

GLOBLIZATION OF EDUCATION POLICY: A HISTORICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE CIVIC POLICIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract: This paper examines the historical origins of civic policies in higher education, drawing on diverse civilizations and contexts. Drawing on Easton's definition of policy as an authoritative allocation of values, the study examines how Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' intertwines with the methods emerging from prevailing contexts. Civic policies, especially in the realm of education, are viewed as deliberate structures derived from situation-specific alternatives to inform present and future decisions. The paper emphasizes the importance of understanding higher education within the unique societal conceptions that vary across cultures. The historical exploration begins with Western civic policies on education during the Greco-Roman antiquity, where thinkers such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero engaged in debates about education and the state. The study then examines civic policies in various cultural contexts, including the Cappadocian milieu, the Middle Islamic world, China, and India. The Roman civic policies, rooted in institutionalized social order, are analyzed, showcasing the intertwining of abstract and concrete ideas that shaped the empire. The narrative shifts to the medieval European universities, emphasizing their role as defining features of Western civilization. Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and others are examined for their civic policies, which have evolved from student-nation guilds to teacher-centric models. The paper explores the formalization of the Royal Society in 17th-century England, marking a departure from university-centric education and laying the groundwork for state-regulated higher education.

A policy is an authoritative allocation of values (Easton 1953, 129). Foucault places 'governmentality or the ways of conduct', or the 'control of the control', in the varieties of methods generated out of the contexts that prevail (Kallman and Dini, 2017, 27). Policies have to be seen in the light of the circumstances, rather than the conventionally framed notions of the omniscient agenda of the state machinery. The term 'civic policy' refers to a planned structure or course of action adopted partially or entirely from a set of situation-specific alternatives to guide and determine present and future decisions. Not all policies are civic, and not all civic actions are policy-based. At the core of civic policies is the sense of "righteousness" and "welfare" as construed by the implementing agencies themselves. Before proceeding to policy debates, it is essential to understand that conceptions of higher education vary across societies. As the very purpose of educational systems was to produce an intellectual class, and therefore the 'high' centres of learning were present in almost all major civilizations, be it the Mesopotamian or the Chinese.

I. Civic Policies: Historical Roots

In the western sphere, traces of civic policies on education and higher education were prevalent in Greco-Roman antiquity, though not in a linear, standardized pattern of understanding. Education and the state were among the core subjects of debate in the engagements of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, among others. Scholars such as Hendrik Bolkestein, Alexander Fuks, Peter Garnsey, Paul Veyne, and Peter Brown, among

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others, have sought to identify the pre-Christian and early Christian Civic designs and policies within the European context. Bolkestein was among the early historians to focus on this area and wrote ‘Charity and Poor Welfare in Pre-Christian Antiquity: A Contribution to the Problems Ethics and Society’, which is often criticized for its large-scale generalization and Pro-Oriental attitude and arguments of deficiency in moral and ethical concerns towards social assistance in the Greco-Roman Society (Holman, 2001). On the contrary, many other scholars have traced a refined state of civic policies in the Cappadocian milieu. In his seminal essay "Social welfare in the Greco-Roman world as a background for Early Christian practice," Peter Lampe (2016) traced the pertinence of a robust set of civic policies in the pre- and early-Christian Western society, which he placed as the skeleton of the then-evolving Christian morality. Aristotle expounds on the concept of *Aretê* (the terminology loosely translatable as virtue), the essence of the civic policies of that era. In a literal sense, it meant good governance with seven primary virtues — courage, moderation, generosity, magnificence, magnanimity, justice, and wisdom — and six other minor virtues (Sulek, 2010, 380-87). These were the catalysts for state-building, along with other devices such as the infliction of pressure, power, and assertion. Amnesty and welfare, albeit being used for propaganda value and “serving God's command,” were agents of social change. Cicero was a great advocate of civic policy and considered it the state's duty to evolve its policies toward its subjects, rooted in the laws governing nature. “*Salus populi suprema lex esto.*,” meaning “the welfare of the people is the supreme law of the land,” well reveals the importance Cicero attached to human progress through the state’s plans and actions. Although the practical value of documents such as Caracalla's edict, which extended Roman citizenship to all freemen, is questionable, it is emphatically clear that the state had developed a civic policy in this regard. Scholars note that social commitment and compelling economic, fiscal, and military considerations have driven the emergence of such developments. (Imrie, 2018). Similarly, the role of religion in shaping civic policies and its intersection with the social fabric is also examined (Pavolini, 2020).

The Roman civic policies were based on institutionalized social order, which had its core, intermingling abstract and concrete ideas of *Mores/ Customs*, *Instituta Vitae/Life Path*, *Instituta et leges/Legal Machinery*, *Virtus/Virtues*, *Disciplina/Discipline*, *Natura/Nature*, *Non-litterae/Intellectual education*, *Gravitas/Dignity*, *Constantia/Regularity*, *Magnitudo animi/Magnanimity*, *Doctrina/Theoretical Discourses*, *Doctrines* and *Genus literarum/Literature* (Horster, 2011, 84). It was an empire of force—employing a mixture of violence, suppression, order, and the tactical use of power to develop an astonishingly uniform culture (Kelly 2006:85).

One of the oldest examples of civic policies regarding higher education in Europe can be traced to “*Epistola de litteris colendis*,” a letter written by Emperor Charlemagne to Abbot Baugaulf of Fulda in approximately 780 C.E. It outlines the plan to promote education in his empire. He wanted the clergy to master their learning capacity. Education was aimed at moralizing the individuals as well as correcting their prayers and approach to God. The emperor noted the errors in the speech and conscience of the clergy, as revealed by the correspondence he received from them on various occasions. One of the most essential features of Charlemagne’s rule (part of the *Admonitio generalis*), was that to formulate civic policies he invited scholars from different regions of the world, such as Waldo of Reichenau, Franks, Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon from York; Theodulf, a Visigoth from Septimania; Paul the Deacon, a Lombard; and Peter of Pisa and Paulinus of Aquileia, both Italians (Clemens Gantner 2020:266). It was convened to aid and advise the emperor on policy matters. A revived interest in the academics of Greco-Roman antiquity, in the sound ambiance of Christianity, and the ecclesiastical method was the outcome of this policy.

Similarly, it is worth noting that the middle Islamic world produced essential centers of higher learning, including schools of science, technology, law, and theology. *Al Quaraouiyine* in Fez, Morocco, is generally regarded as one of the oldest universities. *Mustansiriya University in Baghdad*, *Sankore Madrasah of Timbuktu*, *Ez-Zitouna, Tunisia*, *Al Sultaniyah Madrasah*, and *Madrasah Al-Halawayiya at Aleppo*, *Al-Azhar University*, Egypt, are also worth mentioning.

In China, King Yu the Great of the Xia dynasty is credited with establishing the first Xiaos, which were centers of advanced learning. The Zhou dynasty was instrumental in the structuring of academics, as village schools and advanced centers of learning for the nobility were established (Hunter and Di, 2016:99). In the writings of Mengzi, we come across the four-fold classification and levels of academic exercises, namely, *Shu*, *Xiang*, *Xu*, and *Xiao*, (Irene Bloom, 2011, 241). The Sui rulers took a further step and commissioned civil service examinations based on instructions from higher academic bodies (Skaff, 2012, p. 290).

One of the oldest surviving documents of civic policies in India originates from the inscriptions of King Ashoka, whose policies were grounded in the concept of Dhamma, or righteousness. E. Hultzsch (1895), Amulya Chandra Sen (1956), and Romila Thapar (1961) have translated and analysed the edicts of Ashoka. In the third central edict, Ashoka speaks of instructing and sensitizing his subjects on the concept of *Dhamma* through officials in the posts of *Yuktas*, *Rajukas*, and *Pradeshikas*. The king asked for the exercise to be repeated every five years. In the fourth central edict, Ashoka reiterates the importance of Dhamma, along with the importance of law, knowledge, and goodness, for society to achieve prosperity. In the fifth edict, the inextricable link between the welfare of the people and the duties of the state in this regard is mentioned. The sixth edict emphasizes the importance of the world's welfare through earnest efforts to achieve it. Like the edicts, the inscriptions of Ashoka also provide information on righteousness. For instance, the Girnar inscription highlights the importance of donations to society. The eleventh inscription is on generosity. The twelfth central edict is on the essence of *Dharma* as a tool for social progress. The fourteenth edict concerns the importance of propaganda in civic policy. It highlights the repetition of ideas across different edicts, underscoring the importance and beauty of the subject.

Coming to the philosophy, concept, and policy of education of the Sangam society, a vague picture can be construed in the couplet '*Karka Kasadara Karpavai, Katrapin Nirikka athrakuth thagga*', which forms part of the Thirukkural. A translation of which is to allow all to get educated in the best way from whatever source and means they want to acquire knowledge, and let their conduct after learning be worthy of the purpose of education (Raj, 1989, 501).

Scholars such as R.K. Mukherjee (1947) have attempted to trace an "unending" "Parampara" of "higher" learning, beginning with the "Rig Vedic" age and continuing until the arrival of the Mughals. Mukherjee's method is problematic and questionable, as it consists of lacunae, distortions, the generalization of individual cases, and the selective use of facts to create a narrative of the educational history of 'India'. In India, there existed a multitude of governments, each with its unique character, policies, agenda, and cultural settings. The Brahmanic, Buddhist, and heterodox sects left numerous oral and textual treatises on education and administration, which successive dynasties and elites used to legitimize their power. They mainly relied on the age-old literary tradition of Dharma sastras, which included an 'often-incomprehensible' corpus of works related to distinct thoughts on education, cosmology, human evolution, moral obligations, inheritance, regal policies, land ownership, other civil procedures, and other intricate matters of human existence and the afterlife (Bhattacharya-Panda, 2007). The Dharma Sutras, Dharma Smritis, and Nibandhas collectively form the corpus of Dharma Sastras. By modern standards, they can be referred to as discourses and debates on 'order and righteousness' as perceived by the respective originators

of these works. *Apastambha*, *Gautama*, *Vasishta*, and *Boudhayana* were the major traditions of the *Dharmasutras*. Among the *Dharmasmritis*, the treatises of *Manu*, *Yajavalkya*, *Narada*, *Vishnu*, and *Parasara* have found eminence. *Nibandhas* were the commentaries of *Dharmasutras* and *Dharmasmritis*, and they formed the essence of legitimate reference on Hindu affairs for the British administrators in the early periods. *Nibandhas* were broadly classified into the *Dayabhaga* and *Mitakshara* schools of thought.

The ambit of *Dayabhaga* was limited to the Eastern regions of Bengal and Assam and relied on the *Smrititattva* of Reghunanda Bhattacharya as its source of authority. On the other hand, the *Mitakshara* school had a pan-Indian appeal and is further classified into the *Kasi* tradition, affiliated with commentaries such as the *Veeramitrodaya* of Mitramishra and the *Nirnyasinidhu* of Kamalakkara, with pertinence in regions of north India and parts of Orissa. The *Mithila* tradition is associated with the *Vivadachintamani* of Vachaspathimitra and the *Vivadaratnakara* of Chandeshwarathakura, and has relevance in the Mithila Region. The *Dakshin* tradition had affiliations to *Smritichandrika* of Devanabhatta and *Parasharamadhavya* of Madhavacharya and was used as the source of authority for South Indian affairs. In the western region, *Vyavaharamukhya* of Neelakantabhatta and *Smritikaushambha* of Anantadeva were important texts (Collector of Madhura vs. Mottoo Ramalinga Sathupathy, 1868). Other texts which were inspirational in the formulation of the civic policies included the works such as *Amarakosa*, *Nitisara* (Travancore state initiated the commentary of Neetisara, but it was different from Shama Shastri's version), *Arthashastra*, *Panchatantra*, *Hitopadesha*, *Baudhayanadharmasutra*, *Samaya-Niyama*, *Naigama-Niyama*, *Bhattadeepika*, *Arya-Manjshri-Mulakalpa*, *Atthakatha* of Buddhaghosha, and the works of Dharmakeerthi, Bhattojideekshitha, Rajaneethiratnakara, Avadhanasadhaka, Chullavagga, Acharangasutta, Adhyakshaprachara, Guru Govinda Simha, Rama Dasa's Dasa-Bodha, Neelakanta's *Vyavahara Mayookha*, and the Jain text of Abhidana Rajendra, *Angutara Nikaya*, *Mahabhashya*, *Vajrasuchi*, *Ambatta Sutta*, among others. The primary purpose of listing major treatises on civic conduct, administration, and policy is to highlight the complexity of traditional policy systems and challenge stereotypes about Indian legal traditions. In short, the means and measures of centrality, standardization, unification, legitimization, and control of knowledge production should also be studied in their complexities and multiplicities.

While being sympathetic to Orientalism, Sir John Marshall has alluded to the historicity of the Jataka tales. He mentions Takshashila as a university centre where students could receive instruction in any subject, from the Vedas to mathematics and medicine, as well as astrology and archery. Marshall further states that Takshashila gained prominence due to Greek influence, as the Greeks were already accustomed to the university system (Marshall 1960, 26). Apart from Takshashila, prominent centres of 'high' learning existed in early and medieval India, such as Nalanda, Mithila, Telehara, Talaedaka, Kasi, Saradapeetham, Vallabhi, Ujjain, Pushpagiri, Odantapuri, Vikramashila, Somapura, Vikramapura, Morena-Suvarnatrikona, Kanthaloorasala, Jagaddalla, Nadia, Nagarjunakonda, Kancheepuramshala, Parhivashekharpuram, Muzhikulamshala, Thiruvallashala, etc. Most of these institutions emerged from Dharma-based practices, sectarian organizations, and structures. Still, they cannot be characterized as centers of religious learning, as attested by various historians, travelers, and scholars. They are also the link to the epistemological existence of civic policies in higher education in India's past.

Universities are one of the fundamental defining features of Western civilization. Originating in the Middle Ages, universities played a crucial role in the development of modern Western societies. The civic policies of higher education in medieval Europe were centred around universities that survived and passed on their concepts beyond Europe. They maintained a very indirect and subdued connection with the Greco-Roman higher educational

context. Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Modena, Palencia, Cambridge, Salamanca, Montpellier, Padova, Toulouse, Orleans, Siena, Valladolid, Northampton, Coimbra, Pisa, Prague, Jagiellonian University at Kraków, Vienna, Heidelberg, and the University of St Andrews at Fife, Scotland, are among the earliest universities in Europe. These universities promoted knowledge production and shaped notions of civic policy. By granting degrees, they had become attesting agencies of Knowledge. Its central civic purpose was to create an informed, qualified, and capable class of leaders.

The root word of the university is the Latin word *Universitas*, signifying any professional body or group of a secular or religious nature. A more specific reference, namely '*Universitas magistrorum et scholarium*' was given to the academic union of scholars and teachers in the towns of Padua (Ridder-Symoens, 1992, 37). Yet another term, *Studium Generale*, was also used to denote the centres of learning (Vauchez, 1997, 38). These academic groupings had a gradual and incremental origin and evolution (Riddle, 2016). Safety and independence were the two essential needs that led to the origin of universities (Feingold, 2008, 36-41). Cities such as Paris and Bologna had already developed clusters of learning where people from different 'nations' of Europe came to study and formed student nations. One of the specific reasons for the emergence of Bologna was its strategic location in the trade-pilgrim circuit to Rome. There was a growing demand for learned men and scholars in the administrative sector, spurred by tensions between the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Church. The Empire required specialists in Roman law with a deep understanding of canon law to speak and negotiate with the Church. The learners' aspiration to be part of the 'civil service' indirectly catalyzed the mood for legal education and the revival of Greco-Roman literature in Europe. The city administration, the state, and the church used to support such institutions by providing subsidized taxes and waiving taxes. M. Michele Mulchahey translated the papal bull issued in favour of the University of Bologna circa 1220 C.E.

The bull goes,

TO THE PEOPLE OF BOLOGNA. Having understood from the report of our venerable brother the Bishop of Ostia the devotion that you all bear toward the Roman Church, we are eager to procure those things that pertain to your salvation and honour, and also recognize that you are obedient children ever ready to obey the Church's commands and are willing enough to pull yourselves back from those actions that cloud your reputation and may bring about your disadvantage and downfall. Since, beyond enjoying the infinite benefits that the study of letters has bestowed upon you, your city is famous above all others because of her stadium, and her name is proclaimed throughout the whole world, and she has become another Bethlehem—that is to say, the house of bread that is broken for the little ones of this house, from which the leaders who guide the Lord's people go forth, since those trained in this stadium are appointed to the care of souls—you should not only stop punishing the scholars but should, in fact, shower honours upon on them, being aware that they have freely singled out your city as their place of study, which was humble before but now surpasses nearly all the cities of the region. (Rashdall, 1895, 733)

In this instance, we encounter the development of a civic policy within the university system. When the church attested to an existing system of learning, it was recorded in the Record of Conventions, and the institution functioned notwithstanding fluctuations in power between the church and the state. The Bologna model was based on a student-nation guild, whereas the Paris model was teacher-centric. The master designed the curricula and the structure in Paris. Over time, several universities that borrowed from both models emerged and implemented policy reforms. The early universities at Padua, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge were formed without a written constitution, but rather through serious negotiations with the civil authorities and the church. Over the years, these universities were legitimized and their

constitutions found legal sanctity. Documents were signed to ensure the sanctity of these agreements and were referred to as *Pacta Sunt Servanda* to further their statutory value. Moving a step ahead, the University of Padova recognized the bishop as chancellor of the entire Studium in the Papal Bulls of 1346 and 1439 (Marc Nelissen, 1994, 72). The higher education sector was being transformed into, as Alison Wolf (2019) remarks, a “creature of state and churches, which was being created, revitalized and sometimes neglected and destroyed.”

In the fourteenth century, the university system spread across the continent. The divided authority of the state and church created opportunities for universities to gain corporate privileges, endowments, and, most importantly, a sense of autonomy. By this time, it had acquired a well-established vocational character and specialized in training the clergy, lawyers, and other professional groups. Institutions were also established in response to social demands, as in the case of King's College, which was founded by Bishop Elphinstone on 10 February 1495, under a Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. In the bull, the Pope referred to the people of Aberdeen as 'rude', “ignorant of letters,” and 'almost barbarous' in nature, and believed that a university would be the solution in this regard to bring back the glory of the old city (Wolf, 2019, 30-31). The trend continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the worsening state of religious affairs, such as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

From the beginning of the so-called Age of “Prose and Reason” or “Enlightenment,” higher education in Europe began to diversify and expand beyond conventional university settings. The emergence of science was one of the most significant developments in this scenario. Science and scientists found their ways of progress, not in the dictated terms of the university settings, but in the liberty and freedom outside. There are also instances of states funding individual experimental projects of scientists who were not part of any university system. One of the remarkable departures in the civic policies of higher education in the British scenario had been the formalization of the Royal Society through the First Charter of 1662, the Second Charter of 1663, and the Third Charter of 1669, issued by the first restoration monarch Charles II after the age of religious persecution and vigorous social control in the Puritan – commonwealth protectorate climate. This significant departure chronologically corroborates the early colonial interference in India, and it needs to be analysed before proceeding further.

In the First Charter, the king declared at the very beginning that the spread of Arts and Science was the state's priority, as was the extension of the empire. The state's special emphasis on experiments in philosophy aimed at reforming and creating new knowledge was provided. The ruler declared his intention of being recognized not only as the defender of the faith (a title of Catholic and papal origin, but one that even the Protestant descendants of Henry VIII and Stuart rulers continued to use) but also as a universal lover and patron of actual knowledge. The Royal Society was named 'The President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society'. The Royal Society was granted the right to purchase and grant lands, the right to sue and be sued as an entity, and to have a common seal, which could be altered if the society so desired. The council consisted of twenty-one members, one of whom was to become the president. The aspiration to become a council member or a fellow of the society was high, as it enjoyed royal patronage. The first President was the Chancellor to the Queen, and the members of the council were from the Privy Council, Privy Chambers, Esquires, Barons, Knights, Theologians, Doctors, Professors, Court Physicians, King's Cup Bearers, and a Lawyer. Keeping alive the Scottish traditions of which he was a descendant, Charles II chose the feast of St. Andrew as the culmination of Society fellowship and the retirement of members of the council, as well as other critical associated events. Society depicted the higher education and research aspirations of the state and the age. From a university-centric

atmosphere, higher education in England was becoming a state-regulated, controlled, and modelled sphere of action. Society was given the right to demand, receive, and anatomize cadavers of the executed criminals on the same grounds as were being utilized by the medical students of the College of Physicians and the Corporation of Surgeons in London. The Society was also granted a license to conduct correspondence with foreign scholars on matters of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Mechanics. Such correspondences were to be signed by the President in the presence of at least seven council members and to bear the common seal of the society. The most essential right that society gained (and which later became the blueprint for the higher educational structure of India and Travancore) was the right to establish colleges within a ten-mile radius of London. The term College, at this point, stood for a place for boarding, meeting, and assembly to carry out the affairs of society. The Second Charter introduced minor modifications to the council's composition, including the appointment of a treasurer and the provision for a silver shield grant as a token of Royal concern for the society, along with other amendments. The Third Charter focused on the provisions of Chelsea College and other grants to society. In short, the Royal Society significantly influenced the course of higher education in England during the period preceding the emergence of research universities in German states and the revival of the university system's prestige and privileges within a research-centric environment. It should also be mentioned that the conventional university structures in England lost their way in the sway of the disciplined courts of law and hospital-based state-attested training centers for physicians.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that civic policies in higher education have been present in various world contexts, societies, and historical periods. Religion, state, and culture were instrumental in shaping civic policies in nearly all civilizations. This chapter observed that many ancient treatises suggest that the states viewed education as their responsibility. Many Indian treatises, the chapter demonstrates, show that education is a compulsory step for social progress and part of the larger context of righteousness. While the majority of states viewed education as a corrective mechanism to produce loyal subjects, the Greco-Roman civilization linked education to ethics, morality, and social progress. Based on a close examination of the Greco-Roman emphasis on ethics and social progress, this chapter demonstrates that modern educational policy frameworks draw significantly from the Greco-Roman model.

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