance among the people. There are ethnical, religious, racial problems which are the product of the absence of proper civic education. The independent variables pointed out by Ahmade (2003) would be considerable ones in influencing civic education of Sri Lanka.

Maldives accepted the Presidential form of government after its independence. There is unicameral legislature (Majalish), which is holding all the power of legislature. There is an absence of strong opposition and free press. People are less conscious in civil rights and civic competence. Even now, there is no strong initiative to the development of civic education through governmental and non-governmental institutions.

Bhutan is a landlocked and monarchial state in South Asia. It is ruled by an absolute monarchy and the king is sovereign. There is no constitution and the state is ruled according to the king's wishes, not with the rule of law. The people have no civil and political rights. People's participation, independence, legitimacy, transparency, responsibility, multiparty system and rule of law are the norms of democracy and they are out of the people's hand because Bhutanese king is all-in-all. People have no right to go against the king's voice. More than one hundred thousand Nepali Bhutanese refugees are living in the eastern part of Nepal as a result of suppression by the Bhutanese king. They were conscious and demanded the equal sharing of power in the government on the

basis of caste/ethnic, gender, linguistic, religion and culture. In this situation, civic education would be the right path to the country for solving the crisis and ushering democracy. But it is not an easy task to establish democracy in Bhutan against the Bhutanese king's autocratic rule. The king does not appear amenable enough to sharing the political power with the people. In such a situation, it is not easy to conceive how civic education is delivered in Bhutan.

It has already been stated that like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal have been under undemocratic rule where provision of civic education was conspicuous absent. The political change of 1990 brought democracy in Nepal. It has, however been made clear that the introduction of a democratic system of government alone does not by itself make for the adoption of democratic culture and the democratic way of life. It is hence realized that civic education is the backbone for democratic development. The main concerns of civic education are promotion of critical thinking, capacity for evaluation, content analysis, development of participant political culture like ability to judge political events in an objective way, accept or defend political issues and establish position in the society, which are not always adequately incorporated in the civic education curricula. Almost all schools which have theoretical consideration and examination oriented teaching methods may require incorporation of problem solving approach on the basis of observation, experimentation and inference to law. Still more problematic is the absence of a common set of activities that would help student to acquire skill and competence as citizens of a democracy. On top of that, the practical problem is lack of appropriate level of civic education activities providing proper guidance to both the teachers and students.

It could be said that the democratic process of Nepal could not take appropriate turn because of political experiments. In 1996, the country faced an armed rebellion of the extreme left, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), with the declared goal of overthrowing the constitutional system to establish its own regime, a 'people's republic'. The state remained divided in dealing with the Maoists who took full advantage of incoherence and inconsistencies in the body politic to develop into a full-fledged nationwide insurgency and pushed the state out of the interior parts of the country. By 2000, the Maoists were on parity with the state, with their parallel government in many districts. Simultaneously, the country faced acute problems of governance with growing

corruption at the political level, governmental instability and leadership failure-leading to an internal breakdown of the system. As a result of the armed rebellion, an estimated 34,000 people were internally displaced while more than 14,000 persons have lost their lives. Nepal tops the list of countries with people disappearing because of the internal conflict. Among 1,430 cases of disappearance, the state is directly accountable for more than 1000.¹⁵³ The people were further isolated from the body politic when the House of Representatives was dissolved and the tenure of the local units of government expired without being able to restore them through elections. The experiment of democracy in Nepal thus faced an uncertain future in the crossfire of two extremities-Maoist insurgency and an assertive monarchy. Within this crossfire it is estimated that 14,000 people have lost their lives from the armed rebellion till people's movement of 2006. To overcome the present political crisis of Nepal, it is necessary to find out the answer to two major questions: what may be the solution for present political crisis and how to achieve the benefits of democracy? In the meantime, seven parties and the Maoist party agreed to a twelve-point agreement to fight against the king's autocratic rule. From equal participation of seven parties and the Maoists, people's movement of 2006 became successful and the parliament was restored. Parliament secured the sovereignty from the king and king became powerless. Again seven parties formed the government and entered into the eight points, five point, and twenty-five point peace agreements with the Maoists. At this time, people's fresh mandate to the government was to complete the election of Constituent Assembly in the country and to establish inclusive democracy. The election was successfully held on April 10, 2008. The members of Constituent Assembly firstly met until late at night on May 28, 2008 and decided to implement the republican agenda with an overwhelming majority of the Assembly members. With the overall scenario in the context of Nepal, whatever content and process that may be necessary to the promotion of democracy in the country are the main issues of civic education. The Nepalese nation now is heading towards a full-fledged democracy, that is, inclusive form of democracy. The influencing variables of civic education would be international education programme, conflicting political ideologies and their respective perspectives in civic education, culture and identity. The curriculum of civic education should now consider all these variables while designing the same.

¹⁵³ *The Kathmandu Post*, (Kathmandu: Kantipur Publication, 25 September 2004), Nepal National Daily.

Comparing the political state of South Asian countries, it is seen that the growth of conflict in each country has to do with class conflict, cultural, ethnic, identity issues, and governance mechanism. More over the curriculum of social study or civic education is influenced by the ruling class, international influences, feudal culture and other socio-cultural elements. So the big issue seen in designing civic education is related to the political system, educational status, and the behavior of the people while formulating their demands. The nature of the government and the ruling class set the nature of education in a country. On the other hand, the claim is that the democracy is only possible through civic education. The question as to what should be considered first, 'civic education' or the 'government', to create a democratic 'society' may hopefully be answered in due course of time.

2.9 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The review of the literature thus shows that civic education from ancient to the twenty-first century can be seen from different ideological perspectives. Ancient philosopher and educationists considered civic education as political education which could be useful to enable people to participate in the political process. The ideological perspective then was related to giving value to liberty, responsibility, and civic virtues necessary to be a full-citizen of a democratic state. Therefore, the contents of political/civic education were related to philosophy, form and process of state and local government, and the rights and duties of the people under the rule and regulations of the government. Another explanation of civic education, as was argued by Johann Beck et al. (2004) is that it is a way for 'emancipation' of individuals. The central task of civic education thus has been to make people aware of causes of social problems and fight them back. Johann Beck et al. further argues,

“Emancipatory education is no pedagogical basic concept, but instead, is the theory and practice of the political conflict founded on social science. It stands on the side of the oppressed.”¹⁵⁴

This discourse argues that civic education is related to class-consciousness and preparing individuals to take action for transformation of the society.

¹⁵⁴ © Online [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/ Federal Agency for Civic Education/ bpb 2004 www.bpb.de] Retrieved from January 28, 2009.

Western tradition of civic education, mostly guided by 'democratic state' philosophy, is providing much focus on civic rights, duties, responsibilities necessary to be attained by an individual to be a good and productive citizen. With the weaker political position of the Marxist in the world, the concept and principle of civic education of the western tradition is spread over most of the countries in the world. Critical theory of education in curriculum reform of civic education has important implications for the reform of education in Europe. The nature of civic education from ancient to the present twenty-first century is directed towards the assumed nature of the society by the nation state. It is therefore argued that the contents of civic education are revolved round the political doctrines prevalent in the country. The nine trends¹⁵⁵ as suggested by Charles N. Quigley (Quigley 2000) (Appendix E) have been accepted as one of the main sources for developing a theoretical framework for the present study. Basically Quigley's description of the nine trends of civic education provides insights for understanding how civic education has been delivered- ranging from conceptualization of civic education to actual classroom practices in the school. This framework will help to examine the kind of civic education practiced in different periods of time in the educational history of Nepal. Insights have also been gathered from the theory of reproduction as explained by Bowels

¹⁵⁵ Charles N. Quigley identified nine trends that "have broad potential for influencing civic education in the constitutional democracies of the world". They are: **Trend 1** focus on conceptualization of civic education in terms of three interrelated components: Civic knowledge, Civic skills and Civic virtues; **Trend 2** focus on Systematic teaching of fundamental ideas or core concepts of democratic governance and citizenship such as popular sovereignty, individual rights, the common good, authority, justice, freedom, constitutionalism and rule of law, and representative democracy; **Trend 3** focus on analysis of case studies and the use of case studies brings the drama and vitality of authentic civic life into the classroom and requires the practical application of fundamental ideas or concepts to make sense of the data of civic reality; **Trend 4** focus on development of decision-making skills from the help of these skills students are taught to identify issues, to examine the alternative choices and the likely consequences of each choice, and to defend one choice as better than the others; **Trend 5** focus on comparative and international analysis of government and citizenship with the help of this trend teacher is requiring students to compare institutions of constitutional democracy in their own country with institutions in other democracies of the contemporary world; **Trend 6** focus on the development of participatory skills and civic virtues through cooperative learning activities. With the help of this trend teachers are emphasizing cooperative learning in small groups, which requires students to work together to achieve a common objective; **Trend 7** focus on the use of literature to teach civic virtues and it stresses the educational value of exposing learners "to characters who exhibit such traits as courage, hope, optimism, ambition, individual initiative, love of country, love of family, the ability to laugh at themselves, a concern for the environment, and outrage at social injustice"; **Trend 8** focus on active learning of civic knowledge, skills, and virtues. It helps to involving students actively in their acquisition of knowledge, skills, and virtues. Furthermore, it enables students to develop skills and processes needed for independent inquiry and civic decision-making throughout a lifetime. These are capacities of citizenship needed to make a constitutional democracy work; and **Trend 9** focuses on the conjoining of content and process in teaching and learning of civic knowledge, skills, and virtues. In their development of curricula and classroom lessons, teachers are recognizing that civic virtues and skills, intellectual and participatory are inseparable from a body of civic knowledge of content.

and Gintis (1986)¹⁵⁶ in their book 'Schooling in Capitalist America' and Giroux (1983)¹⁵⁷ in his book 'Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition' for understanding and interpreting how Nepal's civic education developed. In other words, the idea of the theory of reproduction was kept in mind to examine how civic education was guided by those who governed the country. The theory of reproduction was found to be relevant here in the sense that the people who were governing the country were the ones who controlled education and they all were doing things to reproduce and continue what they believed useful for the country as well as for them. The knowledge gained through this theory was also used to the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data collected for the study. Similarly, the individual perspectives of different stakeholders regarding the nature and ways of imparting civic education are analyzed using interpretative theory practiced in social science. This study has been designed to look into the relationships between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics gaining insights from the above theoretical considerations.

¹⁵⁶ Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling In Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, (United States of America: Basic Books, L.L.C., 1977), p.126-127

¹⁵⁷ Henry A. Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*, (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1983), pp. 76-88.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL TRENDS OF CIVIC EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN NEPAL

In accordance with the already stated objectives of this dissertation, Chapter III is designed to study state policy and status of civic education in Nepal until 1950. Education policy has been analyzed in light of the curriculum, the provision of civic education made in formal education and its impact on promoting democratic processes of the country. The chapter has been divided into six sections to provide thematic coherence of the study:

- a) Characteristics of the Nepalese Society
- b) State Policy
- c) Educational status
- d) Rana's Policy
- e) Educational status, Policy and structure of Education
- f) Reform Movements in India and Their Impact on Nepalese Politics and Education

3.1 Characteristics of the Nepalese Society

Nepal is situated in the northern rim of south Asia with a little portion of its territory in the Central Asia Nepal borders with Tibet, the autonomous region of China in the north, and India in the east, the south and the west. With a total land area of 1,47,181 sq. km., the country is located between 26°4' to 30°27' latitude north and between 80°4' to 88°12' longitude east. The geographical landscape is broadly divided into three ranges: the Himalayas, the Mountains and the Tarai. The Himalayan range is above 17,000 feet with permanently snow covered peaks. The second range between 4000 feet to 17,000 feet consists of different mountains, hills, pockets, ridges, ranges, and villages. And, the third range, low land of Tarai, consists of 1000 feet to 4000 feet behind the Mahabarat and the Siwalik with a strip of fertile plains. These geographical belts of Nepal run parallel from the east to the west.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ *Education for All National Plan to Action Nepal (2001-2015)*, (Kathmandu : Ministry of Education and Sports Nepal-Nepal National Commission for UNESCO in Collaboration with UNESCO, 2003), p. 1.

The Himalayan range has proved to be a great physical and climatic barrier in the sense that the Himalayas provide a separate social and cultural unit from the rest of central Asia. This does not, however, mean that there has been no physical contact or exchange of track and shared culture between Nepal and Central Asia across the Himalayas. Several passes on the northern border of Nepal which cross the Himalayas into Tibetan territory have all along proved useful for purposes of local trade and transit.¹⁵⁹

The social construct of the Nepali society is very much affected by its physical geographical nature. Along with the variation of nature, at least, one hundred language groups with a thousand dialects have been recognized in the Nepalese society making it an 'ethnic-turn table of Asia' As Tony Hagen writes,

“Nepal is situated between the Central and south Asia regions. Its Northern part territories along with the Himalayan Crestline have closer social proximity to Central Asia, and its other parts come under the south Asia region. Physically and socially, these regions of Nepal are not uniform. Sharply slashed mountain ranges long ridges, and countless hills, valleys and plains with different river system, have helped Nepal in evolving different cultural pockets making the Nepali society.”¹⁶⁰

The twenty-six million¹⁶¹ people of Nepal reflect diverse social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds exhibiting multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-lingual characteristics of Nepali society. Anthropologically, three major racial divisions characterize the Nepali society. They are the Indo-Aryan, the Mongoloid or the Tibeto-Burman sub-families and the Austro-Asiatic races. The Indo-Aryan fold consists of the Brahmin, Chettri Rajbangshi Nepali with Maithili, Bhojpuri language speaking groups and the Hindu religion. The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) reports its size as 86 percent of the population. The Mongoloid group consists of the races like sherpa, Tamang with the Buddhist religion. According to the CBS reports, its size is eight percent. And, the third group Austro-Asiatic fold is reported to be the indigenous people

¹⁵⁹ Rishikesh Shah, *Modern Nepal A Political History 1769-1955*, (New Delhi: Ajay Kumar Jain for Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1996), Vol. 1, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Tony Hagen, *Nepal the Kingdom in the Himalayas*, (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing House and Co., 1980), p. 108.

¹⁶¹ *Nepal in Figures 2006*, Government of Nepal, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu, p.4 Online [www.cbs.gov.np].

of Nepal, which belongs to the economically disadvantaged stratum.¹⁶² A sizable percentage of Muslim also resides in Nepal further enhancing the plural character of Nepalese society.

These different linguistic and cultural groups coming from both the Northern and Southern regions of Asia have been living in Nepal from time immemorial. Bista believes that the other linguistic groups or the cultural groups from the Austro-Asiatic branch are the 'indigenous' people of the Nepali society.¹⁶³ Hagen speculates the time of the Aryan arrival from 1500 B.C. to 200 B.C. onwards to 1500 years A.D.¹⁶⁴ similarly, the Mongoloid group and its subfamily are believed to have migrated from Central Asia during the same period. Apart from these major groups, a small Muslim community is also a part of the Nepali society. Recently the government of Nepal has recognized sixty-one 'JANAJATI',¹⁶⁵ with a view to bring them in the mainstream of national development. The practices of looking at the Nepali society on the basis of the caste and class seem to be very much alive though the provisions have been legally banned. But due to the lack of appropriate level of civic education and political consciousness, traditional practices have been found to be the contributing factors for the continuation of such a value system in Nepali society.

3.2 State Policy

Nepal came into existence as a state in the middle half of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Hindu cultural ethos and the military chivalry were applied in the early phase of nation building. A traditional society based on patrimonial system, people had nothing

¹⁶² HMG of Nepal, *The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Central Bureau of Statistics, 2000), pp. 38-46.

¹⁶³ Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Department of Publicity, 1967), pp. 2-4.

¹⁶⁴ Hagen, op.cit. f.n. 3, pp. 107-112.

¹⁶⁵ Bihari Krishna Shrestha, *The Sociological Context of (I) NGO Work in Nepal*, *NGO, Civil Social and Government in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Central Department of Sociological and Anthropology T.U In Cooperation with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2001), p. 42.

¹⁶⁶ Middle half of the eighteenth century of Nepal: Until the mid-18th century, Nepal was an isolated collection of small kingdoms. The most powerful kingdoms were usually based in the Kathmandu Valley, but they were unable to establish firm rule over the rest of the country. In the mid-18th century, the small hill state of Gorkha began a campaign of conquest that united Nepal. The newly united Nepali kingdom soon came into conflict with China and Britain (which was the colonial power over India) and any further expansion was checked. In the late 18th century, the Nepalese aristocracy collapsed due to infighting, which was finally resolved in 1846 when a military commander established himself as prime minister. For the next century a clan of prime ministers known as Ranas ruled Nepal as de-facto kings and kept the monarchy under house arrest. Retrieved 18th January, 2008 Online [<http://db.mipt.org/MoreTerrorismReport.jsp?countryCd=NP>].

to do with the state policy rather than replenishing the stocks for the ruling elites.¹⁶⁷ The very people who came from different ethnic groups to join the Gorkhali army in the enterprise of building a modern Nepal were denied basic human rights.¹⁶⁸ Prithvinarayan Shah (1769) stood as a powerful force in the emergence of Nepal and signified devotion to the regime as nationalism. No doubt, he brought unity out of the prevailing chaos in this rim of south Asia and founded the present state of Nepal, when almost all other south Asian countries were under the colonial onslaught. As an absolute king, he was responsible to none and he usurped state power that belonged only to the ruling house of Gorkha, and its courtiers. After his death, the wheel of Nepalese politics, that is, from 1778 to 1846, turned to a complex amalgam of forces which involved in conspiratorial and factional politics- leading to bloody tragedies, bloodbaths, dissensions, lawlessness and anarchy.¹⁶⁹ The nature of politics was confined to nothing more than conspiracy, dark dungeons, poisoning, killing and hired assassins which eventually led to the downfall of the Shah kings and rise of another factious group of Ranas in 1846. After 'Kot Parba' of 1846, or the bloody massacre, Jung Bahadur put an end to all factious groupings who were inimical to him. Then the Rana rule continued until it was overthrown in the revolution of 1950-51.¹⁷⁰

3.3 Educational status

In the early era of Nepal, the education system was completely rudimentary and private. As general people were denied even the basic human rights, there was no provision for acquiring education. Under a situation where concept of modern education was conspicuous by its absence, the provision of private education was based on superstitious beliefs, and ideals of the Hindu religion. In fact, the concept of education was drawn from the Hindu religion and its cultural ethos. The Vedic education system such as the Gurukul, Rishikul, Devkul and Pitrikul were in practice and these education systems were based on the Veda, grammar, justice, philosophy, literature and astrology. Under the Malla regime, education system was also based on rudimentary traditional

¹⁶⁷ Ananta Raj Poudyal, *Nation Building of Nepal: A Case Study of post revolution period*, An Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, TU. 1985, p. 45.

¹⁶⁸ Shah, op.cit. f.n. 2, p. 24.

¹⁶⁹ Hem Narayan Agrawal, *Nepal a Study of Constitutional Change*, (New Delhi : Mohan Pramlani, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co.), p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Bhuwan Lal Joshi, and Leo E. Rose, *Democratic Innovations in Nepal: A Case Study of Political Acculturation*, (Kathmandu : Mandala Publications, 2004), p. 26.

values such as castes and racial discrimination. The Shah rule also followed the same course including the Sanskrit grammar, the Veda and philosophy.¹⁷¹

The history of educational development in modern Nepal is very hard to summarize in one single and coherent manner. However, only three specific schools had been practiced. They were traditional, vocational and western education. Traditional education was based on the learning system between the teachers and students, especially in the Gurukul tradition. The traditional education provided knowledge and skill from one generation to another. Social mobility was restricted under the caste and class hierarchy. A caste child could inherit the profession of his father but was restricted to go for a new profession. The vocational education was designed for the child to follow the profession of his forefathers. In doing so, he obtained training mostly from senior family members. That was nothing more than continuation of the old value system in a cyclic order. What a child could learn was the ability of doing thing on which he would be trained. And the concept of Western education was designed to acquire foreign knowledge and skills, with regard to arm and ammunition, by sending people to foreign countries. Students were especially sent abroad to India to¹⁷² study Pharsi, the lingua franca of the sub-continent, and some to Japan for the study of technical subjects. It is reported that a very few people were sent even to Western countries such as France and Great Britain to acquire information on war and military strategies, mainly for consolidating the power of the regime.

Thus, it could be stated that during the early period, the education system of Nepal was based on religion and its cultural practices. Though there was provision of vocational education, social mobility process was taboo. In general, one has to stick to the same profession as a legacy transmitted from generation to generation. The state policy of education was designed only for the continuation of the same value system of the society rather than to develop a critical individual person. In other words, education was directed to respect the hierarchical structure as maintained by ruling elite under the feudal set-up. It is obvious that the feudal state did not want to bring the concept of civil rights of the people, this trend continued till 1950-51. Whatever good points and

¹⁷¹ Gopinath Sharma, *History of Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Mrs. Hem Kumari Sharma, 2043), pp. 15-39.

¹⁷² Krishna B. Thapa, *Main Aspects of Social, Economic and Administrative History of Modern Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1985), p. 86.

reasoning were there in religion, these were restricted. The state controlled educational policy advocated only conformist values without challenging the independent spirit of the authority.

3.4 Rana's Policy

The bloody massacre of 1846 turned the king into a mere figurehead. According to the sanad (forcibly usurped royal seal of 1854), Rana Prime Minister could easily be regarded as the de facto sovereign. Thereafter, it combined the function of a prime minister and the king exercising full sovereignty. Gradually, the customs of the community and principles laid down in Hindu scriptures were utilized to the assistance of the rulers in laying down laws for the community. For the first time in the history of Nepal, Jang Bahadur undertook the compilation of Nepalese law, Muluki Ain, or the Civil Code of 1854, intending to regulate almost all aspects of contemporary social life. The hierarchy provided by the Muluki Ain, 1854 had been designed to deprive economic and political rights of other groups who were in the lower echelons of the society. As the Tagadharis¹⁷³ were the ruling and intellectual elites, they were the beneficiaries under the Ain. The Brahmins were not only made immune to capital punishment but they also enjoyed other social privileges. Some of the Muluki Ain's positive features were that it was the first codified law of the land, and it had tried to bring all the people together under the rule of law. This Ain had come into effect under the unified authority of the state to establish social order and strengthen the power of the state both internally and externally. Hoffer writes, "A codified law in the sense of reinforcements of something already known and practiced and amendments of changing what has been hitherto practiced or at least correcting its application."¹⁷⁴ The Muluki Ain had reinforced the traditions that were not justifiable for promoting integration in the multi-ethnic society of Nepal. However, if one is free from the tyranny of here and now, the rulers had no alternative other than to stratify the society on the basis of division of labor.

¹⁷³ Tadadhari-Caste wearing sacred thread: Most of the Hindu people of the Indo-Aryan race like the Brahmins, Thakuris and Chettris are included in it. (Ananta Raj Poudyal, Nation Building of Nepal: A Case Study of post revolution period. An Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Faculty of Humanities and Social Science. T.U. 1985, p. 27.). See also Online [<http://nepalresearch.org/society/background/social-hierarchy.htm>] Retrived from December 26, 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Andras Hoffer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State of Nepal A Study of Muluki Ain of 1854*, (Innsbruck: Universitatsverlag Wagner, 1979), p. 193.

Today, the same Muluki Ain of 1854 is not in existence in Nepal. The 1950 revolution prepared grounds for establishing a more egalitarian society. The constitutional arrangements made from time to time and the New Muluki Ain of 1963 came into existence, and it legally eliminated the caste system. The Interim constitution of 1951, the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1959, the constitution of Nepal 1962 and the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990 emphasized a 'just' and equal society. Among the above constitutions, the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990 guaranteed equality to all. And these constitutions underlined the spirit of social justice and non-discriminatory state policies ignoring caste, creed, race, and gender and color discrimination. Reasons for reflecting such positive trends were influences from the Western education system.

The cursory glance into the Nepali society indicates that some attempts have been made to bring these different measures into practice, and, to a certain extent, some progress have also been made. Indeed, these measures were introduced in a society where social inequalities were rampant. These reforms notwithstanding, the Nepali society is undergoing a change for completely hammering the caste system, yet legacy of such practices appear in society in absence of appropriate civic education. Even more important in this regard is social mobility pattern which is being gradually eroded asserting new roles in society. The gradual modernization of society can be attributed for the positive symptoms of the decline of the caste system. The conscious and modernized sectors of society *may have been* responsible for translating these trends into reality.

The economic condition under the Ranas was not much different from that of the earlier preceding period. The Rana rule being an oligarchic authoritarianism, it considered the state as its real estate. In absence of fundamental rights of people, one could hardly imagine economic policy being conceived towards the welfare of people. In the field of social reforms, it was difficult to trace a uniform or consistent policy of the Ranas. Jang Bahadur tried to discourage the practice of sati and placed several restrictions on it. But it was not completely abolished during his time. Ranoddip Singh, brother of Jung Bahadur, took some measures to abolish slavery. The senior Ranas regarded these measures as inconsistent to the then state policy. Chandra Shamsheer, therefore, withdrew them on assuming the prime minister-ship in 1901. Chandra Shamsheer later took effective steps for the amelioration of the conditions of slaves by

abolition of slavery in 1924,¹⁷⁵ almost a half century after the abolition of slavery in the United States of America.

Anyway, the Rana rule was family oligarchy whose continuation succeeded only by keeping the country in isolation and total darkness. Under such circumstances, society remained completely backward and people could not have any awareness of the national political system. Thus, in absence of civic sense and political consciousness among people, one could hardly imagine people showing interest to participate in political activities. In addition, the closed or feudal system had completely buffeted the fundamental rights of people. While looking at the systemic perspective, people had to obey the decisions of the political regime and they were very much affected from governmental outputs. Only a handful of the Ranas, their cronies and henchmen were oriented towards politics and they used the outputs of the political system for their own personal benefits.¹⁷⁶

3.5 Education: Policy and structure

During the Rana regime (1846-1951), education was not open to all and educational opportunity was rarely available to common people. Only a few members of the vested interest group had access to education. The arrangements for public education at the end of Jang Bahadur's rule (1877) were inadequate and undeveloped. Dr. Wright remarked about the contemporary state of education as follows:

"The subject of schools and colleges in Nepal may be treated as briefly as that of snakes in Ireland. There are none. Jung Bahadur Rana (1846-1877) A. D. and some wealthier class have tutors either Europeans or Bengali Babus (Indian), to teach their children English, but there is no provision for public education of any sort. Every man teaches his own children or employs the family priest or pundit for this purpose. The lower classes are simply without education of any kind whatever".¹⁷⁷

In fact, one hundred and four years of the Rana rule had continued keeping the country in virtual isolation and making the people quite ignorant of their rights. The

¹⁷⁵ Satish Kumar, *Rana Polity in Nepal- Origin and Growth*, (New Delhi : Asia Publishing House, 1967), pp. 140-141.

¹⁷⁶ G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell, Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach*, (New Delhi : Mohan Pramlani, American Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., Second Indian Reprint 1975), p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Daniel Wright, (ed) *History of Nepal* (Cambridge University Press, 1877), p. 31. See also Satis Kumar, op.cit. f.n. 16, p. 137.

rulers were always suspicious of exposure to the liberal and radical ideas of the West, Therefore, it did not introduce the Western (liberal) education to the people, and hence, prohibited information and knowledge acquiring instruments such as mass media newspapers and radios through which people might know about the political and social developments taking place elsewhere in the world.

When the people who opened a school during the Rana regime were sent to prison or given a death penalty could be taken as a piece of evidence for the tyranny of the Rana Rule. For example, Shukra Raj Shastri was given the death penalty in connection with opening up the Mahavir School in Kathmandu. Those who opposed the oligarchic rule of the Ranas by advocacy of human rights, civic education, or even an idea of democratic thinking had to face heavy hand under the reign of terror. They could be either imprisoned or banished to India.

Ranas continued the old tradition of education from private or individual tutors as it was during the Shah Regime. There were no formal education institutions in the beginning and later they were not sufficient. Literacy education was received from private tutors, generally known as pandits in the villages. They used to teach village boys in their leisure time. Not only the pandits but any senior educated member of the families taught the junior ones such as brothers, son's nephews, grandsons, village boys, etc.

During the one hundred and four years of the Rana regime, some of the Rana rulers gave priority to set up some schools and colleges for the development of education in Nepal. In the beginning, English education was introduced for spreading knowledge in foreign language skills and other skills necessary for clerical works. Such education was specially targeted to Ranas and their trustees who could work for their mission. Jung Bahadur was the first Rana ruler who introduced the English system in Nepal. He established English school in his own palace for his sons and other members of the Rana family. It was the beginning of western education in Nepal. Later new dimension was added to the history of education when Chandra Shamsheer established Tribhuvan Chandra College (1918) in affiliation to Calcutta University. It was later named as Tri-

Chandra College in 1924 and affiliated to Patna University.¹⁷⁸ Such was the beginning of higher education in Nepal.

However, before the introduction of the English education, Sanskrit education was introduced in the Nepalese society. Sanskrit education was provided through 'Bhasa Pathasala', e.g. Ranipokhari Sanskrit Pathasala and Tindhara Pathasala. They constituted a notable establishment of schools. Shresta Pathasala was established for producing civil servants with knowledge and skills in correspondence, accounting, arithmetics, record keeping, etc. Dev Shamsheer was more liberal to education. He appears to have been influenced by the notion of universal education. For the development of Nepali language, he started primary education using Nepali language textbooks¹⁷⁹ such as Achharanka Shikshya (1901 A.D.). He also opened thirty Bhasa Pathsalas (1901) in different parts of the country. But they were started randomly without a futuristic outlook. Some Ranas were inclined towards technical education, for that Bir Shamsheer sent five students to Japan for engineering. Likewise, Juddha Shamsheer opened schools for agriculture and military with a view to develop the agriculture sector and train the soldiers. Informal vocational and technical education were available in society on a private basis in areas such as weaving, carving, carpentry, mining and different kinds of metal works. Initially, technical education was offered to those who were close to the rulers.

After some time, formal vocational and technical institutions were also set up. The technical school was opened in 1940 providing three months course which imparted training on cotton and woolen spinning and weaving, designing technique in weaving, weaving Dacca cloth and dying yarn. Similarly, an Engineering school was set up which trained boys for engineering works and they could be employed as sub-overseers in various public works department. But, high-level technical hands needed for various technical departments of Nepal were trained in India by sending the students on scholarships. That provision had started during the rule of Bir Shamsheer.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ *Education Information 2001*, (Kathmandu : Ministry of Education and Sport, Planning Division Statistics Section, Keshar Mahal , 2001), p. 106.

¹⁷⁹ Khadga Man Shrestha, Enhancing the Quality of Education at the School Level, In Arjun Bahadur Bhandary, Ed. *Distance Education*, (Bhaktapur : HMG Ministry of Education and Sports, Distance Education Center, 2058), p. 53.

¹⁸⁰ Thapa, op.cit. f.n. 14, p. 95.

The Indian nationalist movement gradually affected the Nepali society because the privileged Nepali would go to India for study, and in the meantime, no body could stop the influences from the porous boarder. With the passage of time, the people began to realize the significance of civic education for those clandestine activities. They began to open private schools. Following the example of Mahatma Gandhi, a number of enterprising youths decided to set up Mahavir School in Kathmandu in 1935-36 with a view to imparting a sense of civic and democratic consciousness to the students. Such schools also imparted liberal rights and values of civic education. As the Rana rule was unable to withstand the pressures coming from both inside and outside, they showed some liberal trends by allowing to open schools like Padmodaya high school (1946), Padma Kanya High school (1947) and Tripadma High schools. These schools started formal education including female. Specially, Padma Shamsher helped to establish basic schools in 1947. He was influenced from the idea of Gandhi's basic education, as one of its criteria was guided by the philosophy of spreading mass education.¹⁸¹ Eventually, a teacher training centre was established in Kathmandu for the development of Basic education¹⁸². Padma's period could be considered helpful for the development of education in the country, because, the last Rana Mohan Shamsher (1948-1951) did not find time to help support the education system of Nepal. He only established Montessory School (1948) and formed First University Planning Commission (1948).¹⁸³ Though the despotic Rana rule was not interested for opening up new schools, these measures were façade as well as strategy for the continuation of Rule. There was no more progress in the education during Mohan's period because liberalization in education and democratization in administration was intolerable to him.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ R.S. Chauhan, *The Political Development in Nepal 1950-70, Conflict between Tradition and Modernity*, (New Delhi : Associated Publishing House, 1971), p. 16.

¹⁸² Basic education: Teacher Training Centre was established in 2004 V.S. in kathmandu for the development of basic education. After the establishment of this school it recognized the primary level class 1 to 3, class 4 to 5 secondary level, class 6 to 8 higher level. After the addition of industry subject in this basic education it was recognized as a matriculation examination. The main aim of this basic education was to impart the basic knowledge and skills to the student. (Dinanath Gautam, *Nepalko Saikshik Digdarsan*, Lumbini Pustak Bhandar, 2057, p. 11)

¹⁸³ University Planning Commission (1948): In the chairmanship of Mrigendra Shamsher, University Planning Commission was formed in 1948 having twenty five members. It has formed different sub committee to prepare the curriculum of university. Its main purpose was to impart the opportunity of education to the people. (Ibid, Gautam, op. cit. f. n. 25, p. 11)

¹⁸⁴ Sharma, op.cit. f.n. 14, p. 162.

The state policy adopted by the Rana rule would reveal that the education was conspicuously absent with regard to the ideals of democracy, civic rights and duties. The education system could hardly associate with civic values. For the family oligarchy, liberal values and civic education was anathema which could cause the downfall of the totalitarian system. Only selected subjects that did not pose a direct threat to the regime were introduced in schools and colleges. Some signs of liberal trends could be observed during Juddha's rule as he allowed to open and run schools in private sector. Some private schools opened in and out side the Kathmandu valley. Appointments of school inspectors to inspect the schools and to look after the teachers' performances regularly were other positive features during the period. Later, in 1934, Board of school Leaving Certificate Examination was established and a syllabus for grade nine was determined by the Department of Education, but the schools decided details of the contents. That policy could be seen as an opportunity to manage school contents for civil rights and duties.

In 1939, Education Code was published for the first time. In 1948, Department of Education published a syllabus for all levels of school and civics was introduced in social subject. Later, civics was considered as a separate subject. This subject dealt with civil rights and political rights. The inclusion of civics subject was the impact of the revolution of the South Asian Nationalist movements like the Indian independence movements and Burmese independence movement where the Nepalese people were participating as solders. The aim of the education of that period was to develop the directed civic sense as maintained by the elite, which suggested respecting the hierarchical structure of that society. There was a provision of vocational education too, but the vocational skills were transferred to the new generation as apprenticeships. Obviously, people were suppressed and exploited under the Rana, however the rule could not stop the influences coming from across. The nationalist movement in India, the communist movement in China and liberation movement in many Afro-Asian Countries provided direct inputs for the political change in Nepal in 1950, which ultimately dismantled the one hundred and four years of family oligarchy.

3.6 Reform Movements in India and their Impact in Nepalese Politics and Education

As Nepal and India are closely interwoven neighbors, the impact of the change in one country was significant on another country. Especially the size, the nature and the

Indo-Aryan civilization have contributed significant impacts on Nepal India relations. So long India was under the colonial rule, the ruling Rana kept Nepal under virtual isolation, while India was fighting against the colonial rule, Nepalese people also started fighting against the Rana rule. India's icons, religious and political leaders, art, literature, drama, etc., had direct influence on Nepal. For that the Arya Samaj movement of India, in which, many Nepalese were its members appeared to be vocal against the Rana rule. They advocated civil rights and democratic ideas by reciting the Gita, the Puranas, the Vedas, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Of such persons, Sukraraj Sashtri (son of Madhavraj Joshi) was hanged on charges of advocacy of liberal ideas in the country.¹⁸⁵ On the issue of how the Nepali society was affected from India, Chauhan remarks “under the impact of socio-religious and political upheavals in India and because of the increasing contacts between Nepalese and Indian students and intellectuals, there came into existence an articulate group of the Nepalese educated class around the Indian centers of learning particularly in Banaras and Calcutta.” This emerging elite class thus could imbibe radical socio-political ideas which proved to become the main driving force behind the movement against the Rana autocracy.”¹⁸⁶

Thus, like Arya samaj, the group of intellectuals worked against the Ranas. Simultaneously with the political turmoil inside the country, a movement against the autocratic regime of the Rana was being organized by the Nepalese residents in India. Similarly, subba Devi Prasad Sapkota published the Gorkhali newspaper criticizing the oligarchic rule and torture to which the people were being subjected. Chandan Singh of the league of Gorkhas (1927) published weekly papers-‘The Gorkha Sansar’ and ‘Tarun-Gorkha’ at Dehradun. These papers tried to inculcate political consciousness in the Gorkha residents in India and to mobilize them against the Ranas. Again, the Nepali language magazines published from different places in India often presented factual accounts of social conditions of contemporary Nepali society. These media made a target to the undisputed authority of Prime Minister, Chandra Shamsher.

The Indian political situation took a serious turn after the 'Quit India' movement (1942) led by Mahatma Gandhi. The Nepalese students and political leaders who were in India took part in that movement thinking that the Rana family would collapse

¹⁸⁵ Chauhan, op.cit. f.n. 24, p. 7.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 18.

subsequently after the collapse of the British Empire¹⁸⁷ in south Asia. The anti-Rana activity was particularly carried on by the Nepali youths who were aware of the democratic movement in India. As these people were aware on the civic rights, they had been involved clandestinely inside country. Despite the precautionary measures of the Rana Government to prevent the outbreak of any organized movement, day after day, anti Rana movements spread all over the country.

Even some members of the Shah family such as Rajendra Bikram, Traolokya and Narendra Bikram had been involved to restore the ruling authority, but they could not achieve success due to lack of a common political awareness in the society. Not that the Rana rule tried to control popular activities by arrest and harassment, the conscious section of the society was also equally involved to expose the despotic rule in the country. Persons like Krishna Lal's *Makkaiko Kheti* (1914), Babu Ram Acharya's *Nepal Shikshya Darpan* (1919), and *Library Parba* (1930) started the social level movement to make people aware on civil rights and duties.¹⁸⁸ During 1930-37, socially conscious individuals like Naga Bhagwan Das, Buddesh Lal and Udai Raj Lal, adopted a novel method of spreading political consciousness. During the same period Sukra Raj Sastri and others formed the *Nepali Nagarik Adhikar Samiti* (1937) to engage in creating awareness about social reforms through writings and discourses or religious literatures such as the *Gita* and the *Purans*.¹⁸⁹ The Rana ruler arrested Sukra Raj and other members of the samiti and were punished with severely and among them Sukra Raj sastri was hanged in 1940. Similarly, the writings of Krishna Prasad Koirala and Dharnidhar Sharma (*Naivedya*), Surya Bikram Gyavali and Lekhnath Poudyal also helped the process of arousing consciousness towards civic rights in the society. A handful of conscious youths founded an underground political organization called *Nepal Praja Parishad* (the Nepal people's council) with a view to overthrow the Rana rule.¹⁹⁰ Tanka Prasad Acharya, Dashrath Chanda Thakur and Ram Hari Sharma were the main founder members of this party. The main objective of the party was to establish a democratic government under the aegis of the monarch in the country.¹⁹¹ The first task the Parishad

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸⁹ Shah, op.cit. f.n. 2, p. 131.

¹⁹⁰ Shah, op.cit. f.n. 2, p. 127.

¹⁹¹ Lok Raj Baral, *Oppositional Politics in Nepal*, (New Delhi : Abhinav Publications, 1977), p. 22.

undertook was to expose the Rana rule and unmask its real face before the public. In Kathmandu, the Parishad engaged itself in clandestine activities from distributing leaflets to planning the overthrow of the regime through violent means. In July-September of 1940, leaflets were distributed throughout the country demanding constitutional rule and the introduction of other reforms,¹⁹² which informally imparted the substances of the civic education to the people.

Psychologically demoralized as they were because of the withdrawal of the British rule from India, the Rana rule was under heavy pressure as much from the Nepali National Congress, who was also desperately engaged to overthrow the Rule. It was obvious to avert the greatest threat to their rule that the Rana rulers conferred on the people a written constitution in 1948. The first of its kinds in the country's history, the constitution provided restricted fundamental rights. Minimum power-sharing bases were created thereby tailoring the constitution to the requirements of the Rana rule. Despite serious flaws in the constitution, the recognition of civil liberties on the part of the Ranas was highly significant in the context of the then prevailing situation in the country.¹⁹³ Notwithstanding the controlled provisions provided by the despotic Rana rule, the Nepali people were far more ahead about their democratic rights, as the people became conscious, the Rana rule crumbled like a house of cards taking a new turn in the revolution of 1950.

On the basis of the discussions presented above, for the purpose of the study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- The Rana regime was completely a feudal, the vision of empowering the people for their rights was like a nightmare, and in fact, there was not any indication of civic education which could promote civic virtues in the society. A traditional society based on patrimonial values such as fatalism (preordained value system) and discriminatory state policies continued till 1950.
- The end of colonial rule in South Asia especially in India prepared the ground for political change in Nepal. The 1950 revolution was the result which ushered democracy in the country.

¹⁹² Shah, op.cit. f.n. 2, p. 132.

¹⁹³ Baral, op.cit.f.n. 34, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRATIC INTERREGNUM 1951 - 1960: EDUCATION POLICIES, NATURE OF CURRICULUM AND PROVISION OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Chapter IV is designed to discuss the democratic interregnum of 1950-60, the education policy during the decade, and the provision of civic education in the curriculum framework.

- a) State Policy
- b) Educational Status, Policies and Structure of Curriculum from 1951 to 60
- c) Nature of Curriculum
- d) Primary Level Education
- e) Lower Secondary Level Education
- f) Secondary Level Education
- g) Higher Education in Nepal

4.1 State Policy

The 1950-51 revolution ushered in a new era of democracy in Nepal which was conspicuous by its absence in annals of political history. The Interim Act of 1951 recognized the concepts like king-in-parliament, fundamental rights of people, multiparty system, cabinet system of government, independent judiciary, public service commission and such other attendants for a democratic system. In the words of Joshi and Rose the political change of 1951 was 'democratic innovations' in Nepal,¹⁹⁴ for the Interim Act of 1951 served the basis of democracy as practiced elsewhere in the world. In February 18, 1951 King Tribhuvan announced for a Constituent Assembly to elect representatives of people in order to make the constitution of Nepal.¹⁹⁵ After the end of the Rana rule the basis of politics had assumed as the competitive party system to modernize government

¹⁹⁴ Bhuvan Lal Joshi and Leo E. Rose, *Democratic Innovations in Nepal: A Case Study of Political Acculturation*, (Kathmandu : Mandala Publications, 2004), p. 83.

¹⁹⁵ Grisma Bahadur Devkota, *Nepalko Rajnaitik Darpan*, (Kathmandu : Dhurba Bahadur Devkota, 1979), p. 54.

and politics gradually. However, the Nepali politics could not orient towards appropriate direction. In place of smooth transition towards democratization of the country, neither the traditional forces helped nor did the democratic forces succeed in achieving the objectives. As the Ranas were not mentally ready to give up powers, political parties could not show their brinkmanship towards evolving democratic process. The King's proclamation which had raised the people's democratic aspirations for making a new constitution could not be realized and that proved to be shirt-shifted policy due to shortsightedness, political expediency and self-aggrandizement of responsible political forces, especially of the political leadership. Even King Tribhuvan's commitment towards the Constituent Assembly put in question when he asserted political supremacy in the affairs of state after the fourth amendment of the Interim Act.¹⁹⁶

The democratic interregnum from 1951-60, a period of political instability in the country came to an end with a brief exercise of parliamentary constitution, that is the Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal, 1959.¹⁹⁷ The 1959 Constitution, though it recognized the supremacy of the King in Nepali politics, had provided two centers of power-the King and the cabinet made from the representatives of the people. Ideally, these two institutions could have worked together to evolve the democratic process in the country. The irony was, the King could not accommodate his role with the cabinet. He wanted to be king-leader by asserting his direct role in the national politics. Therefore, he summarily disrupted the nascent democracy without giving fair trial to it.

4.2.1 Educational Status, Policies and Structure of Curriculum from 1951 to 1960

The status of education during the period (1951-60) did not appear satisfactory in terms of educational policy which could increase the literacy rate of 2% by providing education to all as the right of the people.¹⁹⁸ With the dawn of democracy, there was an awakening feeling with regard to the need for education in all sectors. The country was opened to the outside world providing incentives for opening up public educational

¹⁹⁶ Hem Narayan Agrawal, *Nepal: A Study of Constitutional Change*, (New Delhi : Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., 1980), p. 27.

¹⁹⁷ Ananta Raj Poudyal, Monarchy and Democracy, In Anup Raj Sharma (Ed.), *Essays on Constitutional Law*. (Kathmandu : Nepal Law Society, June 2000, vol. 32), p. 40.

¹⁹⁸ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, Sardar Rudra Raj Panday and et al, (Ed.), (Kathmandu : College of Education, 1956), pp. 73-74.

institutions.¹⁹⁹ For the first time, the general people were oriented towards the liberal policy.²⁰⁰ In response to this policy, there was an extensive growth of educational institutions all over the country. This can be observed in table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1
Progress of Education

Education Level	No. of Schools		No. of Students	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
Primary	321	4,001	8,505	1,82,533
Secondary	11	156	1,680	21,115
Higher	2	33	250	5,143

Sources: Ministry of Education, The National Education System Plan for 1971-76, (Kathmandu: Ministry of Education), 1971, P. 3.

Until 1951, the country was so backward in education that there were only 321 primary schools, 11 secondary schools and 2 Colleges in the country and the literacy rate was so low that only two percent of the population could read and write. Four types of schools existed when the Rana autocracy came to an end. They were (a) fully government supported English Schools, Basic Schools and Bhasa Pathasalas. (b) Fully religious trust supported Sanskrit schools, Buddhist schools and Muslim Schools (Madarasas). (c) Partially government supported private schools and (d) People supported English Schools.²⁰¹ These schools were running for the expansion of knowledge as a light of education.

Then general public could obtain various opportunities to get education either by attending schools or by going abroad. Of them India was convenient. The educational system of that period was based on Macaulay's education system (1834), a system that was practiced in India developed by the British for the purpose of producing efficient

¹⁹⁹ Shashi Man Shrestha, *Challenges in Rural Development Through Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Shashi Man Shrestha, May 1985), p. 2.

²⁰⁰ Radha Krishna Joshi, *Education and Polity: A Historical Perspective*, In Harsha N. Dhaubhadel and Gaja S. Pradhan (Ed.), *Education and Development*, (Kathmandu : Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID), 1989-90), p. 132

²⁰¹ Kedar N. Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Institute of Education T.U., 1982), p. 9.

clerks.²⁰² In the beginning, the education system of Nepal was based on the Indian education institutions,²⁰³ which regulated, controlled and examined. In the meantime, the government of Nepal was also making efforts for the development of separate education policy in the country. The Ministry of Education (MOE, 1951), National Board of Education (1952) and Nationwide Inspectorial System (1952), were established.²⁰⁴ In true sense, due to political instability in the country, the policy makers could not develop a national system of education that could serve the needs of the country.²⁰⁵ To move away from the Indian influences, the Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) 1953 was formed to survey the existing educational facilities and to prepare a scheme for national universal education in Nepal,²⁰⁶ which served as a Magna Carta for the further development of education in Nepal. In 1954, the NNEPC first set out a survey of the existing educational institutions, their facilities and identified the country's educational needs. Apart from the paucity of material resources, the NNEPC discovered a bewildering variety of teaching curricula in the various types of schools-a few English-style schools, Sanskrit Pathshalas, Gandhi-inspired basic schools and monastic institutions like Gumbas which were operating in different parts of Nepal. The recommendations of the NNEPC (1956) defined the authority of the Ministry of Education (MoE) as to establish the standards, and to plan and prescribe a minimum curriculum. It initiated a comprehensive and systematic national education system in place of a diverse and unsystematic traditional education system.

The first five-year plan (1956-1961) came into operation, in which the draft included provisions for education. The rationale for education planning at the nation level was made clear by stating that the 'dawn of the democratic era' required that education to be 'of a national type to meet the nation's aspirations, wants and needs'. A single system of education that was 'national in character and suited to the genius of the

²⁰² Kamal P. Malla, *The Road to Nowhere*, (Kathmandu : Sajha Prakashan, 1979), p. 79.

²⁰³ Jonathan Lindell, *Nepal and the Gospel of God*, (New Delhi : United Mission to Nepal, 1979), p. 127.

²⁰⁴ Wood, Hugu B., *Development of Education in Nepal*, (Washington D.C. : Office of Education, 1965). p. 31.

²⁰⁵ Radhaber D. Khatri, *Education and the Challenges for National Development, Education and Sustainable Development in Nepal: Views and Vision*, A Two-Day "Seminar on Education for Sustainable Development in Nepal", Organized by The Institute for Global Environmental Strategies in Collaboration with the School of Environmental Management and Sustainable Development of Pokhara University at Kathmandu, Nepal from 27-28 August 2003, p. 131.

²⁰⁶ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op. cit. f. n. 5, P. 1.

people' needed to be planned to replace 'the wasteful hotchpotch efforts' prevalent until that time.²⁰⁷ Thus there began the era of centrally planned education in Nepal. The NNEPC was the first planning effort directed towards public education. The plan developed by the commission suggested certain educational policies to meet the rising demand for education. In fact, the report was a research work that gave guidelines against the unknown knowledge of educational practices of that time resulting in the formulation of education policies of contemporary Nepal

The NNEPC report included so many virtues of civic education. First, it involved issues such as knowledge of right to vote, right to self-decision, wisely implement own right, co-operation and responsibility. Second, there will be no invention and implementation without education. Third, it laid stress showing importance of education for economic progress and economic development. And finally, it advocated the importance of education for social transformation, global competition and preservation of the cultural heritage.²⁰⁸

According to the report provision of education should be comprehensive and easier to get to it by all. Education should be provided according to the people's need and ability.²⁰⁹ The report of the NNEPC (1956) proved to be influential in the formulation of education policies for almost fifteen years recommending a master plan for educational development covering all levels and aspects of education. Its recommendations were the provisions for the universal primary education, secondary education to 20 percent of the youth population, and higher education to 5 percent of the relevant youth population within 10 years. The commission emphasized numerical targets and linear expansion of the education system. The multi-purpose secondary education program and the development of Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur on a residential pattern were guided by the recommendations of the commission.²¹⁰ The report mentioned some special policies as:

- Education should be universal.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p.13.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 82-83.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 84-85.

²¹⁰ Tirtha Bahadur Manandhar, Current Educational Policies in Nepal, *Education and Development*, (Kathmandu : Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development, 1982), p. 1.

- Education should be nationwide.
- Education should be free.
- Education duration should be different according to need, qualification and economic capacity of the country.

The report suggested 5-5-4/7 educational structure; it means there should be five years primary education, five years secondary education and four to seven years college and university education. And additional education for adults was also suggested. The report highlighted explicitly on the roles of education, mission of different levels of education, and who should take the responsibility of education. In fact, that was a beginning of systematic education planning and programs for the country. The following were the features of the report:

- Education should be job oriented.
- Education should develop citizenry.
- Education should be for the individual's development.
- Education should be for the respect of human beings.
- Minimum primary education should be offered to the general public.
- Secondary education should be professional.
- Higher education should be under the national university.
- Adult education should be easy to gain by all.
- To develop the education system, teachers should be provided both with professional and general education.
- There should be provided textbook, educational materials, building and place in an appropriate way.
- Education should be decentralized. (According to organization, rule and control)
- The report could be condensed by stating that it intended to develop citizenry, individual's development and respect of mankind.²¹¹

4.3 Nature of Curriculum from 1951 to 1960

It is understood that the content of the curriculum must be adapted to the culture and needs of the people, and curriculum should include all those activities, which were to

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 92-96.

be utilized by the school to attain the aims of education.²¹² As Nepal was just passing through the long period of isolation and virtually absence of appropriate economic infrastructure, the facility for education was not encouraging to the rapid socio-economic and political development. For effective education, as the report of the NNEPC 1956 suggested, the following three levels of education were in operation along with their own curriculum.

a. Primary Level Education from 1951 to 1960

Primary level is the basic foundation of learning where a child encounters first formally organized learning institute to learn the fundamental skills, understandings, attitudes, and habits essential to the ‘educated’ citizen.²¹³ After 1951, schools of all levels came into existence as mushroom growth and primary schools led the bandwagon of education development in Nepal. The NNEPC recommended the attainment of universal primary education (five years) within twenty-five years.²¹⁴ HMG/N adopted very liberal policy in providing approval for the establishment of primary schools particularly in the private sector. The NNEPC stressed the need for providing minimum education for the maximum people.

It was stated that Primary education can eradicate illiteracy and can form a bound of common understanding and effort that will give strength to the young democracy to withstand the evil forces that prey upon it. During this period, the child is developing rapidly in mental, moral, emotional, and physical attainments. It is recognized that these psychological factors are important to the individual child. In addition primary education is also essential to the social, political, religious, economic, and cultural development of the nation.²¹⁵

Goals:

The broad goal of primary education may be summarized as:

- To wipeout illiteracy from the country,

²¹² Chiranjivi Sharma, *Curriculum and Evaluation*, (Kathmandu : M.K. Publishers and Distributors, 2054), p. 3.

²¹³ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op.cit. f.n. 5, p. 89.

²¹⁴ Manandhar, op.cit. f.n. 17, p. 1.

²¹⁵ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op.cit. f.n. 5, p. 99.

- To provide a minimum fundamental education for the majority of the nation's youth
- To provide a foundation for higher education of a small group who will take the positions of leadership in the next generation,
- To provide satisfying, enriching, properly directed development of children through their most formative years in order to make them wholly effective citizens, and
- To provide resources for the political, economic, and cultural regeneration of Nepal.

Objectives:

- To develop competencies -the basic skills of communication, language and mathematics.
- To develop civic competencies-attitudes of responsibility and cooperation; appreciation of the struggle for democracy and the contributions of the national heroes; understanding of the work of democracy, the skills in civic participation, the feeling of national unity and solidarity, the desire for self-sufficiency and willingness to help oneself, etc.
- To develop economic competency-ability to earn a living on an increasingly higher scale in order to improve one's own conditions and contribute to the national welfare.
- To develop aesthetic competencies-the appreciation of art and culture, music, dancing, literature, and folklore.
- To develop personal competencies-good mental, emotional, and physical health; and moral and spiritual values.
- To discover latent talents and abilities that will enable the individual to make his maximum contribution to the general welfare of society.
- To develop a broad understanding of the life, the world, the environment, the universe, etc, to enable the child to probe into unsolved mysteries and the unknown facts so as to develop a spirit of inquisitiveness, research, open-mindedness, and a willingness to experiment.
- To develop a desire for leisure time, knowledge and practice in the effective use of it.

It was further stated in the vision statement that primary education has to take up the role as to produce educated citizens. So as to produce a good citizen, the curriculum placed importance over the civic education which was an essential part. Furthermore it

studied the need of improving primary education in the total perspective, and proposed the schemes for the training of primary teachers, the preparation of curriculum and textbooks, the development of financing systems. HMG/N signed on an agreement with the government of United States, which co-operated the Nepalese government in the new education development projects. Normal School Division was established to train primary teachers. Educational Materials Organization was organized to prepare textbooks. Nepalese educators were sent abroad for the training in different areas of primary education such as primary level curriculum development, school supervision, textbook development, methods of teaching, etc. Efforts were made to establish one primary school in each of the polling booths based on the 1958 general election.²¹⁶

From the goals and the specific objectives of the primary education as envisaged in the report, it valued the role of civic education as a specific program suggested for the development of civic education. The civic education did not include the teacher education and training programs though the objectives tried to incorporate them.

i. Development of Curriculum in Primary Education

Historically, the formal system of primary education started with the establishment of the 'Language Schools' by Jaya Prithvi Bahadur Singh in 1900 A.D. The school curriculum was simple in the sense that the textbook was itself a curriculum. There was no separate curriculum developed as it is done at present. The basic objective of education was to offer knowledge about Nepali language and mathematic which were included in. 'Akchhyaranka Shikchhya'²¹⁷ as the basic textbook. However, these schools gradually assumed the form of 'Sanskrit Schools' during Chandra Shamsheer's regime. The only English school of Nepal known as Durbar School used the course of study that was prevalent in India. The first two grades used to be called lower primary and the grades III to V were called upper primary. The following curriculum was used in that school.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 8, p. 3.

²¹⁷ Khadga Man Shrestha, Enhancing the Quality of Education at the School Level, *Distance Education 2058*, (Bhaktapur : Distance Education Centre, 2058),p. 54.

²¹⁸ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 8, p. 6.

Table 4.2
The Primary Level Curriculum

1.	English Language: Not compulsory for grade I-II,
2.	Vernacular Nepali,
3.	Sanskrit,
4.	Arithmetic
5.	History
6.	Geography
7.	Drawing

Source: Khadga Man Shrestha, *Enhancing the Quality of Education at the School Level, Distance Education 2058*, (Bhaktapur: Distance Education Centre, 2058, P. 54.

This broad nature of the curriculum of English School did not signify the place of civic education. The subject 'history' could talk something about the social aspect and political awareness. With the lapse of time, the Government of Nepal realized the need of the revision and enlargement of the primary curriculum. Accordingly, the following curriculum was prescribed in 1954 A.D.²¹⁹

Table 4.3
Primary Level Curriculum in 1954

Grades	Nepali/ Hindi	Arithmetic	English	History	Geography	Health	Hygiene	Drawing
I	Nepali	"						
II	"	"	"	"				
III	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	
IV	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	
V	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Source: Kedar N. Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Institute of Education T.U., 1982), P. 6.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 6.

The NNEPC (1956) examined the status of primary education and emphasized the need of improvement and expansion of primary education in the country. The commission felt that the existing primary education system of Nepal did not have any meaningful objectives. It suggested five broad objectives of primary education and recommended that the curriculum of primary education should be organized to develop the following basic competencies in the children.

- Competencies in the areas such as communication, language and mathematics.
- Civic competencies
- Economic competencies
- Aesthetic competencies
- Personal competencies

Social Studies, Science, Language, Arithmetic's, and Crafts: Feeding, Housing, Clothing, Aesthetic Arts and Personal Development: Physical Training, Moral and Spiritual Training were suggested by the commission to the primary level curriculum.²²⁰ The NNEPC report presented a detailed curriculum for primary level and suggested for balanced emphasis on the subjects offered at different grades.

The curriculum, recommended by NNEPC (1956), was a big leap towards the development of a better curriculum in primary education. The curriculum designers seemed to have been influenced by the NNEPC (1956) report in the development of the primary education curriculum. The government adopted the same curriculum in 1959. The subjects prescribed in the curriculum were Language, Arts, Nepali, Social Studies, Arithmetic, Art Education, Health and Physical Education, Science Nature Study, Self-sufficiency Education and Language Arts English from Grade III to V.

Immediately after the political change of 1960, the King Mahendra appointed an education commission known as 'Sarbangin Rastriya Shikshya Samiti' under the chairmanship of the then Minister of Education. This commission made an analysis of the existing primary school curriculum and endorsed the existing curriculum to a great extent. One of its major recommendations was to drop English from primary education.

²²⁰ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op.cit. f.n. 5, p. 93.

It suggested the subjects such as Nepali Language, Social Studies, Science and Health, Arithmetic, Arts, Self-Sufficiency Education and Physical Education be adopted. The then HMG/N was, more or less, following the curriculum suggested by All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC 1961) when a serious need was felt to revamp the existing education system. A task force was appointed to look into the existing system of education.²²¹

ii. Status of Primary Education from 1951 to 1960

The major problems of primary education were inefficiency and the ineffectiveness. The most challenging problem of primary education in Nepal was the glaring operating inefficiency. The following facts substantiate the observation.

1. The difference between the enrollment of children in the first and the second grade shows a tremendous dropout rate.
2. The enrollment rate indicates a high rate of repeaters as a result of unsatisfactory academic achievement.

These inefficiencies resulted in tremendous wastage of resources spent on primary education. An estimate suggests that about one-third of the money spent on primary education was wasted. Some of the most important factors of inefficiencies were:

1. Low rate of teaching hour,
2. Very little difference between trained and untrained teacher,
3. Ineffective supervision,
4. Inadequate physical facilities,
5. A gap between understanding level of students and the prescribed textbooks

b. Lower Secondary Level Education from 1951 to 1960

Nepal used Lower Secondary Level Curriculum (Middle School) quite similar to the Indian school curriculum in order to maintain a sequential development from primary to secondary level of education. The subjects taught in the Middle Schools were English, Nepali, Sanskrit, Mathematics, History, Geography, Drawing, and Games.

The Middle Schools (Grades VI-VIII) used the syllabus, as notified by the chief inspector of schools in 1954. The subjects used by the Middle Schools were Nepali or

²²¹ Ibid, pp. 7-8.

Hindi, English, Mathematics, Geography, History (Nepali + Indian History), Sanskrit, Music, Drawing, Hygiene and Physiology in Grade 6, Hygiene in Grade 7 and 8, and General Science in Grade 8.

The NNEPC proposed seven-hundred marks for Middle Schools (Grades VI-VIII). The proposed subjects were Nepali, English, Mathematics, General Science, Health and Physical Education, Social Studies. There was also a provision for an elective subject that students could select according to their interest from one of the three groups: Group A: Vocation Group, Group B: Art, and Group C: Language.

The major new features of the NNEPC curriculum were:

- General Science was proposed to be a compulsory subject.
- Subjects like History and Geography were integrated into ‘Social Studies.’
- For the first time, a proposal was made to introduce a vocational subject in the middle school.²²²

c. Secondary Level Education from 1951 to 1960

Before 1951, Nepal had a limited provision for secondary education which served only the children of the elite families. After 1951, there was tremendous demand for secondary education and the subsequent expansion of education required the government to do a lot for the education of this level. NNEPC (1956) made the first effort towards this direction.

The Secondary Curriculum proposed by NNEPC was developed with specific national objectives. The commission realized that the secondary level would have to be revamped in order to meet the growing demand for education on the one hand and national development requirements on the other. It stated that the secondary level should serve the following purposes.²²³

1. First, provide appropriate learning experiences for those boys and girls who will become political and civic leaders for the next generation.
2. Second, provide appropriate experiences for a large group of boys and girls who will become highly skilled leaders in professional and economic aspects of our national development.

²²² Ibid, p. 23.

²²³ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op.cit. f.n. 5, p. 108.

3. Third, provide vocational training essential for a twentieth century economy.
4. Fourth, contribute to the advancement of general culture of Nepal.
5. Fifth, promote democratic ideas as a way of life.

The development of secondary level of education in Nepal was a history of the development of the Nepalese capability to analyze, plan and formulate an appropriate system of education. Many major changes were brought about in the education of this level, and all these changes were directed towards creating a secondary education as a sub-system to suit the national needs. A brief review of these efforts was outlined as a background to this study.

Unlike primary education, the secondary education system was introduced a foreign system in Nepal. Durbar High School the only secondary school of Nepal prepared its students to take Entrance Examination administered by Calcutta University.²²⁴ Later come Matriculation Examination at the end of secondary education as a terminal level. The Nepalese student used to take the Calcutta Entrance Examination up to 1920 and turned to the S.L.C. examination conducted by Patna Board of Examination till 1933.

In 1934, the Government of Nepal established School Leaving Certificate with Mr. Nanda Ram Uprety as the first Controller of the Examination. Then the Controller of the Examination conducted S.L.C. examination in Nepal in 1934. The first effort was made to introduce some national character in secondary education when the government established the S.L.C. Board. The major effort was to introduce Nepali language in the syllabus. The following was the Syllabus offered to S.L.C. students from 1934 to 1960:

²²⁴ Shrestha, op. cit. f.n. 8, p. 22.

Table 4.4
S.L.C. Syllabus in 1934 A.D.

S.No.	Subjects	Marks
1.	English: two papers	200
2.	Vernacular: Nepali, Pali, Sanskrit or other Language	100
3.	Composition in one of the following language Nepali, Hindi, Bangali, Urdu	100
4.	History	100
5.	Geography	100
6.	Mathematics	100
7.	Additional Paper: One of the followings: (a) Mathematics (b) Sanskrit (c) Persian Language (d) Pali (e) Nepali (f) Hindi (g) Urdu (h) Bengali	100

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, (Kathmandu: Institute of Education), 1982, P. 25.

Minor modifications were made several times in subsequent years in the S.L.C. curriculum. For example, in 1945 A.D., a change was introduced in vernacular Nepali language. Pali and Sanskrit were deleted as vernacular subjects. Nepali vernacular was introduced with two separate papers. Quite a host of subjects were introduced in additional papers. The list of additional subjects was quite impressive, though in fact, only few subjects were offered in secondary schools. They were Nepali, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Vernacular (as additional subjects), Elementary Mechanics, Elementary Physics and Chemistry, Manual Training, Botany and Zoology, Agriculture and Gardening, Spinning, Chemical Technology, Music, Commerce, Domestic Science, Elementary Physiology and Hygiene, General Science, and Drawing.

The changes that were made in the secondary school curriculum up to 1952 were guided by the purposes of bringing about a national character in the course of studies. As a result, course books were made available in Nepali language. It made a rapid stride in its growth as a language with literature and grammar. These emerging factors inspired the Nepalese educators to give more emphasis on Nepalese studies and Nepalese language. However, the secondary school curriculum remained a language-dominated curriculum where the students had to devote seventy percent of their study on language.

After the political change of 1951, national educators strongly felt the necessity to provide adequate national orientation to Nepalese secondary education. Even before the formation of the NNEPC in 1954, major modifications were made.

Table 4.5
S.L.C. Syllabus 1952 A.D.

S.No.	Subjects	Weight age Marks
1.	English two papers	200
2.	Elementary Nepali: half paper Elementary Sanskrit: half paper, or first aid half paper	50 50 + 50
3.	Compulsory Mathematics or Arithmetic's half paper, or Domestic Arithmetic half paper and Household Account half paper	100 50 50
4.	Orient Language: Nepali or Maithili or Hindi or Urdu or Bangali	100 100
5.	History or Geography	100 100
6.	General Science one paper General Science or General Knowledge	100 100
7.	One of the Optional Subjects: Agriculture, Classical Language, Elementary Civics, Elementary Physics, and Chemistry, Geography, History Mathematics, Music, Spinning, Weaving, Nepali, Chemical Technology, Drawing-Painting.	100
8.	Extra Optional, one paper, one of the following a) Commercial Geography (b) Hygiene and Physiology c) French or German (d) Rural Economics.	100

Source: Rudra R. Pandey, et.al. (Ed.). Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission, (Kathmandu: College of Education), 1956, P. 74.

The NNEPC recommended a new curriculum for Grades IX and X. The subjects of the new curriculum were Nepali, Social Studies, Personal Physical Development, Three Vocational Subjects and one optional subject which include foreign language.

The secondary school curriculum recognized three types of educational needs: Common Learning, Vocational Skills, and Avocational pursuits.

1. The common learning or general education should include Social Studies, Applied Science, Nepali, Applied Mathematics, and Personal Physical Development for all students.
2. Vocational education should include ‘majors’ as pre-professional training, commerce, agriculture, industry, homemaking, and general college preparatory work. Each student selects one major paper.
3. Avocational education or optional subjects should include subjects like foreign languages, fine arts and handicrafts, music and folk dancing, practical language arts, and certain courses from the general and vocational groups, to be chosen by students as they wish, but not to take more than 1/7 of their time.²²⁵

The commission stated that the experiences of secondary curriculum should be organized around the broad functional units that cut across traditional subject lines. It grouped the subjects in three categories: (a) common learning's (b) vocational skills (c) avocational pursuits.

The recommendation of NNEPC on secondary curriculum was partially implemented when the then His Majesty's Government developed a program of Multipurpose Education in the country. There was another secondary education curriculum proposed by All-Round National Education Committee (1960-61), which was hardly implemented.²²⁶

Nepal continued to copy the secondary school curriculum of the Indian schools for two reasons: (I) Nepal did not have any textbook or curriculum prepared for the country; (II) The Nepalese student had to take the examinations conducted by Indian Examination Board for a recognized certificate to get admission in Indian Colleges and Universities.²²⁷

d. Higher Education in Nepal from 1951 to 1960

Modern higher education was introduced in Nepal with the establishment of Tri-Chandra College in 1918. There were eight students in its first batch. It was basically a Liberal Arts College. Late it offered science and commerce courses as well.²²⁸ Two

²²⁵ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, op.cit. f.n. 5, p. 125.

²²⁶ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 8, p. 27.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 23.

²²⁸ Jack W. Graham, *The Challenge of Higher Education in Nepal, Education and Development*, (Kathmandu: Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID), 1982), p. 51.

Colleges were founded in 1951 i.e. Padma Kanya College and Balmiki Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya. Arrangements were made with Patna University in India for students to sit for their final examinations until 1958. The students of the Sanskrit Colleges went to Queen College in Banaras, India, for their examinations. As a first step in educational planning, the Nepal Government established a Board of Education in 1952. The major accomplishment of this Board was the creation of NNEPC for planning education. The forty-six members of the commission came from all walks of life with over twenty-five percent being faculty members from various colleges. Rudra Raj Pandey served as chairman of the commission and T.N. Upraity was the secretary as well as the treasurer. Huge B. Wood, a Professor of Education at the University of Oregon served as an advisor to the commission.²²⁹

The commission was responsible for determining existing conditions of education and for developing a long-range plan for a complete system of education including 'primary, secondary, university and adult education'. With regard to higher education the Commission recommended a university to be established by 1965. According to this recommendation, Tribhuvan University was established in 1959 and Nepal got its own University. The commission also recommended that the higher education enrollment should not exceed five percent of secondary school enrolment for fear that a more rapid expansion of enrollment would result in extensive unemployment for college graduates.

In 1961 a twelve-member All-Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) was formed. This committee made many recommendations regarding the development of education in Nepal at all levels. In terms of higher education it made recommendations about existing colleges and general academic practices. It was in favor of establishing colleges with programs in science, agriculture, and various technical areas.²³⁰ It also suggested that every student should complete a suitable work experience with a local or national government agency and those who expected to hold a government position should complete military training. The committee expressed concern for providing higher education in each of the fourteen political zones.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 51.

²³⁰ *Report of the All-Round National Education Committee*, (Kathmandu : Ministry of Education, 1961), p. 48.

Conclusion:

1. The 1950-51 revolutions ushered in a new era of democracy by introducing the concepts like king-in-parliament, fundamental rights of people, multiparty system, cabinet form of government, independent judiciary, public service commission and such other attendants for a democratic system. Some efforts towards education policy bearing in formal and non-formal fields were made. But the political interregnum came to a halt when the King disrupted the process in 1960 by disrupting democracy and the process of civic education simultaneously.
2. The curriculum under the Panchayat polity confined to indoctrinate the philosophy of royal absolutism denying the popular civic rights and other fundamental rights of people. Under such circumstances, the promotion of genuine civic education as required for human resource development and democracy was impossible in the country. As a result, Nepal appeared to be one of the least developed countries in the world.

CHAPTER V

PANCHAYAT SYSTEM AND CIVIC EDUCATION (1960-1990)

Chapter V is designed to study interrelationship between civic education and democracy to explain how the nature of political system could obstruct the civic education vis-à-vis, civic education to democracy. Following are the headings to deal with the above stated objectives:

- a) State Policy and Education
- b) The New Education Plan of 1971 under the Panchayat System and Concept of Civic Education
- c) Evaluation of the New Education Policy and its impact on Socio-economic, political transformation of society.

5.1 State Policy and Education

King Mahendra dismissed the eighteen-month-old parliamentary government in a coup on 15 December 1960 and ruled the country without any constitution during the next two years.²³¹ A monolithic one-party authoritarian system of government gave the monarchy to rule absolutely.²³² The King tried to convince royal despotism by stating that the parliamentary system proved unsuitable on account of the lack of education and political consciousness to the desired extent and on account of its being out of step with the history and traditions of this country.²³³ Then he tailored a Partyless Panchayat polity in 1962 providing his active leadership but accountable and answerable to none. Though the King was made the leader, contrary to the democratic norms, he was placed above criticism.²³⁴ Accordingly, the civic education policy designed in order to help consolidate the values and practices of the Panchayat system.²³⁵

²³¹ Hem Narayan Agrawal, *Nepal A Study in Constitutional Change*, (New Delhi : Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., 1980), p. VIII.

²³² Narayan Khadka, *Politics and Development in Nepal: Some Issues*, (Jaipur : Nirala Publications, 1994), p. 433.

²³³ Agrawal, op.cit. f.n. 1, p. 55.

²³⁴ Laxman Bahadur K.C., *Recent Nepal: An Analysis of Recent Democratic Upsurge and Its Aftermath*, (New Delhi : Nirala Publications, 1993), p. 42.

²³⁵ T. Louise Brown, *The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal*, (London : Routledge, 1996), p. 48.

The Panchayat system functioned like a one party dispensation when it introduced the Back to Village National Campaign and Panchayat Policy and Enquiry Committee in 1975 and 1980 respectively as a political wing to control the activities of the non-Panchayati political players. The concept of partyless Panchayat democracy was quite contrary to the genuine ideals of political democracy because partyless Panchayat system never allowed political parties to function legally and it suppressed political dissent brutally. The freedom of thoughts, political pluralism, political participation, freedom of press, human rights, rule of law and political associations as the cornerstones of democracy was completely ignored.²³⁶ The King as the repository of the executive, legislative, judicial, and all other powers remained an absolute, and ruled the country according to the Aryan culture, Hindu religion and the traditions of the Shah and the Rana dynasty.²³⁷

The royal despotism put the country into a political hibernation for thirty years without providing any virtues of civic education.²³⁸ The regime neither tried to develop a common political consensus nor any provision made for asserting multi-ethnic identities of the society. Some centrally dominated concepts like one language, one dress, one religion and such other emblems were introduced to keep intact the interests of the ruling elites and the vested interest groups, but the royal jingoism could not withstand the politically conscious waves coming from across. The political scenario changed in 1979 when the King Birendra was under pressure to announce a 'referendum' in 1979 as a 'crisis management' by putting the system on public trial.²³⁹ The so-called reformed Panchayat System²⁴⁰ came out victorious to the shock and dismay of the political parties, by a slender majority (55 per cent) in 1980. The Panchayat constitution after the referendum moved towards the democratic polity, allowing the institutions to function democratically. The active royal leadership proved to be obstruction even to work

²³⁶ K.C., op.cit. f.n. 4, p. 43.

²³⁷ Ananta Raj Poudyal, A Comparative Study of the Japanese Monarchy, *The Journal of Nepal Japan Studies, Japan University Students Association, Nepal (JUSAN)*, (Kathmandu: The Journal of Nepal Japan Studies, Japan University Students Association, Nepal 2000), Vol. II, No. 1, p. 41.

²³⁸ Agrawal, op.cit. f.n. 1, p. 63.

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 118.

²⁴⁰ Reformed Panchayat System: Instead of indirect election and selection system of the Panchayat System, it incorporated certain democratic provisions like election to be held on the basis of adult franchise, recommendation of the Prime Minister from the national legislature and the government to be responsible towards the national legislature for its works. (Sirish Chandra Regmi, Government and Administration of Nepal, Kathmandu: Shail Prakashan, 2050, P. 43).

effectively to the institutions created by the system itself. In the meantime, the then minority voters who voted in support of the multiparty democracy were forcefully suppressed adopting the repressive policy. However, the democratic forces continued their struggle for the reestablishment of the multi-party democracy until the people's movement of 1990. Finally the people's movement of 1990 overthrew the despotic Panchayat System²⁴¹ and restored the multiparty democracy. The successful struggle for democracy added a new and glorious chapter in the political history of Nepal.²⁴²

The education system prevailing in the country till recently was anomalous to the requirements envisaged by the country's system for national construction. The origin of the education system was in slavish imitation of the system introduced in the past by imperialist powers in their colonies to strengthen their colonial empire. Its objective was limited to producing clerical workers for lower administration levels.²⁴³ The educational policy even under the Panchayat system appeared to be limited system based on elite-oriented.²⁴⁴ Thirty years of education expansion in Nepal, from 1960-1990, took the country to the verge of educational crisis. Linear expansion was the guiding policy and the necessary measures for total reorganization of education were postponed year after year. The condition of national education became more and more critical to which King Mahendra tried to avert immediate crisis by showing a political measure preparing a plan for education that would meet the political and economic needs of the country. As a result the National Education System Plan (NESP) 1971-1976 was formulated introducing some new approaches to promote the ideas of civic education.²⁴⁵ The plan showed its concern to create favorable conditions in classrooms to ensure that students are provided with good education using modern principles of pedagogy. The plan based on three strategies such as the media-man, material and mechanism to realize this objective,²⁴⁶ was a sort of shift in education policy from preparing students as mere

²⁴¹ K.C., op.cit. f.n. 4, p. 31.

²⁴² Krishna Hachhethu, *Party Building in Nepal: The Nepali Congress Party and the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) (1990-1995)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, T.U. Nepal, August, 2000, p. 2.

²⁴³ Ibid, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ Kedar Nath Shrestha, Learning Enrichment the Goals of National Education Plan, In Mohmmad Mohsin and Prem Kasaju (Ed.), *On Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : National Education Committee, 1974), p. 24.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 24.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 25.

clerk to a vocation. Though the policy did not dare to include the elements of civic education such as universal democratic beliefs, values, rights, duties and history of social reform, students were automatically oriented towards their rights and dignities because no one could stop the waves of consciousness and modernization coming from the across. During the 1970s, national barriers and isolation had begun gradually crumbling down due to revolution in information technology, that the Nepali society could hardly remain aloof out of it

Between 1960 to 1970, except some changes in administrative regulation, no remarkable changes in Nepalese education policy took place. The National Education System Plan (NESP, 1971) ushered revolutionary change in education policy and programme. NESP offered three tiers of school education structure - primary 3 years, lower secondary school 4 years, and secondary 3 years. Before this there was primary, middle and high school. Before NESP, there was no national curriculum. NESP brought national curriculum according to the three tiers school education structure. Some new openings about the social subject of the primary level where student learned the human relationship and their neighborhood and a little more readings related to civics in lower secondary and secondary school was introduced. In the policy it was recommended that the Department of Education should issue occasional orders on matters of school curriculum, textbooks and examinations. This gave opportunities to bring, if desired, changes in school curriculum either introducing civic education contents or other areas of knowledge to make education programme relevant to the society. NESP had vision of civic education seen in subtle state. The NESP, however, had vision to formulate a comprehensive, coordinated and dynamic base of national heritage for all the distinct traditions and communities. With the population comprising an amalgam of diverse ethnic groups, the major responsibility considered providing opportunities to assert their roles as the positive emotional integration of the diverse regional, social and economic interests through a healthy communication of the multiple regions and groups.

The NESP thus underlined goals such as:

- a. To establish a composite national education system, integrating all the current educational process in the country,
- b. To make education objective, applied and relevant to the country's needs,

- c. To diversify knowledge and to spell out the rational and objectives of education at different levels, and
- d. To democratize educational opportunities through balanced decentralization of educational facilities.

The NESP played a positive role in strengthening national solidarity, fulfilling the manpower needs of the country through the spread of scientific and technical education, believing the policy makers of that time.²⁴⁷ The following priorities were laid down in the plan:

- a. Promoting vocational and technical education with a view to meeting the needs of technical manpower,
- b. Coordinating the development of higher education with the future employment opportunities,
- c. Matching qualitative development with quantitative development of education.
- d. Producing and distributing educational materials to raise educational standards,
- e. Up-grading the teaching profession to make it competitive with other professions,
- f. Promoting extra-curricular activities, cultivation intellectual atmosphere in educational institutions and promoting student participation in nation-building tasks,
- g. Implementing uniform curriculum throughout the country,
- h. Instituting internal assessment,
- i. Providing higher education on the basis of merit as shown in tests,
- j. Raising the standards of less equipped and low grade schools and reducing gaps between ordinary schools and exclusive expensive schools, and
- k. Providing scholarships for economically handicapped students.

Kedar Nath Shrestha summarized the key features of the NESP as follows:

²⁴⁷ Tirtha Bahadur Manandhar, Current Educational Policies in Nepal, *Education and Development*, (Kathmandu : Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development, T.U., 1982), p. 1.

- a. The plan was long range in outlook. The long-term development needs of the country guided the framing of educational programs.
- b. The approach to education was comprehensive and total. The program of each cycle and aspect of education was integrated with the total national program of education and training.
- c. The educational program proposed in the plan was based on the basic needs of the country and institutional development was tied with manpower needs of the country.
- d. The plan proposed a dynamic education system with build-in-mechanism for adjustment and adoption as the need arose.

The main thrusts of the NESP policy were in the following three areas:

- a. Promoting equal access to education for all.
- b. Linking education with production (i.e. World of works) by fulfilling the needs of vocationally trained and technical manpower.
- c. Improving the quality of education by providing trained teachers, improved curriculum, textbooks and materials.

From the above remarks over the NESP's focused areas, less attention was found to have been given to civic education. Emphasis was on vocational preparation of the people and preparation of technical human resource according to the need of economic development goal. The important change this plan brought about was fundamental change in education policy and programme and management of educational institutions of the country. NESP brought school education under state responsibility. Before NESP, community had to manage education opportunities of children themselves locally. The thrust behind this change was 'education is one of the prime functions of the state. It is accepted that NESP has brought significant change in education status of the country.

5.2 The New Education System Plan of 1971 under the Panchayat System and Concept of Civic Education

A brief survey of education status before NESP (1971) is essential before examining NESP under Panchayat System and the inherent meaning of civic education. The preceding chapter discussed in detail the status of education before 1950. There was no policy of mass education and education was limited to certain castes and class and

thus the spread of education was scanty in the society. Democratic movement of 1950 gave impetus of public education. As a result, education aspiration of people intensely increased. The progress status of education in Nepal during 1950-1990 is shown in the Table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Educational Development

Education	No. of Schools			No. of Students		
	1951	1961	1970	1951	1961	1970
Level						
Primary	321	4001	7256	8505	182533	149141
Secondary	11	156	1065	1680	21115	102704
Higher	2	33	49	250	5143	17200
Number of Teachers	1951	1961	1970	1951	1961	1970
Primary	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	18250
Secondary	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	5207
Higher	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1070

Sources: (2028 B.S). National Education System Plan (2028-2032), Kathmandu: Ministry of Education, 1971, P. 3.

Table 5.2
Educational Development

Education	No. of Schools		No. of Students	
	1981	1990	1981	1990
Level				
Primary	10628	17842	1388001	2788644
Lower Secondary	2786	3964	165564	344138
Secondary	918	1953	144331	364525
Higher	NA	NA	34242	
Number of Teachers	1981	1990		
Primary	29134	71213		
Lower Secondary	12245	12399		
Secondary	4909	10421		
Higher	NA	NA		

Sources: Statistical Pocket Book Nepal 1992, Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistic, 1992, PP. 156-158/165-167.

The above table shows the rapid expansion of education, devoid of specific objectives, had produced a number of problems. The cause of expansion was the introduction of democracy in 1950. Before 1950, there was no provision of mass education. The changes in political system led to the expansion of education opportunities to mass people.

After the NESP the expansion of education was notable. In spite of the expansion of education from the NESP, proper management of educational activities had long been overdue. Attempts were made to face the educational problems of the country. From 1971 to 1990, a good portion of the national budget had been allocated to the education sector every year to overcome the weaknesses inherent in education before 1970. However, the quality of education remained considerably low and the adequacy of community participation was debatable. The NESP education policy and programs were discussed separately under primary, lower secondary, secondary and higher secondary education.²⁴⁸

a. Primary Education from 1960 to 1990

The political change of 1960 brought about a corresponding change in the policy of the government in all spheres of public activities. Then HMG/N appointed an Education Committee All Round National Educational Committee (ARNEC) under the chairmanship of the education minister to outline the new policy of education by keeping in view of the changed context of Nepalese politics. The following were the recommendations of this committee regarding primary education.²⁴⁹

1. HMG/N should adopt a liberal educational policy.
2. There should be uniformity in medium of instruction.
3. Pre-primary education should be made available for the children of 3-5 years age group.
4. Primary education should be free and compulsory.
5. Primary education should be of five-year's duration for the children of 6-10 age groups.

²⁴⁸ *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, (Kathmandu : Ministry of Education, 2028), pp. 3-7

²⁴⁹ *Report of the All-Round National Education Committee*, (Kathmandu : Department of Education, 1961), p. 1.

6. In order to improve the standard of education, teachers should be trained and the teaching profession should be made more attractive.
7. As primary education would prove a terminal education for majority of Nepalese children, a system of Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination should be instituted.
8. Nepal's topography would require a large number of one-room primary schools with more than one grade. HMG should provide training for the teachers in such schools.²⁵⁰

The government expanded the administrative organization of education to implement the educational programs of the government. First, a separate Ministry of Education was established. The Department of Education was expanded with a separate section of primary and secondary education. Similarly, a separate office was established in each district with a District Education Inspector. Numerous measures were taken to improve and expand primary education in the country; e.g. formed a regular teacher training center, improved the primary school curriculum, etc.

The ARNEC (All Round National Education Committee) almost endorsed the existing curriculum. ARNEC proposed subjects such as Language, Social Education, Science and Health Education, Mathematics, Art, Self-dependent Education, and Physical education for primary level education curriculum (ARNEC 1961, PP. 14-19.). Though the report recommended for the provision of social study, there was not specific attention to civic education. After this, the next national level education plan (National Education System Plan) was constituted and it was launched in 1971.

The edifice of NESP was developed on the basis of the study of the then existing status of primary education. Major changes were introduced in the then existing primary education. The following were the important ones:

1. The duration of primary education was reduced from five to three years.
2. The objectives of primary education were reduced to illiteracy.
3. The number of subjects was reduced to suit the new objectives.
4. The existing multifarious systems of primary education were abolished.

²⁵⁰ Kedar N. Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Institute of Education T.U., 1982), p. 3.

5. HMG/N started paying one hundred percent of the salaries of primary teachers in the form of grants-in-aid to the District Education Committees.
6. The salary scale of primary teachers was raised and different scales were introduced to suit the different educational qualifications of the teachers.
7. The target of 64 percent enrollment was fixed for primary education.
8. A nominal fee was introduced in primary school as operational cost.²⁵¹

Much has been replaced after the initiation of the NESP. The three-year primary education structure was implemented. King Birendra declared free primary education on the occasion of his coronation. After few years' experiment, the King, again, announced that Nepal would have five-year primary education system. Again, as a royal gesture, the King declared the policy of free distribution of textbooks for primary children in the International Children's year. Thus, one would find primary education of 1981 quite different from what was envisaged by the NESP. The enrollment boom in primary education was unbelievable. The statistics shows 87 percent of primary children enrolled in primary schools.²⁵²

The NESP (1971-76) developed plans and HMG/N adapted and decided to implement them in a phased manner. The NESP was a bold plan of education with a systematic program to revamp the existing system of education. It proposed to adopt the following objectives of primary education.²⁵³

1. Primary education will extend from class 1 to 3 and will aim at literacy.
2. At this level boys and girls will be taught reading, writing and arithmetic, some rudimentary knowledge of Nepalese and general information regarding the King and the country. It will lay emphasis on development of general knowledge.
3. In the next five years, 64 percent of boys and girls in the age group from 6-8 will be given primary education facilities.
4. Individuals with School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent and trained, will be hired as primary school teachers.

²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 5.

²⁵² Ibid, p. 5.

²⁵³ *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, op cit. f. n. 18, p. 7.

5. Textbooks of good standard will be made available free of cost to the children of remote areas and at fair prices to others.
6. District level examination will be held at the end of the primary school terms.
7. The government will make financial grants to cover the full salary of primary school teachers.²⁵⁴

Programs were developed to achieve the objectives stated above. The reduction of primary schooling from 5 to 3 years was a major deviation from the tradition. The primary curriculum was redesigned to suit the new level-wise objectives of primary education. Quite a few subjects were removed from the primary school curriculum to gear the instructional program to the needs of the level-wise objectives of the new primary education structure. The following was the new curriculum that was recommended and implemented.²⁵⁵

Table 5.3

The Subjects and Weightage in the Primary School Curriculum

Subject	Marks Of Weight age	Full Marks
Nepali Language	40	300
Arithmetic's	30	200
Social Studies	20	100
Physical Education, Hygiene Handicraft and Drawing	10	50

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 8.

Note: Physical Education, Personal Hygiene, Handicrafts and Drawing shall be taught through various practical activities rather than from books.

The NESP primary education curriculum was adopted on the basis of grass root realities of the society, which under the systemic perspective, would be able to help change the traditional society. Textbooks were thus prepared accordingly, and teacher training program designed in similar lines that could render help to the restructuring

²⁵⁴ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 20, p. 8.

²⁵⁵ *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, op.cit. f.n. 18, p. 24.

process of the school education system. The duration of primary education increased from three to five years. This meant a major change in the primary education curriculum. Accordingly, the subjects that were taught in the fourth and fifth grade were incorporated in the primary education curriculum. The curriculum gave much emphasis on language and mathematics. The subject 'social study' was to give knowledge of social systems to the students. This implies less focus was in civic education. The language courses could have integrated civic knowledge but this sort of writing was not seen, for there was a lack of understanding of an integrated curriculum concept. Sanskrit as a part of Nepali, English language, Science and Health, and Moral Education were the subjects that were added in the primary curriculum to be taught in the fourth and fifth grades.

b. Lower Secondary and Secondary Education from 1960 to 1990

The objectives of the lower secondary education (Grade IV through Grade VII) set by the NESP in brief are given below:

- Language and arithmetic's will be taught in more detail at this level. Stress will be given more on character building of the students by means of textbooks and extra-curricular activities. This is the right time for inculcating a spirit of loyalty to the King and the country and for inducing a sense of discipline and responsibility. Pre-vocational training will also be introduced.
- Lower-secondary education facilities will be extended to 40% of the primary school students.
- Individuals with I. Ed., I.A. or their equivalents, and trained, will be employed as teachers in lower secondary schools.
- His Majesty's Government will grant financial assistance covering the full salary of teachers in the remote areas and 75 per cent of the salary will be the responsibility of the government in other areas.
- Zonal level examinations will be held at the end of the lower secondary school term.²⁵⁶

In the first objective, it is aimed to inculcate a spirit of loyalty to the king and the country. The focus of civic education then was to produce citizen fit to the existing social

²⁵⁶ *On Education in Nepal*, In Mohammad Mohsin and Prem Kasaju (Ed.), (Kathmandu : National Education Committee, 1974), pp. 34-35.

structure and ideology of panchayat. Every system tries to reproduce the same social structure to save the life of the rulers. The lower-secondary level emphasized character building and developing dignity of labor. The duration of lower-secondary level was four years (grade 4 to 7). The secondary level emphasized development of vocational knowledge. Keeping the level wise-objectives in view, the NESP proposed the following lower-secondary and secondary curricula.²⁵⁷

Table 5.4
Subjects Offered at Lower Secondary Level

Subjects	% of School hours	Full Marks
Nepali Language	30	200
Nepali Language (Class VI and VII)	25	170
Elementary Sanskrit (")	5	30
One of the UN Language	10	100
Social Studies	13	100
Mathematics	20	150
Science	10	100
Pre-vocational Training	10	100
Physical Education and Hygiene	7	50

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, PP.12-13.

The Lower-secondary and Secondary Curricula under the NESP were implemented in a phased manner with all care. New curriculum was developed and new textbooks were written on the basis of the new curriculum. Vocational subjects were offered. Vocational teachers were trained and workshops for vocational activities were built in the secondary schools. However, the impression was that the new secondary curriculum was not serving the purposes of the education of that particular level. The

²⁵⁷ *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, op.cit. f.n. 18, pp. 24-26.

then HMG/N made a decision to implement the new secondary school curriculum from 1981. The following was the main feature of the new curriculum.²⁵⁸

Table 5.5
Curriculum for Lower Secondary School Grades IV-VII

S.No.	Subjects	Marks			
	Grades	4	5	6	7
1.	Nepali	150	150	120	120
2.	Sanskrit	50	50	30	30
3.	English	100	100	100	100
4.	Mathematics	100	100	100	100
5.	Science	80	80	80	80
6.	Health	20	20	20	20
7.	Social Studies	100	100	100	100
8.	Moral Education	50	50	50	50
9.	Physical Education	50	50	50	50
10.	Pre-vocational Education	*	*	50	50
	Total	700	700	700	700

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 15.

The lower-secondary level was emphasized on character building and developing attitude towards the dignity of labor in the students.

The Secondary Education Curriculum, proposed by Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC), was developed with specific national objectives set for Secondary Education. The commission realized that the secondary education would have to be revamped to meet the growing popular demand for education on the one hand and national development requirements on the other. It was stated that the Nepalese secondary education should serve the following purposes.²⁵⁹

1. Provide appropriate experiences for those boys and girls who will become the political and civic leaders of Nepal for the next generation.

²⁵⁸ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 20, pp. 24-26.

²⁵⁹ *Reports of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*, In Sardar Rudra Raj Panday and et al, (Ed.), (Kathmandu : College of Education, 1956), p. 108.

2. Provide appropriate experiences for much larger group of boys and girls who will become highly skilled leaders in the professional and economic phases of our national development.
3. Provide training in vocational skills essential to a twentieth century economy.
4. Contribute to the advancement of general culture of Nepal.
5. Promote democratic concepts of life.

According to the above set purposes, the secondary education was divided into three categories - general education, vocational education and Sanskrit education. Each school has its own curriculum. The general secondary schools where general subjects would account for 80 per cent of the school hours and vocational subjects would account for the remaining 20 per cent. Vocational secondary schools, where vocational training courses would cover up to 30 to 40 per cent of the school hours and general subjects would be given correspondingly less importance. In the Sanskrit types secondary schools the main emphasis would be on Sanskrit.²⁶⁰

The NNEPC recommended the curriculum for Grades IX and X. The subjects for these grades were Nepali, Social Studies, Personal Physical Development, three Vocational Subjects and one non-vocational subject including a foreign language. The commission stated that the experiences of secondary curriculum should be organized around broad, functional 'Units' that cut across traditional subject lines. It grouped the subject into three categories: (a) common learning's (b) vocational skills (c) non-vocational pursuits.

The recommendation of NNEPC on secondary curriculum was partially implemented when then His Majesty's Government developed a program of Multipurpose Education in the country. There was another secondary education curriculum proposed by All-Round National Education Committee (1960-61), which was hardly implemented.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ *On Education in Nepal*, op.cit. f.n. 26, p. 35.

²⁶¹ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 20, p. 27.

ARNEC proposed Grade 6-11 secondary educations in Nepal.²⁶² The ARNEC agreed with the NNEPC in providing the vocational subjects at the secondary level. It recommended for establishing three types of secondary schools:

- (i) Type one emphasizing Art and Science studies
- (ii) Types two emphasizing vocational training and
- (iii) Types three emphasizing Sanskrit studies.

It proposed the grouping of subject into four categories. The categories are given in Table 5.6

Table 5.6
Secondary Level Curriculum Prescribed by ARNEC

Group A:	(a) Geography, History, Civics, Psychology Logic Economics, or (b) One of the languages of Nepal or one of German, English, French, Spanish, Chinese and Russian.
Group B:	(a) Physics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Higher Mathematics.
Group C:	Industrial Arts, Home Economics, Agriculture, Education, Secretarial Science, Elementary Engineering, Elementary Medical Science, Elementary Military Science, Fine Arts.
Group D:	Sanskrit, Veda, Logic Grammar, Astronomy, Literature.

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, PP. 10-11.

Following were the types of secondary curriculum proposed by the ARNEC for Grade IX-X.

Table 5.7
Curriculum Proposed by All-Round National Education Committee

Arts and Science Type		Marks	Vocational Type		Marks
1.	Nepali	150	1.	Nepali	150
2.	Sanskrit	50	2.	Sanskrit	50
3.	English	200	3.	English	200
4.	Mathematics	100	4.	One of the subjects from Group C	200
5.	Three subjects from Group A or B	300	5.	Two subjects from Group C	200
6.	One subject from Group A or B not yet offered				

Source: Report of the All-Round National Education Committee, Kathmandu: Department of Education, 1961, P. 22.

²⁶² Report of the All-Round National Education Committee, op.cit. f.n.19 , pp. 57-58.

But, ARNEC proposed a separate Sanskrit stream with the following subjects:

Table 5.8

Curriculum for Grades VI-VIII for Sanskrit Type

S.No.	Subject	Weight age
1.	Sanskrit, General	300 Marks
2.	Nepali	100 Marks
3.	Mathematics	100 Marks
4.	Health and Physical Education	50 Marks
5.	Science	50 Marks
6.	Alternatives: one of the following: a. Music, b. Drawing, c. Dance, d. Elementary Vocational knowledge, e. English or Social Studies, g. one of the Language of Nepal other than Sanskrit and Nepali	100 Marks

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 4.

Curriculum for Grade IX- X for Sanskrit Type

S.No.	Subject	Marks
1.	Sanskrit Any one from Group D.	500
2.	Nepali	200
3.	Any two subjects from Group A or Group B	200

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 11.

The ARNEC had proposed upper secondary education with Grades VI to XI. That was certainly a courageous novel approach. But, virtually nothing was done to implement secondary school curriculum recommended by the ARNEC. However, if one closely observed it, one would find that the lower-secondary and secondary school curriculum proposed by National Education System Plan (1971-76) was the culmination of all the ideas presented by the different education commissions and committees. The secondary level will emphasize the development of vocational knowledge. Keeping the

level-wise objectives in view, the NESP proposed the following lower-secondary and secondary curricula.²⁶³

Table 5.9
Subjects Offered for General Secondary Schools

S.No.	Subjects	Percentage of	Full Marks
	Schools hours		
1.	Nepali Language	12	100
2.	One of the UN Language	12	100
3.	Mathematics	12	100
4.	History and Geography	12	100
5.	Health and Education	5	50
6.	Panchayat	5	50
7.	Science	12	100
8.	One of the Vocational Subjects	20	200
9.	Optional Subjects (One from among the group below)	10	100

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 13.

Table 5.10
Subjects offered in Vocational Secondary Schools

S.No.	Subjects	Percentage of	Full Marks
	Schools hours		
1.	Nepali Language	12	100
2.	One of the UN Language	12	100
3.	Mathematics	12	100
4.	Science, Hygiene and Physiology	12	100
5.	Social Studies (History, Geography and Panchayat	12	100
6.	Vocational Instruction (One from among the group below) Optional subjects: Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Additional, Mathematics, Additional subjects.	30	300

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, *Educational Experiments in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, PP. 13-14.

²⁶³ *National Education System Plan (2028-2032)*, op.cit. f.n. 18, pp. 24-26.

Table 5.11
Subjects Offered in Sanskrit Secondary Schools

S.No.	Subjects	Percentage of	Full Marks
1.	Nepali Language	10	100
2.	Sanskrit	30	300
3.	Mathematics	10	100
4.	Social Studies (History, Geography and Panchayat	10	50
5.	Science, Health and Physical		
6.	Education	10	50
7.	Vocational Education	10	50
8.	Optional Subjects (One from among the following groups)	10	100
	Optional Group: English, French, Chinese, Hindi, Russian, Spanish, German, Japanese, Portuguese, Tibetan, Urdu, Arabic, Persian, Maithili, Bhojpori, Newari, Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar and Tamang		

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 14.

When one analyses the curriculum of three different schools, except one, the other two has 'Panchyat' in the social study curriculum. So the understanding of this time regarding civic education was social study including Panchyat. They thought that the readings on the existing political system and the government were enough for civic education. There were very few contents in the curriculum that could treat on the contents of the civic education as desired to move towards democratizing the society. The political system then wanted to desert the people from learning democratic values, norms, and culture and the human rights through formal schooling. Even in that situation the number of schools opened for mass education was significant.

There was student movement in 1979 that also raised voice against the education system. The education, they claimed, was not scientific, people's education. The focus of education was to prepare men with blind faith on the king and the crown. As in the turmoil of questions over the political system and the education system as subsystem, the then HMG/N made a decision in 1981 to bring reform in curriculum and implement the

new secondary school curriculum from 1981. The following was the main feature of the new curriculum.²⁶⁴

Table 5.12
Curriculum for Grade VIII

S.No.	Subject	Marks
1.	Nepali	100
2.	English	100
3.	Mathematics	100
4.	Vocational Subjects	100
5.	Science	80
6.	Health	20
7.	History	75
8.	Geography	75
9.	Panchayat and Civic life	50

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 31.

In the new version of NESP curriculum, vocational schools were converted into general schools. It is a failure of vocational focus of the school education. Similarly, it was the first time that the term 'civic' was mentioned in the curriculum under 'Panchyat and Civic Life' topic. The contents, however, were not quite relevant to the understanding of civic education as widely accepted in the world. The interest of the curriculum was to prepare an adopted individual in the then political system. Inculcating Panchyati ideology in youths was the main motto of the curriculum.

Similarly, the change was made in the secondary curriculum is given in Table No. 5.13

²⁶⁴ Shrestha, op.cit. f.n. 20, p. 30.

Table 5.13
Curriculum for Grades IX and X

S.No.	Subject	Period	Per Week	Marks	
1.	Nepali	6	6	100	100
2.	English	7	7	100	100
3.	Mathematics	6	6	100	100
4.	Vocational Subjects.	5	5	100	100
	Selective Groups:				
5.	Group A	5	5	100	100
6.	Group B	5	5	100	100
7.	Extra-Selection: One Paper	5	5	100	100
	Total			700	700

Source: Kedar Nath Shrestha, Educational Experiments in Nepal, Kathmandu: Institute of Education, T.U., 1982, P. 32.

The students were required to select one of the following vocational subjects:

A. Home Science, B. Business Education, C. Office Management and Accounting, D. Agriculture E. Trades and Industry F. Cane and Bamboo work (only for blind students) G. Religious Ritual (for Sanskrit students) H. Education.

Selective Groups: The students are required to select two subjects from Group A and Group B:

2.1 Science Group A: Science B. Mathematics and statistics.

2.2 Language Group A: Modern Language -Nepali, English, French, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Bengali, Urdu.

Group B: Classical Language: Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebru.

Group C: Local Language: Newari, Maithili, And Tibetan.

2.3 Social Studies Group (only two) A. History B. Geography
C. Civics D. Economics.

2.4 Commerce Group (only two) A. Rural Economic
B. Commercial Arithmetic
C. Auditing D. Typing.

2.5 Sanskrit Group (only two) A. Sanskrit Language

- B. Sanskrit Knowledge only one
- I. Justice II. Grammar
- III. Astrology IV. Literature
- V. Bed.
- 2.6 Home Science (only two subjects) A. Food Technology
- B. Clothing
- C. Children care and Population Education.
- 2.7 Miscellaneous (only two subjects) A. Music B. Dance
- C. Architecture D. Painting
- E. Physical Education
- F. Health Education.²⁶⁵

While selecting one subject from the Extra-selection Group, the student would be required to select the subject from the group other than the one he/she has selected as optional subject. In the secondary education curriculum, the course 'civic' was introduced as one of the optional subjects. Still it was the impression that the system had not realized the significance of civic education in the process of democratization of society. If it was realized the course 'Civics' should have been made a compulsory course.

From the analysis of the education programme of this period, one could reach to the conclusion that the government of that period had realized education as the main means for producing responsible citizens. So the main objectives of the NESP were to make the citizens capable of meeting the requirements necessary for the nation building. The Education Plan took this view into consideration and gave an integrated national form to the education system making necessary changes in the established educational processes. Since a majority of pupils were found to be terminating at the primary and lower secondary levels, the plan attempted to ensure a minimum level of learning among the dropouts by providing uniform curricula at these levels. Mostly, a total change in the syllabus of social education was sought for. The main objective of the uniform curricula was to make the students conscious of the positive linkage that banded together the

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 32.

different ethnic groups, micro-cultures and small communities, promoting faith in kingship and love of the country and dignity for labor and self-reliance.²⁶⁶

An observation of the curriculum reforms in secondary level of education manifests the growing concerns of the Nepalese educationists to provide relevant education, especially in secondary level which would determine the future course of orientation. This observation was held on the grounds that, in the beginning, Nepal followed the Indian model of education in secondary curriculum without having any core values of the Nepali society. The subsequent changes in secondary curriculum reflect the efforts of the Nepalese educationists to give national orientation towards educational policy realizing the awareness and diverse needs of students that started getting admission in the secondary schools. The choice were given to the extent of providing general knowledge as an alternative to general science, Maithili as an alternative to Nepali, First-aid as an alternative to Elementary Sanskrit. That idea was held on the grounds that the curriculum should be comprehensive that could promote content and intent of the study.

Despite the efforts, however, the NESP curriculum failed to realize the reality of the Nepalese society because of various reasons. It is argued on the grounds, that the parents who expect their children turn to be skilled manpower found to be futile due to lapses in the curriculum. Only insignificant number of graduates from vocational schools found to have joined in the job market. The NESP did not provide choices in the subjects by which the unwilling students were forced to take up vocational subjects, which resulted wastage of-time, money and materials. The vocationalization scheme appeared as a heavy dose without realizing the manpower shortage in the leadership level to plan and develop suitable vocational curriculum. The few who had had some exposure in the multipurpose system were utilized to develop curriculum, textbooks and other vocational program obviously proved defective, due to lack of exposure on the one hand and sketchy and unimpressive textbooks on the other hand. In the meantime, tools for instructions also could not carry the messages of vocational education envisaged by the NESP. If the general high schools were expected to provide a general orientation to a

²⁶⁶ Mohmmad Mohsin, The National Education Plan An Analytical Introduction, In Mohammad Mohsin and Prem Kasaju (Ed.), *On Education in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: National Education Committee, 1974), p. 3.

certain vocation 200 marks for the subject was too much and that created an imbalance in the curriculum. Educationists and teachers rightly expressed that 100 marks should be reduced from the vocational subject.

The Secondary Education Curriculum, proposed by the NESP, would have been continued if the timely modifications were made. Nothing was done in this direction during the course of its implementation. The defect of the curriculum started getting glaringly visible. At last, in 1980, a major change was brought about in the existing secondary school curriculum. As a result, the objective of the secondary education shifted towards emphasizing vocational education at this level. The weight-age of 200 marks on vocational subject was reduced to 100 marks. Vocational schools, as envisaged and planned by the NESP, did not exist any more. The secondary schools did not continue to produce low-level manpower. In fact, the new curriculum had closer resemblance with the S.L.C. curriculum of 1952. The only major difference existed was the mandatory provision for selecting some vocational subjects.²⁶⁷

Teachers and educationists had shown their concern over the new curriculum also. They had expressed the need for keeping the 'Science Subject' as one of the compulsory subjects. In fact, if science was maintained as one of the compulsory subjects, the total marks would still be 800, one hundred marks less than that of the NESP curriculum. Some educationists had indicated the need for increasing weight-age for English. Other had expressed the need of adding 'Agriculture' in the selective areas of vocational subjects.²⁶⁸ Discussion and concern in civic education was not seen in any literatures in course of revising the curriculum.

c. Higher Education from 1960 to 1990

Before 1951, there were only two colleges in the country-the Tri-Chandra College and the Balmiki Mahabidyala. After that the College of Education was established in 1956 for teacher training. In 1959, Tribhuvan University was established to provide higher education in arts and sciences. Sanskrit, Culture, Nepali, English, History, Political Science, Mathematics, Geography, Commerce and Economics were

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 34.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 34.

studied at Masters Levels'.²⁶⁹ Some principal objectives of higher education were as follows: To impart higher education to the people as per the need of the country; To preserve and develop the historical and cultural heritage of the nation; To promote social and economic justice; To alleviate poverty; To produce man power competent enough in the global context; To accumulate, advance and disseminate knowledge; To encourage and promote research in the fields of arts, science, commerce as well as vocational education; To help the university students build their character through the medium of higher education. After the establishment of Tribhuvan University (TU), both the government colleges and the community managed colleges got affiliated to T.U.

The recommendations of the National Education Planning Commission had guided education policies in Nepal until 1971 when the National Education System Plan came into operation. The implementation of this plan, which was the culmination of a process of educational reform started as early as 1954, marks an important landmark in the development of education in Nepal. The plan was aimed primarily at counteracting the elitist bias of the inherited system of education by linking it more effectively to productive enterprises and egalitarian principles. It called for unification of education into one productive system that would serve the country's needs and aspirations. The plan made firm proposals for investment in education as the basis of national development, curriculum reform, improvement of the professional status of teachers, provision of educational materials, and promotion of vocational education and reorganization of higher education for ensuring the fulfillment of national manpower needs.²⁷⁰ When the New Educational System Plan was introduced then all the community colleges were nationalized and brought directly under T.U. The implication was that the government took the responsibility for education at all levels. It had had a tremendous impact on the nation.

The implementation of higher education programmes within the framework of the new national education policy became the responsibility of Tribhuvan University. The University was running its academic programmes through ten institutes and four research centers. Of the ten institutes, five were technical and five were general. These

²⁶⁹ *Report of the All-Round National Education Committee*, op cit. f.n.19, pp. 45-46.

²⁷⁰ *National Population Census 1971 Nepal*, Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1971, P. 153.

institutes had 67 campuses which were scattered throughout the country.²⁷¹ One of the main features of the 1971 educational reform was the National Development Service programme at the higher education level. The main objectives of the programme were a) to allow the students to experience the realities of rural life, thereby making their higher education broader in outlook and better attuned to the real development needs of Nepal, and (b) to offer students an opportunity to help to meet the country's development needs during their academic careers. The programme was implemented initially as an integral part of the degree-level course. During this service, the students worked as teachers in schools and participated in other rural development activities such as forestation, health and adult education, agricultural extension, family welfare and small construction works, including water supplies, roads and bridges in the assigned areas.²⁷²

It would be noticed that there was a steady growth in enrolment at the level of higher education over the years. According to the Tribhuvan University College Inspection Report prepared in 1969, there were over 50 colleges in Nepal. Of them, 29 were degree colleges and 21 intermediate colleges. There were 7 Sanskrit colleges (5 degree and 2 intermediate). There was 1 Law College, 1 Education College and 1 Fine Arts College in the country.²⁷³

Within a period of sixteen years (1954 to 1971) the number of colleges and the enrolment of students increased. This increase was attributed to two important factors. In the first instance, the input for higher education was the output of secondary education. There has been a tremendous increase in the number of pupils enrolled at the secondary level in Nepal and this development has had its effect on the increasing trend in enrolments at the higher level. Secondly, there has also been an increase in the number of institutions providing higher education in Nepal over the years. Prior to the implementation of the National Education System Plan, there were 49 colleges in Nepal. But since the introduction of the Plan in 1972 all colleges have been converted into

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid, P. 154.

²⁷³ *Education Under Rana Rule*, Retrieved from September 14, 2008. Online [<http://countrystudies.us/nepal/34.htm>].

campuses, additional ones were set up and higher education was provided in 79 campuses distributed throughout the country.²⁷⁴

The National Education System Plan sought to remedy the accumulated defects in Nepal's education system such as lack of clear policies and goals of education, proliferation of schools at all levels, quality deterioration of education, excessive drop-out, repeater and failure rates, shortage of trained teachers, etc. Then the New Education System Plan could not improve the quality of education, it rather deteriorated it. The assessment and semester type examinations were a total failure; examinations could not be controlled and run fairly; the authorities could not control mass cheating.

There raised a student agitation in 1980 with educational reform and political issues but in disguise to establish democracy in the country. The government and the university could not control the agitation, and to pacify this, late king Birendra formed a commission on higher education in 1980, which brought about major changes in higher education. Assessment and semester system of examination was abolished and annual system was introduced. After this there was a gradual change in the field of education in the country. Until then there was only one University-Tribhuvan University, but the commission recommended for establishing multi-universities. Private and community colleges were again allowed to run again and there was the emergence of 10+2(3) ÷ 3(4) + 2 educational structure. The proficiency certificate level was suppressed to be transferred to higher secondary schools from universities. For the fulfillment of this programme the Higher Secondary Education Board was established in 1989 with a view to phasing out proficiency certificate level from university. The higher secondary level was academically equivalent to the Proficiency Certificate program of instruction run in the university and affiliated campuses. The shift of proficiency certificate level will help Tribhuvan University to concentrate on strengthening and enriching its Bachelor and Master Degree programmes. From 1980, TU began to accord affiliation to private colleges to conduct a variety of programs at different levels. In that year 24 colleges were affiliated to offer the certificate programs.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Ibid, National Population Census 1971 Nepal, P. 156.

²⁷⁵ *Tribhuvan University*, Retrieved from September 14, 2008. Online [<http://www.geocities.com/dineshgajurel/TU.html>].

Until 1985, Tribhuvan University was the only university in Nepal. The total number of colleges increased significantly from 8 in 1958 to 132 in 1988 (69 under Tribhuvan University and 63 private colleges).²⁷⁶ In terms of subjects, these colleges covered a wide range of disciplines, such as social sciences; humanities; commerce (business); physical sciences, including some medical sciences; engineering; education; forestry; law; and Sanskrit.

In the early 1980s, the then His Majesty's Government developed a concept of a multi-university system for the country. One important assumption behind the concept was that each new university should have a distinctive nature, content and function of its own. The first new university that was established was Mahendra Sanskrit University in 1986 to modernize Sanskrit education in the country and preserve age-old values. It was the second university in the country. It has 12 constituent and 14 affiliated campuses.

Nepal has made significant progress in education at all levels during the past three decades (1960 to 1990). Until 1990, 61 constituent colleges of Tribhuvan University and its affiliated (private) colleges fulfilled the demand of higher education. After the establishment of Mahendra Sanskrit University in 1986 it has preserved age old values and it has addressed some demands of the higher education in Nepal.

In a very short period of higher education different experiments were executed. In the beginning there were only government colleges, and later the government allowed community colleges to be run. In 1971 all the colleges were nationalized but after a few years it was realized that the state could not take all the responsibility for education and then there appeared three different kinds of educational institutions in higher education i.e. government funded, community managed and institutionalized (private). At that time, civic education in the name of Nepal parichaya was introduced only at the certificate level. The main objective of the subject was to make the then panchayat system important and its main motto was to make learners loyal to the kingship. The panchayat system did not give importance to the democratic values and norms but the polity through practice provided some features like transparency, legitimacy, constitutional

²⁷⁶ Khagendra P. Bhattarai, *Higher Education in Nepal: Truth and Challenges*, Retrieved from September 14, 2008. Online
[http://www.telegraphnepal.com/news_det.php?news_id=1796]

order, and rule of law and human rights as the democratic credibility in the international arena.

5.3 Evaluation of the New Education Policy and its Impact on Socio-Economic and Political Transformation of Society

Two high-level evaluation committees studied the successes and failures of the educational plan and programs of the NESP. The Mid-Term and the Final Evaluation Reports pointed out the main deficiencies in the education system and suggested wide-ranging measures covering all aspects of education. In the field of school education, the deficiencies found by the end of the Fifth plan period were as follows:

- Primary education of three years duration was found to be inadequate for ensuring retention of the literacy skills.
- Despite improved salary scales and security provisions, teachers were dissatisfied and they were not fully motivated to provide the best of their services.
- Primary education expanded rapidly, dropout rate was reduced.
- Local co-operation in school activities was declining which needed to be revived.
- The vocational education program, especially the intensive vocational education, was found to be facing several difficulties and was not producing readily employable workers.
- Measures to improve quality such as supervision, teacher training, curriculum reform and materials supply were not found to yield expected results.
- Public expenditure on education was rising in absolute terms and the government found it more difficult to provide resources for education.
- Facilities were not fully utilized in many parts of the country.²⁷⁷

As was revealed by the evaluation, the social function of education from the primary level is to make people literate in basic mathematics, reading and writing and have knowledge of the society. Another aspect of education was directed towards preparing youth with vocational and technical skills so that they can generate their employment themselves. This was also not found. Employment generation and raising

²⁷⁷ *Education and Development*, (Kathmandu : Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development, T.U., 1982), p. 8.

economic status of the people was in question. Overall impact in raising consciousness in people was good and a resistance force was created as a byproduct of education which was raising voice against non-democratic system (panchayat). Besides that the critical analysis of the NESP gives glaring picture of the success of education programme in social and economic transformation as expected. The following problems of the NESP are publicized by the evaluation study:

a. Expansion of the system much faster than planned

During 1975 to 1980, the student's enrolment at the primary level increased by 133 percent, at the lower secondary level by 125 percent, at the secondary level by 80 percent and at the higher education levels by 64 percent. Corresponding increases in physical facilities, the number of trained teachers, and the supply of educational materials have matched the qualitative expansion in enrolments. The management of the expanding system has become difficult and expensive. The proportion of trained teachers at the primary level was just about 36 percent. A large number of teachers at the primary level do not have required qualifications and training.

The rapid growth of students at the primary level in mid 1970s was showing its effect at the lower secondary and secondary levels. Though the number of students at these two levels increased sharply, but the achievement of the students of this level could not improve impressively.

b. Large Out-of-School Population

There was a large body of out-of-school population in the country. The educational needs of this population were not being adequately met. In 1979, 35 percent of the 6 to 10 years age group population, and 84.2 percent of the 11 to 15 years age group population were out of school. The out-of-school population comprised two groups of people; those who never enrolled, and those who dropped out without completing prescribed courses. The educational needs of those out-of-school people thus presented a different kind of educational demand, which the formal school was not yet poised for meeting, under the present circumstances.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Ibid.,. PP. 9-10.

c. Non-availability of Qualified Trained Teachers

The shortage of qualified trained teachers in the rural areas proved to be an important cause for the low quality of instruction in schools. Large parts of the educated manpower of the country concentrated in urban areas. Indeed in the urban areas, there were more trained and qualified applicants for teacher-ship than they could be absorbed there. The reluctance to go to rural areas was slowly getting eroded under the stress of prolonged unemployment and still competition for urban jobs.²⁷⁹

The school vocational program suffered at the hands of untrained teachers, who themselves were not properly exposed to practical activities was commented by educationists. Teacher training expanded, yet they largely relied on traditional methods because the system itself was still largely geared to preparing students to pass examination.²⁸⁰

The school education had been long experiencing a shortage of science and mathematics subject teachers specially felt in the rural areas. A majority of the students' failed in final examinations in these subjects.²⁸¹

d. Socio-Cultural Hindrances to the Girls' Enrolment

Despite the large increments in school enrolments, the percentages of girls enrolled at different levels were low. In 1979, girl students constituted 27 percent of primary enrolment, 20 percent of lower secondary enrollment and 17 percent of secondary enrolment. The trend was towards increase in participation of girls, but the progress was slow because parents in rural areas were still reluctant to send their daughters to school. Many families could hardly be able to afford for stationery and school dress. At the secondary levels, the lack of residential facilities for girls prevented them from attending schools which were away from their homes. In the social perspective, this New Education Plan has given priority to those families who were poor. For the fulfillment of the aim of the NESP, the government should create employment opportunities for economically backward communities of both urban and rural areas. e)

²⁷⁹ Ibid, P. 10.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

e. High Drop-out Rate

The high dropout rate at the primary level and the high failure rate at the final secondary level examination have remained to be recurrent problems in Nepal. Both were symptomatic of the quality deficiency. The first seemed to be much related to parental indifference, poor health of students, and involvement of children in domestic work, and the second to the weak instruction in subjects like English, Mathematics and Science in government funded schools. Provision of adequate physical facilities, teaching materials, and the raising of the standard of performance and discipline of the teachers would be a long way in remedying these problems. Irregular attendance of students and teachers in schools was seen as a problem and as a probable cause of the part of students to dropout. Some policy measures were directed toward this and those policy measures were education experts, planners, academician, educationists, teachers, etc. They have been emphasizing to effective instruction in English, mathematics and science subjects and focusing to parents to push their children for regular attendents in the school. It seemed that high repetition rate at the first grade primary level would persist, because the first grade was also acting as a pre-primary class for preparing children to read and write. Improvement of school facilities and the quality of teaching would help to reduce wastage, but wider measures to improve socio-economic condition of rural families were imperative for solving the problem.²⁸²

f. Quality Deficiency

The education system from primary to higher education levels was beset with the problem of declining quality of education. The efforts to improve quality by providing trained teachers, improved curriculum and textbook, and materials could not bring expected results. The provision of school buildings and adequately trained teachers could not keep pace with the expansion of enrollments. Many public schools suffered from the shortage of classroom equipment, teaching materials and trained and dedicated teachers which became problems of the NESP for the implementation. The schools were unable to improve their facilities for lack of funds. The expensive private schools have, on the other hand, been showing better performance, which was partly due to their ability to retain motivated teachers and provide improved facilities. Frequent closure of the

²⁸² Ibid, P. 11.

schools for extended periods due to student disturbances contributed to under-fulfillment of the courses. Irregular student attendance also hampered studies.²⁸³

g. Failure of the Vocational Education Program

The National Education Plan pinned up high hopes on the vocational education program introduced in the secondary school as an integral part of school education. Government investments in the form of curriculum development, textbook preparation, workshop construction, equipment supplies were substantial. The program faced stiff resistance from the parents, who looked upon the program as a hindrance to the acquisition of literacy skills, and preparation for higher education. Almost all the students coming out of the 'Vocational Schools' were found going in for higher education. The skill levels of these students were never duly tested nor were opportunities available to them to put the skills into use, or to market the skills. The general impression was that the quality of training received was poor on account of the lack of skilled instructors, lack of equipment, and involvement of the students primarily in learning theoretical aspects of the various trades. The program was being phased out gradually over the sixth plan period.²⁸⁴

h. Persistent Iniquities

The education plan made bold efforts to improve the access to education for all the children irrespective of residence, caste, class, sex and race. The provision of schools in hills and remote areas, special incentives to teachers working in the remote areas, relaxing the conditions for establishing schools in remote areas, free primary education, and free distribution of textbooks were the major steps taken towards the enhancement of equity in education. Certainly, these measures made primary education accessible and within the reach of all willing children. However, difference in the quality of education provided in the rural and urban areas remained. Again, there were big differences in quality of teaching in remote and urban districts. Even in urban areas, there were two types of schools: public and private schools. The high fee-charging private schools have been showing better examination results. The superior performance of the students of these schools was not exclusively due to the schooling inputs like teachers, facilities and

²⁸³ Ibid, pp. 11-12.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 12.

general school environment but it was also significantly dependent on the characteristics of the entering children. In the public schools, a sizeable section of student population comes from low-income groups. The levels of nutrition and health in the households of these income groups were poor. Many entering students did not have the advantage of joining the kindergarten or preparatory classes. The poor families could not afford to send their children to expensive private schools. The prevailing inequalities in income and wealth, thus, accelerated inequalities in education. In this context, the improvement of the public schools depends on two things. These were implementation of direct measures to improve facilities and teaching in the public school, and adoption of wider measures to alleviate socio-economic deprivation of the masses. Improvements in the supply of basic needs such as food supplies, water supply, sanitation and health facilities were imperative.²⁸⁵

i Shortage of Funds

The financial obligations of an expanding system within the public sector became more and more enormous. Total budgetary expenditure on education went up from Rs. 51.7 million in 1970 to Rs. 421.6 million in 1980. Speaking from the point of view of the proportion of the total national budget, the amount increased from 6.7 percent in 1970 to 8.9 percent in 1980. In 1975, it had once gone up to 11.4 percent of the total government expenditure. It was worth noting that as much as 37 percent of the education expenditure was absorbed in supporting Tribhuvan University. The government met the entire recurring costs of primary education and a substantial proportion of expenses in secondary education. Almost the entire costs of higher education were borne by the Government. The involvement of the government was so pervasive that the local co-operation in schools declined during 1971-80. The need of reactivating this source has been urgently felt even to day.²⁸⁶

Generally education is considered as a means of social control. Every state tries to indoctrinate state philosophy through the medium of education. The same thing was practiced by the Panchyat system. Reproduction of the traditional structure became the main goal of education. The curriculum was designed at the central level with heavy censorship on the contents. It was that curriculum which was taught by the teachers.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. 12-13.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

Within this much closed education system; a resistance force was created against hegemonization of the panchayati ideology. The increasing number of educated mass became more curious in the political systems of the other countries. The increasing publication access, media, communication all helped to increase the alternative thinking in educated people. Big students' movements, and other professional organizations movement was the contribution the education expansion of this period. So education does serve the strengthening of state philosophy and the dominant class hegemony, simultaneously as by product creates a critical mass of people who are all the time leading ahead for progressive change in the society. This is true in the Nepalese movement of democracy. The thirty years hibernation of democracy was opened in 1990 movement. Besides so many other factors, the role of education opportunities expansion in Nepalese society is significant in 1990 movement of social transformation.

Conclusion

- a. A monolithic authoritarian (Panchayat System) only provided absolute powers to the monarchy devoid of basic fundamental rights of people such as freedom of thoughts, political pluralism, political participation, freedom of press, rule of law, political associations, etc. Therefore, scientific civic education in connection with democracy did not appear under the partyless Panchayat system.
- b. The education system before 1970 was in slavish imitation practiced elsewhere in South Asia, the education policy of Nepal did not appear much different to it. Devoid of the fundamental rights of the people, education system limited to producing clerical workers for lower administration level and elite-oriented in the upper echelon of the society.
- c. The National Education System Plan (NESP) 1971-1976 appeared to be a bold measure for educational reform but it had implementation problem due to absence of democratic polity in the country. Inculcating loyalty to the crown was the main motto of education, and courses were oriented to teaching panchayati politics rather than teaching democracy and human rights.
- d. Finally, it could be said that despite indoctrinating policy under the Panchayat system, it could not stop the wind of changes for making people aware of human rights, democracy, and rule of law, which eventually helped to sweep away the system by introducing democracy in the country.

CHAPTER VI

RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION POLICIES (1990-2006)

This Chapter is designed to examine the interrelationship between civic education and democracy. The discussions on the relationships between the two will be presented under the following headings:

- Restoration of Democracy (Internal and External Factors)
- Education Policy Under the Democratic Polity
- Structure of Education and Curriculum
- Status of Civic Education from Primary to Higher Education (1990-2006)
- Areas of Civic Education for Improvement: Analysis in Nepalese Context
- Civic Education vis-à-vis Democratic Process: Paradigm Shift in Opportunities and Challenges

6.1 Restoration of Democracy (Internal and External factors)

Nepal's quest for democracy started along with the anti-colonial movement of the new nations that started in 1940s. Though Nepal was not under the external colonial rule, the Rana family oligarchy was no lesser despotic than any kind of colony. It is already stated that as the Nepali people became aware of their political rights, the Rana edifice of power simply crumbled down in the 1950-51 revolution. The political interregnum from 1951 to 1959 was required to introduce modern education policies that could help the institutional process towards democratization of society. However, the tragedy was that neither the civic education nor the democracy was consolidated in the country. The long period of political instability simply paved the way to the King to consolidate his power undemocratically. The popularly elected Congress government, which had initiated the process of socio-economic progress in the democratic manner, could not last long because the King could not reconcile with the parliamentary process on the one hand, and the political parties proved ineffective to solve the issues and challenges manifested during the transition, on the other hand. In less than 18 months, the king imposed its royal despotism for thirty years under the name "Partyless

Panchayat System". It is already observed that since the Panchayat system relied on mere policy of repression by denying any kind of fundamental rights, one could hardly expect provision of civic education which could provide the sense of self-rule. Notwithstanding its efforts to indoctrinate people against the democratic values, the closed system proved unable to stop the influences coming from across. Internally, the activities initiated during the Panchayat system to maintain its so-called democratic image for the outside world and internal activities like infrastructural development, different means of communication, government controlled public corporations, higher education based upon semester system, opening up schools and colleges in the length and the breadth of the country, proliferation of universities, electoral practices, local government, centralized administrative system, formation of the civic societies, students union, and all sectors raised voices towards civic rights and democracy in the country. In addition to that, political parties were clandestinely operating in the country demanding restoration of multiparty system. The culmination point for movement appeared when the Nepali Congress (NC) and the United Left Front (ULF) comprising seven different communist parties jointly launched movement against the King' on February 18, 1990. The movement flared up in such a way that not only political parties but also students, doctors, lawyers, labors participated eventually forcing the King to restore democracy which was disrupted by the royal coup of 1960. The change in political system in 1990 thus brought some changes in the education system as well with a realization of the importance of civic education for the promotion of democratic society.

External factors such as the impact of global activities through the radio, telephone, television, computer, internet and so many other means of mass communications, internal and external migration, trade, commerce, foreign aid, tourist trade etc., all such factors broke the barrier or isolation of the society asking for the dignified human life as well as other basic aspects of fundamental human rights. As the Nepali people and political parties were struggling to restore democracy in the country, externally, the influences of the 'third wave of democracy' that swept away all over the world dismantling the totalitarian and absolute regimes elsewhere, provided direct impact on Nepali politics ushering in democracy in 1990.

Other factors like the globalization and development in the means of communication seem to have contributed to political change in 1990. Globalization is "a

system by which a small financial elite expanded its power over the whole globe, inflating commodity and service prices, redistributing wealth from lower-income to high-income ones".²⁸⁷ Nepal could not remain aloof out of the process. Its several dimensions such as social, political, economic, environmental, cultural and religious helped to raise the level of consciousness by widening the existing reality of inequality, exacerbated poverty and led to social crisis demanding ethnic identity in the plural society.

The establishment of multiparty democracy in Nepal after thirty years was therefore an outcome of both the internal and external factors. The tripartite agreement reached between the King, the NC and the ULF restored multi-party democracy adding a new and glorious chapter in the political history of Nepal. The Constitution of 1990 underlined the five basic principles by bringing the sea change in Nepal which was conspicuous by its absence for the last thirty years in Nepali politics. These were guarantee of the fundamental rights of people, multiparty system, sovereign parliament, the provision of the constitutional monarchy, and independent judiciary. Besides, there were other constitutional bodies as the attendants serving towards the democratic process.²⁸⁸ Under the preamble of the constitution there were guaranteed fundamental rights, and protection of liberty. The other provisions made in the constitution were declaration of Nepal as the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi cultural and multi religious country. It was an effort to maintain horizontal integration in place of the hierarchy one practiced from the Old Muluki Ain of 1856. One could presume that if the political parties would have worked according to the basic norms of democratic process with concomitant democratic culture, and taking into account the significance of civic education to help support the state of transient democracy, Nepal could take a positive turn after the political change of 1990. However, the scenarios did not appear as satisfactory as it could not be any better in the subsequent years.

Within the ten years' period, democratic practices seemed to be facing problems due to flouting democratic norms every where. As the political expediency and self-

²⁸⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, (New York : Penguin Books, 1995), p. 350. and Y.V. Reddy, *Globalization and Challenges for South Asia*, (Kathmandu : B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation Discussion Serious, May 19, 2001), p. 1.

²⁸⁸ Narayan Khadka, *Politics and Development in Nepal: Some Issues*, (Jaipur : Nirala Publication, 1994), p. 439.

aggrandizement appeared to be the regular behaviors of political leadership, the question of instability was pointed from all quarters of society. Within ten years, the political parties experiment almost all the provisions of the constitution to make and unmake government, but all the experiments defeated the democratic process creating the situation like of a failed state. At the same time, Maoist movement emerged since 1996 by ridiculing to the parliamentary system of government and the threat existed in every sector creating serious law and order problem in the country. The International IDEA team's report on Nepal identified three major factors responsible for hindering the democratic processes:

- a. Extreme polarization within and between political parties and institutions.
- b. Lack of neutrality in the civil services, which is a core institution to implement policies for development, and
- c. Weak political culture.²⁸⁹

The recommendations included were: facilitating greater consultation and interaction through a proper mechanism among political leaders; strengthening institutions concerned with the accountability of government such as the Commission for Investigating the Abuse of Authority, the Election Commission, and the Parliament's committee system; improving the quality of public administration; and strengthening the cultural and civic infrastructure through civic education, and developing a strong and independent media in the country.²⁹⁰

Though democracy was restored in the country, however, problems like establishment of good governance appeared to be a serious issue. Being in the Third World, Nepal reestablished democracy in 1990 and utilized the policy of privatization and liberalization in the economic development. This policy could not bring the share of development to the people equitably. The distribution of production among the people who were living in difficult circumstance by geography was completely disparity. During the period of democracy there raised a gap between haves and have-nots. Nepal then needed to establish a stable government and sustain democratic norms and people's

²⁸⁹ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Consolidating Democracy in Nepal: Assessment Mission Report*, Capacity-Building Series 2/97, International IDEA, Stockholm, Sweden, 1997, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 16-39.

sovereignty. But Nepalese democracy seemed to be facing problems to find its roots in the society and question was raised to present democracy from all quarters of society. Nepal is facing with poverty, underdevelopment, illiteracy and a meaningful citizen's role in the affairs of state. At the same time the government failed to establish law and order situation in the country. Similar problem was faced with regard to the institutional process of constitutional machineries.

Various factors have been identified with regard to the problems of democracy in Nepal. Important of them is an insufficient civic education system which proved to be a barrier for healthy democratic development. Civic education emphasizes respect for and protection of individual rights and freedom. It acknowledges individual's dignity and worth, observing the rule of law, recognition of the individual will to fulfill responsibilities, participation in the common good, constitutional government, and universal suffrage. But the democratic process could not yet orient to the benefit of people. Again, on 19 Jestha 2058 (1 June 2001 A.D.) an unfortunate incident (The Royal Massacre) befell on the Royal family. Then king Gyanandra succeeded on the throne. When the king took executive power on 4 October 2002, the Nepalese democratic political scenario changed. Looking at the overall scenario one could come to a conclusion that due to lack of proper civic education, the Nepalese democratic exercise was in crisis. In spite of the adverse situation, through the learning of the third wave democratic practices, political party with and without armed force made agreement and jointly fought for the restoration of democracy in the people's movement of 2006. People's movement of 2006 established new history in the world. Different agreements, compromise and declaration between the Maoist rebels and other parties were made for heading the nation to an inclusive state by restructuring it, which is more than that of the third wave democracy.

Within the background of several political issues of different political parties along with the Maoist party which has raised armed against the centralized political system in their interpretation, the second people's movement 2006 (popularly said but it can not be said authentically which one is first), a government of Seven Party Alliance (those were in power before this) formed and this government latter made the Maoist participate formally in power. The Maoist involved interim government succeeded in making constitution assembly with making three attempts.

With the clear promulgation of Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2006, the concept of inclusive democracy and state restructuring ending all types of discriminations existing in the Nepalese society remained as the agenda. But the beginning of Madhesi movement in southern plains and the Adibasi Janajati and Dalits in all parts of the country in 2007 raised some serious issues regarding the participation and representation of these groups in layers of administration and decision making process.

The political parties adopted some practical measures in resolving the issue in the changed political context. Though the participation of the marginalized groups including women, Madhesi, Adivasi, Janajati and Dalits in the current interim parliament/Legislative shows that overall, the representation of excluded groups in Interim parliament/legislative is dismally low, out of 329 members of the Interim parliament/legislative, the women, Madhesi, Janajati, and Dalits occupied 17.6, 21.6, 15.5 and 4.6 percent respectively. But the CPN-Maoist has given adequate representation, that is, 31 percent to women, 21 percent to Madhesi, 19 percent to Janajati, and 12 percent to Dalit which is comparatively better than NC and CPN-UML. Moreover, without the representation of CPN-Maoist in the interim parliament, the inclusion of the excluded groups in the interim parliament would be even more piteous than what it is now.²⁹¹

The peace process in Nepal made a giant leap forward in April 2007, when the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) joined the interim government of Nepal. Following an agreement on December 23, 2007, the election of Constituent Assembly was completed on April 10, 2008. The members of Constituent Assembly firstly met late night on May 28, 2008 and decided to implement the republican agenda with an overwhelming majority of the Assembly members. Out of the 564 members present in the meeting, 560 went in favour of declaring the country a federal democratic republic, while only four members of the Rastria Prajatantra Party-Nepal voted against it.²⁹² In this way, the 239-year-old discredited institution of monarchy will be read only in the pages of history after the declaration of Nepal a federal democratic republic.

²⁹¹ Lal Babu Yadav, *Inclusive Democracy and Political Parties Post-April 2006 Period*, Retrieved from December 26, 2007. Online [http://www.telegraphnepal.com/news_det.php?news_id=1068].

²⁹² *The Himalayan Times*, "Discredited dynasty confined to history," English Daily Newspaper, (Kathmandu: International Media Network, Vol. VII, No. 189, Thursday, May 29, 2008), P. 1.

6.2 Education policy under the democratic polity

After the restoration of democracy (1990) in the country, it has been realized that education has a key role to play in bringing about social changes, and in the reconstruction of the nation as a whole. It has also been felt that, for this purpose, national education should be given a new dimension without any undue waste of time. The weaknesses inherent in the NESP (1971) have already made it counter-productive. Conceived and enforced to prop up the erstwhile Panchayat system, it had no justification for prolonging its life. Moreover, the human rights, guaranteed by the constitution of Nepal 1990, and democratic values and norms, demanded that the fundamental goals of education need to be changed. The people's aspirations, national commitments, international situation, and contemporary trends affirm in one voice that the national education system should be reformed to make room for innovations.²⁹³ It gave a full sketch of goals, objectives and policies of national education system.

As a developing country, the biggest challenge of Nepal is facing today is how to lead the nation along the right path of progress. Population explosion, environmental damage, rising unemployment, declining moral values are some of the negative factors, impinging on the society. The individual, the society and the nation have no chance of moving up and above, until such trends are eradicated or reversed with the help of a sound education system, taking advantage of the ever-increasing store of knowledge, free flow of information, and transfer of technology. Another area where education can play a decisive role is internal and external relation, based on mutual support, good will and understanding. It can also help to remove the regional and communal imbalances, and assimilate the weaker sections of the society into the national mainstream. The goals and policies of national education should be fashioned with visions of such a glorious future. In light of what has been stated above, the goals of national education are laid down as follows:²⁹⁴

- To help to bring out the genius inherent in each individual, and to open up the avenue for exploring the possibilities of personality development.

²⁹³ *Report of the National Education Commission*, (Kathmandu : National Education Commission, 1992), p. 2.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 13.

- To promote the respect for human values, and national and social norms and beliefs in each individuals for the sake of healthy social life.
- To accelerate the socialization of the individual as part of the effort to strengthen social integrity.
- To enable the individual to live in harmony with the modern age and in tune with national and international milieu without jeopardizing his own identity.
- To stimulate the modernization of the society, and to develop human resources necessary for nation building.
- To educate to preserve natural environment and to conserve national heritage,
- To assimilate the backward sections of the society into the national mainstream.

These goals are envisaged socializing the school age children for conscious future citizens in the country.

The national policies on education to fulfill the national goals were as follows:

- a. To universalize primary education.
- b. To conduct different non-formal courses for those who are deprived of the opportunity to receive classroom education.
- c. To provide talented, competent, industrious and efficient persons with incentives and opportunities for higher education in appropriate subjects.

These policies have realized the need for improvement in education from primary to higher education. Within this broader framework of education policies, elaborated sector wise policies were set up. Policies are specified into different broad categories: i) build up a healthy society, supreme human values and social norms and beliefs, ii) to enable the individual to live in harmony with the national and international environment of today, without losing his identity, iii) to develop human resources, iv) to modernize the society, and to enlist cooperation in the national construction through the medium of education, v) to conserve natural environment and national heritage, and vi) to absorb the backward sections of the society into the national mainstream. Similarly, non-formal and vocational and technical education policies were set up.²⁹⁵ These policies of

²⁹⁵ Ibid, pp. 15-19.

education have given subtle indication of the importance of civic education both in formal and non-formal system of education.

6.3 Structures of Education and Curriculum (Primary, Lower Secondary and Secondary Education)

While keeping with the above national goals of education in view, the Commission has recommended a new structure of education in place of the old one. There were three modes of imparting knowledge and skill: formal, non-formal and vocational. A full-time student acquires formal education. The traditional channels open for it are schools, colleges and universities. A person can be educated in a non-formal environment, too. Literacy drive, functional adult education and women's program may be cited as some examples of this genre. Vocational education belongs to a separate category, which lays emphasis more on skill than on knowledge. In the proposed structure of national education, an attempt has been made to integrate formal, non-formal, and technical cum vocational education, wherever possible. The structure of education was of four tiers according to National Education Commission 1992 report. They are: primary, lower secondary, secondary and higher levels.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990, more energetic steps were taken to bring education within the reach of all. Nepal has being a signatory of the World Conference on Education for All, held in Thailand in 1990. It approved the World Declaration on the Protection, Preservation and Development of Children adopted by the World Summit on Children, held in the USA in September 1990. In this connection, it has drawn up its work-plan in line with the program finalized for implementation. It aimed at increasing the primary school enrolment from the present 67 percent to 100 percent, and to raise enrolment of girls from the present 31 percent to 100 percent by the year 2000. The formulation of the Master Plan for Basic and Primary Education and the appointment of the National Education Commission should be viewed against this backdrop.

The quantitative increase in primary education from 1951 to 1990 is shown in Table 6.1. The picture it reveals is that compared to the base year, when only a negligible proportion of school-going children were enrolled, the real percentage in 1990 was 79.6. It was a remarkable development.

Table 6.1
Primary Education (1951-1990)

	1950	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
School	321	7256	8314	10130	11873	17942
Teacher	8505	-	18874	27805	51266	71213
Student		449141	458516	1067913	1812098	2786448
Girl %			18.3	28	29	36
Total Enrollment %	0.9	32	43.2	90.4	77	107
Enrollment % of Girls			16.5		47	81
Enrollment % of Girls (Actual)					57	79.6 60.5

Source: Statistics and Manpower Section, Planning Division, Ministry of Education and Culture, Keshar Mahal, 1992, P. 21.

From 1950/51, when there were not more than 11 secondary schools, Nepal attained the position of having 2000 of them in 1990/91, after 4 decades. According to statistics, Nepal had 3,964 lower secondary schools and 1,953 secondary schools in 1990/91 with the student population of 3, 44,138 and 3, 64,525 respectively.²⁹⁶ The evolution of secondary education is a natural process, a logical response to the multiplication of primary schools.

Several factors have been responsible for this impressive upswing of access and participation; chief among them were a) Growing educational consciousness since the introduction of democracy in 1950/51, b) Popularization of the concept of education as the means of developing human resources, c) Growing belief among the enlightened sections of the society in the need of education for social progress and d) Impact of the worldwide view that democracy and national development of education, and science and technology are inter-locked.

All these factors have given the impression that quite a remarkable success has been scored on the educational front. However, the true state of affairs will come to light only when the spotlight is turned on the qualitative aspects on the basis of relevance and quality of primary education; curriculum, textbook and education materials; teacher training, school environment, education management and financing position. These limitations could be influential ones for the promotion of civic education that finally contribute to the promotion of democratic culture in the society.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 30.

National Education Commission proposed the following curriculum for primary level to secondary level as given in Table 6.2, Table 6.3, and Table 6.4.

Primary education has included the following subjects of study which are given in Table 6.2 in detail with the grade level and their weighting in marks.

Table 6.2
Subjects and Distribution of Marks

S.No.	Subject	Class or Grade				
		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Nepali	100	100	100	100	100
2.	Mother Tongue or other languages	100	100	100	100	100
3.	English	-	-	-	100	100
4.	Mathematics	100	100	100	100	100
5.	Social Studies	100	100	100	100	100
6.	Hygiene and Sanitation and Environment	50	50	50	50	50
7.	Art (Handicraft and Painting, etc)	50	50	50	50	50
8.	Science	-	-	-	100	100
	Total	500	500	500	500	500

Sources: Report of the National Education Commission, 1992, Kathmandu: National Education Commission, 1992, p. 28.

The subjects included in lower secondary curriculum are given in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3
Subjects Proposed for Lower Secondary Level

S.No.	Subject	Class 6	Class 7	Class 8
1.	Nepali	100	100	100
2.	Sanskrit	50	50	50
3.	English	100	100	100
4.	Mathematics	100	100	100
5.	Science (+Environmental Ed.)	100	100	100
6.	Social Education	100	100	100
7.	Hygiene and Physical Ed	50	50	50
8.	Optional Language	100	100	100
9.	Art/Pre-vocation	50	50	50
	Total	750	750	750

Sources: National Education Commission, Kathmandu: National Education Commission, 1992, p. 38.

For optional language, a choice should be made from the mother tongue, national language, English and Sanskrit. For art/pre-primary vocational subject, a choice should be made from among painting, dance, music and handicraft or any of the pre-vocational subjects. In Sanskrit secondary schools the optional language was Sanskrit.

In the education system of any country, secondary education occupies a position of pre-eminence. Nepal is no exception in this regard. Secondary level education has three tiers-lower secondary (classes 6-8), secondary (classes 9-10), and higher secondary (classes 11-12). Secondary schools have 2 classes, 9 and 10, running for 2 years, and student taking vocational subjects and Sanskrit and other subjects as optional and extra optional subjects will branch out for specialization in those areas. Persons receiving non-formal education may also sit in the formal examination of the secondary level. The subjects offered in secondary education are given in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4
Subjects proposed for Secondary Level (Grades 9-10)

S.No.	Subject	Class 9	Class 10
1.	Nepali	100	100
2.	English	100	100
3.	Mathematics	100	100
4.	Science (Environmental Education	100	100
5.	Social Studies	100	100
6.	Optional	200	200
7.	Extra Optional	100	100
	Total	700+100	700+100

Sources: National Education Commission, Kathmandu: National Education Commission, 1992, p. 39.

Nepali and Sanskrit should be taught as a supplementary subject. Optional subject should carry full marks of 200. One other subject, not included in the optional, should be taken as extra optional. Success or failure was immaterial in extra optional. Only the marks above the pass marks should be added to the total. Subjects offered as optional and extra optional should be determined with reference to the capacity of the schools concerned.

National Education Commission recommended the following key points for the development of lower secondary and secondary level education.

While reviewing secondary education in all its ramifications, attention should be focused on the country's socio-economic, political and educational realities and limitations. And in the process of putting a useful system into effect, schools should be located in such a way that no student is required to walk for more than 2 hours to receive education up to class 8, at least.

The principle goal of Secondary education should be to produce citizens who recognize the dignity of labor, who believe in the nation and democracy, who have suitable level of knowledge in Nepali language, mathematics and science, and who bear a good moral character.

Secondary education should be the main foundation of the manpower needed for national development. Its goal should be to produce citizens who are competent in the use of language, who are creative and supportive, who are fully conversant with the national traditions and culture, who have scientific outlook, and who are self-reliant, industrious, and aware of human values.

As regards quantitative expansion, the average enrolment in lower secondary schools should be 60 percent of the boys and girls of the secondary school going age, 45 percent in secondary schools, and 30 percent in higher secondary schools. If formal classes alone are not enough to meet this goal, distance education system should also be adopted. Facilities for granting education up to class 12 should be created in all districts within the eighth plan period. If certain places do not justify the establishment of secondary schools, the boys and girls, living there, should be given scholarships and other facilities to induce them to go over to the neighboring districts to receive education.

a. Higher Secondary Education

Owing to the growth of education and for other reasons, the Higher Education Act, 1989, has been promulgated to provide higher secondary education by adding 2 classes to the existing secondary schools (10+2). The rationale of this arrangement may be summarized as follows:

1. The present system under which a student, after passing SLC at the age of 16, move over to the campus for further study, is not appropriate from the psychological point of view. He should be allowed to receive education in his familiar surroundings at his own secondary school.
2. If classes 11 and 12 were added to the secondary schools to accommodate post-SLC students, it would cut down some of the burdens of guardians that they need to go searching another teaching institute for the same level.
3. Institutions for Proficiency Certificate level are expensive. On the other hand, if classes 11 and 12 are added to the existing secondary schools, operational costs will be less, and to teachers who are qualified to teach at those classes it will mean extra runs in the career ladder.
4. Provision of vocational education in classes 11 and 12 will prove a boon to those who seek to go on for vocational subjects after passing the SLC examination. They will be able to earn their living immediately on completion of Higher Secondary Education.
5. Because of its involvement with the Proficiency Certificate level education, the University has not been able to pay as much attention as it should be paying to standardizing higher education. Once the Proficiency Certificate level is shifted to the schools, it will have more time to devote to the affairs of higher education and to the development of its quality.
6. At present a wide gulf yawns between the courses of study of the SLC and the Proficiency Certificate Level, which accounts for the high failure rate at the latter level. The operation of classes 11 and 12 in the higher secondary schools will help remove it. It enables a larger percentage of candidates to get through.
7. Under the present conditions the opportunities of higher education are tilted in favor of the sons and daughters of those who live in urban areas or district headquarters. This imbalance will be wiped out with the installation of classes 11 and 12 in the higher secondary schools, and the students living in villages will also get a chance to receive and orient themselves towards higher education.

The 2-year formal education at the end of the secondary classes will be regarded as higher secondary education. In general, students, who pass SLC at the age of 15 on average, are not physically and mentally mature enough for the university education. They will do better if they can get higher education in their own familiar environment. It is for this reason that higher secondary education should be given in the in own familiar

environment. In this context, the higher secondary level has been conceived of as the first phase of specialization.

There will be five areas of specialization: General, technical, polytechnic, professional, and Sanskrit. The present Proficiency Certificate Level will be equivalent to the higher secondary level, and the former will be transferred from the University to the Higher Secondary Education Council by the year 2000. Until 1998, there were 322 higher secondary schools offering different subjects.²⁹⁷ Even now Proficiency Certificate Level is not completely transferred from the University to the Higher Secondary Education Council.

According to the recommendation of the National Education Commission (NEC) Higher Secondary Education (HSE) should be viewed as the first step towards specialization. Its main aim should be to produce middle-level manpower. Special emphasis should be laid on professional and technical education at this level in order to open up job opportunities. The recommendations of the NEC are:

Government should make special efforts to open higher secondary schools in remote and rural areas. While setting up higher secondary schools, account should be taken of the number of 'feeder' schools in and around their impact areas. Approval should also be given to well-equipped secondary schools to impart higher secondary education, if they so desire.

The duration of higher secondary education should ordinarily be 2 years. The main syllabus of the higher secondary education should generally be uniform. Syllabi for other subjects should be determined on the basis of the knowledge and skill necessary for the first step of specialization. For this purpose, the current curriculum of the PCL of the universities should be maintained with the requisite degree or amount of improvement.

As the higher secondary education is to be evolved as an inseparable component of school education, its management should be integrated with the management structure of high schools.

²⁹⁷ *Report of Higher-level National Education Commission*, (Kathmandu : Higher level National Education Commission, 2055), p. 45.

b. Higher Education

There was the provision for higher education in general, professional, Sanskrit, Science and technology and polytechnic subjects. It had Graduate, Post-graduate, M. Phil and Doctorate levels are offered under this. Courses of study in general subjects, management, science and Sanskrit were extended to 3 years. Students completing 3 years at the graduate level, and persons having requisite qualifications will be admitted to B.L course. Different durations were set for Graduate in professional subjects.

Students graduating in general subjects, Sanskrit, professional and science subjects would admitted to 2-year post-graduate classes. Periodic post-graduate courses were also offered for their benefit. Post-graduate students, obtaining the required percentage of marks, may seek admission at the 1-year M. Phil course, which would be a pre-requisite for Ph.D. A person, having passed M. Phil, or meeting the conditions laid down by the Faculty concerned, may choose one of the courses of study for his Doctorate degree.

Higher education system has generally tried to comprise of two interrelated aspects: relevance according to the needs of the country which could serve the purpose of essential human resource development; and relevance in the sense, the education system could dig out the hidden treasures.

Nine faculties of Tribhuvan University teach about 90 subjects, while a majority of the campuses, operating under them or affiliated to them, and concentrate chiefly on subjects like English, Nepali, political science, economics, history and geography. The faculty of Management does not embrace as many subjects as the term is understood to imply elsewhere. The same is the case of the Faculty of Pedagogy, where, leaving aside the introduction to pedagogy, educational psychology, and elements of pedagogy, some subjects are taught with a view to provide specialization on related subject. Seven languages, such as, music, art, dance, culture and archaeology, and philosophy fall within the ambit of the Faculty of Humanities; while prominent subjects under the Faculty of Social Sciences are economics, political science, geography, psychology and sociology as well as mass communication, population education and social service,

which have been added more recently. But the average campuses limit the choice to the subjects like languages and social science.²⁹⁸

It is very difficult to judge whether education in such subjects has any relevance to the labor market of Nepal. The Nepalese Workers of whom only 2 percent are involved with industrial enterprises faced with three main problems: illiteracy, poverty and inefficiency. Ninety percent of them are engaged in agriculture. About eighty percent of them live below the line of absolute poverty. The burning question is how to devise a curriculum for higher education, which will cater for the needs of this kind of market.

According to the recommendation of the Report of the National Education Commission, the first step in the direction of making opportunities for higher education available to all competent and talented persons, wherever they live, in keeping with the democratic spirit of this day and age, should be to decentralize Tribhuvan University, establishing one university each in the Eastern, Central and Western regions, and one for the Mid-western and far Western regions. The form and structure of these universities should be as recommended by the University Grants Commission. Speaking in general, the technical institutes and colleges in the area should be affiliated to each of them. However, any of the educational institutions should be free to be affiliated to any other national university on grounds of competence, standard, and recognition.

Until now there are 5 universities including Tribhuvan University in Nepal. They are Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, Mahendra Sanskrit University in Beljhundi in Dang, Purbanchal University in Biratnagar, Pokhara University in Pokhara and Kathmandu University in Banepa, Kavre.

c. Non-formal Education

Persons unable to go in for formal education of their choice were provided with chances for non-formal education. This type of education was not easy to stratify into layers. Nevertheless, it may be divided into three levels, namely, basic level, middle level and high level. The literacy grade lay down at the national level constituted the basic level. After deciding how much of the three Rs a Nepali literate should have, basic literacy courses have put under way. People completing literacy courses have been

²⁹⁸ *Report of the National Education Commission*, op. cit. f.n. 7, p. 48.

eligible for admission to any class of a primary school and students dropping out from school for any reason may catch up with others by keeping up his studies non-formally. At present, basic literacy programs are in operation for the adults as adult education program, for boys and girls as children's education program, and for women as women's education program, which indicated that basic literacy courses would have to be launched in a wider scale in future.

Basic literacy opens the door of self-study and self-improvement. Nevertheless, medium level non-formal education programs of various types were launched to provide opportunities for the persons who have completed the basic literacy course to gain more knowledge and skill. In particular, there was a provision for open school and different tiers of vocational education, which may be of assistance to those who aspire to get admission at different levels of formal education. Such schools may be operated in the private sector by individuals or by the community itself.²⁹⁹

In particular, 'bridge courses' may be offered in some subjects for the students coming from vocational and technical areas. In the examination of high level technical studies individuals may appear as private candidates and may get through on the basis of self-study. Correspondence courses and other modes of distance learning courses are offered through Radio and TV by open universities in higher education for this purpose, an open university has been proposed.

6.4 Status of Civic Education in Nepal from Primary to Higher Education (1990-2006)

The concept that civic education to be taught systematically and at all levels beginning from pre-primary to higher secondary and also at the non-formal sector started after the restoration of democracy. The political change of 1990 led to realize that the introduction of a democratic system of government alone does not automatically promote democratic culture and democratic way of living; civic education is the backbone for democratic development.

The next interesting as well as inevitable question was defining civic education in Nepal. In the early 1950s, The Macauley Education System, which the British colonial rule grafted in India, was transferred into Nepal. In the beginning, civics was taught at

²⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 15.

high school level not as a compulsory subject focusing only on the description and function of the government, rights and duties of citizens, and study of other formal legal political institutions. Subsequently civics was replaced by political science without incorporating the role of civic education for democracy. The absolute King's rule restricted the fundamental rights of people. But it was incorporated as an optional subject in school curriculum. Along with 'the third wave of democracy' elsewhere in 1990 and democratic restoration in Nepal, the concept of civic education acquired a new dimension and the subject began to be taught in schools. Free textbooks distribution and accessibility are some of the problems even today and majority of village schools of rural Nepal lack appropriate degree of infrastructures for implementation of civic education curriculum. However, some of the schools in the urban areas have programs organized in such a way that the children participated in activities that helped them to get exposure to democracy in action within the school system. The concept of civic education incorporated through (a) students forum for debating public issues, (b) student's government (c) student-run newsletter/journal, and (d) community service, which have contributed a lot. The main objective of those activities was to provide children with opportunities that enabled them to have first hand democratic experience in action.

Civic education is yet a new phenomenon in Nepali context. It may require multifaceted efforts. Why civic education is facing problems, in this regard, Aditya remarks: "In view of low efficiency of resource input and weak utilization capacity, an effective strategy in civic education in Nepal will demand not only increased allocation of resources, but also imaginative way to approach investment planning".³⁰⁰

Since civic education is the corner stone of political democratization, effective democratic planning demands a strategy framework for investment. Appropriate policies and package on civic education for the right kinds of target groups in society will therefore have to be devised and implemented. Civic competence and citizenship education are the key staples of democracy. There are three specific points in implementing civic education:

³⁰⁰ Ananda Aditya, "Strategy for a New Education Program", *Space Time Today*, June 7, 2002.

- The less developed the country, the higher the rate of return one may expect in intangible returns from civic education inputs at all levels of education.
- In a developing country like Nepal, investment in human power may be more conducive to overall growth and development than investment in machine.
- Rates of returns in intangible terms are likely to be successively higher for primary level than for secondary and higher education.

In the program objectives, Aditya purposes that the civic education has to be designed not only to acculturate the individual child learner at school to the values of community, nation and global neighborhood but also to cultivate the skills required to infuse the critical discerning attitude and skills with civic competence, capacity, and confidence in the learner.³⁰¹ For the completion of the civic education program at the primary and secondary levels, they should enable the child to:

- Comprehend and explain civic/political process, phenomena and developments in a comparative framework,
- Analyze the significance of events and processes in a holistic way and infer patterns and draw conclusion; asses the overall impact of various social and political phenomena; and
- Respond reasonably to social needs and demand and be able to cope with situation of social stress with crisis in a responsive way.³⁰²

Aditya emphasizes the nature and roles of civic education program which will tend to grow in both magnitude complexities as the grades increase.

Dahal mentions about the aims of civic education that civic education aims to equip boys and girls for life in the public realm and engage them in the analysis of major rules and regulation of society, public and private institutions, actors and vital social issues enabling them to find ways to resolve social problems.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Dev Raj Dahal, *Civic Education*, Paper Presented at the Workshop Seminar of Society for the Promotion of Civic Education on June 10, 2002, p. 3.

Civic education, as a school subject was an optional subject for 1X and X grades until the advent of New Education Plan 1971. In the early seventies, civic education was taught in the form of civics in high schools and colleges as one of the optional subjects. Later it was introduced in the name of Nepal Parichaya at intermediate level. With the dawn of multi-party democracy in 1990 and promulgation of the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal in the same year, His Majesty's government of Nepal introduced social studies at school and Nepal Parichaya at college incorporating civic education.³⁰⁴

After 1990, the curriculum for class 1-5 provided ten percent civic education in the name of 'civic sense' including in social education the form of good behavior, and rights and duties³⁰⁵ whereas for class 6-8 in form of rights and duties, use of equal rights, qualities of good citizen, qualities of good citizenship, use of civil rights, introduction of civil and citizenship, and government and its three organs.³⁰⁶ In curriculum of grades 9 and 10, students learn about 10 percent of civic education included in social education in the name of civic sense as the constitution of Nepal 1990, fundamental rights and duties, shortly introduction of constitutional organization, role of political parties in the multi party system and the role of people's participation in the election campaign.³⁰⁷ Likewise, civic education is being taught in an integrated way with social education in America.³⁰⁸ Again civic education is being taught in India from Primary level to Higher Secondary level in the name of Civics as a separate subject.³⁰⁹ From this study it is necessary to measure the impact of civic education. Again a question is raised: whether civic education should have a separate subject status or it should remain as it is now for strengthening democracy.

The roles and importance of civic education, with the dawn of democracy in Nepal have increased. Efforts are being made to teach several hundred students from

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 4.

³⁰⁵ *Primary Level Education Curriculum*, (Bhaktapur : Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare, Primary Level Curriculum Textbook Development Unit, 2049), p. 27.

³⁰⁶ *Lower Secondary Curriculums*, (Bhaktapur : Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre, 2050), p. 106.

³⁰⁷ *Secondary Education Curriculum Compulsory Social Education*, (Bhaktapur : Ministry of Education, Education Curriculum Centre, 2050), pp. 21/42.

³⁰⁸ Ramesh Prasad Gautam, Civic Education in America: An Experience, *Himalaya Times*, Nov. 27, 2002, p. 5.

³⁰⁹ *Teaching of Civics*, (Delhi : Doaba House, 1982), pp. 20-33.

different schools (private and public) in the program intended to acquire civic knowledge and skill to develop their virtues for their role in public life.³¹⁰

A sample survey by the Society for the Promotion of Civic Education (SPCE) of some fifteen public and private schools of Kathmandu valley has revealed that these schools first helped the students to form a student council. The student council planned, organized and implemented pilot activities, first supported by the teachers, and later, the students themselves organized programs with their fellow students. Those activities were conducted either at the individual school level or at the cluster level, which lasted for two years.

One could not deny that civic education is a continuous process by which every individual learns to be a good citizen, equipped with the knowledge of civic values and cultures thereby creating the sense of self-respect as well as respect for others. A series of interactive programs held at different places could highlight the status of civic education in Nepal. A team of experts consisted of teachers of public and private schools, members of school management committee, parents, students and representative of stakeholders observed the activities, made the content analysis of the textbooks of English, Social Studies and other related materials by which they could identify the awareness level of students. Respondents in general understood civic education as an essential element as well as social discipline. They further reported that:

1. Bookish rights and responsibilities heavily skewed towards theory.
2. Their rights and responsibilities inadequately translated into their daily life.
3. Eroded socio-cultural values.
4. Ineffective inculcation of exported culture.

In the input level the analysis of the curricular and textual materials ranging pre-primary to class ten or high school level indicated the following problems.

- No separate civic education course found to be developed from pre-primary to grade XII.

³¹⁰ Dev Raj Dahal, *Civil Society in Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Center for Development and Governance, 2001), p. 68.

- Civic education curriculum found to be loosely formed without intent and content.
- Critical thinking, reasoning, advocating or practicing democratic concepts and values found to be scantily presented.
- The courses did not appear effective enough to deal with citizenry rights.
- Some topics related to civic education did not appear in some books.
- Content of civic education badly lacked in the curriculum.
- So far developed textbook only comprised information without advocacy of civic education.

Problems were also found at the implementation level. For example, teaching confined to examination. Providing knowledge about qualities of good citizen and about their rights and duties did serve some purposes, but at the same time, the curriculum could not prove comprehensive to deal with civic education in Nepal.

In general, teaching is often viewed as a way of providing information only. Since teaching was oriented to examination, providing knowledge about qualities of good citizens and about their rights and duties also followed the same pattern. In some cases students are given different practical projects, which have stimulated their awareness toward civic education. Lectures on moral education are also provided. In recent curriculum ranging from grade V to grade XII, co-curricular to extra-curricular activities like scouting, Red Cross, and such other action-oriented activities are provided in civic education curriculum.

The main concerns of civic education are the promotion of critical thinking, capacity of evaluation, content analysis, and development of participant political culture like ability to judge political events in an objective way accept or defend political issues and establish a position in the society. They were not adequately incorporated in the civic education curricula. Almost all schools which have theoretical consideration and examination oriented teaching methods may require incorporation of problem solving approach on the basis of observation, experimentation and inference. There are still other more problems: e.g. an absence of a common set of activities that would help students and absence of skill and competence that are necessary for the citizens of a democracy.

On top of that the practical problem is the lack of appropriate level of civic education activities providing proper guidance to both the teachers and students.

In 1998, The Higher Secondary Educational Board of Nepal took an initiation to design a course on civic education under the title 'Contemporary Society' and circulated the idea to a number of 10 + 2 (ten plus two). As a consequence, two books have been prepared on the theme: *Samakalin Nepali Samaj*, 1999 and *Civics in Nepal*, 2001.³¹¹ They have designed the curriculum accordingly under title 'contemporary Nepalese society' involving: principles of democracy and knowledge about constitution, rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenships, risks of Nepalese society and how they are solved, social justice and human rights, transformation of people into public. It provides citizen the knowledge of democratic issues, which are tide to flourish democratic culture.³¹² Likewise, the formulation of this course has a purpose of strengthening participatory democracy in Nepal by means of:

- Imparting political data (information) and knowledge (interrelationships of several concepts) in an impartial manner so that students perceive and analyze the political reality with their own vision, rather than the vision imported by their teachers, parents, and public authorities.
- Offering perspectives to relate that knowledge to the empirical world of concepts and variables, even normative ideals for a better life to support their self-affirmation and articulation.
- Enhancing civic competence and scientific skills to grasp the ecological, social, economic, and political world of what is (facts) and what ought to be (values), thereby capturing the entire realm of politics.
- Remaining closeness with everyday life of people and orienting the individuals toward civic action, and revelation of causes and consequences of problems and interrelationships between the life-world and political system.
- Facilitating a constant research feedback between people and the political system that adapts to human norms and responds to the needs of people.

³¹¹ Dev Raj Dahal, *Civic Education: The Problems and Possibilities of a democratic Public life in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Society for the Promotion of Civic Education in Nepal, 2000), p. 6.

³¹² *Ibid*, p. 6.

- Stimulating dialogues and interactions among the people, public officials, and students to identify the risks of society and furnish ideas to solve them, and
- Integrating civic education with other types of education and reinforcing the validity and reliability of knowledge gained through inquiry and innovating new ideas and concepts to reshape the democratic life of the people.³¹³

Civic education has intrinsic links with democratic citizenship for it improves the knowledge and skills of youths to participate in the affairs related to the family, community, and the nation. It links the word to the world and visualizes the real life of the public in the educational process of students. The participatory learning and action method enhance experience by including children, women, poor, and others in the process. It can also help in the construction of a rational culture, thus, making civic education inseparable from society and from a working life. Democracy differs from dictatorship in the sense that in the latter, power is centralized while in the former, it is shared horizontally and devolved vertically to the lower tiers of local self-governance.

In theory, separation of powers means reducing the prospects for its abuse and fostering the three essential aspects of democracy: "one relates to some basic minimum civil and political rights enjoyed by citizens, another to some procedures of accountability in day-to-day administration under some overarching constitutional rules of the game, and third to periodic exercises in electoral representatives".³¹⁴

As regards the Civics in Nepal, it was designed in accordance with the Higher Secondary Education Board Curriculum for the 12th grade course titled Contemporary Nepalese society. It includes an introduction to society, challenges to Nepali society, civic education, rights and justice, environmental and sustainable development and women in society (Civics in Nepal, 2001). Two books 'Civics' and 'Contemporary Nepalese Society' have come into existence but how far they would influence the study of civic education in the society remained to measure and analyze.

³¹³ Ibid, pp. 6-7.

³¹⁴ Pranab Bardhan, *Democracy and Development: A Complex Relationship*, (Berkeley : University of California, March 1998), p. 3.

There is no any provision to teach civic education as a separate subject after the 10+2 (ten plus two). But at the higher secondary level, the curriculum for civic education consists of different chapters such as meaning of society, type of society, process of social change and integration, good elements of society, poverty, underdevelopment, and unemployment, authoritarianism, violence, crime, illegal trafficking of drugs and women, and environmental pollution. As those challenges are taught in the classroom, students are made active in the groups to go for practical works by their participatory observation method.

Again other important elements included in the civic education curriculum are the concept of civil society, civic culture, attributes for good citizenship, definition of human rights, principle of rule of law and social justice, concept of equality, liberty and democracy, functioning of government and its three branches-executive, legislative and judiciary, commitment of government towards human rights and institutional process and activities of different other attendants of democratic polity.³¹⁵ Some other issues like sustainable economic development, policy issues of the government, feminism, empowerment to women, role of women in society and development have been included in the curriculum for promotion of civic education in Nepal.

It is interesting to note that even the curriculum like pure sciences, environmental science, biotechnology, agriculture, farming, ecology, forestry etc., have incorporated man's primary role towards nature and concept of conservation. At the behest of school's capacity these subjects are taught in theory as well as in practical field but in terms of awareness level one can observe a perceptible change brought by civic education in the country. Specially, in the present age of information technology, the plural society is trying to define its role in the modern perspective considering the role assigned by the medieval state.

6.5 Areas of Civic Education for Improvement: Analysis in Nepalese Context

John Patrick has identified different nine trends in civic education program from the review of civic education practices in the world. These trends were observed in the countries of developed democracies and post-democratic countries of the world.

³¹⁵ Ananta Raj Poudyal, *A Study on Civic Education and Culture of Nepal*, (Kathmandu: Kathmandu Centre for Research and Studies), Vol. III, No. III, 2004, PP. 4-7.

According to the trends, basic features were conceptualization of civic knowledge, skills and virtues; systematic teaching of fundamental ideas/core concept; analysis of case studies; development of decision making skills, comparative and international analysis of government and citizenship; development of participatory skills and civic virtues through cooperative learning; the use of literature to teach civic virtues; active knowledge of civic knowledge, skills and virtues; and the conjoining of content and process in teaching and learning of civic knowledge, skills and virtues. These trends were categorized from the historical review of the practices of civic education in different countries. Evaluating the effectiveness of civic education, National Assessment of Educational Progress in civics revealed that only 25% student was found proficient in the subject.³¹⁶ This implies that the program of civic education was not found effective even in the country like USA. The study has not analyzed how far the citizens utilized the knowledge, skills and virtues in their everyday dealing and participation of government and other social activities. Poor achievement indicates possibility of insignificant outputs of civic programs. Quigley (2000) has further pointed out several weaknesses in the civic education programs and he also pointed out the influencing factors. Those responsible factors are traditional beliefs of authoritarian political culture, slow institutional change in schools, decentralization educational decision making and inadequate resources, more traditional teaching methodologies, lower achievement in civic education even compared to other subjects like mathematics, sciences, language and arts, single course, indoctrination conceptualization in educating process, inadequate preparation of teachers, and gaps in ideals and practices regarding the civic education programs. When civic education programs are revised and restructured, and addressed, the above influencing factors, only then objectiveness of the civic education programs can be attainable. In the past, civic education was education for indoctrinating the political system's values and structure of the society. No contents were included to make people critically aware in the rights and duties. The great barrier of good civic education in the Nepalese context before 1990 was the political system. In most of the transitional democracies like ours a common core of content topics in civic education should be introduced. It is felt ever more strongly by all democratic countries that well informed

³¹⁶ Quigley, Charles N., *Global Trends in Civic Education*, A Speech given at the Seminar for the Needs for New Indonesian Civic Education Center for Indonesian Civic Education (CICED), Indonesia: March 29, 2000, pp. 1-5. Online [<http://www.civiced.org/index.php>].

citizens with appropriate skills, virtues and attitudes are necessary for the preservation and development of any democratic country. It is admitted that single subject curriculum of civic education cannot meet all the necessities of the democratic nation's ideal citizen as expected by the form of democracy practiced. So the provision of civic education should be cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of societal diversity, and co-constructed by schools, parents, the community, and non-governmental organizations. Such provision is the most necessary thing in the present context of Nepal where a new form of democracy is going to grow. It is proved that one dimension and authoritarian approach of civic education would not prepare citizen as required for democratic development. The numerous demands manifested during the Second People's Movement in Nepal would justify that the entire educational policy could not embrace the scientific values as required for social change and transformation. When evaluating the civic education curriculum of schools at present, it is observed that there is a perceived gap between the goals for democracy expressed in the curriculum and the reality of the society and school. There is also a gap when there are long list of factual knowledge to be conveyed but only an hour or two a week for their study will not fulfill the objectives. Rethinking in overall programs-contents, weight-age and the procedures- are necessary as recommended by the educationalists of Nepal.

It is already observed fact the school is the first place where young people are being educated and trained and future citizens will be prepared. Hence both the private and public schools should be committed to providing civic education of related skills, and values. For that the government and civil society should be mentally and materially prepared.

Rongong and Shrestha have presented a concept paper of Civic Education on workshop Seminar Organized by Society for the Promotion of Civic Education in June 10, 2002. This concept paper presents a scenario of civic education as follows:

"The research team has been able to come out with the status of inclusion of concepts on civic education in the curricula presently ongoing in formal schooling. The finding of the study clearly indicated that there is concept relating to civic education; however, the recommendation focused on the reconsideration of the school curricula from the point of view of civic

education which could be an expensive task though it would later be a long lasting but an effective task".³¹⁷

From the findings of the research, the research team indicated recommendation of the school curricula from the point of view of civic education. The above observation indicates the virtual absence of delivery, both in content and in process of civic education programs. It is, therefore, necessary to bring about reform in curriculum, reading materials and methodology of civic education. So, it is necessary to instilling the core democratic beliefs and values, and encouraging active and informed political participation in the civic education programs.

Again, there is yet to define economic, civic and socio-cultural values. Civic education content, curricula and textual materials are yet to be examined. It is necessary to identify some of the common values that have to be inculcated in students, teachers, parents and the other stakeholders of education. The following aspects may be considered to be the common values, such as tolerance, compassion, respect for the seniors, affection for the juniors, cooperation, truthfulness, honesty, non-violence, respect towards the ancestors, international brotherhood and sisterhood and open-heartedness. As civic education is the corner stone for progressive social organization, the civic education approach in Nepal has yet to be developed in accordance with the growing challenge of the Nepalese society.

In course of the present study, the researcher had made some in-depth interview with academicians, educationists, politicians, and teachers and even with students of the Kathmandu valley. These critics had pointed out some of the areas for improvements in civic education. They are as follows:

Educationists and academicians viewed that the main area for improvement in civic education is the curriculum. Different types of curriculum are suggested. Some are in favor of single curriculum and others are for integrated curriculum. There is equal voice that what curriculum standards are set for civic education should be distributed into different subjects - social study, population, even language curriculum. They focused much on content standards rather than on process

"Curriculum should be improved by including more portion of civic education in social/environmental study or in other subjects such as health, population studies, etc. Teachers and social leaders should be made aware about the civic education knowledge by brain storming program. Civic

³¹⁷ Rajendra Kumar Rongong and Dhruva Shrestha, *Civic Education: A Concept Paper*, Paper Presented at the Workshop Seminar of the Society for the Promotion of Civic Education, June 10, 2002, p. 1.

education should be practiced as a social movement, utilizing communicative media, promoting civic competence, action competence and social competence". (Educationists)

The question of imparting civic education is very critical. Agents and institutions are to be fixed for imparting civic education to all sections of population. The structured civic education can be rendered to those who are in formal schooling but this is not true to non-schooling mass. The importance of civic education for the promotion of democracy in the country is paramount for large mass of people who are out of school. The educationists are giving emphasis on this mass of population. It is thus the commitment of the government managing civic education of the citizens.

"Civic education should be integrated with other subjects in formal schooling such as women participation, local self-government and formal civic education in the social study subject. Civic awareness should be associated in different informal education programmes for non-schooling mass of people. It should include literacy program, income generation, skilled oriented training program and gender issues. It helps to increase the responsibility of the state and from this responsibility people can help the state". (Educationist)

In the view of educationists, there is a problem in having a separate course on civic education. They proposed to integrate themes/topics of civic education in social study and other subjects. They viewed civic education as multidisciplinary entity and contents of civic education should be covered by different subjects. Academicians analyzed the type of civic education in different political system. The nature of the contents of civic education differs according to the philosophy of the government. A reference of communist and non-communist countries focus of curriculum in the experience of the respondents is given below. This shows that the form and nature of civic education depends upon the regime.

"Pedagogically, it should be added more study in curriculum for the development of civic education. Civic education is implemented as a core subject in developed countries and some countries have included it in an integrated way. In the communist country, there is emphasis on the state than on the person but in the non-communist country there is emphasis on the person than on the state. It means the national goals also decide on the improvement of the civic education curriculum". (Academician)

Local verses global issues are raised in making civic education curriculum. Similarly, how civic education should be imparted is another big issue. Trends of civic education are the matter of what and how it is imparted to the people in different periods. The Nepalese academicians are focusing both on conceptual and competence level of civic education. Not only the local government policy, rights and duties, but also the

comparative study of different countries systems and their positive and negative aspects are important in civic education. Another big issue is Ū who should design the curriculum - the local elites or the centre elites.

"Our curriculum should impart the knowledge of civic education by the help of Nepali and English subjects. The knowledge of Civic education should be imparted through two ways: conceptual and competence. Again it is necessary to get knowledge of the governmental policy, policy of civil society and economic institutions. The civic education should be included in an integrated way with other subjects. This type of education increased the responsibility of the state and the people can give pressure to the state. The education of the twenty first century should be demand oriented, rights oriented and development oriented. Until now our education policy and curriculum come from center to the local i.e. from top to downwards but the education planning should be from local context to national context; i.e. from bottom to upwards. Diversity in civic education contents is necessary. The centralized programme can not give proper civic education. Civic education should cover three areas of knowledge, skills and competencies that is to impart the knowledge of local governance, rights and duties to get the knowledge of governance, rights and duties of sector or nation and about the challenges of the world. All these elements are necessary to include in civic education contents and the approach should be multi-pronged. The ultimate goal of imparting civic education should be streamlined to strengthen democracy". (Academician)

Educationists are further interested in the way of giving civic education. Learning through action is the most effective one for giving civic education is their conviction.

"The curriculum of civic education should be improved. When people utilize their own rights, they should respect others rights also. This type of education should be given to the children at the school level". (Educationist)

Most of the academicians and educationists, in the interview, were in favor of integrated/coherent curriculum. In their views, single subject curriculum can not meet the requirement. Again, model of democracy in a society determines the types of civic education. In the world, civic education has been a matter of discussion in developed and newly transformed democracy. As far as the effect is considered it is not realized fully to strengthen and further development of democracy. It has become like a matter of indoctrination, an authoritative practice.

Politicians viewed civic education differently from educationists and academicians. Their advocacy was:

"To make a good citizen, education policy should be improved according to the democratic culture and moral education. There should be provision in the political party to give knowledge of civic education. The curriculum of the civic education should be developed as a democratic culture". (Politician)

"The values and recognition of democracy make a person conscious. Educated and conscious people can sustain democracy. Norms and values of democracy should be included in the curriculum of civic education. The curriculum of civic education should be improved so as to remove the crisis of democracy". (Politician)

Some time, state politics/political system dictates unnecessarily in the form and contents of civic education in formal schooling. It was experienced during the 70's when in primary education; panchayat ideals were included through social study curriculum. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the students'/learners' understanding level while designing civic education curriculum. This sort of intrusion is possible even in today's politics. So making civic education curriculum is not a single man's job, different experts should sit together and prepare the curriculum.

"We should impart the ideals of moral education to the students. Again the knowledge of democratic norms and values should be given to the pupils from their early childhood. Democracy is that rule which runs according to the peoples will. Moral education and democratic values should be included in the civic education for the improvement of curriculum". (Politician)

Politicians were in favor of giving a significant role of civic education. Civic education curriculum should include contents as well as activities that should treat on 'crisis of democracy'. So, politicians kept concern on education in general and civic education in particular. According to them, civic education has to serve to provide necessary knowledge and behavior to the citizen according to the political system, desires of the nature of society and the citizens. However, they were not much concerned about the time, resources, and mode of imparting civic education to mass people.

Similarly, teachers are the real implementers of the curriculum. An international review has shown that the teachers are inadequately prepared for teaching civic education curriculum. So the teacher's critical view regarding civic education could be valuable. Teachers' remarks over the present civic education seem very pragmatic. Their concerns were centralized on the knowledge-knowledge of women conditions and their competency, people's rights and duties, family, society and national responsibilities etc. In addition to this, they made remarks over the organization of the curriculum and curriculum materials. Teacher's expressions over the civic education are as follows:

"Civic education curriculum should be improved in a practical way. It should be developed so as to impart the knowledge of women competency and the progress of the society. It should impart knowledge about equal right between men and women". (Teacher)

"Civic education curriculum should be prepared to make skilled manpower and to pay attention about the subjects of health and law". (Teacher) (Put them all in appendix)

"In the curriculum of civic education the subject of rights and duties of the people should be included. The issues like family, society and national responsibility should be included". (Teacher)

"It should be better to include the background to every lesson and then it will be better to explain about the topics. First of all, there should be explanation about moral education and then curriculum should be prepared". (Teacher)

In educational perspectives, matter of curriculum is not only concerned with the desired curriculum. The most important aspect of curriculum is how it is implemented. A curriculum has three facets/aspects - desired, implemented and achieved. How beautiful could be the desired curriculum, but if not been implemented correctly, the effectiveness of curriculum is questionable. This concern is expressed in teachers' interview. They raised question over the present methods of imparting civic education. They had suggested alternative mode/approach of civic education. For improvement, the teachers gave high priority to the implementation aspect of the curriculum, provision for resources and technology, commitments of the political system

"Firstly, curriculum should be improved for getting sound knowledge, and then type of content materials should be thought out for the learners. In the beginning this type of education should be imparted as a dialectic method and later it should be preceded in a research base to the student. Until now civic education is being taught using explanation and questionnaire method but in the coming days it should be enlarged by other activities like pilot program and seminar. Apart from the bookish knowledge, a teacher should have innovative out look. The curriculum should be improved in accordance with the world trends in civic education. Civic education should be the part and partial of all subjects. In higher-level education also, civic education should be imparted alternatively in a modern way". (Teacher)

"In the old education curriculum civics was taught from eighth grade to tenth grade. But the civic education subject should be taught in secondary level as a compulsory subject". (Teacher)

Students' perspectives on civic education are not clearly expressed out. Probably, it is because of their lack of wider knowledge and exposure to this subject. Their remark

was on the need for improvement in the curriculum. Their concern is on authentication of the civic knowledge, skills and attitude that could be useful in their functional life.

Students viewed that "Civic education curriculum should be improved as an integrated way and the further study of civic education should be done in an appropriate way". (Student)

"Civic education curriculum should be improved to make a skilful and discipline manpower". (Student)

"The students should be loyal to the nation and conscious to their own rights. The education policy should be prepared to these types of national braveness and rights". (Student)

In a nutshell, civic education curriculum covers all the activities both teachers and students do within a formal school and outside of it. Regarding formal education curriculum, most of the educationist/teachers, in the interview, were in favor of integrated/coherent curriculum. Single subject curricula cannot meet the requirements. This expression is associated with the inefficiency of civic education in preparing students as good citizens through a single curriculum. Both within school and outside school activities, case developments, and issues related project could compensate the weakness of single subject curricula.

Most of the teachers were concentrated on curriculum, particularly including much content in curriculum. The teaching approach should be 'dialectic' rather than instrumental. Two dimensions were clearly identified in the interview but more than book/authority knowledge; they were demanding for discussion, projects, dramatization, and issues searching and addressing them, which should be the contents and pedagogical aspects for the improved civic curriculum of Nepal.

6.6 Civic Education vis-à-vis Democratic Process: Paradigm Shift in Opportunities and Challenges

Above study would help to state that civic education and democracy are interchangeable and developing of one is not possible without developing of another. A brief survey of comparative government with regard to civic education and education, and the process of democratization give the impression that countries are divided into two categories, namely; the developed democracy and countries as new entrants in democracy. The process of democratization with its different waves has contributed towards de-colonization of countries, establishment of civil rulers in place of military rulers and introduction of democracy in the third world countries and helping to the downfall of kingship or any other form of privileged class ruled in so many transient societies. Meanwhile, democratization have opened up different opportunities-such as human rights, peace, social security, and social inclusions creating a high level of social mobilization in politics. In so many places, the opportunities of democracy has proved ineffective to speed up and to take into account the challenges created by social mobilization. Specially, the systemic delivery on the one hand and the provision of the education of citizens in mass on the other hand is observed to be the most necessary condition for the development of democracy. The great challenge of democracy in the present world is the equity of distribution of production and equity in sharing power structure. It is observed that the lack of appropriate provision of civic education has created hiatus creating conflict in the countries where democracy with its many pitfalls found to be ineffective to deal with the fundamental challenges. Education, specially the scientific civic education which embraces the total values of society would be able to address those challenges. Otherwise democracy based on lip services or embracing only ideals would prove mind boggling if not nebulous.

General observations would lead to state that democracy has been used by every regime of the world, from military and monarchical dictatorship to communist totalitarian ones; however, without realization of its meaning that it is an ideal form of government, based on people's will. Without doubt it could be said that appropriate degree of civic education, democracy cannot function and hence, effective functioning of democracy depends upon to what extent citizens possess knowledge, skills and values with regard to democratic process. Civic education, therefore, in today's context has

proved to be an inter alia for functioning of democracy by which preservation and development of a country depend upon to what extent its citizens are informed about self-rule, and they possess knowledge and capacity to perform the right thing. Civic education with these basic tenants has found to be only helpful for institutionalization of democracy.

It may sound repetition that civic education is the only way out for public awareness by which people will be able to distinguish right from the wrong doings, the whole gamut for social changes like economic development, poverty alleviation, and preservation of cultural heritage all seem to be interlinked with the provision of civic education. Development is a human phenomenon, and to promote human development requires good governance which has to be just, pro-people or people centered or it has to be owned by the people, a synonymous term as defined for civic education. Nobody could deny that civic education is a continuous process by which every individual learns to be a good citizen equipped with the knowledge of civic values and cultures thereby creating the sense of self-respect as well as respect of others.

Universal citizenship is a distinct product of the modern state system-a state system that recognizes the political equality of citizens in the process of decision-making in polis. People are, however, neither born democratically nor are they all educated about their citizenship, rights and duties. It is civic or political education that fosters youths' democratic attitudes, skills and knowledge to engage and work on important public issues and make democracy a way of life. Civic education aims to equip boys and girls for life in the public realm and engage them in the analysis of major rules and regulations of society, public and private institutions, actors and vital social issues enabling them to find ways to resolve social problems. The commitment of citizens to civic education means that each problem thus selected is of social significance. In this sense, civic education is training for democratic citizenship.³¹⁸ Preparation for democratic citizenship requires youths to develop a habit of service, civic skills, and the competence needed for adequate civic action.

Carefully designed community work linked to classroom reflection can enhance the civic connections of students with the life of their communities. It is only by

³¹⁸ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 25, p. 3.

becoming active participants in civic life-being players, not spectators-that a genuine sense of the empowerment of youth is attained. Youths learn more by the demonstration of successful examples or their 'role models' in life than by rote learning. These examples provide them four central components of civic learning-motivation, skills, knowledge and values by employing all the relevant pedagogies.³¹⁹ Informed and effective citizens are probably the only remedy for public cynicism and ignite a surge of interest about civic engagement. Civic education is democracy in action. It is a practice of cognitive liberation shaped by democratic theories. The role of scientist, in this sense, should not be the separation and detachment of self from the public life but engage them in a dialogue, planning and social reforms.

The primary concern of civic education is to create 'civic culture' committed to broaden and deepen democracy in the public and private life of citizens. The core content of civic education lies in establishing a golden rule of politics: "A good society requires an order that is aligned with the moral commitments of the members".³²⁰ The new golden rule seeks to establish a balance between public order (collective goods) and individual autonomy (for the rational pursuit of private interests) of citizens. Public order may be attained in any regime that follows the rules of social conduct but individual autonomy of citizens is guaranteed only in a democratic system. Civic education, in the sense, serves to widen the relationships among individuals, groups, and nations.

There are broadly four realms of civic education. The first realm is the socialization of youth, that is learning and awareness of children and youths about their families and communities, constitutional and human rights and duties and participation in social life. Socialization makes children and youth capable of becoming helpful, trustful, and respectful. The second is participation of citizens in the institutional life of the state, the market, and civil society and achieving collective consciousness. This is the phase for becoming civic-minded, and seeking social engagements such as helping the poor and disabled, making the neighborhood environment clean, involving oneself in literacy programs, organizing public meetings, cooperating in the promotion of social peace, moralizing the schools, etc. Participation in "a common educational heritage

³¹⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

³²⁰ Amitai Etzioni, *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society*, (New York: Basic Books, 1996), P. 12.

progressively tends to suppress differences of birth, status, profession and wealth and to unite the individual educated people to the basis of the education they have received.”³²¹ The third is the humanization of the public life by which citizens develop an understanding of the national obligations beyond borders as well as the connections between locality, nationality, and humanity. And the last one is the development of their full faith in democracy and acquisition of knowledge about civic competence. This is a process of gaining access to and influence over every decision affecting their life, liberty and property.

The ‘third wave’ of democracy process in 1980s swept all over the globe and dismantling dictatorship and the communist totalitarian regimes. At the same time, from the impact of the third wave, Nepal also restored the parliamentary democracy in 1990 and the absolute monarchy transformed into a constitutional entity.³²² International globalization, democratization and communication technology developed the awareness of the people. These subjects became the core subjects of civic education. Now a day, there is a correlation between civic education and democratization. The educational process of civics provides four pillars-“learning to living together, learning to know, learning to do and learning to be”.³²³ These pillars help youths to enjoy their full-fledged citizenship rights including the right to participate in every decision affecting their life, liberty, and property and in performing their duties sincerely. Democratization process helps to expand the social base of political power and provides all citizens' access to the institutional resources of the state, enlarges the public sphere, improves interpersonal relations, and consolidates common identities. It underlies an institutional mechanism that determines ‘who gets what’ out of the political process and additionally unites the economy with the mental process. The centerpiece of civic education is an art of generating a strong national consciousness, making judgments, and taking public action. The rules of democracy reject paternalism and motivate citizens to speak, act, and engage in public life for themselves. Democracy consolidation is a purposeful process in which "democratic forms are transformed into democratic substance through the reform

³²¹ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York : A Harvest Book, 1936), p. 155.

³²² Sridhar K. Khatri, Democracy: The Global and Nepalese Experience, *The Institutionalization of Democratic Policy in Nepal*, (Pokhara: Pritixi Narayan Campus, T.U., 2000), pp. 50-51.

³²³ *International Commission on Education (ICE), Education for the Twenty-First Century*, A Report Submitted to UNESCO, April 1996, p. 7.

of state institutions, the regularization of elections, the strengthening of civil society and the overall habituation of the society to the new democratic rules of the game.”³²⁴

The democracy safeguards the reason for its own existence and it does not become a tool of politicians. Civic education must enable youths to articulate the voices of ordinary individual citizens and their chances of personal and collective improvement. Concentration of power in the circle of families, interest groups, and factional groups in Nepal has made life burdensome for the majority of the people. Law and order, as forces of public authority, have not reasonably facilitated the circulation of elites to expand the social base of politics. The policy of democratization, therefore, requires the development of sound policies that would ensure equality in the access to power and resources, entitlements, and social opportunities as demanded by the poor majority of diverse social and geographical origins.

Democracy provides the citizens a greater level of individual initiatives and creativity to ensure that they properly manage their affairs according to the laws of the land and realize their aspirations, potentials, and interests without undermining state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Effective support and cooperation from the advanced countries to the principles of equity, equality, reciprocity, and cooperation can greatly enhance the prospects for good governance. Undoubtedly, the only remedy for the democratic deficit in the country can be the growth of a vibrant ‘public’ firmly entrenched in the democratic process.

Concerns about the form of democracy and civic education of Nepalese personnel were explored through in-depth interview with academicians, educationists, teachers, and ordinary citizen, politicians and even with the students of Kathmandu valley. From the theory of multiple perspectives on a particular social issue, diverse thinking and understanding should be considered to reach to a theory. From the grounded theory approach of social science research, what meaning and understanding are prevalent in the society was explored through interviews with different categories of people who are one way or the other the stakeholders of civic education programs. Educationists, academicians, politicians, teachers and students who were the respondents regarding different issues of civic education in the context of Nepal were interviewed.

³²⁴ Dahal, op. cit. f.n. 25, p. 20.

Different versions regarding civic education from educationists are listed out here. The meaning of civic education was defined in the context of Nepal. Their understanding of good citizen as expected in a democracy and the understanding of civic education on the ground of their expected democracy and good citizen are stated as follows:

"Civic education means to be responsible to one-self. Education which helps to contribute to the society, nation, as well as to the international level is also known as civic education. In the political basis to use the rights and duties in the conscious way, and in the social basis being conscious towards positive responsibilities are known as civic education. Civic education, in a broad sense, is to contribute to democracy as a sensitive citizen whereas in a limited sense civic education is civic knowledge, civic values and civic skills". (Educationist)

"Civic education should be integrated with human resources and it covers the areas of political, economic, social, cultural, geographical, humanities and justice. Civic education should include the patriotic (nationality) feeling". (Educationist)

Different versions from academician/educationist regarding civic education are listed out here. Many teachers from different schools were interviewed and their versions regarding civic education are mentioned here. The meaning of civic education was defined in the context of Nepal as:

"Education that provides civic consciousness is known as civic education. Civic education also means loving the nation, understanding the nation, serving the nation and to understand oneself". (Academician)

"Citizens are related with politics. Citizenship means membership of the country. With the help of these citizenship people can get the output of political, social, and economic and human rights. Civic education makes the people able to utilize these rights. Civic education helps to make people-oriented government, development and foreign policy. The education which transforms general people into conscious people is also known as civic education". (Academician)

"Different social organization and agencies play a role of socialization and civic education plays this role of socialization. Civic education does not only provide the civil rights but it also creates the feeling of responsibility. Civic education provides the knowledge how the different sectors of the society are running their works and what can be done to make those works better". (Educationist)

"It is the process of making responsible citizen. Civic education implies making our education more practical and binding on us. It should fit in our educational climate. Civic education has broader perspectives and need not be limited just to curriculum. It is a lifelong process. We need to bring continuous practice in our attitudes, opportunity, environment and

materials that are equally essential. Civic education is the type of education which makes the people lives peacefully with other member of the society". (Educationist)

"Civic education is indeed all pervasive". It must start from all perspectives of our life and therefore every one of us must be involved in this particular process. (Academician)

In the views of educationists, civic education is conceptualized in two senses - civic education as a matter of politics and as a matter of humanitarian values. As a matter of politics, every citizen should be aware of political system in the nation, right and duties of a citizen in a society, a conscious citizen capable in protecting democracy. Civic education is considered as energy of the mainstream democracy of the world. The other concept is the development of self in a person/individual. An individual should understand him-self/her-self and the others in the society. This concept of civic education consists of more areas of knowledge and skills and an individual should attain a complete citizenship. From the Nepalese perspectives, the views of educationists are similar to the concepts and principal of civic education as accepted worldwide.

Most of educationists of contemporary Nepal, in series of in-depth interview conceptualized the programs of civic education as the global trends of focusing on three interrelated components-civic knowledge, civic skills and civic virtues as explained by John Patrick. They emphasized fundamental ideas and information in civic knowledge that students must know and use to be a good citizen. As civic skills they have to learn, understand, explain and compare and evaluate principles and practices of government and citizenship and virtues as commitment necessary for preservation and improvement of democratic governance and citizenship.

Among these educationists, very few were found conscious on the methodological and pedagogical issues of civic education. Many of them paid much concentration on the contents of civic education. However, how effectively the knowledge of civic education could be shared with individuals and changed in behavior could be measured were not discussed. Educators/educationists did not reach a sort of consensus in the procedures but relatively unanimity could be seen in the contents. Furthermore, they were seen less curious about the changing political landscape of the

country. The country is heading towards a republican set up of inclusive democracy, which is going to be a new model of democracy in the world.

Many teachers from different schools were interviewed and their versions regarding civic education are mentioned here. The meaning of civic education was defined in the context of Nepal as:

"Education is a lifelong process and a citizen without acquiring civic education does not fulfill the objectives of democracy". (Teacher)

"The education which makes the people conscious to pay the tax in time, to conserve the heritage, to serve the society, to maintain religious tolerance and to end the gender discrimination, is known as the civic education". "Now students are more attracted to study this subject and they are more curious about civic education. On the basis of the group division it is also studied". (Teacher)

"Civic education means to give practical knowledge as well as develop the skilled manpower. Again, the education where a person obeys the duties and does not harm to others is also known as civic education". (Teacher)

"The education which teaches us to use own rights and not to hinder others' rights is known as civic education. It increases the active participation of the citizen to the government process because it emphasizes the education of self-government". (Teacher)

"Civic education means to obey the rule of law, to fall into the democratic culture and to give the knowledge of moral education". (Teacher)

Schoolteachers reinforced what educationists and academician pleaded for; three interrelated contents were emphasized: civic knowledge, civic skills and civic virtues. However, the difference was that the teachers were more focused in teaching rather than conceptualizing the civic education. They were more related to systematic teaching of fundamental ideas or core concepts in the second trend of civic education as described by John Patrick.

Many politicians were interviewed and their versions regarding civic education are mentioned here. The meaning of civic education was defined in the context of Nepal as:

"The knowledge of civic sense is less in the people due to the instability of democracy constantly experienced. To strengthen and make the democracy stable people should know about the importance of civic sense. The conscious people can only secure the future of democracy. This civic sense is generated only by civic education. The economic condition should be developed to strengthen democracy. Without the development of

economic condition democratic stability cannot be continued. For a stable democracy the economic condition of the country should be developed. Likewise the civic education should include the knowledge of civic sense. So, political and economic sector should be preceded side by side in the civic education". (Politician)

"Democracy means making people conscious. Democracy cannot be stable without conscious people. For this, people should be conscious in democracy. Civic education gives knowledge about democracy and makes people conscious". (Politician)

"The education which attracts the people to politics and makes loyal to democracy is known as civic education. It stresses the democratic attitude, democratic culture and human rights". (Politician)

Politicians expressed very loose statement about civic education. Most of them raised the need of civic sense. But they could not relate 'civic sense' to 'democracy'. They could not explicitly sketch the political landscape of Nepalese democracy and education for democracy. However, in general, they were more concentrating on civic knowledge, skills, and virtues connecting to economic development. This implies that civic education must connect economic development. With regard to economic development, different issues could be ascertained. One group was focusing on class-consciousness and other was focusing on critical individual. The obscure situation of political model of democracy is creating issues of civic education contents, teaching methods and students' participation. Much focus is given to human rights and responsible citizenship.

Many students from different schools were interviewed and their versions regarding civic education are mentioned here. The meaning of civic education was defined in the context of Nepal as:

"The education which provides knowledge about civic sense and also about the rights and duties of the people is known as civic education". (Student)

"The education which provides practical knowledge to differentiate between right and wrong is known as civic education". (Student)

"The education which teaches people to respect elders and love to the junior is known as civic education. Again, civic education means to respect the rule of law and duties." (Student)

"The education which helps to understand about the progress and development of the nation and proceeds to the society is known as civic education". (Student)

Students' own perception of civic education was no more deviated from educationists, teachers and politicians. Their focus was on understanding and

analysis of what is right and wrong. This expectation of students indicates that they wanted to be conscious citizens as well as having the capacity of decision making. Two trends in civic knowledge, sense, and skills-based program and decision making skills are intended as the core features of civic education program. These two trends reveal that a need of pedagogical shift is necessary, more than directed authoritative teaching strategy is expected. Class observation showed that the teaching strategy and management of learning were more directed towards instrumental teaching. But, learning of civil virtues would be learnt better whenever learners are exposed to real life activities. The project work, cooperative and collaborative approach, was not observed in the classroom teaching. This strategy of teaching is suggested in the study of effectiveness of the civic education curriculum.

On the bases of the review of the literature related to both national and international civic education, as worked out in details in previous chapters and the empirical information supplied by different stakeholders, some common understanding, meaning, and form of civic education could be found. In the context of Nepal, however, there are very limited number of institutions (NEFAS, SPCE) working on civic education. But the changing political landscape of Nepal is heading towards defining a new form of democracy, and demanding more institutions to work in the issues of democracy. At present, though the nature and form of democracy have not yet clearly emerged and the responsibility is given to the constituent assembly to define the Nepalese form of democracy, one thing is clear that it is going towards the constitutional republic with marked features of inclusive democracy. This is a shift of paradigm in the nature of democracy in Nepal. From the constitutional monarchical democracy, the country is attempting to move to a constitutional republic of inclusive democracy. This shifting of democracy has invited several issues in the form of civic education. In the interview great deviations could be experienced in class consciousness and civic consciousness expressed by the interviewees regarding the macro nature of civic education. This could be a great problem (challenge) to the philosophy of civic education. Other problems (challenges) are preparation of curriculum for civic education. Single curriculum in the international experience is not found effective (Quigley, 2000) and the need of integrated/coherent curriculum policy is a great problem (challenge) to educators as well as curriculum theorists. How to integrate civic knowledge, skills, and virtues as fundamentals of civic education to other subjects like language, social studies, science and mathematics is also a problem (challenge).

Pedagogical as well as methodological considerations are other problems (challenges) to present civic education. Reading books and lecturing methods as adopted now in the Nepalese context cannot prepare good citizen as expected by the conscious people and the future democracy. In school level education there is need for promoting interactive, participatory, cooperative, project based learning approaches. Management of necessary resources and school reform and reform of other social institutions working for those who are not coming to formal education is another big problem (challenge) and the preparation of trained teachers for civic education is another important aspect. Until now no teachers are oriented and trained specifically to civic education, and teaching of civic education curriculum with such untrained teachers could not bring effective outcomes.

In spite of several limitations and problems (challenges) to civic education program of Nepal, there are opportunities. All stakeholders are positive to the need of civic education and more than necessary consensus is observed among different people. This context gives more opportunity to the persons working in this field. There are several institutions in government and non-governmental levels working in civic education, their researches experiences could be valuable assets to Nepalese planner of civic education to be enlightened on the challenges, issues, problems and measures to address these issues and problems in managing civic education in the country.

Conclusion

The people's movement of 1990 received active supports from various sections of society such as Student Unions, professional groups like University Teachers, Doctors, Engineers, Pilots, Nepal Bar Association, Government and Semi-Government employees. They played a crucial role for the success of the movements towards the restoration of democracy. In the meantime, the movement received supports not only from within the country but also from outside the country. Then the fifty days' movement succeeded and lifted the ban on the political parties and reestablished the multi-party democracy which King Gyanendra had snatched on September 4, 2002. In spite of the adverse situation, political parties with and without arms made agreement and jointly fought for the restoration of democracy in the people's movement of 2006. The movement established a new history in the annals of political development of Nepal

declaring the country a federal democratic republic on May 28, 2008 after a successful conclusion of the Constituent Assembly elections on April 10, 2008. Then the 239-year old institution of monarchy was abolished putting it into a history book.

Viewing the paradigm shift of Nepali politics vis-à-vis its impact on civic education the following studies can be presented as the basic trends:

- a. Though the Panchayat system was no more democratic in philosophy and practice, some of its procedural elements accelerated towards the movement of the political change in the country. Provisions like procedural elections and participation in the local bodies, leadership role, limited provision of decentralization and development of communication structures, etc., provided a new sense of awareness in the society. In addition, revolutions in information technology and cyber science were beyond the control of any autocratic regime. The Panchayat elections for the unicameral legislature were controlled, and were held strictly on non-party individual basis, and the question of free, fair and competitive elections did not arise. Even then the practices created a kind of awareness leading towards restoration of democracy of 1990. People's awareness about human rights, democracy, development and fundamental rights due to information technology made people prepare to go against any despotic government. As a result, the impacts of the national and international both environments created a positive condition for the success of people's movement of 1990.
- b. Ten years of the multiparty practice also provide positive as well as negative pictures of the Nepali society. Three major factors such as extreme polarization within and between political parties and lack of civil service neutrality, undermining decision-making processes for development, and weak democratic culture had been identified as the negative impacts after 1990. Therefore, the issue of inclusive democracy and ethnic politics appeared to be the serious challenge in the plural society. The Maoist movement started in 1996 taking heavy death toll of more than 14, 000 people in the ten years time was considered to be the result of systemic errors of continuing discriminations in society. When the polity failed to address the aspirations of the people, the consequence was political apathy and alienation mounting towards political crisis in the country. The people's second movement of 2006 was therefore the result of all these problems, which manifested in the form of ten years civil war.

- c. Most people seem to agree the main concern of civic education as promotion of critical thinking, capacity of evaluation, content analysis, development of participant political culture are like the ability to judge political events in an objective way, accept or defend political issues and establish position in the society. Such provisions were not found adequately incorporated in the civic education curricula for ten years in Nepal. In absence of proper planning and political instability in the country, almost all schools laid stress on theoretical consideration and examination oriented teaching methods only. Still more problems appeared as an absence of a common set of activities that would help students' skill and competence as citizens of a democracy.
- d. Conceptualization of civic education is very preliminary in making understanding rather than practicing the civic values. So, improvement in civic education seems to be essential in Nepal through formal as well as non-formal education system.
- e. Some of the areas for improvements are as follows:
- One is the development of an integrated/coherent curriculum to allow the civic education curriculum to include contents and activities for both teachers and students.
 - The great challenge of democracy in the present world is the equity in distribution of production and equity in sharing power structure. State as a dispenser of socio-economic and political justice, it should be able to distribute socially, scientifically and lawfully. There is a conflict in the countries where democratic process has lacked to maintain minimum value consensus among the disparate groups of society. Especially in the plural or multi-ethnic society, the challenge of democracy is to recognize new roles through an inclusive process. Civic education, since it is integrated with democracy and inclusion, should be comprehensive enough in order to address the demands of the society. The interrelationship between democracy and civic education stands on the cross-road so far. It may require proper scrutiny to provide thematic guidance towards its development.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is devoted to present main findings, discussions of the major issues, the conclusions and the recommendations of the study. This chapter will mainly discuss the relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the politics of Nepal. The discussions are based on the theoretical perspectives presented under the literature review, analysis of the implementation of civic education in different periods of educational development in Nepal, and relevant information generated through interviews and classroom observations. All these discussions will eventually lead to shape up the major issues so as to draw conclusions of the study.

As was presented in the first chapter, the main objectives of the study were to determine the interrelationship between democracy and civic education, to determine the space of civic education in the Nepalese education system, and to examine the relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepalese political system especially after the political change of 1990.

Basically, historical approach was adopted for the methodology of the study. Critical analysis of the past facts and relevant literature were reviewed. In addition, some empirical data were collected. Empirical information was drawn mainly from two sources: first, interviews were conducted with educationists, academicians, politicians, teachers and students, and second, classroom observations were made to look into how civic education was actually delivered in the classroom. Questionnaires and classroom observation form were used as instruments for data collection. Because of security reason, the field study was based only on the Kathmandu Valley.

FINDINGS

From the critical analysis of the past facts and literatures and the empirical facts, the following major findings have been drawn:

- Finding 1. Political system, democracy, education and civic education have been found as correlated concepts. The constructs of correlation are power for knowledge, and their function for social control and change.

- Finding 2. As the democratization process started, shifting of nature of contents of civic education was visible. Resurrection of the autocratic regime after political interregnum did not help to the promotion of civic education and democracy in Nepal.
- Finding 3. Democratization of society politically understood as the seizure of power rather than educational development that could help support vis-à-vis democratic development. Therefore, both the processes yet appear at a situation to strike root in the society.
- Finding 4. Trends of civic education of Nepal have tried to keep correspondence with international trends, but the level of development in civic education has differed by the democratization status.
- Finding 5. The higher the democratization process in the country, the higher is the form and contents of civic education. This statement is justified in the analysis of Nepalese political history periodically and the nature and form of civic education practiced.
- Finding 6. The contribution of civic education for democratization of society in Nepalese context is insignificant during 50's but after 70's formal schooling's effect in people's awareness is high and this awareness worked a lot for democratic movement. But informal approach of civic education such as political schooling of political organizations, educated people's contribution in imparting civic sense and creating inclination to democracy in local level, and media influence in democratic movement seemed important.
- Finding 7. Civic education is not a simple phenomenon in designing and managing it for the support of democracy. Several issues are inherent and these issues should be understood from different perspectives – theory of curriculum, education management, technology, ideology, local and global knowledge and the form of the government in the country

The detailed discussions on the major issues of the study have already been presented in the preceding chapters. Gaining insights from those discussions and the analysis of empirical information, the brief discussions on major issues relevant to the major findings are done under the five main themes, those are presented as follows:

Theme No.1. Interrelationship between civic education and democracy

In the early era, that is, from 1769 to 1846, the state of affairs was confined only to expansion and consolidation. The political system was not democratic under which the

general people were deprived of all kind of basic human rights. Only the ruling elites were provided opportunity for education in Gurukul, Devkul, etc. The Rana rule (1846-1950) was basically a family oligarchy and despotic in nature, whose primary concern was the continuation of family rule by keeping the country in isolation and total darkness. The Ranas were suspicious about educating the people for the fear that the educated people could go against them and their regime would collapse. So knowledge and power was somehow associated with the political system and the ruling class interest. The main use of knowledge and power was thus made to bring the society under the rulers' control, not for the promotion of the society.

Till the 50s, the political system of Nepal was a monarchical. That system of regime was not democratic. The main intent of the then rulers was to make the people obey their rules. The state did not make provisions for mass education. Only the people belonging to high castes were eligible for education. The intention behind educating them was to form a class of rulers to rule the rest of the population.

As the Nepali people became aware of their rights, despite the ruthless measures, the Rana rule was collapsed like a house of cards by the political revolution of 1951.

Right after the political change of 1951, the number of schools increased and democratic exercises started. While the objective of the political change was to establish a democratic society, correspondingly, the objective of primary education was set 'to develop civic competencies, attitude, responsibility and cooperation'. Despite the efforts made for the promotion of civic education and democracy, the ten years' political interregnum from 1951-1960 appeared to be less effective to promote civility and to achieve the touted objectives of the revolution. As the political parties bogged down in internal fighting, the monarchy did not spare a single moment to disrupt democracy in the name of partyless Panchayat system in the country. What emerged was that when the political situation could not be stable, civic education also could not take a right course.

In 1960, the Panchayat era started. Since it was the creation of the then King, it clearly followed an absolute monarchical system. The main intent of the king was to control democratic movements in the country and to indoctrinate the people the mainstream of the Panchayat polity. Consciously enough the system of education that time clearly started indoctrinating the people the Panchayati ideology through education. As for example, even in primary education, elements of the Panchayati polity were

introduced. In addition, the students had to study the life history and contributions of the kings. Information about the contributions of national heroes and political leaders was not included in school curriculum. One of the goals of education was stated as "to prepare people obedient to the king, crown, and the Panchayat system ..." The book like 'panchayat tatha nagarik jivan' (a book on Panchayat and civic life) was prescribed at school level. Apparently education was not oriented towards promoting democratic norms and values in the students. As a matter of fact, civic education was not used to promote critical and analytical ability of the students and appreciate democracy either. In the Panchayat era, the centralized education system did not give adequate space to civic education in a formal setting. All the external efforts, no matter whether they were formal or informal, made to impart knowledge of democracy, strengthen democratic values and cultures by political agencies and informal organizations were charged as 'antinationalist movement'. This can be taken as an example of the relationship between a political system and the status of civic education; the less democratic the political system, the lower the status of civic education.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990, efforts were made towards democratization of the politics of the country. The result was that the contents of civic education were included in the school curriculum from primary to higher secondary level. Since the journey of the political system towards democratization was not smooth even during this time, several undesirable political events took place and the government could not meet the people's expectation. This situation eventually paved a way for the king to take over the regime. As a result, the content of civic education was curtailed. This is also a manifestation of the correlation between the political system and civic education affecting one to another.

On the whole, it was found that the political system used the system of education to shape up people's mind so as to sustain the prevailing political system resulting in apparent changes in the content coverage of civic education.

What emerges out of the existing literature with regard to civic education and democracy, and the views expressed by the experts in this area is that the two terms – civic education and democracy- are correlated concepts. The constructs of correlation imply that civic education orients to self-rule and democracy is the process towards that end. Civic education grows when it is promoted by the system of education and

democracy grows when the system of polity is democratic. In this way, system of education and democratic political system come along with civic education and democracy. They all grow in a democratic polity when the prevailing political system through a system of education allows them to work towards that direction. Thus, the terms- the political system and the education system go along with civic education and democracy making all the four terms go together.

Theme No. 2: Space of civic education in the Nepalese education system

With the introduction of democracy in the country in 1951, the contents of civic education started getting space there in. Analyses of the Nepalese system of education in different times revealed that there were ups and downs in the content coverage of civic education depending upon the nature of the political system. The political change of 1951 ushered in a new era with the opening of quite a good number of schools. While the objective of the political change was to establish a democratic society, correspondingly, the objective of primary education was set as “to develop civic competencies, attitude, responsibility and cooperation”.

Along this line, the people’s movement in 1990 was, in fact, a great leap forward to democratization of the country together with promotion of civic education. For example, in primary education curriculum, subjects like creating civic sense, promoting good behavior, rights and duties of a good citizen, etc. were included. In lower secondary curriculum also, contents such as rights and duties of a good citizen, social justice, and government were introduced. In similar vein, secondary education curriculum incorporated fundamental rights, constitutions, constitutional organizations, role of political parties, role of people's participation, etc. as the contents of civic education.

What was revealed was that the democratization process of the 50s gave high importance to civic education in terms of contents, but the resurrection of the autocratic regime from 1960 to 1990 did not allow it to grow. Again in 1990 the political change towards democracy contributed to uphold the contents of civic education which was again cut down by the royal takeover of 2002.

Theme No. 3: Relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics.

In response to the third objective of the study, the relationship between civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics was examined.

Unlike the authoritarian rule, democracy propels civic education vis-à-vis civic education to democracy. To a considerable extent, the democratization process in the country epitomized the concept that democracy and civic education are *sin-qua-non* and accordingly, efforts towards that end started. The study revealed that the restoration of democracy in 1990 accelerated the process of democratization of the country which eventually helped to bring about change in the form and contents of civic education, and in turn, Nepali people, through the process of democratization, learned to be conscious of their rights.

Nepal has witnessed the process of democratization on different occasions. Along the process of democratization, different movements ranging from delivery of civic education in school to big demonstrations and weapon-base wars in the name of democratization of the society were launched. All these activities have contributed one way or other to bring about overall changes in the scenario of the Nepali politics and society. Though it is difficult to specify, to what extent, the civic education in particular played a decisive role to bring about changes in the political system, the people tended to be assertive for their rights.

Nepal passed through several political changes propelled by the people's pressure. To make people strong enough to put a pressure on the regime for the democratization of the political system, the factors like civic education, civic movements, exposure to international and national media, and leadership of those who were committed to democracy can be attributed. Examining the role of formal civic education in creating necessary pressures for political changes in Nepal, it would appear that civic education is yet to play a significant role.

Looking at the political movements launched in Nepal in the 50s, 90s, and 2006, it could be said that there was a loose connection between formal civic education and the process of democratization of the polity. The way the people were mobilized for political movements had little knowledge of civic education through a formal setting. As a matter of fact, the people who took part in the political movements that put enormous pressure on the regime for change took risks for political change not because of the insights they gained through formal civic education, but could be because of their exposure to international and national media, contacts with different people, knowledge gained about democratic polity somewhere else, communication with influential political figures, etc.

Apparently informal factors were found to have played a significant role in democratizing the Nepali politics.

Theme No. 4: Contents and delivery of civic education

Designing and managing civic education in support of democracy is not a simple task. Several issues like theory of curriculum, educational management, technology, local and global knowledge and form of the government in the country are involved in the process of delivery of civic education which should be seen from different perspectives.

Course contents for civic education should be developed keeping in perspective the emerging trends also. In the present context of Nepal, the emerging issues like women, ethnic groups, Madhesi and marginalized groups also deserve adequate attention when developing contents for civic education.

The present study revealed that there was not significant contribution of formal civic education to the process of democratization of the country. One way of explaining it was that the way civic education contents were selected and the way they were delivered in the classroom were not regarded as effective as they should have been.

As a matter of fact, civic education opens up the innate faculty of mind. For this to happen, it is imperative that proper contents of civic education should be delivered following a competent process.

Civic education emphasizes respect for and protection of individual rights and freedom. It acknowledges individual's dignity and worth, rule of law, recognition of the individual will to fulfill responsibilities, constitutional government, and universal suffrage. Basically, the content of civic education should cover three areas- i.e. civic knowledge, civic skills and civic competencies. The knowledge of democratic norms and values should be included as the contents of civic education. Since democracy implies running the government according to the people's will, as was discussed by Quigley, the contents of civic education should be delivered following the world trend (Quigley, 2000).

Therefore, it is not only the content that is important in civic education, the process of delivery is also very important. One way of making the delivery of civic education effective is to offer it by engaging learners in action. The contents should be delivered through systematic teaching of fundamental ideas, asking them to analyze case studies, enhancing their decision making skills, etc. These contents should be delivered by engaging learners in appropriate activities in the classroom and outside.

Theme No. 5: Development trends of civic education in Nepal: Where are we?

Delivery trends of civic education, as was suggested by Quigley (Quigley, 2000) which is known as an international trend, includes conceptualization of civic education, systematic teaching of fundamental ideas, analysis of case studies, development of decision making skills, comparative and international analysis of government and citizenships, development of participatory skills and civic virtues through cooperative learning activities, the use of literature to use civic virtue, active learning of civic knowledge and skills and virtues, and the conjoining of contents and process in teaching and learning of civic knowledge, skills and virtues.

The development of civic education in Nepal seems to have followed different trends. In a broad way, they can be described under the following three headings:

- i. conceptualization of civic knowledge – state, government, right and duties, etc. (1950-1960)
- ii. Systematic teaching of civic education as a separate curriculum with various ups and downs (1950 to 2006).
- iii. Beginning of actionable learning – doing project works based on civic contents (Adopted by Higher Secondary Education Board and SPCE).

While examining the Nepal trends against the international trends as described above, it was revealed that Nepal partially followed international trends. The Nepali way of delivering civic education involved conceptualization of civic knowledge, teaching civic education contents as a separate curriculum under a formal setting, and active learning of civic knowledge, skills and virtues. In this way, Nepal did not seem to have followed the rest of the trends in the delivery of civic education.

One way of explaining why Nepal could not sustain its democracy as well as the priority given to civic education contents could be because it did not integrate civic education contents and the process of their delivery in the classroom. The overall socio-economic situation of the country, which is regarded as a very important element for democracy may also be responsible for the weak integration of civic education and civic contents.

CONCLUSIONS

From the above discussions the following conclusions are drawn:

Conclusion 1

It was therefore concluded that the political system of a country, democracy, education system, and civic education are correlated concepts.

Conclusion 2

The space of civic education in the system of education in Nepal was found comparatively better when the political system was democratic, and again, it was curtailed when the political system was undemocratic. It is therefore concluded that the space of civic education in a system of education largely depends upon the nature of the political system of the country; the more the political system is democratized, the better is the place for civic education, and vice-versa.

Conclusion 3

The linkage between formal civic education and the process of democratization of the Nepali politics was found to be weak. In place, informal factors have played significant roles towards establishing democracy in the country.

Conclusion 4

It is therefore concluded that proper contents with a competent delivery mechanism is needed for making civic education contributory to the process of democratization of the political system of the country.

Conclusion 5

The development trend of civic education in Nepal has partially followed the international trend; out of the nine international trends, it has followed only three trends. In order to support the democracy in the country, there is need for simultaneous development in the delivery of and infrastructural development for civic education. In addition, strengthening institutional process of democracy and a provision for effective delivery of civic education are also necessary.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the recommendations of implications of the results and for further study needed:

Recommendation 1

A common core of content topics in civic education may require consolidating the democratic process. The experiences of all democratic countries in the world have proved the fact that well informed citizens with appropriate skills, virtues and attitudes provided on the basis of scientific civic education are detrimental to democratic development.

Recommendation 2

The process of human development and social transformation could hardly take place in isolation. Thus the provision of civic education requires to be cross-disciplinary, participatory, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant to the challenges of societal diversity, and co-constructed by schools, parents, the community, and non-governmental organizations.

Recommendation 3

The developing economy of Nepal has yet faced the challenge to meet the perceived gap between the goals for democracy expressed and the reality of the society. Therefore, schools may require be developing and upgrading in a manner that every sector of society would be able to obtain civic as well as general education. In the meantime, the nature of the curriculum may require to be designed accordingly.

Recommendation 4

General survey regarding comparative study of civic education between the developed countries and Nepal would indicate that a special study should be carried out to improve the civic education condition of Nepal to support the democratic process as well.

Recommendation 5

Quantitative study regarding the achievement and proficiency of civic education of the Nepalese students has yet to be carried out. Such study could help to compare the proficiency and skills of students with the students of developed countries.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCATIONISTS/ACADEMICIANS

1. What will be the guiding principle of the theoretical concept of civic education?
2. There is necessary to reform the curriculum of civic education. But what type of reform is necessary? Is it necessary to select a separate subject of civic education or the integrated way with other subjects?
3. Who is a good citizen? How do people become good citizens? What type of civic education should be imparted in this changeable context?
4. How do you evaluate the relation between civic education and restructuring state from the past to the present?
5. What is education?
6. What is the function of education?
7. What reform is necessary in the education?
8. What type of reform of education can make the people job oriented?
9. What is democracy?
10. Why has the democracy become unstable in Nepal?
11. How can we develop the democratic culture in Nepal?
12. What area should be stressed to the democratization process of Nepal?
13. Why does the democratic crisis occur in Nepal from time to time?
14. How should the state be restructured after the successful democratic movement of 2062-063? Should it be unitary or federal?
15. What is civic education?
16. What is the role of civic society for the development of civic education?
17. What should be the role of civic society to strengthen the democracy?
18. What type of education is necessary to make good citizen?
19. What type of materials should be included in the civic education curriculum to make it effective?
20. What type of training is necessary to make civic education effective?
21. What will be the scope of civic education?
22. Which method will be effective to give knowledge about the civic education?
23. How can we evaluate the effect of civic education?
24. Which area is being affected by the present status of civic education?
25. Who is responsible for the development of education?
26. What are the hindrances of development of present status of civic education?

27. Why did the National Education System Plan 1971 fail and which strategy played a role to fail that plan?
28. How can we develop the civic education and what are the ways that will be effective?
29. What practices are found in different countries of civic education in the development of democracy?
30. How do the people of the world realize the relation between civic education and democracy?
31. Is there any changing meaning of civic education in the present world?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

1. What will be the guiding principle of the theoretical concept of civic education?
2. There is necessary to reform the curriculum of civic education. But what type of reform is necessary? Is it necessary to select a separate subject of civic education or the integrated way with other subjects?
3. Who is a good citizen? How do people become good citizens? What type of civic education should be imparted in this changeable context?
4. How do you evaluate the relation between civic education and restructuring of state from the past to the present?
5. What is education?
6. What type of reform is necessary in education?
7. Which part is to be stressed for the preparation of curriculum of education?
8. Which method should be applied by the teacher while teaching?
9. What is civic education?
10. Did you get interested students while teaching civic education?
11. What is democracy?
12. What is the relationship between civic education and democracy?
13. What is the role of civic education for the democratization process?
14. What should be the role of civil society for the development of civic education?
15. Which area should be stressed to make a good citizen?
16. What type of training is necessary to the teacher who teach civic education subject?
17. Which area should be reformed to teach civic education in the classroom?
18. What is the importance of civic education for the development of democratic culture?
19. Do you think that democracy and civic education are interrelated?
20. Are there any practices for the promotion of democracy in civic education in the different countries?
21. How do the people of the world realize the relation between civic education and democracy for an equitable society?
22. Is there any changing meaning of civic education to the political philosophy in the world?

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. What will be the guiding principle of the theoretical concept of civic education?
2. There is necessary to reform the curriculum of civic education. But what type of reform is necessary? Which subject should be included in this subject? Is it necessary to select a separate subject of civic education or integrated way with other social subjects?
3. Who is a good citizen? How do people become good citizens? What type of civic education should be imparted in this changeable context?
4. How can you evaluate the relation between civic education and restructuring of state from the past to the present?
5. What is education?
6. To get education easily what reform is necessary in education?
7. What type of reform is necessary in the educational development in Nepal?
8. What is civic education?
9. What is civic sense?
10. What will be the medium to get education?
11. What is the relation of civic education with democracy?
12. Who is called the good citizen?
13. What type of education is necessary to make a good citizen?
14. What is democracy?
15. What are the causes of unstable democracy?
16. What type of reform is necessary in the curriculum of civic education?
17. Should Civic education be compulsory or integrated with other subjects?
18. How to strengthen democracy and civic education?

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICIANS

1. What will be the guiding principle of the theoretical concept of civic education?
2. There is necessary to reform the curriculum of civic education. But what type of reform is necessary? Which subject should be included in this subject? Is it necessary to select a separate subject of civic education or integrated way with other social subjects?
3. Who is a good citizen? How do people become good citizens? What type of civic education should be imparted in this changeable context?
4. How can you evaluate the relation between civic education and restructuring of state from the past to the present?
5. What is education?
6. What type of educational policy should be applied to the development of nation?
7. What is civic education?
8. Which area should be stressed to the development of the civic education content?
9. What is democracy?
10. Why democracy has become unstable in Nepal? What is its reason?
11. Which area should be stressed to strengthen democracy?
12. Who is good citizen?
13. What qualities are necessary to be the good citizen?
14. What is necessary to be done for the development of civic education?
15. From which level should civic education be implemented?
16. Should civic education be compulsory or integrated with other subjects?
17. What should be the relation of civic education with democracy?

APPENDIX E

NAME OF INTERVIEWEES

Academicians and Educationists

Dr. Trailokya Nath Upraity
Dr. Rajendra Kumar Rongong
Dr. Bidhya Nath Koirala
Dr. Damador Jnawali
Dr. Lekhnath Sharma
Mr. Abdul Kauam
Mr. Dev Raj Dahal
Mr. Ganga Prasad Chaudhary
Dr. Amod Poudyal
Dr. Ganga Bahadur Thapa

Politicians

Politicians who were interviewed were from Nepali Congress, United Leftist and Leninist, Rastriya Prajatantra Party and the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist).

Mr. Narahari Acharya
Mr. Agni Sapkota
Mr. Shankar Pokharel
Mr. Bidhya Bhandari
Mr. Lokesh Dhakal
Mr. Ram Hari Sharma
Mr. Shree Bhadra Sharma
Mr. Shyam Lal Shrestha
Mr. Narayan Dhakal
Mr. Rameswor Phuyal

Teachers

Mr. Ramesh Prasad Gautam
Mr. Ram Hari Pyakurel
Mr. Saroj Timilsina

Mr. Puspa Khanal
Mr. Chhatra Prasad Phuyal
Mr. Sambhu Nath Pradhan
Mr. Pramod Khadka
Mr. Ram Raj Kuwar
Mr. Madhavi Aryal
Mr. Rajeswori Shrestha

Students

20 students from different schools were interviewed for the study.
(All questions were open-ended).

APPENDIX F

NAMES OF PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

The schools which participated in the study are:

1. Bal Bikash Madhyamik Vidhyala, Aalapot, Kathmandu.
2. Bhagyodaya Madhyamik Vidhyala, Shankhu, Kathmandu.
3. Bhanu Madhyamik Vidhyala, Bhotahiti, Kathmandu.
4. Mount SEB School, Koteswor, Kathmandu.
5. Manakamana Higher Secondary School, Jorpati, Kathmandu.
6. Santi Aadharsha Secondary School, Jorpati, Kathmandu.

APPENDIX G

CLASS OBSERVATION FORM

Class Observation Form

Name of the Teacher : Saroj Timilsina

Grade : X Period: 7th

Subject: Social Studies

Title: Civic Education

Sub Title: Election Process

Date: December 16, 2007.

School: Mount SEB School, Koteswor, Kathmandu

Time: 3.00 to 3. 45 pm

1.	Subject matter	Yes	No	Remarks	
	a. Subject matter and Sequence		yes		
	b. Relevant to the text book		yes		
	c. Relevant to the students' level and interest	yes			
	d. Coverage of the subject matter		yes		
	e. Were illustrations appropriate?		some		
2.	Teaching Method				
	a. Lecture		yes		
	b. Discussion		"		
	c. Inquiry, Discovery and problem solving	x			
	d. Problem solving		x		
3.	Instructional materials no only use book				
4.	Students' participation	Frequently	Sometimes	Seldom No	Remarks
	a. Listen attentively	x	x	yes	
	b. Ask question relatively	x	yes	x	
	c. Answer teachers' questions		yes		
	d. Participate in discussion		yes		
5.	Teacher's activities				
	a. Question		yes		
	b. Answer to the student		yes		
	c. Encourage students		yes		
	d. Demonstrate			no	
	e. Discussion with the student		yes		
6.	Closing of the lesson		yes		no
	a. Was the lesson summarized?				no
	b. Was assignment given?		yes		

Observer's Name Bidur Prasad Phuyal

APPENDIX H

GLOBAL TRENDS IN CIVIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Charls N. Quigley relies on the work of John Patrick who is the Executive Director of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University at Bloomington, which is a part of the Center's Civitas Exchange Program Network. He has identified nine trends that have broad potential for influencing civic education in the constitutional democracies of the world. They are:

Trend 1: Conceptualization of civic education in terms of three interrelated components.

Many educators throughout the world focus their programs upon the development of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic virtues.

Civic knowledge consists of fundamental ideas and information that learners must know and use to become effective and responsible citizens of a democracy.

Civic skills include the intellectual skills needed to understand, explain, compare, and evaluate principles and practices of government and citizenship. They also include participatory skills that enable citizens to monitor and influence public policies.

Civic virtues include the traits of character, dispositions, and commitments necessary for the preservation and improvement of democratic governance and citizenship. Examples of civic virtues are respect for the worth and dignity of each person, civility, integrity, self-discipline, tolerance, compassion, and patriotism. Commitments include a dedication to human rights, the common good, equality, and a rule of law.

Trend 2: Systematic teaching of fundamental ideas or core concepts.

Civic educators are systematically teaching concepts of democratic governance and citizenship such as popular sovereignty, individual rights, the common good, authority, justice, freedom, constitutionalism and rule of law, and representative democracy.

Trend 3: Analysis of case studies.

Teachers are requiring students to apply core concepts or principles to the analysis of case studies. The use of case studies brings the drama and vitality of authentic civic life into the classroom and requires the practical application of fundamental ideas or concepts to make sense of the data of civic reality.

Trend 4: Development of decision-making skills.

Teachers use case studies of political and legal issues to help students develop decision-making skills. Students are taught to identify issues, to examine the alternative choices and the likely consequences of each choice, and to defend one choice as better than the others.

Trend 5: Comparative and international analysis of government and citizenship.

The global resurgence of constitutional democracy has aroused interest in the comparative method of teaching and learning about government and citizenship. Teachers are requiring students to compare institutions of constitutional democracy in their own country with institutions in other democracies of the contemporary world. The expectation is that this kind of comparative analysis will deepen students' understanding of their own democratic institutions while expanding their knowledge of democratic principles. Further, this kind of comparative analysis is likely to diminish ethnocentrism, as students learn the various ways that principles of democracy can be practiced.

Trend 6: Development of participatory skills and civic virtues through cooperative learning activities.

Teachers are emphasizing cooperative learning in small groups, which requires students to work together to achieve a common objective. Through this cooperative learning activity, students develop various participatory skills and the civic virtues associated with them. Learners involved regularly in cooperative learning situations tend to develop such skills as leadership, conflict resolution, compromise, negotiation, and constructive criticism. And they develop such virtues as toleration, civility, and trust.

Trend 7: The use of literature to teach civic virtues.

Civic educators have recognized that the study of literature, both fictional and historical, exposes students who exemplify civic virtues in dramatic situations. The characters in these stories, therefore, may become role models for students. At the very least, they are positive examples of particular civic virtues that can help students understand the meaning and importance of morality in civic life. Sandra Stotsky, an expert on using literature to teach civic virtues, stresses the educational value of exposing learners "to characters who exhibit such traits as courage, hope, optimism, ambition, individual initiative, love of country, love of family, the ability to laugh at themselves, a concern for the environment, and outrage at social injustice".

Trend 8: Active learning of civic knowledge, skills, and virtues.

Civic educators are involving students actively in their acquisition of knowledge, skills, and virtues. Examples of active learning include systematic concept learning, analysis of case studies, development of decision-making skills, cooperative learning tasks, and the interactive group discussions that are associated with teaching civic virtues through

literary study. Intellectually active learning, in contrast to passive learning, appears to be associated with higher levels of achievement. Furthermore, it enables students to develop skills and processes needed for independent inquiry and civic decision-making throughout a lifetime. These are capacities of citizenship needed to make a constitutional democracy work.

Trend 9: The conjoining of content and process in teaching and learning of civic knowledge, skills, and virtues.

In their development of curricula and classroom lessons, teachers are recognizing that civic virtues and skills, intellectual and participatory, are inseparable from a body of civic knowledge of content. They assume that if learners would think critically and act effectively and virtuously in response to a public issue, they must understand the terms of the issue, its origins, the alternative responses to it, and the likely consequences of these responses. This understanding is based upon their knowledge. And the application of this knowledge to explain, evaluate, and resolve a public issue depends upon the cognitive process skills of the learners.³²⁵

³²⁵ Quigley, C. N. (2000). *Global Trends in Civic Education*. A Speech given at the Seminar for the Needs for New Indonesian Civic Education Center for Indonesian Civic Education (CICED), Indonesia. Online [<http://www.civiced.org/index.php>]

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF EXPECTED MODEL OF INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY

Krishna B. Bhattachan had presented a paper on the Expected Model and Process of Inclusive Democracy³²⁶ in Nepal in an international seminar in Kathmandu. He mentioned the contents and procedures of the inclusive democracy as follows.

The constellation of the following eight elements is the expected model of inclusive democracy in Nepal at this historical juncture.

- a. Structural Elements
 1. Federalism
 2. Ethnic, linguistic and regional autonomy and sub-autonomy within autonomy
 3. Proportional representation
 4. Special Measures or Affirmative Action
- b. Process related Elements
 1. Round Table Conference
 2. Right to self-determination
 3. Referendum
 4. Constituent Assembly

None of the seven elements should be isolated in Nepal; if so, the system may be crippled or paralyzed depending on how many or which of them are isolated. Also, there are merits and demerits of each of these eight elements. If all these elements are taken as an organic whole, then only it would do justice to full realization of inclusive democracy in Nepal by hitherto excluded groups.

a. Structural Elements

1 Federalism

According to Harris & Reilly and Elazar, "Federalism is an arrangement under which power is devolved equally to all regions, and in which each region maintains an identical relationship to the central government" (Quoted by Gunther Bachler 200313). After the people's movement of 1990, out of 44 political registered with the Election Commission, three of them demanded for federalism. The Nepal Rastriya Jana-Jati Party

³²⁶ Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan, *Expected Model and Process of Inclusive Democracy in Nepal*, Retrieve from December 26, 2007. Online
[http://www.nepalresearch.org/publications/bhattachan_inclusive_democracy.pdf]

demanded federalism based on ethnicity, the Sadvanaban Party for federalism with the autonomy of the Tarai region, and the Nepal Rastriya Jana Mukti Morcha (now Party) for administrative federalism (Bhattachan 1993). Nepal Federation of Nationalities (NEFEN) has been demanding for right to self-determination and ethnic autonomy since its establishment in 1990. The Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) has made it public that they are in favor of semi-federalism.

Nepal can learn lesson from experience of federalism by many countries, including Switzerland. Although Switzerland was the only model prescribed by the Rana planner Mr. Bijaya Shamsher back in the forties, Nepalese planners, political leaders and scholars never paid attention to his recommendation. Federalism somehow did not capture the interest of Nepalese and foreign scholars until Govinda Neupane (2000) broke the ice, followed by Nilam Shekhar Adhikari (2000) and Mahendra Lawoti (2002) by writing their Master's/doctoral dissertation focusing on a need of federalism as the most suitable form of consensual democracy in Nepal. Among the political scientists Krishna Hachhethu has written a paper on federalism but his ideas on it are still elementary. He accepts that federalism in Nepal is possible on two grounds, one heterogeneous character of national population and two, if heterogeneous, settlement pattern of diverse groups: mixed or in separate territory (Hachhethu 2003:2). He does not see a possibility of 9 federalism in Nepal on the third factor, as there appears to be 'a direct correlations between large size and federal structure' (Hachhethu 2003:3). I believe that although the physical size of Nepal may be small but in terms of socio-cultural diversity it is not small; it is huge indeed. And, hence, federalism is possible on this count as well.

According to Yash Ghai, "Classical federalism, where all regions have equal powers, may not be sufficiently sensitive to the peculiar cultural and other needs of a particular community, which require a greater measure of self-government" (Ghai 2000:8-9). It is because of this reason federalism should be tied up with autonomy-ethnic, linguistic and regional. Nicholas Haysom (2003:15) has aptly noted, "Federalism also allows for government closer to the people, greater local control over decisions which impact on citizen's daily lives." He has further noted, "It allows for policies to be adapted to the particularities, including cultural, demographic and political particularities, of the region" (Haysom 2003:15). Wolf Lander (2003) is of the view that federalism is an answer to multicultural conflict as it separates "pike and trout in the pond" and linguistic, religious, cultural and other minorities can hold political power within sub-national unit (Lander 2003:2). Bachler (2003:13) is of the view that "Federalism can serve consociational as well as integrative purposes."

Levels of Federalism

Autonomous nations and regions should be the backbone of federalism. They must have their own constitution, legislative body, executive and judiciary and implement their own laws and also the federal laws. The names and modalities of these bodies may be different in different autonomous nations and regions depending on their history and culture. Each autonomous nation and region may develop local bodies based on their history, culture and tradition. For example, the Limbus, Khambus, Sunuwars and Yakhas have a tradition of "**Thum**". Similarly, the Syangtans of Mustang have a tradition of **Posang** (see Box 1). Indigenous nationalities had exercised autonomy in the past and some of their traditional organizations related to polity, economy (including capital and labor), judiciary, natural resource management, etc. are still continuing (for detail see Bhattachan 2000). They, therefore, can learn from their own experience. **Federal Nation-State** should comprise of the **House of Nationalities** with representation of the autonomous nations and regions. The number depends upon the outcome of exercise of right to self-determination. The speaker of the House should be rotated in the alphabetical order of the names of autonomous nations and regions. **Federal Judiciary** should comprise of **Customary Court** and **Non-Customary Court**. Judges from each language groups should be represented in the customary court. Many language speakers do not have individuals who have qualification for non-customary judge. In such cases, special efforts should be done to provide education and training from among such groups.

Federal Government retains control over army, international relations and monetary policies. The Head of the government should be on rotational basis.

2. Autonomy

The concept of autonomy is not a new concept in Nepal. Before the territorial unification of Nepal in 1769, Nepal had a long history of ups and down of federalism and ethnic autonomy. Even King Prtihvinarayan Shaha had given autonomy to the Limbus of eastern Nepal. The demand for regional autonomy started immediately after the fall of the oligarchic Rana rule in 1951. One of the three demands of the Nepal Tarai Congress formed in 1951 was establishment of an autonomous Tarai region (Gaize 1975:109). Movements of Indigenous Nationalities, such as the Limbuan Liberation Front, have been demanding for ethnic autonomy even during the partyless Panchyat period. Out of nine 'experience of autonomy' listed by Yas Ghai (2000:14-24), possibility of regime change, undisputable sovereignty, and existence of several ethnic groups rather than two makes the prospect of autonomy very bright in Nepal. What is required now is a careful design of institutional structures that is essential for the success of autonomy. All those organized groups who demand for autonomy, strongly believe one of the nine 'experience of autonomy,' which states "autonomy does not promote secession; on the

contrary, true autonomy prevents secession" (Ghai 2000:14-24). Different political parties and different scholars have proposed for different numbers of autonomous regions. Nepal Sadvabana Party and Nepali Congress leader Dhundi Raj Shastri have proposed five different regions each, scholar Govinda Neupane proposed 11 regions, the Nepal Jana-Jati Party proposed 12 regions and political scientist Mahendra Lawoti proposed 13 regions, and Dr. Harka Gurung proposed 25 regions (Table 1). All these proposed regions may have merit of its own but in terms of rising aspirations of different caste, ethnic, language, religious, cultural and regional groups, such divisions would neither help to fulfill it nor prevent future conflicts based on ethnicity, language, religion and region. Also, such pre-determined regions would deprive different groups to enjoy their right to self-determination. Given the political economic and socio-cultural history of Nepal, the only realistic basis for autonomy and sub-autonomy is multi-pronged approaches. This means, autonomy and sub-autonomy within autonomy should be granted primarily on three criteria:

1. Ethnic: This criterion should be applied to all 59 indigenous nationalities.
2. Linguistic: This criterion should be applied to the Hindu Madhesi and Muslims in the Terai region.
3. Regional: This criterion should be applied to Hill Hindu castes. 12

3. Proportional representation

According to Wolf Lander, Proportional representation "is a universal key to power sharing in a double sense: it opens many doors to political participation, and it can be used by new groups arising from new cleavages." 14 The guiding criteria for proportional representation in all public offices should be as follows:

1. Gender,
2. Caste and ethnicity,
3. Region,
4. Language,
5. Religion, and
6. Political parties.

The past census data are "false" or "manufactured" numbers with loaded interest of the dominant caste, language, religion, region, sex and culture group. In order to do justice to different groups, fresh census should be taken with focus on generating truthful census data on these five criteria. For this, representation of all groups and sub-groups should be made right from the policy making bodies at the Central Bureau of Statistics, including its technical committee to enumerators and their trainers. In the case of merger

of several castes or indigenous nationalities or language groups or in a region with mixed groups, proportional representation should be practiced.

4. Special Measures

Any cautious design of federal structure, autonomy, and proportional representation may not do full justice to some large or small groups. For substantive equality and equity both the federal government and autonomous regions should design affirmative action policy. Such policy should be partly remedial and partly preferential. In remedial affirmative action, the identified groups should be given special training so as make them able to compete with others in some selected fields. In other fields, competition should be done within the group itself. Special measures may be required in political representation, employment, education and housing (see Glazer 1987, for detail about affirmative action practiced in the US). The following groups need special measures or affirmative action in political representation, employment, education and housing should be as follows:

1. Gender,
2. Caste and ethnicity,
3. Region,
4. Language, and
5. Religion.

b. Process related Elements

1. Round Table Conference

All organized groups and the rulers have never come together in a round table to be familiar with each other's concerns and aspirations. Also, different organized groups, including political parties, organizations of women, Dalit, Madhesi, indigenous 15 nationalities, language and religion, and other civil society organizations, human rights organizations, have also not come together to understand each other's aspirations. The demand of the Maoist insurgents that after the cease-fire, round table conference should be organized is very timely and sensible to figure out the common and different aspirations of different organized groups. Differences can be ironed out through referendum, constituent assembly, right to self-determination and federalism. Round table conference should be organized at three levels:

1. Grassroots or local or community level,
2. Regional level, and
3. National level.

2. Right to self-determination

Autonomy and sub-autonomy based on ethnicity, language and region is crucial structural element, which should be decided through right to self-determination. Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." As Nepal has ratified both conventions unconditionally, Nepal has international obligation to fulfill it. Whether the term "People[s]" or "Self" refers to 'state,' 'representative government,' 'colonized peoples,' 'indigenous peoples,' 'ethnic groups,' 'minorities,' and 'group of individuals' have been in debates in international community for a long time, in Nepal 'indigenous nationalities' and other minorities such as Dalits, Madhesi and some regional groups are demanding for right to self-determination. Although, the concept of right to self-determination imply secession, irredentism (secession within a state), merge in existing state and maintain affiliation with existing state, none of the organized groups have ever expressed their aspiration for secession. Even the Maoist insurgency and the demands made by its fraternal or sisterly organizations of scores of ethnic and regional liberation fronts have no intention of secession. Universally accepted criteria for self-determination such as intolerability, historical right, ethnic composition of the population and expression of the people's will are all applicable in Nepal. Therefore in the Nepalese context right to self-determination means right to accept:

1. Autonomy,
2. Autonomy of combined groups/regions,
3. Sub-autonomy within autonomy, and
4. Merge with federal government.

Autonomy should not be imposed but each potential group should be given to exercise their right to self-determination. Once the decision is made, reconfirmation for the status could be done every ten years through referendum. All those groups who exercise their right to self-determination should be allowed to use it several times, not just once. Such mechanism will allow them to change their status of autonomy and sub-autonomy as desired.

3. Constituent assembly¹

In deeply divided multi-cultural societies like Nepal, the whole political system should correctly address the identity politics and constitution is the core instrument to do so (Haysom 2003). It looks like all political actors now increasingly recognize onstituent

assembly as a preliminary step towards making people sovereign, institutionalizing inclusive democracy and building positive peace. 'Constituent assembly,' according to Canada at the Forks Workshop reports, is a "group of **citizens** /individual stakeholders gathered **together** to discuss general issues" with a purpose "to present the **public will** – or the people's mandate of governance (i.e. on the constitution)." The overall objective of a constituent assembly is "to generate a set of propositions (that represent the mass public's view point) and to expose them to a nationwide referendum." Given the mummified state of the Constitution and failure of political parties to strengthen and/or save democracy in twelve years (1990-1992) by amending the constitution, it is now evident that 'normal politics' and 'normal governance' has failed to make constitutional changes. 'Normal politics' is in frozen state because restoration of the House of Representatives is nowhere in sight, political parties has been skirted off or ignored by the King, and undemocratic constitutional changes are not acceptable, on the one hand, and on the other, Maoist insurgency has been intensifying, the main viable option left for reclaiming democracy, restoring peace, and getting out of the present crisis is a "revolutionary transformation" through constituent assembly. As we have lost other opportunities and cheaper and quicker options in the past, constituent assembly may appear to be expensive and little time consuming but given the bleak scenario of the future, skirting off the idea of constituent assembly may prove to be terribly costly and unbearable. Concerning the mechanisms for selection of the delegates for constituent assembly, nomination and random selection of individuals should be ruled out. The debate should be focused on the solution found through tier system. One of the necessary tiers is representation of different caste, ethnic, language, religious, gender and regional groups. Other civil society organizations and political parties and independent elections could be other tiers. All delegates should reflect group interests. The delegates of the constituent 1 I have extracted this scetion from my paper "Issues Confronting Youth and Media" published in **The Telegraph**. Vol. 19, No. 40, Wednesday Juanuary 1, 2003. Pp. 2,3 & 4. 17 assembly should travel in all parts of the country to have a face-to-face interaction between the citizens. Mass media should play a key role in disseminating information coming out from such meetings. The minimum time frame of the constituent assembly should be one year but not more than two years. Decision in Constituent aseembly should be by two-thirds majority. The Constituent Assembly may come up with a set of alternative propositions to be ratified by the Nepalese people through referendum. The Nepalese people should ratify the finalized Constitution through referendum. There should be no conditionality for constituent assembly and the results should be binding to all, the Maoist insurgents, political parties, the King, civil society and all the citizens. If the final out come is for multi-party politic system, the King and

the Maoist insurgents also should abide with it and if it is otherwise, political parties also should abide with the decision. Similarly, if the result is for People's Republic as proposed by the Maoist insurgents, all political parties, the King, civil society and the Nepalese citizens should abide with it and if other wise, the Maoist insurgents also should abide it. Further, if the result is for the direct leadership of the King, the Maoist insurgents, political parties, civil society and the citizens should abide with it and if other wise, the King should abide it. Once the issues are settled, the losers should be allowed to use to expand their ideas and gain support of the people in a peaceful way and periodic referendum may be used to express the will of the people for change or status quo.

4. Referendum and Public Propositions

Referendum and public propositions should be adopted as one of the effective processes of inclusive democracy. Referendum should be done at three levels and public propositions should be on three fields, which are as follows:

Three levels:

Federal Referendum: Propositions of federal concern and/or significance should be passed through federal referendum.

Nation's or Regions' Referendum: Propositions of nations' or regions' concern and/or significance should be passed through national or regional' referendum.

Local Referendum: Propositions of local concern and/or significance should be passed through local referendum. Public propositions should be on three fields:

1. *Constitutional issues:* Referendum on whether the existing political system should be changed or whether any constitutional provisions must be changed should be done every five years. This will give hope to losers to win next time. This will indeed prevent them raising arms or indulging in insurgency or revolution or radical activities for change in the constitution or the political system.
2. *Legislative issues:* Referendum on legislative issues should be done every two years.
3. *Development issues:* Referendum on development issues should be done every two years. Referendums are expensive. No matter how expensive it may be, in the long run the benefits outweigh the losses. The benefits include ownership in governance, social harmony, positive peace and prevention of violence and counter violence.

CONCLUSION

The expected model and process of inclusive democracy neither results in nor encourage disintegration of the country and communal violence, as perceived by the Bahunbadis. On the contrary, these are indeed desperately needed to avoid any such misfortune in the days to come by maintaining minimal unity in highly diversified society. Also, the means to this end is to trash reformist agenda by advocating for rights-based movement blended with revolutionary or radical transformation through roundtable conference, right to self-determination, referendum, and constituent assembly to re-write the constitution and to practice inclusive democracy. It is clear that any other model of democracy, except inclusive, in Nepal would continue to breed insurgency based on caste/ethnicity, language, religion and region. The best way to avoid them is inclusive democracy as suggested. There is need for intensive discourse on the issues I have discussed and analyzed in this paper among and between different organized excluded groups and also between the rulers and excluded groups.

APPENDIX J

THE ROLE OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Margaret Stimmann Branson has identified the Role of Civic Education³²⁷ that has broad potential for influencing civic education in the constitutional democracies of the world. The role of civic education by Branson is provided here to help understand civic education from an international perspective.

The Role of Civic Education

I. Introduction

Societies have long had an interest in the ways in which their young are prepared for citizenship and in how they learn to take part in civic life. Today that interest might better be described as a concern-in fact as a growing concern, particularly in democratic societies. There is evidence aplenty that no country, including our own United States, has achieved the level of understanding and acceptance of the rights and responsibilities among the totality of its citizens that is required for the maintenance and improvement of any constitutional democracy.

In the past decade we have witnessed dramatic demands for freedom on the part of peoples from Asia to Africa and from Central and Eastern Europe to Latin America. And as we have seen one totalitarian or authoritarian regime after another toppled and fledgling democratic government replaces them, we may have become too optimistic about the future of democracy. We also may have become too complacent, too sure of democracy's robustness or of its long term viability. History, however, teaches us that few countries have sustained democratic governments for prolonged periods, a lesson which we as Americans are sometimes inclined to forget. Americans, of course, should take pride and confidence from the fact that they live in the world's oldest constitutional democracy and that the philosophical foundations underlying their political institutions serve as a model for aspiring peoples around the world. The "shot heard 'round the world" two centuries ago at the opening of the American Revolution continues to resound today, and it should remind Americans that free institutions are among humanity's highest achievements and worthy of their full energies and earnest devotion to preserve.

Americans also should realize that civic education is essential to sustain our constitutional democracy. The habits of the mind, as well as "habits of the heart," the

³²⁷ Margaret Stimmann Branson, *The Role of Civic Education*, Retrieved from October 1, 2008, Online [http://www.civiced.org/papers/articles_role.html]

dispositions that inform the democratic ethos, are not inherited. As Alexis de Toqueville pointed out, each new generation is a new people that must acquire the knowledge, learn the skills, and develop the dispositions or traits of private and public character that undergird a constitutional democracy. Those dispositions must be fostered and nurtured by word and study and by the power of example. Democracy is not a "machine that would go of itself," but must be consciously reproduced, one generation after another.

Civic education, therefore, is-or should be-a prime concern. There is no more important task than the development of an informed, effective, and responsible citizenry. Democracies are sustained by citizens who have the requisite knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Absent a reasoned commitment on the part of its citizens to the fundamental values and principles of democracy, a free and open society cannot succeed. It is imperative; therefore, that educators, policymakers, and members of civil society make the case and ask for the support of civic education from all segments of society and from the widest range of institutions and governments.

It is relatively easy for a society to produce technically competent people. But the kind of society Americans want to live in and the kind of government they want to have requires effort and commitment on the part of its citizens. Americans want a society and a government

- in which human rights are respected
- in which the individual's dignity and worth are acknowledged
- in which the rule of law is observed
- in which people willingly fulfill their responsibilities, and
- in which the common good is the concern of all.

Making that kind of society, that kind of government a reality is the most important challenge Americans face and the most important work they could undertake.

II. What is civic education?

Civic Education in a democracy is education in self government. Democratic self government means that citizens are actively involved in their own governance; they do not just passively accept the dictums of others or acquiesce to the demands of others. As Aristotle put it in his *Politics* (c 340 BC), "If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost." In other words, the ideals of democracy are most completely realized when every member of the political community shares in its governance. Members of the political community are its citizens; hence citizenship in a democracy is membership in the body politic. Membership implies participation, but not

participation for participation's sake. Citizen participation in a democratic society must be based on informed, critical reflection, and on the understanding and acceptance of the rights and responsibilities that go with that membership.

Civic education in a democratic society most assuredly needs to be concerned with promoting understanding of the ideals of democracy and a reasoned commitment to the values and principles of democracy. That does not mean, however, that democracy should be presented as utopia. Democracy is not utopian, and citizens need to understand that lest they become cynical, apathetic, or simply withdraw from political life when their unrealistic expectations are not met. To be effective civic education must be realistic; it must address the central truths about political life. The American Political Science Association (APSA) recently formed a Task Force on Civic Education. Its statement of purpose calls for more realistic teaching about the nature of political life and a better understanding of "the complex elements of 'the art of the possible'." The APSA report faults existing civic education because all too often it

seems unable to counter the belief that, in politics, one either wins or loses, and to win means getting everything at once, now! The sense that politics can always bring another day, another chance to be heard, to persuade and perhaps to gain part of what one wants, is lost. Political education today seems unable to teach the lessons of our political history: Persistent civic engagement-the slow, patient building of first coalitions and then majorities-can generate social change. (Carter and Elshstain, 1997.)

A message of importance, therefore, is that politics need not, indeed must not, be a zero-sum game. The idea that "winner takes all" has no place in a democracy, because if losers lose all they will opt out of the democratic game. Sharing is essential in a democratic society-the sharing of power, of resources, and of responsibilities. In a democratic society the possibility of effecting social change is ever present, if citizens have the knowledge, the skills and the will to bring it about. That knowledge, those skills and the will or necessary traits of private and public character are the products of a good civic education.

III. What are essential components of a good civic education?

What are the essential components of civic education appropriate for a democratic society? That question was addressed recently in the course of the development of the *National Standards for Civics and Government*. (Center for Civic Education, 1994.) More than 3,000 individuals and groups participated in the development and/or review process. Those voluntary standards which have been well received and critically acclaimed, not only in the country of their origin but in many

other nations as well, identify three essential components: civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions.

Civic Knowledge

Civic knowledge is concerned with the content or what citizens ought to know; the subject matter, if you will. In both the *National Standards* and the *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)*, which currently is underway in schools across the United States, the knowledge component is embodied in the form of five significant and enduring questions. These are questions that have continued to engage not only political philosophers and politicians; they are questions that do-or should-engage every thoughtful citizen. The five questions are:

- I. *What are civic life, politics, and government?*
- II. *What are the foundations of the American political system?*
- III. *How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?*
- IV. *What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?*
- V. *What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?*

The choice of question format as a means of organizing the knowledge component was deliberate. Democracy is a dialogue, a discussion, a deliberative process in which citizens engage. The use of questions is intended to indicate that the process is never-ending, is an on-going marketplace of ideas, a search for new and better ways to realize democracy's ideals.

It is important that everyone has an opportunity to consider the essential questions about government and civil society that continue to challenge thoughtful people. Addressing the first organizing question "*What are civic life, politics, and government?*" helps citizens make informed judgments about the nature of civic life, politics, and government, and why politics and government are necessary; the purposes of government; the essential characteristics of limited and unlimited government; the nature and purposes of constitutions, and alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments. Consideration of this question should promote greater understanding of the nature and importance of civil society or the complex network of freely formed, voluntary political, social, and economic associations which is an essential component of a constitutional democracy. A vital civil society not only prevents the abuse or excessive

concentration of power by government; the organizations of civil society serve as public laboratories in which citizens learn democracy by doing it.

The second organizing question "*What are the foundations of the American political system?*" entails an understanding of the historical, philosophical, and economic foundations of the American political system; the distinctive characteristics of American society and political culture; and the values and principles basic to American constitutional democracy, such as individual rights and responsibilities, concern for the public good, the rule of law, justice, equality, diversity, truth, patriotism, federalism, and the separation of powers. This question promotes examination of the values and principles expressed in such fundamental documents as the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, The Federalist Papers, and landmark Supreme Court decisions. Study of the nation's core documents now is mandated by several states including California, Ohio, South Carolina, Florida, and Kentucky. The United States Commission on Immigration Reform in its 1997 Report to Congress (U.S. Commission on Immigration, 1997), strongly recommended attention to the nation's founding documents saying:

Civic instruction in public schools should be rooted in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution-particularly the Preamble, the Bill of Rights, and the Fourteenth Amendment. Emphasizing the ideals in these documents is in no way a distortion of U.S. history. Instruction in the history of the United States, as a unique engine of human liberty notwithstanding its faults, is an indispensable foundation for solid civics training for all Americans.

Knowledge of the ideals, values, and principles set forth in the nation's core documents serves an additional and useful purpose. Those ideals, values, and principles are criteria which citizens can use to judge the means and ends of government, as well as the means and ends of the myriad groups that are part of civil society.

The third organizing question "*How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?*" helps citizens understand and evaluate the limited government they have ordained and established and the complex dispersal and sharing of powers it entails. Citizens who understand the justification for this system of limited, dispersed, and shared power and its design are better able to hold their governments-local, state, and national-accountable and to ensure that the rights of individuals are protected. They also will develop a considered appreciation of the place of law in the American political system, as well as of the unparalleled opportunities for choice and citizen participation that the system makes possible.

The fourth organizing question "*What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?*" is important because the United States does not exist in isolation; it is a part of an increasingly interconnected world. To make judgments about the role of the United States in the world today and about what course American foreign policy should take; citizens need to understand the major elements of international relations and how world affairs affect their own lives, and the security and well being of their communities, state, and nation. Citizens also need to develop a better understanding of the roles of major international governmental and non governmental organizations, because of the increasingly significant role that they are playing in the political, social, and economic realms.

The final organizing question "*What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?*" is of particular importance. Citizenship in a constitutional democracy means that each citizen is a full and equal member of a self governing community and is endowed with fundamental rights and entrusted with responsibilities. Citizens should understand that through their involvement in political life and in civil society, they can help to improve the quality of life in their neighborhoods, communities, and nation. If they want their voices to be heard, they must become active participants in the political process. Although elections, campaigns, and voting are central to democratic institutions, citizens should learn that beyond electoral politics many participatory opportunities are open to them. Finally, they should come to understand that the attainment of individual goals and public goals tend to go hand in hand with participation in political life and civil society. They are more likely to achieve personal goals for themselves and their families, as well as the goals they desire for their communities, state, and nation, if they are informed, effective, and responsible citizens.

Civic Skills: Intellectual and Participatory

The second essential component of civic education in a democratic society is civic skills. If citizens are to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities as members of self-governing communities, they not only need to acquire a body of knowledge such as that embodied in the five organizing questions just described; they also need to acquire relevant intellectual and participatory skills.

Intellectual skills in civics and government are inseparable from content. To be able to think critically about a political issue, for example, one must have an understanding of the issue, its history, its contemporary relevance, as well as command of a set of intellectual tools or considerations useful in dealing with such an issue.

The intellectual skills essential for informed, effective, and responsible citizenship sometimes are called critical thinking skills. The *National Standards for*

Civics and Government and the *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* (NAEP) categorize these skills as identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; and evaluating, taking, and defending positions on public issues. A good civic education enables one to identify or give the meaning or significance of things that are tangible such as the flag, national monuments, or civic and political events. It also enables one to give the meaning or significance of intangibles, such as ideas or concepts including patriotism, majority and minority rights, civil society, and constitutionalism.

The ability to identify emotional language and symbols is of particular importance for citizens. They need to be able to discern the true purposes for which emotive language and symbols are being employed.

Another intellectual skill which good civic education fosters is that of describing. The ability to describe functions and processes such as legislative checks and balances or judicial review is indicative of understanding. Discerning and describing trends, such as participation in civic life, immigration, or employment helps the citizen fit current events into a longer term pattern.

Good civic education seeks to develop competence in explaining and analyzing. If citizens can explain how something should work, for example the American federal system, the legal system, or the system of checks and balances, they will be more able to detect and help correct malfunctions. Citizens also need to be able to analyze such things as the components and consequences of ideas, social, political, or economic processes, and institutions. The ability to analyze enables one to distinguish between fact and opinion or between means and ends. It also helps the citizen to clarify responsibilities such as those between personal and public responsibilities or those between elected or appointed officials and citizens.

In a self-governing society citizens are decision-makers. They need, therefore, to develop and continue to improve their skills of evaluating, taking, and defending positions. These skills are essential if citizens are to assess issues on the public agenda, to make judgments about issues and to discuss their assessment with others in public or private.

In addition to the acquisition of knowledge and intellectual skills, education for citizenship in a democratic society must focus on skills that are required for informed, effective, and responsible participation in the political process and in civil society. Those skills can be categorized as *interacting*, *monitoring*, and *influencing*. *Interacting* pertains to the skills citizens need to communicate and to work cooperatively with others. To interact is to be responsive to one's fellow citizens. To interact is to question, to answer,

and to deliberate with civility, as well as to build coalitions and to manage conflict in a fair, peaceful manner. *Monitoring* politics and government refers to the skills citizens need to track the handling of issues by the political process and by government. Monitoring also means the exercising of oversight or "watchdog" functions on the part of citizens. Finally, the participatory skill of *influencing* refers to the capacity to affect the processes of politics and governance, both the formal and the informal processes of governance in the community.

It is essential that the development of participatory skills begins in the earliest grades and that it continues throughout the course of schooling. The youngest pupils can learn to interact in small groups or committees, to pool information, exchange opinions or formulate plans of action commensurate with their maturity. They can learn to listen attentively, to question effectively, and to manage conflicts through mediation, compromise, or consensus-building. Older students can and should be expected to develop the skills of monitoring and influencing public policy. They should learn to research public issues using electronic resources, libraries, the telephone, personal contacts, and the media. Attendance at public meetings ranging from student councils to school boards, city councils, zoning commissions, and legislative hearings ought to be a required part of every high school student's experience. Observation of the courts and exposure to the workings of the judicial system also ought to be a required part of their civic education. Observation in and of itself is not sufficient, however. Students not only need to be prepared for such experiences, they need well planned, structured opportunities to reflect on their experiences under the guidance of knowledgeable and skillful mentors.

If citizens are to influence the course of political life and the public policies adopted, they need to expand their repertoire of participatory skills. Voting certainly is an important means of exerting influence; but it is not the only means. Citizens also need to learn to use such means as petitioning, speaking, or testifying before public bodies, joining ad-hoc advocacy groups, and forming coalitions. Like the skills of interacting and monitoring, the skill of influencing can and should be systematically developed.

Civic Dispositions: Essential Traits of Private and Public Character

The third essential component of civic education, civic dispositions, refers to the traits of private and public character essential to the maintenance and improvement of constitutional democracy.

Civic dispositions, like civic skills, develop slowly over time and as a result of what one learns and experiences in the home, school, community, and organizations of civil society. Those experiences should engender understanding that democracy requires

the responsible self governance of each individual; one cannot exist without the other. Traits of private character such as moral responsibility, self discipline, and respect for the worth and human dignity of every individual are imperative. Traits of public character are no less consequential. Such traits as public spiritedness, civility, respect for the rule of law, critical mindedness, and willingness to listen, negotiate, and compromise are indispensable to democracy's success.

Civic dispositions that contribute to the political efficacy of the individual, the healthy functioning of the political system, a sense of dignity and worth, and the common good were identified in the *National Standards for Civics and Government*. In the interest of brevity, those dispositions or traits of private and public character might be described as:

- **Becoming an independent member of society.** This disposition encompasses adhering voluntarily to self-imposed standards of behavior rather than requiring the imposition of external controls, accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions and fulfilling the moral and legal obligations of membership in a democratic society.
- **Assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen.** These responsibilities include taking care of one's self, supporting one's family and caring for, nurturing, and educating one's children. They also include being informed about public issues, voting, paying taxes, serving on juries, performing public service, and serving in leadership positions commensurate with one's talents.
- **Respecting individual worth and human dignity.** Respecting others means listening to their opinions, behaving in a civil manner, considering the rights and interests of fellow citizens, and adhering to the principle of majority rule but recognizing the right of the minority to dissent.
- **Participating in civic affairs in a thoughtful and effective manner.** This disposition entails becoming informed prior to voting or participating in public debate, engaging in civil and reflective discourse, and assuming leadership when appropriate. It also entails evaluating whether and when one's obligations as a citizen require that personal desires and interests be subordinated to the public good and evaluating whether and when one's obligations or constitutional principles obligate one to reject certain civic expectations.
- **Promoting the healthy functioning of constitutional democracy.** This disposition encompasses being informed and attentive to public affairs, learning

about and deliberating on constitutional values and principles, monitoring the adherence of political leaders and public agencies to those values and principles and taking appropriate action if adherence is lacking. This disposition also inclines the citizen to work through peaceful, legal means to change laws that are thought to be unwise or unjust.

The importance of civic dispositions, or the "habits of the heart," as Alexis de Toqueville called them, can scarcely be overemphasized. The traits of public and private character that undergird democracy are, in the long run, probably of more consequence than the knowledge or skills a citizen may command. Judge Learned Hand, in a speech made in New York in 1944, captured the centrality of civic dispositions in his now famous words:

Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there, it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it.

IV. here and how does civic education take place?

Many institutions help develop citizens' knowledge and skills and shape their civic character and commitments. Family, religious institutions, the media, and community groups exert important influences. Schools, however, bear a special and historic responsibility for the development of civic competency and civic responsibility. Schools fulfill that responsibility through both formal and informal education beginning in the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process.

Formal Instruction

Formal instruction in civics and government should provide a basic and realistic understanding of civic life, politics, and government. It should familiarize students with the constitutions of the United States and the state in which they live, because these and other core documents are criteria which can be used to judge the means and ends of government.

Formal instruction should enable citizens to understand the workings of their own and other political systems, as well as the relationship of the politics and government of their own country to world affairs. Good civic education promotes an understanding of how and why one's own security, quality of life, and economic position is connected to that of neighboring countries, as well as to major regional, international, and transnational organizations.

Formal instruction should emphasize the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a constitutional democracy. The Declaration of Independence, which many consider to

be an extended preamble to the United States Constitution, holds that governments are instituted to secure the rights of citizens. Those rights have been categorized in various ways but a useful and generally accepted categorization divides them in this manner:

- **Personal rights** such as freedom of thought, conscience, expression, and association and freedom of residence, movement, and travel.
- **Political rights** such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, and petition, as well as the right to vote and run for public office.
- **Economic rights** such as the right to acquire, use and transfer property, to choose one's work or change employment, to join a labor union or a professional organization, to establish and operate a business, to obtain a copyright or patent, and to enter lawful contracts.

Instruction about rights should make it clear that few rights can be considered absolute. Rights may reinforce or conflict with one another or with other values and interests and therefore require reasonable limitations. The rights of liberty and equality, for example, or the rights of the individual and the common good often conflict with one another. It is very important, therefore, that citizens develop a framework for clarifying ideas about rights and the relationships among rights and other values and interests. This framework then can provide a basis for making reasoned decisions about the proper scope and limits of rights.

Formal instruction in civics and government should be no less attentive to the responsibilities of citizens in a constitutional democracy. An understanding of the importance of individual rights must be accompanied by an examination of personal and civic responsibilities. For American democracy to flourish, citizens not only must be aware of their rights, they must also exercise them responsibly and they must fulfill those personal and civic responsibilities necessary to a self-governing, free, and just society. Those responsibilities include:

- **Personal responsibilities** such as taking care of one's self, supporting one's family, and caring for, nurturing, and educating one's children, accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions, adhering to moral principles, considering the rights and interests of others, and behaving in a civil manner.
- **Civic responsibilities** such as obeying the law, being informed and attentive to public issues, assuming leadership when appropriate, paying taxes, voting, serving as a juror or in the armed forces, monitoring the adherence of political leaders and governmental agencies to constitutional principles and taking appropriate action if that adherence is lacking, and performing public service.

Instruction about responsibilities should make it clear that rights and responsibilities go hand in hand. Responsibilities are the other half of the democratic equation. A sense of personal responsibility and civic obligation are in fact the social foundations on which individual rights and freedoms ultimately rest.

The Informal Curriculum

In addition to the formal curriculum, good civic education is attentive to the informal curriculum. The informal curriculum encompasses the governance of the school community and the relationships among those within it, as well as the "extra" or co-curricular activities that a school provides.

The importance of the governance of the school community and the quality of the relationships among those within it can scarcely be overemphasized. Classroom and schools should be managed by adults who govern in accord with democratic values and principles, and who display traits of character, private and public, that are worthy of emulation. Students also should be held accountable for behaving in accord with fair and reasonable standards and for respecting the rights and dignity of others, including their peers.

Research has consistently demonstrated the positive effects of co-curricular activities. Students who participate in them are more motivated to learn, more self confident, and exhibit greater leadership capabilities. Further, a major new survey, the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health (1997), has found that "connectedness with school" is a significant protective factor in the lives of young people. "School engagement is a critical protective factor against a variety of risky behaviors, influenced in good measure by perceived caring from teachers and high expectations for student performance."

Fortunately opportunities for co-curricular activities related to civic education have been expanding in the United States, and they need to be even more encouraged. Some activities have become regional or national events such as mock elections, mock trials, and History Day. Two nation-wide programs developed by the Center for Civic Education have now involved more than 26 million students. *We the People... The Citizen and the Constitution* engages students in mock legislative hearings on constitutional issues, and *Project Citizen* teaches middle school students how to identify, research, and devise solutions for local problems, as well as how to make realistic plans for gaining their acceptance as public policies. Both *We the People...* and *Project Citizen* not only bring students into direct contact with government at all levels and with organizations in civil society, these programs have had other positive civic consequences as well.

During the Spring of 1993, Professor Richard A. Brody of Stanford University conducted a study of 1,351 high school students from across the United States. The study was designed to determine the degree to which civics curricula in general and the *We the People...* program in particular affect students' political attitudes. The study focused on the concept of "political tolerance." "Political tolerance" refers to citizens' respect for the political rights and civil liberties of all people in the society, including those whose ideas they may find distasteful or abhorrent. It is a concept which encompasses many of the beliefs, values, and attitudes that are essential in a constitutional democracy.

Among the most important findings of the Brody studies were these:

- Overall, students in high school civics, government, and American history classes display more "political tolerance" than the average American.
- Students in classes using all or part of the *We the People...* curriculum are more tolerant than students following other curricula.
- Tolerance can be learned from experiences that expose one to the norms of American society and from experiences that require the individual to both explain and defend his or her point of view and listen carefully to the viewpoints of others.
- The highest levels of tolerance were demonstrated by students who participated in the simulated congressional hearing competitions which are an optional portion of the *We the People...* program.

Community service is another area of the curriculum in which increasing numbers of students are participating. Community service is in keeping with long established American traditions. It was more than a century and a half ago that Alexis de Toqueville was moved to write that "Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition in life, are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations... but others of a thousand different types-religious, moral, serious, futile, very general, and very limited, immensely large and very minute." (de Tocqueville, 1969.) He marveled at Americans penchant for voluntary service to their communities and to causes in which they believed. The experience of getting involved in local voluntary associations, de Toqueville said, generated a sense of individual responsibility for the public good and inclined them to become "orderly, temperate, moderate, and self-controlled citizens."

Present day scholars tend to agree with de Toqueville's observations about the importance of voluntarism and of a vibrant civil society. Seymour Martin Lipset contends that

These associations of what has come to be known as civil society create networks of communication among people with common positions and interests helping to sustain the moral order, political parties, and participation. American... are still the most participatory, the most disposed to belong to and be active in voluntary associations of any people in the world. (Lipset, 1996.)

Estimates of the number of adult Americans who perform voluntary services vary. A study conducted by the Center for Survey Research at the University of Virginia (Guterbock, 1997) found that about 44 percent of all adults had volunteered time in the preceding year. An earlier World Values Survey puts the number of Americans who are active in and do unpaid work for voluntary associations at "fully three fifths" of the adult population. Only about one quarter of the adults in Britain, Italy, or Japan do unpaid voluntary work, while less than a third do so in France or Germany.

The record of American youth for community service is of particular interest and is, in general, encouraging. In a recent study involving more than 8,000 students in grades six through twelve, about half of those interviewed reported participation in some type of service activity. Among those who participated regularly, 12 percent gave more than 30 hours and 19 percent more than 10 hours. Almost all (91 percent) of the students who participated in the 1995-96 school year indicated that they expected to continue to serve. (U.S. Department of Education, 1997.)

Among the more significant findings of that study of student participation in community service activities are these:

- While many students were involved, not all kinds of students were involved equally. Those who were more likely to participate were students who received high grades, females, students for whom English was the primary language they spoke at home, and 11th and 12th graders. By contrast, students who received lower grades, males, and 6th through 10th graders were less likely to participate.
- The greater the numbers of types of activities students were involved in (i.e., student government, other school activities, non-school activities, or work for pay), the more likely they were to participate in community service. Students who attended private schools, especially church-related schools, were also more likely to have done community service.
- Students were more likely to participate if an adult in the household participated in community service and if the highest degree held by a parent was a college degree or higher.

- The great majority of students (86 percent) were in schools that in some way encouraged community service, and these policies were related to student participation in community service.
- Many students also reported that their schools incorporated their community service into the curriculum.

Community service can be an important part of civic education, provided it is properly conceived as being more than just doing good deeds. Community service should be integrated into both the formal and informal curriculum of the school. Community service is not a substitute for formal instruction in civics and government, but it can enhance that instruction. Schools, therefore, need to do more than make students aware of opportunities to serve their schools and communities. Students need to be adequately prepared for experiential learning. They need to understand the institution or agency with which they'll be engaged and its larger social and political context. Students need to be supervised and provided with regular opportunities to reflect on their experiences. In the course of reflection students should be asked to consider questions such as: Is this something government should do? Is this something better attended by private individuals or groups in the civil society sector? How might the school or community problems you have seen be ameliorated? In what ways might you personally contribute to the amelioration of those problems? What knowledge have you personally gained as a result of your experiences? What additional knowledge do you need to acquire in order to be better informed? What intellectual or critical thinking skills have you developed through this service learning activity? How have your skills of interacting, and of monitoring and influencing public policy been improved? How has your understanding of the roles of the citizen in a democratic society changed?

V. What evidence is there of the need to improve civic education?

The idea that American schools have a distinctively civic mission has been recognized since the earliest days of the Republic. Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and others realized that the establishment of well-constructed political institutions was not in itself a sufficiently strong foundation to maintain constitutional democracy. They knew that ultimately a free society must depend on its citizens-on their knowledge, skills, and civic virtues. They believed that the civic mission of the schools is to foster the qualities of mind and heart required for successful government within a constitutional democracy.

Americans still believe that schools have a civic mission and that education for good citizenship should be the schools' top priority. The 28th Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll conducted in 1996 asked respondents what they considered to be the most important purpose of the nation's schools, apart from providing a basic education.

"To prepare students to be responsible citizens" was considered "very important" by more people than any other goal. Nationally 86 percent of those with no children in school and those with children in public schools were in agreement; the percentage in agreement shot up to 88 percent for nonpublic school parents. When Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup conducted a follow-up poll of just teachers the results were the same. (Landon, 1996.) Eighty four percent of America's teachers said "to prepare students for responsible citizenship was "very important," while another 15 percent called it "quite important."

A survey which compared results from the United States with those of eleven other countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) also is revealing. (U.S. Department of Education, 1997.) When Americans were asked which qualities or aptitudes schools consider "essential" or "very important," 86 percent said "being a good citizen." Unfortunately, when Americans were asked if they had confidence that schools have a major effect on the development of good citizenship only 59 percent said that they did. How justified is that lack of confidence? A brief review of recent research affords some disconcerting evidence.

- The nation's oldest and most comprehensive assessment of the attitudes of freshmen at 464 institutions is conducted annually by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles. The *American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1997*, (Sax & Astin et.al. 1997), its most recent report, found that "this year's college freshmen exhibit higher levels of disengagement-both academically and politically-than any previous entering class of students."
- The 1997 freshmen demonstrate the lowest levels of political interest in the history of the survey. A record low 26.7 percent of today's freshmen believe that "keeping up to date with political affairs" is a very important or essential life goal (compared to 29.4 percent last year and a high of 57.8 percent in 1966). Similarly, an all-time low 13.7 percent of freshmen say they frequently discuss politics (compared to 16.2 percent last year, and a high of 29.9 percent in 1968). The percent of students who desire to "influence the political structure" has also dipped to 16.7 percent, from 17.7 percent last year and a high of 20.6 percent in 1993. While the percent of students working on a local, state, or national political campaign increased from 6.6 percent to 8.2 percent between 1996 and 1997, this figure remains at only half of the record high 16.4 percent reached in 1969. Finally, the percent of freshmen who frequently vote in student elections

continues on a dramatic decline from 76.9 percent in 1968 to 21.3 percent in 1997 (compared to 23.0 percent last year).

- Students' disinterest in politics is paralleled by their increasing disinterest in activism. In the five years since students' interest in activism peaked on the 1992 survey, many indicators of activism have declined. The percent of students who say that "becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment" is a very important or essential life goal declined steadily from 33.6 percent in 1992 to 19.4 percent in 1997. Commitment to "helping to promote racial understanding" fell to its lowest point in a decade (31.8 percent, compared to 34.7 percent last year and a high of 42.0 in 1992). The percent who consider it very important or essential to "participate in a community action program" also declined to its lowest point in a decade (22.8 percent, compared to 23.7 percent last year and a high of 30.4 percent in 1975). Finally, the percent of students who are personally committed to "influencing social values" fell to its lowest point in nearly a decade (37.6 percent, compared to 39.0 percent last year and a high of 43.3 percent in 1992).
- In a survey conducted in late 1997, (National Constitution Center, 1997), more than 90 percent of Americans agreed that "the U.S. Constitution is important to me" and that "I'm proud of the U.S. Constitution." The National Constitution Center was created by Congress in 1988 to increase Americans awareness of the document. The Center measures public awareness by conducting surveys. Those surveys have shown that "people have an appalling lack of knowledge for a document that impacts their daily lives." According to Mayor Edward G. Rendell of Philadelphia, current chairman of the Center, more than three quarters (83 percent) admit that they know only "some" or "very little" about the specifics of the Constitution. For example, only 6 percent can name all four rights guaranteed by the First Amendment; 62 percent cannot name all three branches of the Federal government; 35 percent believe the Constitution mandates English as the official language; and more than half of Americans don't know the number of senators.

When asked to identify the causes of American ignorance of the document which they profess to revere and which they acknowledge matters a great deal in their daily lives, Rendell faulted the schools failure to teach civics and government. He said he believed Americans lack of knowledge stems partly from an education system that tends to treat the Constitution in the context of history, rather than as a living document that shapes current events. (Morin, 1997.) U.S. Secretary of Education,

Richard W. Riley was equally dismayed by the results of the National Constitution Center's study. In a press release issued September 15, 1997, Riley said

This poll suggests to me that most Americans seem to regard the Constitution like a family heirloom that is kept protectively in an upstairs sock drawer but never taken out and examined. I believe this lack of knowledge about how the Constitution functions leads to many of the discontents in our nation and current levels of distrust toward our national government.

Riley went on to say that:

The U.S. Department of Education is one of the leading contributors to current efforts to overcome this lack of awareness about how our democracy functions. The Department... support(s) the work of the Center for Civic Education, the "We the People" organization and the many efforts by our nation's civics teachers to educate our young people about our democracy. It is clear to me, however, that we have to do much more to keep the spirit of the Constitution alive for all Americans.

- The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is a survey mandated by the U.S. Congress to collect and report information about student achievement in various academic subjects. NAEP sometimes is called "The Nation's Report Card," because for more than 25 years it has provided Americans with information about how much and how well students are learning in mathematics, science, reading, history, geography, and other subjects. Currently NAEP is assessing civics. Results of the 1998 survey will not be available until late 1999 or early in the year 2000. The 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Report Card in Civics, however, revealed that students have only a superficial knowledge of civics and lack depth of understanding. For example, only 38 percent of 8th graders knew that Congress makes laws; and nearly half of high school seniors did not recognize typical examples of the federal system of checks and balances. Although half of the high school seniors tested displayed a detailed knowledge of major government structures and their functions, only six percent demonstrated a more developed understanding of a wide range of political institutions and processes.

The same NAEP Report Card also showed that although some students made gains in civics proficiency across the twelve year period separating the 1976 and 1988 assessments, most did not. At age 17, the performance of students attending schools in each of the types of communities studied—advantaged and disadvantaged, urban and other—declined significantly. There were significant

gaps in the performance of most students. Particularly disturbing were the disparities among subpopulations. Eighth and twelfth grade males were more likely than their female peers to reach the highest levels of civic proficiency as defined by NAEP. The percentages of Black and Hispanic students who reached the uppermost levels of proficiency were far smaller than the percentage of White students who did.

- Over the past decade, dozens of studies, commissions, and national reports have called attention to the failure to ensure that America's classrooms are staffed with qualified teachers. The National Commission on Teaching & America's Future (1996) in a particularly hard-hitting report noted that:

Although no state will allow a person to fix plumbing, guard swimming pools, style hair, write wills, design a building, or practice medicine without completing training and passing an examination, more than 40 states allow school districts to hire teachers on emergency licenses who have not met these basic requirements. Some pay more attention to the qualifications of veterinarians treating the nation's cats and dogs than to those of teachers educating the nation's children and youth.

Teacher expertise, as research has consistently and repeatedly shown, is one of the most telling factors in raising student achievement. One extensive study found that nearly 40 percent of the differences in student test scores were attributable to differences in teacher expertise, as measured by college degrees, years of teaching experience, and scores on teacher licensing examinations. Further, teacher expertise was of more significance than that of any other factor, including parent education, family income, or other socioeconomic characteristics.

A recent review of research on one of the least recognized causes of poor quality teaching (Ingersoll, 1998) is sobering. The problem is out-of-field teaching, or teachers being assigned to teach subjects that do not match their training or education. It is more widespread and more serious than has been recognized. It happens in well over half of the secondary schools in the nation in any given year, both rural and urban, affluent and low income. Low income public schools, however, have a higher level of out-of-field teaching than do schools in more affluent communities. Studies also show that recently hired teachers are more often assigned to teach subjects for which they are not trained than are experienced teachers. Lower-achieving classes are more often taught by teachers without a major or minor in the field than are higher-achieving classes. Junior high and middle school classes also are more likely than senior high classes to be taught by less than qualified teachers.

More than half of all secondary school history students in the country now are being taught by teachers with neither a major nor a minor in history. No data currently are available on the subject matter qualifications of teachers of civics and government, but one could surmise that the numbers of teachers with majors or minors in political science or allied fields would be even less.

In an effort to ensure that teachers are qualified for the subjects they will teach, some states have begun to test applicants for teaching positions. The National Center for Education Statistics reported in 1997 that about one half of the nation's school districts now require passage of state tests of basic skills while 39 percent require passage of state tests of subject knowledge. While those efforts are a step in the right direction, they fall short of the goal of assuring that all children are taught by teachers who not only have in-depth knowledge of the subject they teach but who also have the skills and the enthusiasm to teach it well.

VI. What is the relationship between civic education and character education?

Interest in and concerns about character education and education for citizenship are not new in America. These two concepts have always gone hand in hand. Indeed, the basic reason for establishing and expanding public schooling was to foster those traits of public and private character necessary for our great experiment in self-government to succeed.

In USA schools are expected to induce pupils to act virtuously. Acting virtuously meant more specifically that one should act with due restraint over his or her impulses, due regard for the rights and opinions of others, and reasonable concern for the probable and the long-term consequences of one's actions.

Virtue in individuals then was seen as an important public matter. "Public virtue cannot exist in a nation without private..." said John Adams. Jefferson agreed with him saying "Public virtue is the only foundation of Republics. There must be a positive passion for the public good, the public interest... established in the minds of the people, or there can be no Republican government, no any real Liberty." It is interesting to note that Adams' warning is echoed in the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 1996) Position Statement "Fostering Civic Virtue: Character Education in the Social Studies." That bold and well-written position statement concludes with these words:

Social studies teachers have a responsibility and a duty to refocus their classrooms on the teaching of character and civic virtue. They should not be timid or hesitant about working toward these goals. The fate of the American experiment in self-government depends in no small part on the

store of civic virtue that resides in the American people. The social studies profession of this nation has vital role to play in keeping this well-spring of civic virtue flowing.

Character, however, does not come pre-packaged. Character formation is a lengthy and complex process. And, as James Q. Wilson (Wilson, 1995), a life-long student of character, reminds us; "We do not know how character is formed in any scientifically rigorous sense." But there is an abundance of anecdotal data and research on which to draw. Those observations and that research tell us that the study of traditional school subjects such as government, civics, history and literature, when properly taught, provide the necessary conceptual framework for character education. Further, those traditional school subjects provide a context for considering the traits of public and private character which are important to the maintenance and improvement of a democratic way of life.

Research also tells us that the ethos or culture of the school and of the classroom exert powerful influences on what students learn about authority, responsibility, justice, civility and respect. Finally, we know that one dynamic by which individuals acquire desired traits of private and public character is through exposure to attractive models of behavior. Probably no one has explained that dynamic better than Robert Coles in *The Moral Intelligence of Children*, (Coles, 1997). Coles tells us that:

Character is ultimately who we are expressed in action, in how we live, in what we do - and so the children around us know, they absorb and take stock of what they observe, namely us-we adults living and doing things in a certain spirit, getting on with one another in our various ways. Our children add up, imitate, file away what they've observed and so very often later fall in line with the particular moral counsel we unwittingly or quite unself-consciously have offered them....

Because the United States is the world's oldest constitutional democracy, it sometimes is easy to forget that our American government is an experiment. It is an experiment that requires, as the authors of the Federalist Papers put it, a higher degree of virtue in its citizens than any other form of government. Traits of private character such as moral responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for individual worth and human dignity are essential to its well-being. American constitutional democracy cannot accomplish its purposes, however, unless its citizens also are inclined to participate thoughtfully in public affairs. Traits of public character such as public-spiritedness, civility, respect for law, critical-mindedness, and a willingness to negotiate and compromise are indispensable to the continued success of the great American experiment in self government.

How can civic education strengthen and complement the development of character? Primary responsibility for the cultivation of ethical behavior and the development of private character, including moral character, lies with families, religious institutions, work settings, and the other parts of civil society. Schools, however, can and should play a major role in the overall development of the character of students. Effective civic education programs should provide students with many opportunities for the development of desirable traits of public and private character. Learning activities such as the following tend to promote character traits needed to participate effectively. For example,

- Civility, courage, self-discipline, persistence, concern for the common good, respect for others, and other traits relevant to citizenship can be promoted through cooperative learning activities and in class meetings, student councils, simulated public hearings, mock trials, mock elections, and student courts.
- Self-discipline, respect for others, civility, punctuality, personal responsibility, and other character traits can be fostered in school and community service learning projects, such as tutoring younger students, caring for the school environment, and participating in voter registration drives.
- Recognition of shared values and a sense of community can be encouraged through celebration of national and state holidays, and celebration of the achievements of classmates and local citizens.
- Attentiveness to public affairs can be encouraged by regular discussions of significant current events.
- Reflection on ethical considerations can occur when students are asked to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues that involve ethical considerations, that is, issues concerning good and bad, rights and wrong.
- Civic-mindedness can be increased if schools work with civic organizations, bring community leaders into the classroom to discuss issues with students, and provide opportunities for students to observe and/or participate in civic organizations.

Conclusion

Just months after taking office in 1989, President George Bush took a historic step. Bush asked the nation's governors to gather to consider ways and means of improving education. His call for a "summit" meeting was historic, because it was only the third time in history that a president had convened the governors for a substantive meeting. (Jennings, 1998).

In the United States education has traditionally been the responsibility of each state. The nation's governors, ever mindful of states' rights, have resented and resisted federal intrusions into what they have considered their domain. At this "summit" meeting, however, the governors conceded that education had to be improved and that the states by themselves could not effect the improvements that commission after commission and study after study had said was essential. Nor were the governors deaf to the clamor for educational reform coming from parents, employers, and the media.

The chief executives of the 50 states, including Bill Clinton, then governor of Arkansas and chairman of the National Governors Association education committee, believed that an appropriate starting point was to get agreement on what it was that the nation's schools ought to achieve. In their judgment the focus of America's schools should be sharpened and a declaration of purposes or a statement of national goals set forth. The governors, however, wanted the national goals to be more than verbiage or pious hopes. Progress toward the goals was to be measured against high standards and by testing at national and state levels. The standards were to specify what all students should know and be able to do when they completed grades 4, 8, and 12. The plan was greeted with applause from many segments of society—parents, educators, employers, and legislators. Diane Ravitch, a long time proponent of reform, was jubilant. She was later to say that she believed "what may well be an historic development had taken place. "Unlike most other modern societies, this nation has never established specific standards as goals for student achievement; those nations that do have standards view them as invaluable means of ensuring both equity and excellence." (Ravitch, 1993).

In the hope of ensuring both equity and excellence, the National Governors Association and the United States Congress moved forward, paying particular attention to civic education. The text of the goals statement adopted by the National Governors Association in March, 1990 declared:

If the United States is to maintain a strong and responsible democracy and a prosperous and growing economy into the next century, it must be prepared to address and respond to major challenges at home and in the world. A well-educated population is the key to our future. Americans must be prepared to:....Participate knowledgeably in our democracy and our democratic institutions;...Function effectively in increasingly diverse communities and states and in a rapidly shrinking world....Today a new standard of an educated citizenry is required, one suitable for the next century....[All students] must understand and accept the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship.

In March, 1994 Congress passed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act (Public Law 103-227). Two of the eight national goals the law established deal specifically with civic education.

The National Education Goals

Goal 3: Student Achievement and Citizenship

By the year 2000, all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts, history, and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our Nation's modern economy.

All students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate...good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility.

Goal 6: Adult Literacy and Lifelong Learning

By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (emphasis added).

As this report and those of other concerned groups of Americans make clear, we as a people have not yet achieved the goals of equity and excellence in education that we have set for ourselves. We know and have recognized from our founding that education for citizenship is essential, if we are to maintain and improve our constitutional democracy; on that point there is general, if not universal, agreement. We also know that a new standard of an educated citizenry is needed, if we are to meet the challenges of the next century.