

Towards a Theory of Schooling for Good Life in Postcolonial Societies

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Abstract

Schools often aim at creating opportunities for good life and at promoting a good society. Liberal theorization on schooling is premised on a functioning liberal democracy with a capitalist economy. However, postcolonial societies are characterized by poverty and inequality, cultural diversity, and an ongoing project of state and nation building. This challenges some of the foundational assumptions of liberal conceptions of schooling aimed at promoting good life and good society in postcolonial societies. Realization of good life through schools is shaped both by shaping of ‘consciousness, identities, and desires’ [Bernstein (2000, *Pedagogy, symbolic control, and identity: Theory, research, critique*, Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield)] and through imparting knowledge and skills that help realize these desires in particular contexts. These schooling practices have different influences on opportunities for good life in short, medium, and long terms in these societies. A conceptual model of schooling that addresses these complexities is key to understanding the processes that influence the opportunities for a pursuit of good life through schooling in postcolonial societies. Such a model could draw upon the existing theories of liberal schooling but would have to adapt them to respond to the contexts of postcolonial societies.

Keywords

Good life, well-being, postcolonial, school, education

Schooling is popularly seen as a means for preparing an individual to lead a good life. Socialization in schools is second only to socialization in families in shaping the values and dispositions and imparting knowledge and skills to children to lead a good life. The aims of education vary greatly in time and space, responding to the contexts in which schools were established, both in Western and non-Western countries. Historically, these aims of education and designs of schools have focussed on the purposes of the state (Green, 1990). Schools have been drawn into the project of creating the right kind of subjects and citizens for the post-Westphalian nation-states. This focus is shifting since the 1990s with the advent

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of international human rights and human development discourses that justify schooling for its value in promoting the dignity and well-being of every individual.

Modern mass schooling originated in the early nineteenth century Prussia and expanded first in the Western world through policy borrowing in the context of political and economic competition, and then to the global south through colonial expansion. Later, international funding organizations advanced the adoption of this model of schooling in newly independent postcolonial states. Benavot et al. (2006) argued that these diverse streams converged into ‘a relatively uniform model of mass, state sponsored schooling’. If schooling is aimed at preparing one for future life, then one’s educational experiences should be directly or indirectly connected to this aim. This raises the question as to whether a relatively uniform model of mass schooling that originated in particular social, economic, and political contexts of Western Europe is relevant in diverse social, economic, and political contexts across the world. These tensions have been explored by many scholars. For example, Jeffrey (2008) highlighted that in the context of widespread unemployment in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, education is ‘a contradictory resource, providing marginalized youth with certain freedoms but also drawing them more tightly into systems of inequality’. In a different context, Serpell (1993) argues that formal schooling has failed to deliver on the promise of development and autonomy to indigenous children in rural Zambia.

This article develops a conceptual model¹ that takes promotion of good life as a primary aim of schooling. The conceptions of good life are contextual and multidimensional. Further, there are diverse conceptions of good life shaped by the socialization into local cultural communities. In such a scheme, the demands of the state on schooling are valuable to the extent that they have a positive impact on the opportunities they open for good life for the beneficiaries of schooling. In other words, the role of schools in building a good society is justified primarily for its usefulness in promoting good life. Schools negotiate these complexities to varying degrees depending on their institutional designs and their implementation at the local level.

Conceptualizing Good Life

Good life and well-being are used interchangeably in this article. Good life is concerned with how well a life is going for the person concerned. It is thus a prudential rather than a moral evaluation of someone’s life. Further, it excludes transcendental considerations such as concern for one’s afterlife in such an evaluation. As is evident from the discussion that follows, the approaches and indicators deployed to conceptualize good life can vary significantly from one theoretical account to another. This article deploys an informed desires account of good life that is explained presently.

Parfit’s (1984) three-way categorization of the theories of self-interest hedonistic, desire fulfilment, and objective lists is a fruitful starting point conceptualizing good life. Griffin (1986) further categorizes objective list theories into what he refers to as need-based account and perfectionist account. The need-based account² is defined as ‘Well-being, at least that conception of it to be used as the interpersonal measure for moral judgment, is the level to which basic needs are met’. Gasper (2010) further categorizes well-being as objective or subjective based on ‘what is measured’. In this schema, well-being assessment can be based on material condition or subjective states, and also whether these are assessed through objective measurements or subjective self-reports is considered. Cohen (1993) attempts to bridge this objective-subjective divide by focussing on mid-fare as something posterior to ‘having goods’ and prior to ‘having utility’ as an evaluative space for well-being. Capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999) is one such approach that deploys mid-fare for evaluation of good life. *Prim facie*, Parfit’s

hedonistic and desire fulfilment theories would be categorized as subjective accounts by Gasper, while his objective list theories would qualify as objective accounts of well-being.

Each of these theories and accounts has been critiqued for not providing a satisfactory and/or a comprehensive account of good life. Much of Parfit's discussion on theories of self-interest in the annexure to his book *Reasons and Persons* (Parfit, 1984) is devoted to critique and refinement of different accounts. Reconciling the subjective and objective accounts presents many theoretical challenges. The translation from material goods to happiness is not linear. Easterlin (2001) has established that increase of income in a society resulted in increased subjective well-being only till a certain threshold, after which the relationship between the two significantly weakened. Similarly, Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (1999) have demonstrated that the experience of subjective well-being is homeostatic, that is, a change in external circumstances changes the assessment of subjective well-being in the short term, but if these changes persist, the states of subjective well-being return to their long-term stable states. Elster (1989) discusses the phenomena of adaptive preferences where the translation of goods into happiness is dependent on the expectations. For example, this is evident in the phenomena of 'happy poor' where poor are happy even when meeting their basic needs is a challenge for them. In case of children whose capacities for decision-making are still evolving, the decisions about what is good for them must be made by their caregivers and other adults consistent with the best interest of the child, while simultaneously working on developing their capacities to decide on these matters. Non-Western cosmologies that emphasize on control of desires rather than a pursuit for their fulfilment question the very basis of hedonistic and desire fulfilment theories.

As indicated, this article adapts an informed desires account of good life which identifies fulfilment of informed desires with the realization of good life. Desires are informed when they are arrived at rationally and are aligned to the values of the society one lives in. Implicit in this definition is an acknowledgement that values socialized in local cultural communities are an important influence in shaping the conceptions of good life. Informed desires can be further disaggregated into basic needs and legitimate wants. The requirements that must be met for survival or for a dignified living, the absence of which is likely to cause harm to the person concerned, could be referred to as basic needs. They can form the basis for social justice claims by the individuals concerned and can even put an obligation on the person to pursue these to prevent self-harm. After meeting these basic needs, the person concerned may have certain wants related to her/his pursuit of a good life. While an individual can aspire for virtually anything, for these wants to be legitimate, they must be in accordance with public values derived from human nature and culture. What an individual pursues or aspires for however may or may not converge with basic needs or legitimate wants. The adapted nature of aspirations highlights the importance of a 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004) particularly for meeting of basic needs but also for wants related to a pursuit of a good life beyond basic needs. It is thus possible that some of the basic needs may not be aspired for or some of the wants aspired for do not pass the legitimacy test. In this case, a person may have to be socialized to desire basic needs and exclude wants not considered legitimate. These examples are illustrative of the kind of challenges an account of good life must grapple with.

In practice, good life is realized through the interaction of objective and subjective factors. Universal biological and social needs and cultural values shape what is desired in a given context. Even though the biological and social needs are universal, need satisfiers are cultural. Informed desires are realized through exertion of personal capacities on the objective context, which in turn leads to subjective mental states of desire satisfaction. Finally, alignment between internal capacities and the external conditions is an important precondition for promoting good life. Lane (1994) articulated this as follows "quality of life" is the name we give, or should give, to the relation between quality of conditions and quality of

persons'. These contexts can be shaped by the institutional designs of the society. Thus, a good society enables pursuit of good life. For example, the maintenance of law and order, welfare provisions, and recognition of diverse cultures by the society influence the pursuit of good life of its members.

Good Life as an Aim of Schooling

The aims of schooling are often articulated in the form of liberal, vocational, and civic aims in academic literature. These roughly correspond to the cultural, economic, and political objectives of the institution of schooling. Liberal aims focus on shaping of values and dispositions of an individual and on enabling an individual to lead a fully human life. The vocational aims are primarily concerned with skills that enable the individual to access material needs and wants. The civic aims emphasize the values, dispositions, and skills that are needed to participate in the political community. Delors (1996) articulates the cultural, economic, and political aims of education as 'learning to be', 'learning to do', and 'learning to live together'³, respectively. The division of educational aims along these three dimensions is neither exclusive nor exhaustive. Nevertheless, it serves a convenient starting point for our discussion on educational aims that privilege the opening of opportunities for good life. The detailing of each of these aims is valued-laden, contested, and a politically negotiated choice. Each of these could be articulated in a variety of different ways in varied contexts.

Liberal political philosophy assumes a well-functioning liberal democracy, a functioning nation-state, and the dominance of industrial capitalism for the realization of a good society. It also assumes state neutrality in the matter of different conceptions of good life. These assumptions are challenged in postcolonial societies. The contexts of postcolonial societies differ from those in Western countries in three important ways. First, they are characterized by widespread poverty and material inequalities in the aftermath of colonial exploitation. Second, they exhibit a significant cultural diversity. Third, the postcolonial states engage in the twin processes of state building and nation building to legitimate itself. 'State-building means the establishment, re-establishment, and strengthening of a public structure in a given territory capable of delivering public goods. Essential to state-building is the creation of sovereign capacities of which the fundamental one is the successful and generally undisputed claim to a 'monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force' (Häußler, von Bogdandy, Utz, & Hanschmann, 2005). In contrast, 'Nation-building is the most common form of a process of collective identity formation with a view to legitimizing public power within a given territory... A successful nation-building process produces a cultural projection of the nation containing a certain set of assumptions, values and beliefs which can function as the legitimizing foundation of a state structure' (Häußler et al., 2005). State building refers to establishing the institutional structures to deliver public goods such law and order and welfare. Nation building is concerned with creating a common identity that binds different groups in the nation state together, particularly in the context of cultural diversity. In postcolonial societies, aims of schooling must reconcile with the context of multicultural diversity, poverty and inequality, and weak states and capitalist economies.

The dominant liberal theories and practices of schooling do not adequately address this contextual reality of postcolonial societies. While human rights and human development discourses have been very useful in promoting schooling, they have a thin conception of schooling. These discourses primarily focus on access to schools and acquisition of numeracy and literacy and do not discuss how these impact opportunities for good life in different contexts. They struggle to address the concerns related to cultural diversity and poor state capacities. Human capital theory rightly assumes that individual capacities are critical to leading a good life for an individual but often assumes uniform schooling experiences for all individuals and a labour market capable of continually absorbing workers (Blaug, 1976). Liberal

philosophies that identify autonomy as among the principal aims of schooling also assume that the societal context is 'autonomy-supporting' (Raz, 1996). At the least, this assumes maintenance of law and order and the meeting of basic material needs of individuals for exercise of autonomy. While most scholars conceptualize autonomy in universalistic terms, others are more mindful of the contexts. For example, Winch's (2002) argument for 'weak' rather than a 'strong' autonomy as an educational aim is sensitive to different contexts in which a good life is pursued. In other accounts, knowledge is seen as key to promoting autonomy in individuals, but the connection between canonical school subjects and autonomy and good life is tenuous at best (White, 1990). Schooling practices focussed on social justice address important political concerns around material deficits and cultural inequalities. These are commendable, but the demands of promoting good life and good society extend beyond the relational focus of these practices. Finally, the practices focussed on school effectiveness and accountability often fall into the trap of 'valuing what we can measure' instead of 'measuring what we value'⁴ (Biesta, 2010). As was argued earlier, the connection between canonical school knowledge and good life may not be as strong as is assumed in practices that focus on school effectiveness. Each of these theories emphasizes some dimensions of the good life at the cost of others, and further fails to adequately account for contexts that are significantly different from the Western societies.

The dimension of 'learning to be' should account for the diversities of cultures and the associated values, identities, and lifestyles. Value contestations are at the heart of differences in conceptualization of good life. In postcolonial contexts, the major theme around which these value contestations play out is the cultural transition from tradition to modernity, from little traditions to great traditions (Redfield, 1956; Singer, 1972), and in the form of multiple modernities (Eisenstadt, 2000). The postcolonial state is often a modernizing state interested in the shift of society from multiple cultural traditions to liberal modernity. The dominant society often propagates values, identities, and lifestyles that align with great traditions such as Christianity and Hinduism. The ways of life in the community are influenced by these great traditions and the attempts of the state to promote liberal modernity, but they are also guided by historically shaped traditions that are unique to their contexts. In many cultural communities, the ontological basis of good life is rooted in the community rather than an individual, and the notions of human dignity diverge from a rights-based conceptualization of human dignity in liberal theories (Rodriguez, 2015). The traditional relationships, consumption patterns, work and leisure activities, and nature of religious and civic duties compete with 'modern' ways of living. This socialization into personhood in schools needs to acknowledge this cultural diversity.

In the context of widespread poverty and under/unemployment, material survival becomes a key dimension of good life in postcolonial societies. The modernizing state promotes formal and informal employment in the industrial sectors at the cost of traditional modes of livelihood. It invests in skill development of individuals for such industrial jobs. Community members too prefer these jobs as they are relatively well paying, stable, and less strenuous. Most youth prefer formal sector employment over traditional livelihoods in agriculture. However, these jobs are not available for most of the youth as the industrialization and formalization of the economy that reaches all sections of the society is still a work in progress in these societies. The neo-liberal focus on small governments further reduces the jobs in bureaucracies and public sectors. Thus, traditional sources of livelihoods such as agriculture and livestock farming continue to coexist with other modes of formal and informal employment despite the state push for industrial and service sector jobs. 'Learning to do' needs to account for all sources of livelihoods that are available to individuals rather than focussing exclusively on jobs in the industrial or service sectors.

In the political sphere, the preparation of students for participation in civic life and building a nation-state complement each other. Together, they prepare the students for 'learning to live together'. Citizenship

is a membership of a socio-political community. In liberal democratic societies it is characterized by a bundle of rights and responsibilities of citizens. Kymlicka (2002) argues that the health and stability of a modern democracy depends not only on the justice of its basic institutions but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens. The concept of citizenship seems to integrate demands for justice with community membership (Kymlicka, 1995). Recent theorization of multicultural citizenship in liberal democracies engages with the issue of cultural diversity. This imagination of multicultural citizenship assumes that citizens are members of their cultural groups as well as the state and place restriction on the states in interfering with their ways of life in the process of nation building. However, the popular designs and practices of schooling are still catching up on this. At the same time, state and nation building remain an ongoing project for many postcolonial societies that were fashioned out of a context of ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity shaped through the colonial encounter. Local communities engage with the state strategically to enhance their opportunities for leading a good life by accepting the state's 'monopoly over violence' and the legitimacy of modern political institutions in return for various rights of citizenship and other benefits of such a membership of a nation-state. For individuals and communities in the process of integration into the nation state, this implies a shift from traditional modes of political life to political modernity of a liberal democratic state. This transition is contested and always partial based on perceived interests of the communities and the capacities of the state. Once again, this hybridity needs to be acknowledged inside schools.

Schooling Practices and Good Life

Schools function through shaping of dispositions and inculcating knowledge and skills. The former shapes the conceptions of good life, while the latter aids in the pursuit of these conceptions in the real world. For Bernstein (2000), 'How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control'. His work thus relates the macro societal processes to pedagogic discourse and practices inside schools. Bernstein's (2000) concept of a pedagogic device can be deployed to explore the contestations that shape 'consciousness, identity, and desire' inside schools. While Bernstein's theory of pedagogic device focusses on shaping of subjectivities, Capabilities Approach⁵ draws our attention to the knowledge and skills imparted in schools and how they interact with societal contexts to fulfil these desires in the objective world. Capabilities Approach focusses our attention on the alignment of personal skills with the societal contexts. These theoretical perspectives complement each other and have a significant potential in analysing the schooling practices for their influence on the pursuit of good life.

Knowledge in schools is often based on Western knowledge systems. Canonical school subjects occupy a dominant place in schooling practices. In contrast, local communities have perfected knowledge and skills over time that enables them to thrive in their local environment. These knowledges are embedded in particular cultural contexts and under-girded by particular cosmologies. Indigenous knowledge was marginalized under the influence of colonialism, capitalism, and science. This raises two questions. First, what is the relevance of existing school knowledge in promoting opportunities for good life in these contexts? Many a times, school subjects are reified and ritualized, and it is difficult to justify them based on their utility for promoting good life. Second, how do schools deal with indigenous knowledge systems? Are they included or excluded from school curriculum? Even when they are included, these two knowledge systems present significantly different epistemic frames that are difficult to reconcile (see Odora Hoppers, 2005; Sarangapani, 2003).

Similarly, languages are the carriers of culture and markers of identity on one hand, while on the other hand they are the vehicles to access commerce and power. The cultural diversity in postcolonial societies makes multilinguality a norm in these societies. The language of the colonizers continues to be the primary language of politics and commerce. At the same time, the local languages often become the basis for cultural and political assertion of the ethnically marginalized communities. Home languages are best suited pedagogically in the early years of schooling. These home languages may be different from local languages recognized by the school. This tension between the dominant and local languages plays out in school and impacts student identities and their access to livelihoods and political power. The way schools negotiate the transitions between home, local, and national/dominant languages has implications on the access to school knowledge and the sense of self-worth of the students (Mohanty, Panda, Phillipson, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

John White (1990) has elaborated on the curricular and pedagogic implications of a focus on well-being in schools from a liberal philosophical perspective. This aim is achieved through a primary focus on shaping of values and dispositions and further by imparting knowledge and understanding. If promoting personal well-being is the aim of schooling, then for White, shaping of values and dispositions that help people organize desires is important. These dispositions include an ability to manage emotions, stay focussed, and the ability to manage value conflicts. The knowledge imparted in schools should also align with this aim. Self-knowledge becomes important, and so does knowledge of natural and social world that is relevant to promoting personal well-being. Such knowledge can be constitutive in the sense that it helps someone come to value certain things, or instrumental in the sense that it is useful to realize things that one values. Further, instrumental knowledge can be attached to one's current values, or in case of children may include things that they are likely to value in future. White's scholarship thus provides a rich description of the relationship between schooling practices and well-being. However, his account is also based on the assumptions that most liberal accounts of schooling make that this article is attempting to problematize. Thus, each of these theories and approaches need to be further adapted to the postcolonial contexts.

Towards a Theory of Schooling for Good Life

The discussion so far has been pointing towards the following. First, working with good life as a principal aim of schooling refocuses the understanding of schools as institutions that serve particular personal and political purposes, that of promoting good life and good society. Instead of implicitly and indirectly acknowledging the advancement of good life through the development of autonomy or building of human capital as is often the case in the liberal theorization of schooling, it prompts an ethnographic view of schooling based on lived experiences. Second, it establishes that the negotiation of different conceptions of good life and good society is contextually contingent and multidimensional. The discussion on good life thus cannot be based on a 'view from nowhere' but should be contextually rooted. In postcolonial societies, cultural diversity and poverty and ongoing project of state and nation building are salient aspects of this context. Third, the liberal conception of a good society that is premised on all the members of that society being able to lead good lives is equally valid in postcolonial societies. However, the idea of liberal neutrality towards conceptions of good life is challenged by widespread poverty and cultural diversity. The postcolonial state is compelled to respond to these contexts through policies of welfare and multiculturalism in order to maintain its legitimacy. Finally, liberal states are modernizing states, but weak state capacities restrict their ability to transform traditional ways of life. Similarly, economic policies of the postcolonial state are based

on capitalist modes of production, but a large portion of the population remains excluded or only marginally included in such an economy. This results in a continuing hybridity of traditional and modern in cultural and material aspects of life for a majority of the population in these societies. This hybridity is often projected as a transitory phase, but it is very resilient on the ground. In sum, this points to an imagination of good life that is at variance from what is described in dominant liberal theories of schooling that assume a well-functioning liberal democratic society with a capitalist economy. The conceptions of good life in postcolonial societies must thus respond to the hybridity of the contexts, and the dimensions of good life need to be subsequently redefined to align with these contexts while simultaneously working on changing these contexts in the imagination of a future good society.

Schools influence this process in many ways (Figure 1). In the short run, the welfare measures inside schools directly contribute to good life of children. These measures ensure that children are safe, nourished, and healthy.⁶ Welfare acts as a cushion against the hardship caused by the social transformation from traditional to modern modes of living. This is particularly the case when families are unable to meet the basic material needs and where the communities feel vulnerable because of weak law and order. In the medium term, schools are a site of contestation between traditional and the modern influences for shaping subjectivities and developing personal capacities of students. First, as an important site of socialization, schools are engaged in a cultural production that differentially shapes consciousness, identities, and desires for children from different social groups. The pedagogic discourse and practices that shape this cultural production are contested by different actors with their different value positions and power. Second, schools also build personal capabilities to pursue the desires that arise from biological needs and cultural socialization. These desires are pursued in specific contexts and hence the good life is achieved in an interaction between the ‘quality of conditions’ and ‘quality of persons’ (Lane, 1994), or through what Nussbaum (2011) refers to as combined capabilities. Finally, in the long run, subjectivities

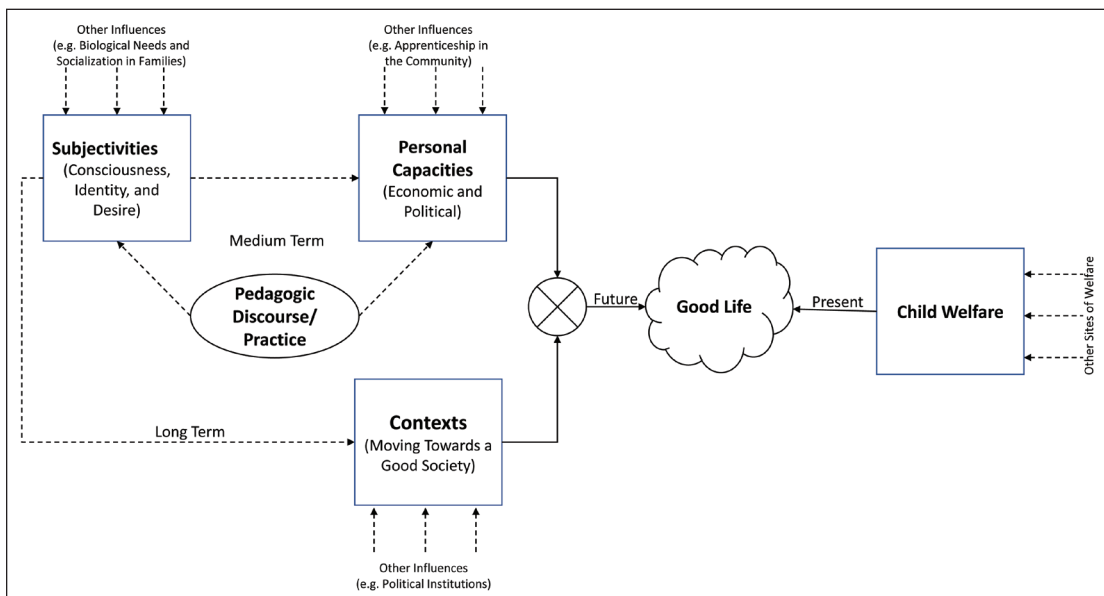


Figure 1. Schooling and Good Life

Source: The author's own.

influence the contexts. Under right conditions, they can help shift the contexts towards the conceptions of a good society, but the lives of the people are lived here and now. This raises the vexed question of balancing the focus between present and future contexts in schools. The modernizing state often focusses on the future vision of a good society, but this leaves many people uprooted from their current ways of living, without adequately transitioning to modern life.

At any given time, the opportunities for good life increase when personal subjectivities and capacities align with each other, and further when either of them is aligned with the contexts. More the schools respond to cultural, economic, and political conditions they operate in, the better the opportunities for good life for the schooled youth. Over time, the contexts shift, hopefully in the direction of an imagination of good society, and these in turn require a realignment of personal subjectivities and capabilities. Postcolonial states promote liberal democratic institutions but pragmatically accommodate cultural diversity and respond to poverty and inequality. In schools, however, the primary focus is on preparing students for future economy and polity which is imagined as fully functional liberal democratic state with a capitalist economy. Since the change on the ground is slow, students get socialized and trained for conditions that are still not realized in practice. This results in a mismatch between the contexts, subjectivities, and personal capabilities that was highlighted earlier. Some of these challenges are expected when the state is trying to change the material and cultural contexts of the society. The balance between the focus on present and future contexts and the underlying assumptions about the rate of change on the ground have a significant influence on opportunities for a good life.

Schools are one of the many institutions that shape opportunities for good life. The influence of families, mass media, and other institutions influence this pursuit as well. For example, the material and cultural contexts of family may shape the 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004). Similarly, popular discourses in mass media may influence the consciousness, identity, and desires that do not align with aims and practices of schooling. Schools play a significant role in the pursuit of good life but are nevertheless part of the institutional web that collectively influences the realization of good life.

This suggests that theorization on schooling for good life should simultaneously account for shaping of subjectivities, development of personal capabilities, and influencing the contexts. In postcolonial societies, it should respond to the contexts of poverty, cultural diversity, and ongoing state and nation building. Current scholarship does not account for all of this adequately but does provide resources that can help in doing so. Bernstein's concept of pedagogic device does not deploy the trope of good life but is primarily aimed at explaining the relationship between macro contexts and micro pedagogic practices, particularly in the shaping of subjectivities in schools. Capabilities Approach assumes that subjectivities are already formed and need to be responded to. It highlights the relationship between personal capabilities and the contexts in the realization of informed desires. The work of John White addresses many of the issues addressed in this research but is based on the assumptions of well-functioning liberal polity and capitalist economy that are problematized in this article. What we need is an account of schooling that builds on these theories but adapts them to account for the postcolonial societies to better explain the relationship between schools and the pursuit of good life in these societies. This article is a preliminary step in that direction.

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1. This article is based on the author's doctoral research.
2. Doyal and Gough (1984) further developed this account of needs in their Theory of Human Needs. They identified two basic needs, physical health and personal autonomy, which in turn generate a set of intermediate needs. As per Doyal and Gough, each of these intermediate needs are universal, but the need satisfiers can vary based on the context. For example, nutrition is a universal human need, but food habits may vary from place to place. Others (Layard, 2005; Seligman, 2012) have come up with different versions of objective lists that evaluate a person's well-being based on subjective judgements of the person concerned, on predetermined dimensions. These objective lists may include components that can be objectively assessed or are subjective self-assessments.
3. Delors also identifies a fourth dimension 'Learning to know'. This is dealt with in the next section on schooling practices.
4. This is not to suggest that all things that can be measured are not valuable, or that all valuable things cannot be measured. For example, literacy and numeracy are valuable and can be measured.
5. Capabilities Approach provides a generic framework to evaluate institutions with focus on well-being. While it does not deal specifically with the issues of schooling, it has been extended to the field of education by many scholars.
6. A significant body of literature on well-being in schools focusses on this aspect of schooling. The focus on social, emotional, and physical well-being of children in schools is primarily aimed at the needs of children in the present time even when they may have longer-term impact on their well-being.

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