

Innovation in Policy Making: An Understanding of Teaching and Learning in Delhi

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Delhi government does not shy away from connecting to private players to help them in policy making. The policy making itself has undergone a tremendous change. The Delhi Assembly Research Fellowship provides opportunities for the legislative members to interact with the young meritorious researchers. The research inputs are used by the government for specific policy areas. The fellows are expected to perform secondary and primary research in the field of their expertise. It creates a knowledge pool for the policy makers.

The focus of the programme is to enhance the level of understanding of legislative members. It also proposes to create leaders for the future by directly including youth in the decision-making process. The work of the bureaucracy is diluted heavily due to the intervention of these fellows. They generate reports, write answers, provide feedback and do the field work for their respective members.

Interview with a fellow note that 'each of us are given some time to acquaint ourselves with the legislative process. We are also asked to visit the field, the respective areas from where the representative has won. Our work is to provide input to the members. It can be about anything that we have seen in the field and have documented.' One fellow is required to work with two associate fellows. Each fellow directly reports to the MLA.

The respondent was working in the west Delhi region on the issue of open spaces and gender. She was asked to design a project to recommend the usage of all available spaces in the area. Her work also requires collaborating with local NGOs. She herself claims to be working with an organisation working on the issue of gender. The government is open for expert opinions by anyone who has work experience in the field.

Learning has a strong community component in the policy of Delhi government. They have mentioned strengthening the School Management Committees by involving parents and leaders of the schools. The Mega parent teacher meetings another component that allows the involvement of the community in the functioning of schools. This is also one of the most publicised events of the government for education.

This shows in the policy document as well. Eight NGOs collaborated with the Delhi government in the making of Happiness curriculum. There are others who work on the learning levels of the students in the schools, designing programmes for mental health of teachers and helping in building SMCs. The government keeps a transparent approach on the public-private partnership. It is one of the many things that the government is criticised for, the work in the current policy suggests otherwise. In the next segment I will discuss the criticism for this education policy of Delhi.

Happiness Curriculum

Education policy also has an objective of ensuring smooth functioning of a bureaucratic system. The system that comprises school and administration dealing with issues as basic as absence of teachers and toilets. Within the larger goal of achieving hundred percent literacy, as proposed by *Sarv Shiksha Abhiyaan*, there are other concerns like quality of education provided and the access of public school to economically weaker sections that the policy has to take notice of. The concern however remained as to how to measure quality and access? In addition, it also needs to foresee if the quality of education translates into the life of the students and teachers. These concerns have found their ways in the discussion regarding curriculum and pedagogies. The content nonetheless remains a qualitative concern with disregard for grading results. Numerical results, for instance, numbers of students passed, infrastructure developed, and others are easy to record, file and assess. The philosophical aims of education however are rather difficult to measure. Hence, for the system to acknowledge effectiveness of long-term goals, it recognizes the need of adapting new ways to quantify.

Traditionally, the Indian education system has found space for character formation in its curriculum. There are specific concerns of morality that have guided the education policy. The education commission of 1953 states to undertake a morality perspective to education in the schools. In the National policy of Education, 1986 a concern was mentioned regarding the same. It suggested designing the school curriculum to inculcate social and moral values. The scope of this however was not clearly defined in any of these policy documents.

Delhi government has taken a leverage of the scope of moral education paradigm in the policy discussion to include the recommendation by the Yashpal committee report (1992) of learning without burden. The current policy document recognises its position on happiness and mental well-being as one of their important concerns for children and youth of India. The Happiness Curriculum, as this provision, has been named in the policy is a forty-five-minute period reserved in the timetable of the schools.

The Happiness curriculum was designed by a committee that included the Ministry of Education, Delhi, State Council for Educational Research, Delhi, Directorate of Education, teachers of schools in Delhi and various NGO partners. The curriculum has been located in the discussion of happiness in the world (World Happiness report 2017, 2018; UNESCO 2016). It also recognises the alarming rate of suicides amongst children in India (Kumar et.al 2013). It was found that the philosophy triad of happiness proposed by Nagaraja (1999) will suit the requirement of school children in Delhi.

Happiness that is acquired by our senses, called Momentary happiness by Nagaraj, is the starting of happiness. It is accompanied by deeper and sustainable happiness that comes from forming relationships and knowing oneself, in that order. This philosophy does not divide happiness or needs into a hierarchy rather present it as an emotion that can be experienced and practiced in wholeness. Nagaraj (1999) has focused on making learning as a part of lifestyle. He opines that by seeking knowledge for life-long one can create a sustainable reservoir of happiness.

The rationale of Happiness curriculum appeals to the teaching and learning ethics of the education policy. The team has taken an excruciating effort to define the scope of this curriculum. The curriculum is based on recognising feelings and empathising towards others. This is done by observing the verbal and physical cues of various people in a child's life. After class 2nd the child is asked to recognise the feelings like respect, care, affection. For secondary classes the list of emotions also includes complex feelings like gratitude, trust, cordiality, forthrightness, simplicity and oneness. The detailed curriculum is accompanied by a comprehensive pedagogy.

A significant contribution by the government of Delhi through the Happiness curriculum has been to deliberate about the pedagogy. Away from the books, the pedagogy of happiness curriculum is rooted in the fundamentals of learning proposed by UNESCO that are 'learning by doing', 'learning to do', 'learning to be' and 'learning to live together'. Students are encouraged to participate in activities, listen to stories and make observations about various life conditions. By creating a natural environment for happiness, the pedagogy allows students to imbibe it as a quality rather than part of syllabus.

The fact however remains that the happiness curriculum is a part of syllabus hence it needs to be evaluated and recorded. A paper pen examination is not suitable for a programme that focuses solely on human development. The expert committee thus has developed an extensive module for the whole year to evaluate this curriculum. Teachers have been entrusted with responsibilities to fill in the frames of reference provided to them for evaluation. In a layered process of observations and activities the educators assess students on a weekly, monthly and yearly basis. It is pertinent to understand that the evaluation here concerns itself with teaching objectives and changes in being of the child not some external learning goals.

Positive Discrimination

The history of Indian Education system is cognizant of the facts of social discrimination and deprivation. Various categories of the citizenry of India suffer from issues as basic as access to a

decent life, education included (Galanter, 1997, Sujata 2002, Thorat et.al. 2005, Engineer 2001). The University Commission (1948) itself talks of training students for a life of fearlessness, conscience and strength. This all irrespective of the place or family to which the child is born into. The historical concern is reiterated in various manners in the education policies and programmes that will follow. Indian understanding of equality, in policy, is heavily inspired the by the ideals of equality and right to life embedded in our constitution that gives these basic rights to every citizen of India.

Despite the continuous stress on the equality however, the society does find its way to deprive and humiliate people without power and say. To minimize this the National committee on Women's Education (1958-59) and Kothari Commission (1966) paved way for guaranteeing a respectable life to the marginalised groups of the society. Reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes was entrusted to provide equal opportunity to students in all spheres of life. Removal of separation of curriculum for girl and boy students (1952-53) did the same for pushing the women, as group, to the frontline of education and society.

After it was recognised that access to schools in the grandest issue that haunts Indian education system, two programmes were launched by the then Central government. They were dedicated to work for every child in the country. The National policy of Education 1986 and Programme of Action 1992 are the milestones of Indian education system. Both the documents extensively lay out the plans of education for the children in India. There is an extensive emphasis on equalising the educational opportunities for the scheduled castes and tribes. By launching operation blackboard government made sure that the physical access to education was guaranteed for the children in rural areas. In 1992 by suggesting the Common Minimum programme the then central government started a discussion on common learning standards that were unachievable by the students from marginal groups due to the quality of education in the universal programme. There was a guaranteed access through previous policies, but it was not serving the children equally.

Given the background of equalising policies, government launched the programme named *Sarv Shiksha abhiyaan* in 2002 to universalise the elementary education. At the core of this programme was a previously designed District Primary Education Programme (1993-94) that aimed to cover each district for primary education. DPEP reached to almost 272 districts of 18 states before the introduction of SSA. Latter aimed to reach at community level (every 5 kms). One of the most significant achievement of SSA was to have increased number of minority students enrolling in the schools.[2] Amongst many policies and programmes, SSA proved to be one of the most effective for the children of minority and scheduled caste and tribes.

Despite constant focus on the issue of inequality the current data from the Ministry of Human Resource Development [3] suggests that the students from scheduled castes and tribes are still not at par with the unreserved categories in enrolment, retention or performance. It is also true for the Muslim students, which was first pointed out by Sachar Committee report (2006). Despite the history of policies in favour of the marginalised groups, central and state governments still need to continue to work for supporting them. Cassan (2011) has argued that positive discrimination holds a significant place in the education history of India. But their no guarantee that one programme can solve the social issue. Amongst many programmes only DPEP and SSA can be termed as the ones to be dedicated to the cause of school education to every section of Indian society.

Education has to be presented to the society as a service that is available for masses. But it also has to take cognizance of social discrimination by making provisions on the basis of their caste, class, gender or other identity markers. The Delhi government also follows a similar distinction to point out the vulnerable groups in the society. These groups, for instance women, people born into scheduled castes or tribes, destitute, people with physical and mental disabilities, are recognised in the policy for positive discrimination. But the root of the problem now is not access

to schools. Right to education guarantees free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years.

Private spending in Education

The problem is still of depravity. The lingering question of what next after education. The elementary education in the current context does not serve any purpose to build a dignified career for a child. That either can be done by sitting for a competitive exam or continue education in field. Both scenarios requiring significant investments. The criticism of current form of 'right to education' points out to this repeatedly (Kaushal 2012, Bhatta 2014, Chatterjee et al 2020). The policy makers in Delhi government took cognizance of this phenomenon. The team of policy makers in Delhi worked towards solving this problem in the education system. Special scholarship programmes are designed for these categories of students to allow them to study without any economic burden. The scholarships are especially useful because school education for long has been just an addendum to a successful career or good marks. The fess to the tuition centres is one of main expenditures for the students (Tilak 1996). Tuition is a subculture that decides the educational achievement but has least contribution from the school, or teachers or the policies. Private tuition in Indian education can be seen as a parallel system that developed as free education became a norm.

The expenditures in education were not saved for the family or food but redirected towards the private schools (Tooley 2013, Kingdon 2020) or tuitions (Sujatha 2014, Azam 2016). This trend maintains the status quo in education. As the facilities in private schools or tuitions are directly proportional to amount to be spent. The divides and discriminations that the education policies were working on to bridge gets diluted due to the uninterrupted growth of this private sector. Delhi government has shown an inspiring futuristic vision by capturing the nuance of school education by providing these scholarships. By this they are capable of providing a democratic and constitutional provision in the schools as well as in the performance by funding the private tuitions.

English speaking course is an example of vision of the Delhi government has for the private education that students have to pay for without any choice. Knowledge of English guarantees a respectable job for students. Many of them spend substantial money on private tuitions or speaking courses to learn the language. By making it part of the schooling government has offered the relief from the extra financial burden on the family. This is a relevant example of a modern sense of child centred understanding of childhood and their futures .in Delhi

Reading campaign is a programme to support students with poor reading abilities. By arranging various programmes that run throughout the year including in the summer camps and reading *melas*, which are other schemes of the government in the education policy. Not just by arranging special programmes like these, the government of Delhi has focused a lot of its attention on the everyday learning at school as well. The policy focuses on pedagogy by the means of *pragati* series and happiness curriculum. The *pragati* series of supplementary learning material is developed on the ideologies of child centric curriculum (Dewey 1899, 1901, 1923).

Initiatives are also taken in the pre-schooling component of learning that is another sector where private schools dominate. By establishing KG classes in 432 schools and Nursery in 304 schools in Delhi the government has shown its dedication to the sector. There are programmes for training the teachers of the pre-school. The government has shown a keen interest in regulating the private schools for fees and transparency in the process of admission of economically weaker sections at all levels.

The government shows deep commitment to access, equity, holistic growth of individuals, learning levels and infrastructure development in the name of education. The policy making in this regard must be understood for its innovative approach to the problem and some extraordinary steps like partnering with NGOs and development of research components within school education. Approximately 14,000 crores are spent for education in the NCT of Delhi. For effective

management of the whole budget of the state GoD has proposed a seventy-point agenda out of which Education occurs prominently along with health, women security and other self-identified (by GoD) important issues.

The discrimination is also fought at the level of infrastructure. All state government schools have provisions for integrated education for children with special abilities. Since 1982, the students with special physical and mental needs also became a concern for the mainstream education. By introducing Integrated Education for Disabled Children (IEDC) in the formal schooling the education policy brought a sectarian issue in a public domain. Before this, the policy did talk about the education of children with special needs but not in a fashion of assimilation. By integrating education of children with special needs in the formal schools' policies fuelled the deliberations on physical and mental access to space and ableism. The infrastructure development is a step is inspired from the IEDC provisions. It includes building of ramps in every state government owned schools.

Along with being understanding about the past forms of discrimination, it is expected from any welfare state is to explore the new forms of marginalisation. With advancement in social knowledge the categories of discrimination become nuanced. It is substantial to explore the new forms of inequalities with the change in educational context. The present government did work towards identifying new recipients of positive discrimination policies in India. In an inspiring step Delhi government has included the children suffering from HIV/AIDS and transgender children as a form of special disadvantaged group in their policy[4]. These children get equal provisions as the classically recognised disadvantaged group children do. It marks the investment that goes on in the research in forming policies.

Gender as a category in the policy of positive discrimination

The policy documents reveal that the Delhi government has mentioned forty-one schemes for women and girls. Out of which thirty are related to education for instance fellowships, scholarships, coaching centres, financial help in purchasing textbooks, stationary and uniforms and nutrition schemes for schools. Some of these like *Laadli* are continued from the previous government while some of the others are new developments under the current regime.

It is significant to note that the success stories and development are restricted to only fifty-four government schools that were shortlisted for the experiment and development under a pilot project by the Government of Delhi (GoD). Out of these there are 4 all- girls' schools.

It is interesting to note that there are no specific schemes that are designed only for girls. As a group 'girls' are taken under the larger category of 'disadvantaged sections of society'. It was seen that the name of many schemes are repeated under sections for 'women and girls', 'Muslims', 'Schedule caste and tribe'. To be precise there are twenty-three schemes (other from the forty-one aforementioned) that are benefitting young school going girls of minority communities, schedule class and scheduled tribe students, children from other backward castes along with people with physical disabilities. Some of these schemes are directed to everybody by means of scholarships or financial support.

Redefining Access

After recognising the categories of discrimination, the policies propose steps through which identity and social status does not hamper the educational achievements of the students. Sometimes it requires change in the rigid structures to accommodate students from all walks of life. In 1986, the National policy of education brought in focus distance learning programmes by deliberating on Indira Gandhi National Open University. A university that provided higher education without the constraints of schools, yearly timetable or rigid examination date-sheet. It opened up new door for students to pursue education at their own pace. Followed by this a National Institute of Open was introduced as a way for students to complete their education without physical and time at the level of schools. The flexibility in the classes and examination was designed to suit the needs of students in poor or marginalised environments, who want to

study. For a long time, this programme either was opted by the students independently or was exclusively used by the Non-Governmental Organisations to support the students in rural areas. Delhi government reached out to the students itself to reach out to the students in need. It helped students who cannot give regular exams due to physical or social constraints. This is one of the programmes that is discussed extensively in the media. The Government has certainly based its policy on the best practices in the field of education by following the footsteps of the oldest working organisations in the area.

There are schemes like *chunauti* and reading campaign for the children who are already in school. *Chunauti* is specifically designed 'to bridge learning gaps for children in class sixth, seventh and eighth' (2015:2). The relevance of these three classes is most of the schools run by Delhi government start from class sixth (after primary). Students from various schools like Municipal Corporation of Delhi schools and private schools may not have the same standard of education that is expected by the host schools. The children are divided into three categories according to their performance. All three groups are taught in such a way that they must be able to perform well in ninth class examination[5]. The policy documents the success of this programme by noting that results have increased significantly in the target class in the schools. *Buniyaad*, which is a bridge course for drop out students (to induct them back into schooling), has gained significant media attention. Programmes like bridge courses are practiced by ground level organizations in rural and backward areas like by *Eklavya* in Madhya Pradesh and *digantar* and *bodh* in Rajasthan. These are successful models of educational attainment in adversity. Bridge schooling, as undertaken by *Bodh Shiksha Samiti* in Rajasthan starts from identifying the drop-out students from the neighbourhood. One of largest segments of this programme was young girls who have left education due to child marriage prevalence. The *samiti* used to design the school schedule and curriculum around the chores that the girls have to perform. This ensured that the students who dropout of the school attended the schools without compromising their family life. The Delhi Government institutionalise the bridge education by inculcating the students within the formal schools.

They have changed the name of the schemes. There was no mention of the programmes from which schemes like 'open school exam' has originated. The credit that was given to other 'Learning without Burden' in the happiness curriculum was not followed in all the other schemes. The debate of access to education in India starts from 1950 when the government of India made a commitment towards it. Eventually free and compulsory education became a norm for the policies in education. The right to education Act in 2010 formalised the access issue by noting that education is free and compulsory for children under the age of 14. The age is one of the major challenges that this access issue has suffered in our policies. The issue of access is redefined by the Delhi government.

Exploring Gender Identity in Education Policy in post independent India

The policy documents reveal that the Delhi government has mentioned forty-one schemes for women and girls. Out of which thirty are related to education for instance fellowships, scholarships, coaching centres, financial help in purchasing textbooks, stationary and uniforms and nutrition schemes for schools. Some of these like *Laadli* are continued from the previous government while some of the others are new developments under the current regime.

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Falling Enrolment in State Government Schools

One of the major criticisms that was raised about the education policy of Delhi is about the falling enrolment rate in the state government schools. Enrolments have fallen by 8% in Delhi government Schools and 17% in MCD schools. Interview with one of the officials points out that the fall of the enrollment must be linked to the MCD schools. The state government schools are

fed by the MCD schools. The data procured from the RTIs by *Praja* foundation clearly indicates that the enrolment has fallen in both of these schools. It hence should be noted that the state government schools have appealed to a similar group of parents who send their children to MCD and state government schools. For comparison let us look at the data of central government schools (Kendriya Vidyalaya). The chart shows that in Delhi the enrolment in the KVs has increased by 14% which is contrasting from the trend shown in other schools. The data however shows that there is a decrease in the enrolment in the last five years. The data for current year is not available on open source.

Source: Praja Foundation Report based on RTI information provided by schools
Pragati Series and *Chunauti* Programme

A significant criticism of the education policy is about the *pragati* series and the *chunauti* programme. It is an issue that is, as claimed by the organisation that filed a PIL, against the 'right to equality' of Indian constitution. Both the programmes divide students into groups according to their learning levels. In the obvious course of matter students with poor backgrounds end up at the lowest levels.

In research however the child-centred approach to education notes that children must be designed according to the requirements of the students. These programmes have worked well before implemented in the Schools of Delhi. They are successful experiments that have produced good results in the most difficult terrains of India. Hence it is not justified to claim that the programme does hamper equality rather it should be seen as a work to enhance equity amongst the children.

Vocational Education

Delhi government has a clear stand on vocational education. They are offering courses like beauty and wellness, retail, tourism and other in the schools under state government. Delhi government has a detailed list of courses and the schools that offer them on their website. In the senior secondary class students, according to CBSE's regulation can opt for three vocational subjects out of the total five that they have to compulsorily take.

One critique of this policy is that vocational education is getting mileage in the state government owned school due to the background of the students.[7] It is a concern for the students who want to pursue academic careers in the university but are forced to take vocational courses in schools. Vocational courses are not counted in the application of the colleges, as informed by the schools in reply to a RTI. Even the recognition by CBSE does not convince universities to admit the students with vocational courses.

This is causing panic for the students, teachers and schools who offer vocational education. This again however is a larger issue to non-communication between the bureaucracy of school management and universities. A teacher told me that some students want to opt for vocational courses as they prepare the children to opt for a career right after schools. Even if they do not have a degree, they will have a career. Some students opt for these courses to increase their percentages, as vocational courses are generally high scoring.

The vocational courses do not help in university education, that is a problem that the Delhi government wants to solve by establishing a Skill and Entrepreneurship University in Delhi. The policy does not mention this university, but a general sentiment is not hidden from the Delhi government that has proposed to be in talks with the University administrations to get the vocational education its due recognition in the admissions. One problem however is the unavailability of teachers for vocational courses. Either the regular teachers are overworked for these courses or people with lower qualifications teach vocational education courses, but then they add to the contract teacher problem that is already haunting the present state government.

Teachers

The public record shows that still one third of the teachers working in the government schools of Delhi are on contractual basis. As mentioned earlier, the policy practioners tend to put long term intangible goals on hold to make space for measurable short-term goals as also mentioned by

Dror (1970). The problem of para-teachers stems from this conundrum exclusively. With an objective of making a reactive policy of universalising education the policy makers got blinded by the lack of trained teachers of the ones that are under training. Due to the nature of the job it was misconceived to be transferable to under-trained professionals. There also was a sincere lack of empathy towards the future of the contract employees. I can only understand this concept or the group of para-teachers as the policy-deficits in education[8]. They were recruited after a policy was made to provide education to all of the country without taking consideration of the availability of the manpower. In an inefficient decision that was followed by the most educated person in the village, or the district was recruited as a teacher (Duflo et al 2011 Hsieh et al 2019). Contract teachers in Delhi are also the result of the policy-deficit in education. In the latest admission by the Delhi government around seventy percent of the contract teachers were found not fit for the teaching jobs as they failed the DSSSB recruitment exams conducted. All the positions were again advertised as contract positions for the general public. From the point of view of quality, that this government has shown its allegiance to, the decision itself is not contestable. There is a commitment to provide good education to students in the government schools. It cannot be achieved if the teachers that are recruited do not match the standards set for their qualification.

From a different view however it is a problematic stand that has compromised the future of many teachers in Capital (and the country). In Delhi, the problem of contract teachers might not be of insufficient qualification, because the recruitment for the contractual position also follows similar norms of qualification as of the permanent recruitment. But it certainly points to the lack on in-service investment of the previous regimes that has put the contract teacher at loss in the current situation. It is an also a political conundrum because regularising jobs of the contract teachers was on the promises AAP made in the last Delhi elections.

The idea of policy deficits in education is located in the difference that a policy proposes without calculating the human and monetary cost of the same. Para-teachers is a good example of this deficit. The number of para-teacher in India is in lakhs. There movements for full time positions and salary are spread nationwide. But, in many parts of the country their qualification is still less than that of other teachers. It is important to point out that distance learning universities do provide professional degrees in education for the people who are in the field of education for more than five years. That might be one of the steps that has helped para-teachers in the past. Delhi government also has to deliberate on this issue in a democratic manner rather than just overlooking the contribution of the contract-teachers for over a decade due to misinformed policies. As this topic there are several issues raised in this analysis that can be a research project of their own all these are discussed below.

Conclusion

This policy analysis was undertaken to assess the document as a text in a process. Like every policy document this one also was a continuation from the previous ones. Building on previous foundations the new policies deliberates on the issues of universal access and mend the inequalities present in the society through education. Without innovation and inculcating new research however, the ideas of inequalities and access become policy clichés. The Delhi government has done a commendable job by working on the channels through which the inputs reach the policy makers. The policy fellowship programmes, public private partnership became essential in their functioning and defining deliverables.

By reducing the role of bureaucracy in policy making the Delhi government has changed the way governments envisage this process. History of policy alone does not feed into the new ones. There are several shifting contexts that are only captured by the people working on the ground. These are important inputs that cannot be taken in a passing rather must be given equal status amongst other knowledge. The partnership of policy with grounds level realities, young researchers with

legislative members and bureaucracy with research exemplifies a new form of policy making in a modern democracy.

The policy has a neo-liberal and post-modernist inclination. It also however has a tendency to move towards a post-truth form of democracy where a lot is left for imagination by the presentation of infrastructure and vocations to the common eye. The nuance is not a deliverable that can be counted, neither are then philosophies of learning. The policy is rooted in the new child-centred policy and theories of Nagraj but it is not clear whether they are decisions of systematic deliberations or intellectual convenience. Absence of data from the public forum is uneasy but it also suggests, as previously mentioned, that the government has given into a post-truth democracy. The policy exhibits a strong background of history, experience and partnership. It definitely is one of most inclusive and innovative policies present in the country. But there are loopholes of the near past like the issue of contract teachers or increasing privatisation that still demand more attention. It is also hidden in many ways. The whole process however needs more research input to be termed as inaccessible.

Scope of Future Research

Currently I am working on getting school level data from the Delhi government. The government has given limited access to the researchers. In the future I would like to undertake policy analysis that demands data from the government through the Right to information Act.

This analysis has been undertaken to understand the policy document as a text. I have tried to capture the process of policy making by referring to old policies, but it still lacks the inputs of the people who engage in the policy making. In future I would like to interview people recruited as 'policy fellows' by the Delhi government. I was able to interview two for this research but to gaze deeply into the innovation in the field of policymaking, it is pertinent to get in touch with as many as possible.

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