Baseline Survey of the School Scenario in Some States in the context of RTE:

Study of Educational Quality, School Management, and Teachers
Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal

Report
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by

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I. INTRODUCTION

With the passing of the Right to Education (RTE) bill in the Parliament in August, 2009 and its coming into effect as law from April 2010, the Indian state has finally committed itself to making the provision of quality education to all its children a fundamental right. However, numerous contradictions are evident in the existing schooling scenario in the country, some of which are expected to have immediate consequences on how the Right to Education Act will actually be realised / implemented across the country. Over the last two decades, two national education 'missions'— the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) and the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) — have led to an impressive expansion of access and enrolment in government elementary schools. Two key issues that will, at this juncture, determine the trajectory of the RTE and the mix of public and private schooling which will come to prevail in the coming years to cater to the provisions of the RTE are: educational quality and the status and role of teachers as professionals. While there have been debates on these issues, these have been often carried out largely within narrow perspectives that allow only either-or positions. Studies on these issues have also been critiqued for using metrics of quality that are of doubtful educational significance, based on biased and limited interpretation of data and over-simplification of a scenario that is complex[1]. Needless to say, the context of RTE as well as the growing investment of various state and non-state players into strengthening the school education system makes necessary a more reliable and educationally and contextually valid assessment of the scenario.

The Indian school scenario at present is highly differentiated on several dimensions: between public and private schools (at a broader level); within public schools and private schools themselves; between states; and, within states. Further the pitch is being queered by an aggressive portrayal of the government as dysfunctional and failing and of the private as effective and capable of stepping in to 'partner' (= replace) government. States have been asked to formulate their own rules and, while expectations are high from the RTE Act, there is both an anxiety and ambiguity that surrounds these expectations of various stakeholders. In such a context, any study of schooling that intends to feed into broader policy issues and policy tools would need to adopt a comparative perspective that can not only incorporate some of the prevailing differences within the school scenario within its design but also use such a design and its outcomes analytically to comment on the anxieties and ambiguities towards the RTE among different stakeholders.

[1] For example, see Tooley, J., P. Dixon and S. V. Gomathi (2007). 'Private Schools and the Millennium Development Goal of Universal Primary Education: A Census and Comparative Survey in Hyderabad, India', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 33, No 5, 539-560. and Sarangapani. P and C. Winch (2011) 'Tooley, Dixon and Gomathi on Private Education in Hyderabad: A Reply', *Oxford Review of Education*.

1.1 Research Design and Research Objectives

The baseline study was intended to be comparative to enable the deduction of generalisations that would provide a pan-Indian perspective on the evolving scenario, and in view of the need to understand inter-state variations on account of the federal character of school policy. Also in the last fifteen years, there is variation in educational reforms that have been implemented by different states in matters of access, retention, curriculum and pedagogy, teacher education and teacher recruitment. It was intended that the comparisons would be across three states with differing education histories and local contexts, both rural and urban contexts and also a range of schools with the education system from elite, unaided private, unrecognised private, government schools, aided government schools, and schools under urban governance authorities.

The primary research objectives of the baseline study were:

1. To have a broad baseline understanding of the differentiated school-scenario from which the RTE is expected to unfold.
2. To gain insights into the concerns surrounding the RTE among key stakeholders of school education.

The secondary research objective of the baseline study is:

1. To develop research parameters and hypotheses for a larger study based on the findings of the baseline study.

The baseline study survey was expected to provide critical empirically grounded understanding regarding the context in which the RTE is being actually implemented across different states, and serve as a reference point to examine how the broad structure of the schooling system in India will evolve in the coming years; and, how larger concerns for social equity, to which the RTE directly concerns itself, will be shaped and served.

1.2 Dimensions of the Study

Current debates around the Indian school scenario and the RTE have indicated that three key supply-side factors would be crucial in determining the trajectory of the RTE and its impact in the coming years. In the proposed baseline study we intend to focus only on these three key dimensions and the various sub-themes around these dimensions that policy and educational debates have emphasised:

(1) **'Quality' of school**: the 'proxies' and metrics of school quality, education as determined by a discourse of 'rights' / 'choice' and 'citizenship' / 'market outcomes'.

(2) **School Management**: institutional arrangements for and understandings of: school quality, service delivery, and costs and 'cost effectiveness'.

(3) Teachers: the construction of 'professionalism', service, terms, experience and consequences of new forms of school 'management'.

There is an urgent need for critical and independent research into schools and schooling with a view to enter into arguments on the three themes delineated above to present a credible independent voice in current education policy. In the absence of this, there is a real possibility that the Indian State's efforts to realise the institutionalisation of quality education through higher investments in elementary schools and teacher education may be diluted through an array of 'alternative' provisioning arrangements for school education. This in turn, has the potential to lead to a situation where the nature of the educational good which the new fundamental right guarantees, and the social agenda that it aims for, will be distorted in character and purpose and outcome.

The study was a small effort to respond to this unfolding situation. But now, rather than reacting to situations afterwards, the purpose of the proposed research project aimed at proactively investigating directly and around questions, assumptions, and apprehensions on which the current response to the RTE is being formed.

1.3 Research Sites

Given the need for the baseline study to cover a wide range of variations among diverse contexts of state initiatives, policies, and progress in the realm of school education, and also the constraint of time and resources, the following **three primary sites** were selected for the study:

1. Delhi: the state has institutionalised a variety of 'qualities' in state-run schools, deals with rapid transformation of rural areas, and also has a range of private institutions. It has also been observed to be characterised by contradictions of higher financial allocations along with poorly provisioned schools. Being the seat of power, this is also the site for 'demonstration' of a variety of policy-aimed experiments.

2. Andhra Pradesh: the state is among the fore-runners to embrace the discourse of the market and also involvement of non-state involvement in school education. Some of these trends have been reflected in experiments to incentivise teaching, deregulation of private schools, and the rise of an elaborate formal tutorial system. The state also has a large number of 'parateachers'.

3. West Bengal: this state has a political system that has endorsed anti-privatisation and till recently followed a language policy that has caused distortions in school choices and availability. The politicisation of the school administrative apparatus, the presence of a strongly unionised teacher force, and the emergence of and reliance on an informal tutorial system are also characteristic features of school education in this state.

Besides, the states of Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal have widely disparate rural-urban divides. All three states have significant Muslim population across all social classes. The specific urban/rural areas that were surveyed were chosen so that they represent the widest possible range of social groups and school types (both public and private).

1.4 Process

The **first stage** of the study had two main parts: The first part was an overview of the socio-economic and political contexts of the three chosen states, based on secondary data. The second part of this first stage involved developing the key dimensions further through conceptual discussions on the following themes: the conception of quality, State, System and Management of School Education in the Public and the Private Provisioning of Education, Teachers and Family

Stage 1: Based on these for the first stage of the study, the following questions were kept as the focus for this first phase of the Study which aimed at understanding quality of school, types and extents of diversities that exist.

1. How can a broadened understanding of 'quality of education' be empirically studied?
2. What is the nature and extent of education diversity?
3. Who goes where and why?
4. What are the systems and structures of management?
5. How and to what extent would the RtE impact on institutional viability and quality?
6. To what extent can variations be understood in terms of market, or state, or culture or history?

A multidimensional conception of quality was adopted which included the following six major dimensions:

1. Aims of education
2. Provisioning/design/capacity
3. Curriculum
4. Standards and achievement
5. Practice
6. Accountability

Stage 2: This informed the **second stage** of the study which was the empirical phase involving gathering of primary data. The empirical study was planned in two parts. Part 1 was aimed at conducting a survey of **all** schools within an delimited educational administrative geography in a Urban area to map quality along the above mentioned dimensions as well as understanding basic issues to do with clientel, equity, management forms and teachers from the perspective of the school. Part 2 aimed at conducting the same type of survey in a rural geography. Part I was completed, but proved to be very time consuming as in Delhi there were enormous delays and refusals of persmission to study schools; in Andhra Pradesh, on account of Telangana agitations and frequent Bandhs, only the Urban part could be completed and the rural part was limited to a small sample survey. In West Bengal there were coordination delays. On the whole part I of the survey which involved the Urban areas of Delhi, Kolkata and Hyderabad was completed. Part 2 of the study could could not be taken up. *The first and second phases of the study form the subject of this report.* This is expected to lay the ground for the **third stage** which is planned as a stratified sample based in depth study of family, management, teachers and learning, in both urban and rural areas.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is devoted stage 2 of the study, which took the shape of a survey to map schools and school quality in a delimited geography of an urban area in each of the three states which we studied. The background paper on quality which forms the conceptual backdrop against which the instrument was designed is provided in an annexure B to this report. Additional conceptual background papers on the theme of public and private education and on teachers are also included as Annexures. Chapter 2 discusses the research design and method of analysis. The tool that was designed and used is included as Annexure C and the coding scheme as Annexure D. The process of field work and the final form that the study took particularly in terms of the limitation on coverage is discussed and justified. Chapter 3 introduces the final three areas that were studied in the three Urban areas that were surveyed. The chapter 4 ext section presents the findings from the three locations. The final chapter is a brief discussion of the findings and conclusions of the study including implication in the context of RtE.

2. Research Design and analysis

2.1 The Basic Questions

The research was designed in order to enable the following set of basic questions to be asked and answered:

1. What is the range of types of schools existing on the ground, with reference to management types, size, clientel type, school financing, curriculum and syllabus, levels, age?
2. What is the quality of education on offer in these institutions, with quality understood as a master concept (explained below)?
3. What are the management types that obtain on the ground and which enable us to understand the institutional design and quality?
4. What are the key differences between different types of schools?
5. How can we explain the 'production' and 'variation' in quality?
6. What are the key differences we see between management types, between rural and urban areas and between the States, and how can we account for the differences?

It was designed as an exploratory census of schools within a defined and delimited geography in each of the three urban sites where the study was conducted.

The research primarily involved a survey of the entire population of schools within a delimited education administrative unit.

2.2 Delimitation

In order to do this a census of all schools within a delimited education administrative geography survey design was chosen as the design. This was regarded as necessary for three reasons:

(1) There is no basis upfront to plan a sample based survey that aims to understand the types of quality that exist and the various arrangements that exist to run schools and manage quality. The study deliberately eschewed the common categorisation of 'private-unaided-unrecognised, private-unaided-recognised-aided-government' as a basis of understanding quality, although this may be a useful categorisation of school financing.
(2) The State has a role in school regulation and hence it was decided that mapping to coincide with the boundaries of an education administrative unit would be necessary in order to understand the dynamics of recognition and quality, both of which are regulated by the State.
(3) It could potentially enable us to understand the 'extent' of various type of school emerging. Needless to say this third reason is complicated particularly in urban areas where commuting is common and where the demographic distribution is also very uneven.

For the same reasons it was planned that the demography of the chosen area should represent maximum diversity of income groups, with possible types of government schools in reasonable

numbers, but should also be manageable in size so that it could be studied intensely to identify schools on the ground, even if they are not listed.

2.3 Unit of analysis

The Right to Education is a Central Act and will henceforth govern the schooling system throughout the whole country (with the exception of the state f Jammu and Kashmir). The right reflects the Federal structure of the Indian State, and additionally the fact that School Education is primarily as State subject. The Individual state is responsible for overall regulation, the oversight of opening of new schools and maintaining a data base of institutions. However the data bases are confusing and different 'definitions' of school operate in this space. State governments give separate permissions and recognitions for different levels of schools. In DISE, elementary schools are systematically counted, but are also counted separately from high schools. Preschools are left out of the counts altogether. A range of different arrangements operate in the private management sector as well.

For the purpose of the study it was decided to count each Institutional unit functioning with an identifiable administrative head, and with a definite clientel who are admitted into the institution with the understanding that they will proceed from grade to grade until either formally leaving the institution at a designated level all together, (unless they are withdrawn or asked to leave at an earlier point). Also teachers would be deployed within this entire institution. As a result, pre-school, if attached to the school and forming the main point of entry, was included in the 'school', and regardless of how it was 'counted' in DISE, if elementary and high school functioned together as a unit, they were also included and counted as a single unit.

For the purpose of the study, the 'school' subject to the above stated caveats, was chosen as the unit of analysis to understand quality, and within schools teachers in their classrooms were studied. Further more, schools were also located within larger administrative units which could be responsible for quality. In the case of the government schooling system, this was a direct responsibility. The private sector was regulated by government, but internally also the structures of management through which clientel, teachers and quality were managed were examined.

2.4 Approach to Quality

The study required a design that would enable us to examine and judge quality of education based on the following parameters for quality, approaching quality as a 'master concept' (See Annexure A) with at least six dimensions to be examined.

1. Aims of education
2. Provisioning/design/capacity
3. Curriculum
4. Standards and achievement
5. Practice/Pedagogy
6. Accountability

It was felt that a study of these six dimensions for each institution would enable us to from an opinion regarding the educational worthwhileness of what was being provided to and experience by students. The design of the tool to study these six dimensions was primarily focused on the

school and features internal to the school, but aspects of the instrument were applicable to supra-school structures and features. In keeping with the exploratory character of the study, the instruments used to gather data on these dimensions needed to geared to generating qualitiative data that reflects field realities rather than prematurely decide and fit into a framework. The nature of the features to be examined for quality required an approach which enabled researchers to exlore and form judgments about what they were seeing and hearing but at the same time gather primary evidence that would support such judgements.

2.4 QUALITY INSTRUMENT FOR EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION:

2.4.1 FRAMEWORK AND DIMENSIONS TO BE STUDIED

This section provides a discuss aimed at developing a framework on the dimensions to provide a basic map of quality of educational institutions. It additionally aims at elaborating more systematically on the key concepts and constructs and themes through which to make sense of the data, and which researchers were asked to keep in mind as they make their visits to the field. The framework was necessary to guide the process of gathering data and to give an idea of the type of data that the instrument itself aims to generate. Interviews and observations needed to be directed towards enabling the individual researchers to form judgments on the various dimensions of the school that are necessary to understand and assess in forming a judgement about its quality.

The literature suggests that quality in education is conceptualised in different ways. Education itself may be seen either as a process or an outcome or both. Depending in which way it is taken, the measure of quality in education will be different. Both process and outcome, however, require reference to implicit and explicit aims of education. Given our decision to use the RTE as a normative framework the decision is, to some extent, made for us (see 29.1 of the Act).

RTE includes both process and outcome considerations in its prescriptions, hence we need to take both into account in our own quality instrument. Given discussion of the issue in the past (eg Naik, Tooley), it is also important, to include a third dimension, namely *preconditions* for education, which are, fundamentally, the resources required: physical, intellectual and human for education to successfully take place.

A key problem is virtually all social science research is the choosing of indicators that are as full and accurate representation of the phenomenon investigated as is possible. This means in effect that it is hard to avoid the use of proxies in investigating these phenomena. The best that can be done is to fasten on the most appropriate proxies where direct investigation is not possible and be frank about the shortcomings of the proxies. As can be seen below, many 'input' factors can be observed directly and their usefulness depends on how valid sample observations can be said to be about the population as a whole. 'Output' factors are, however, much more difficult to measure directly and even the use of sophisticated approaches such as contextual value added can only give approximate measures with large margins of errors for 'inputs' such as the class/caste/religious/community background of the pupils.

2.4.2 ELABORATION OF SOME OF THE FEATURES/DIMENSIONS :

1. Aims of education: What does the school, via its stated intent, the understanding of its leadership (head/management) and two teachers as evidenced in interviews, and via its practices as evidenced in observations of assembly, classroom, and in documents such as brochures, timetables, and assessment records, seem to be oriented towards achieving for its pupils and vis a vis society, through education. Is it wide or narrow in range and scope/depth. Is it oriented to achieving the same for all its pupils, in the same way, or is it oriented towards differentially towards different groups and if so on what basis? (gender, caste, 'intelligence', poverty, etc.)
2. Educational activity/schooling would be concerned with developing in all students or investing efforts towards, or securing and providing—some of the following, to varying degrees. Ie some are 'educational' in the sense of involving development and change, while some are matters of giving access to opportunity and for certification:
   i. 'Self': is it, and if so to what extent is it oriented towards finding a voice and an identity and an individuality/uniqueness, sense of agency, one's own intelligence/capability, what can one/should aspire for
   ii. 'Collective'—on religious lines, linguistic, regional, 'nationalistic', 'global', 'grateful poor', 'masses in need of upliftment', 'girls/women, 'critical consciousness', etc.
   iii. Obedience vs autonomy; through the nature of teachers authority, heads authority.
   iv. Creation of the public space/public self—in particular orientation towards politics/state; acceptance of one's status/social position (caste/gender/ethnic etc.) vs transformatory.
   v. Overall orientation towards (a) cognitive development of children, (b) scholastic achievement in tests and examinations (c) all round development capacities and capabilities (d) personality development (e) development of 'values'—constitutional, ideological, religious, other. (f) development of identities and affinities—national, regional, religious, caste, linguistic, etc. (g) acquisition of cultural capital (h)towards aspirations/opening up of opportunities.
   vi. Opportunity and effort to acquire and secure certification and public recognition of achievement status/value. cultural capital, certification, opportunities for public recognition Acquiring 'cultural capital', signaling cultural capital, and recognizing and certifying cultural capital. E.g. English, 'bol-chal', access to social networks, avenues for upward educational linkages.
3. Orientation towards differential home circumstances
   How is the school oriented towards addressing differential home support for education, especially where it concerns children of marginalized groups?
   i. Is it accepting of home conditions and nururant, vs charity oriented or as a caretaker till children achieve maturity. Are home conditions seen as frustrating and limiting of possibilities?
   ii. How is the school positioned vis a vis expectations regarding scholastic achievement, cognitive development and examination results.
   iii. How is the school positioned vis a vis anticipated future employment of children.

iv. How is the school positioned vis a vis expectation of regularity and involvement of students with the activities and contents of schooling.
v. How is the school positioned vis a vis extraschool inputs towards educational resources.
vi. How is the school positioned vis a vis expectations regarding self regulation/discipline.

4. Practice
   i. Individualized or massified?
   ii. Delivery of 'basics' vs higher order cognitive development—independent thinking (what could be the in between forms?)
   iii. Form of pupil teacher interaction in the classroom and outside.
      a. Absent
      b. Strict supervisory silence
      c. Ritualized and restricted to cued Q&A
      d. Q&A restricted to TB
      e. Q&A content defined by TB but wider
      f. Seeking student experience
      g. Primarily student led
   iv. Pacing—teacher controlled or responsive to students, or student controlled.
5. School ethos
   i. Adequacy, maintenance and care of the infrastructure.
   ii. Towards language use by students, especially mothertonge vs standard language, vs English.
   iii. Discipline and uniform
   iv. Forms of punishment
   v. Attitude towards parents
   vi. Achievement orientation
   vii. Ideological climate
   viii. Value of teachers, congenial climate for teachers
   ix. Sense of accountability

2.4.3 CHOOSING INDICATORS.

Indicators

	Preconditions	Processes	Outcomes
Primary Indicator	*Physical*: Quality of buildings Class size Space per pupil Pedagogic facilities (blackboard, paper, pencils) Drinking Water Toilets Playground Sports facilities *Intellectual*:* Curriculum (breadth as well as depth) Schemes of work Lesson plans Text books and other teaching materials *Human:* Teacher per pupil (weighted by variance in pupil age within classroom)	*At School Level:* Assemblies Other whole-school activities *Classroom Level:* Quality of Lessons observed (nb. This is necessarily a sample) criteria: presence of teacher, quality of teacher contribution, Quality of pupil contribution, Pace and development of lesson Informal assessment of pupil work*** Working atmosphere	Very difficult to measure directly especially as some of these only appear in the long-term. Outcomes of formative** assessment at school level Outcomes of summative assessment at school level (from school records) Conversation with pupils
Proxy	*Human:* <u>Quality of teacher</u>: Qualification of teacher Length of experience Headteacher assessment Preparedness of pupils (social and cultural capital). School and teacher level data (but will need to be very carefully interpreted)	*At School Level:* <u>For school ethos</u>: School regulations Teacher-pupil interaction Pupil-pupil interaction Parent-school interaction	*At School Level:* District and state level summative assessments Interviews with ex-pupils, employers of pupils

<u>Notes:</u>

* Intellectual/human is a somewhat arbitrary distinction, but we need to distinguish between artefacts and agents within the school (cf. Popper's 'World Three')

** Some may be measured through direct observation, although there will need to be inferences about the population.

*** These can all be assessed through direct observation.

2.4.4 THE TOOL

The tool that was designed to provide both quantitative and qualitative information about various dimensions of the institution. It had seven components:

	Name of instrument	methods	scope
A	School Fact Sheet	Observation and Interview	School name, location, establishement and recognition, levels, coed, languages taught, and medium of instruction, school timing, staffing, school building and facilities, midday meal, transport, enrolment
B	Morning Assembly	Observation	Entry into school, location and practices of assembly, participation, discipline,
C	School Documents	Document study	Brochures and publicity, prospectus, school diary, annual calendar classtimetable, report cards, application form, registration form, class-wise academic test results, textbooks, workbooks
D	Interview with HM		Personal details, about school facilities, management, status of recognition etc, affiliation board, other links for service, clientel, staff and teachers, recognition, aims of education, curriculum and practice, teachers, disadvangate groups in school, evaluation and standards, accountability, RtE context
E	Classroom Observation		Physical space, content, emotional climate
F	Interview with Teacher		The class observed, teaching in general, interaction with management, personal details

The full instrument is provided as an annexure to this report.

The instrument included a briefing to the Researches on the key points regarding the method of carrying out the study of the institution.

i) Objective and key persons responsible for the study.

Current studies of school quality reduce it to school infrastructure and school results in tests. Important efforts that schools make in achieving educational development of children are often reduced to 'process' parts that do not lend themselves easily to quantification. This study aims at understanding school quality in a more holistic manner, so as to engage with a variety of dimensions of what schools set out to do, their achievments and the challenges that they face. The study covers all kinds of schools in urban and rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal. It is supported by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Ed Cil,) Government of India.

The study will be conducted in two phases. In Phase I, which is the current phase, we are using a basic 'quality tool' in order to map all schools within a given geography. This Xcel sheet pertains to this tool. In Phase II, a stratified sampling will be done and more detailed interviews will be conducted with family, teachers, and management.

The Research Team

Padma M. Sarangapani is Professor Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. She was member of the National Curriculum Framework 2005 and has served on many National and State Committees for school education. Manish Jain is Assistant Professor, Ambedkar University, New Delhi and has been part of textbook and syllabus committees of NCERT and SCERT, Delhi. Rahul Mukhopadhyay is Faculty Fellow, Azim Premji University, Bangalore. Geetha Nambissan, Professor Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and Christopher Winch, Professor, Kings College London are collaborators.

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ii) Forms and letters etc you will need to have with you on field visits and for the study in general:

visiting card
letter appointing you as researcher (to show to school if necessary)
letter to the school from TISS (please carry copies and give copy to school)
copy of letter from MHRD (to be received)--try to avoid using this and use only if absolutely necessary/

iii) **Fix up visit to the school at least on the previous day**. Meet the principle/managing trustee with visiting card and letters of introduction and explain the purpose of the visit:

"We are conducting a survey on quality of schools and educational facilities in the mandal. This survey is supported by the Government of India. You will agree that quality of a school cannot be known only by its results. You do many things to ensure quality, and we would like to understand these aspects of the school. We would like to spend a full day in the school and interview you and the head, a few teachers, observe the activities of the school from morning till evening, including some classes, and examine some records of the school. Please confirm that we can visit your school tomorrow." In case you are being introduced to the school by an education officer, please ask them to provide the same type of introduction.

In case they cannot allow you to visit the next day, ask them to give you a date in the coming week. It would be best to fix up with four or five schools and continue to fix up with schools in advance in an ongoing manner.

In case a school is being very difficult about giving you an appointment, then do 'go up the ladder' and bring more senior researchers into the picture.

iv) Activities you will need to undertake:

Observe morning assembly
Interview school head/trustee/director
Observe the school
Observe class Ivor III, VIIor IV teaching of Language
Interview a teacher of class IV/VII (whose class you observed and who is regarded as good by the HM)
Examine some documents of the school
Examine the school timetable for curriculum diversity
Examine the schools assessment keeping records and report card for performance .
Study documents such as brochure/notice board/advertisements.

It is proposed that all these things are done in a matter of about 7 hours; from start to end of school time. After this the record keeping of the days work is planned, so that on an average you observe and document one school in one day

.

Arrive in the school before the school starts, so that you can observe how children arrive, who brings them, and what they do as they prepare for assembly (if there is a morning assembly).

You may use this document as a reference and make notes alongside. You may ask for permission to record the interviews, etc. The series of questions are mainly to serve to direct your attention to various aspects of each dimension that we want to capture. You may find that the interviewee jumps back and forth and while answering a particular question provides you with information about other things as well. You need not go mechanically from question to question. You may also find that you gather information about a particular aspect at various points of time in the course of your visit.

You could, when you have some time, sit back to check that you have adequately captures all that needs to be captured, and make notes. At the end of the day you may write in a qualitative way the running notes—you may at this time, record against each head of the instrument, or else, you may record in a running format as it unfolded. In case you are aggregating across points of data gathering and putting them into the instrument rubric broadly, then indicate the source of what you are writing: e.g. aims: during discussion with teacher 1, during discussion with trustee, from the school brochure, see on the name board of the school, etc. etc.

After you visit is over, on the same day or latest the very next morning, you will need to type up all your observations in the appropriate spaces of the xcel sheet. You will need to have a new xcel sheet for each school that you visit and study. You will need to name the file according to the code that has been assigned to you. You will need to email the xcel sheet to bssstiss@gmail, and also keep a copy of the xcel sheet with you.

2.5 THE PROCESS

The study was designed to cover all types of schools in a delimited geography/educational administrative unit. In each state an urban area and a rural area were chosen. Between June 2011 and July 2011 the instruments to be used to study various aspects of school quality were developed and piloted.

In August, 2011, a team of qualified students of education who could work as researchers for the three states were selected and oriented to both the framework of the study and the tools in separate workshops held for this purpose in Hyderabad, Delhi and Kolkata.

According to the design of the research, the methodology required researchers with a high understanding of education theory and issues involve. By and large students with higher qualifications in Education and long experience of working in education were chosen. They read and discussed the background papers of the study before studying the tool and learning to use it. Further they were trained to keep detailed notes of their observations and to fill the sheets with elaborated data.

Permissions were obtained from the Education authorities of each of the three states. Each researcher was provided with formal visiting card and persmission letters from the relevant state authorities.

Between August 2011 and March/May 2012 data was gathered from the field. The data gathered were partially entered into the xcel sheets, but as the study proceeded, it became clear

that the level of detail of the spreadsheet and the flow of the spreadsheet, interfered with the process of data gathering and also of data recording. Furthermore the situation on the ground lead to researchers having to adapt to thesituation and make the most of the time and access they were able to gain to various institutions. The actual field situations were not condusive to a systematic survey instrument being used. Rather researchers had to adapt and conducte observations and interviews as and when opportunities presented themselves. Thus, eventually the instrument served as detailed guideline to conduct the field visit and the interviews and observations. The observations were then recorded in a narrative form, and partially supported by the spreadsheet. Thus the eventual form of the data was not spreadsheet but thick descriptions of observations and the interview transcript and notes. The fields around which each description was to be maintained was refined midway and then used by researchers to keep records. Later as preliminary analyses was attempted, and the data were coded, a refined structure emerged which was used to guide the recording of data. Therefore based on the situations a mix of the spreadsheet and narrative descriptions were used to record.

As the reports later indicate, the access to schools proved to be highly variable in each of the three contexts and further also within a given urban area, access was very uneven. Gaining access also was very time consuming with the result that although a given school required only one day, establishing the access often took longer, and moreover, even on a single day, only partial access would be granted to the various sites and documents and people that were required. Hence the time we had planned was a gross under-estimate of the time it required.

2.6 ANALYSIS

The data were treated as a mix of quantitative-qualitative data. Although partially in spreadsheet and partially in the form of notes, the entire data was converted into a report form. In each site a different approach was used for the purpose of analysis.

With the Hyderabad data, data from all 85 schools were imported into a qualitative data analysis soft ware called MAXQDA which permitted the quantitative and qualitiative components of the data to be fully utilized. A trial coding of data was carried out based on the research questions that had guided the design of the instruments and the data that was emerging from the field. The codes were an attempt to arrive at a way of making sense of what researchers had seen and understood from their field visits. The trail coding was refined through feedback from other researchers. The coding was based on the questions that we were asking, and also what we were learning from the field and hence reflected a combination of initial research interests and field realities. They also represented an attempt to arrive at synthetic components of the institutions were were studying so that they could be described in a manner that was of use in commenting on the dimensions of quality as well as other institutional aspects, such as clientel, teachers, and management.

The codes were shared with researchers mid way during the study with the following notes:

(A) using the codes to enhance the quality and extent of documentation.
These codes can be used in conjunction with the earlier spreadsheet file instruments (A to F) to capture various dimensions of the school, as they highlight what needs to be capture further. Ideally, the entire description can be made using these codes as a reference, and writing up a narrative of the school, as revealed by the various instruments. the codes will help to make sure that all fields are covered.

(B) Codes for analysis.
We will be using MAXQDA and using these as the codes. The data from each school will be coded and then the code summary for the school will be extracted and via html will be imported into XCEL for further analysis. The process of coding may reveal to us what has/has not got captured and we may alert each other on the additional information that is required to be filled in. Sometimes, based on the data/table etc. we may make an inference. This inference could be written into the document in a different coloured font, or tagged with a memo, and then coded. The codes can be used multiply on the text of the document.

When the data were fully recorded and coded, they were then subjected to further analysis, interpretation and recoding, based on two considerations. On the one hand, the limitations of the data available lead to a situation where certain questions could not be answered in the form originally intended and new ways of regrouping data and drawing inferences were used in order to provide values for attributes of the institutions. For example, clientel type was arrived at by such a method. In other cases, the field experiences suggested new attributes which seemed to be important in understanding quality and these were then introduced and the values arrived at through further understanding, inferencing and freshly coding data. This was the case for relatively simple attributes such as cleanliness or building type, but also in case of attributes which were more complex such as learning objectives or disciplinary types. Thus the method that was employed was analysis-inference-synthesis-reanalysis-synthesis.

Qualitative data were thus rendered into categories with values so that it could then be subjected to quantitative analysis. By organizing the data on the spreadsheet, school wise, simple aggregates and statics were used to describe what we were seeing on the ground. Successive rounds of synthesising data into larger analytical chunks was carried out in order to arrive at synthetic judgments with regards various dimensions that would lend themselves to analysis, cross tabulations and producing various types of analytical tables that would be amenable to interpretation and building a comprehensible commentary with some explanatory value and able to be brought to bear to findings and issues reported elsewhere in other studies and flagged in our initial conceptual exercises.

In the case of Delhi a similar process was followed. Initial plan for survey of schools in selected schools of a delimited area of East Delhi district was planned for August-October 2011 but due to refusal and delay in necessary permissions, survey of schools based on the instruments designed was conducted till December 2011. The data gathered in this manner was recorded in

excel along with thick descriptions and observations based on interviews and class observations. Later this data was manually coded and recoded though an iterative process of analytical and synthetic code generation. This data was tabulated in various tables and was cross-checked. In case of errors in recording and calculation, data was revisited and corrected. Besides sharing the process and experience of this research carried out in Delhi, following report based on survey of 50 schools presents the data, findings and issues arising from them.

In Kolkata, preliminary analysis of the data from excel revealed that there though there is a large number of private unrecognized schools in the area, they can be ranked among a spectrum with substantial differences in terms of: infrastructure, fees, school management techniques,, and pedagogical practices. Interesting issues of higher enrolments in lower classes that stagger off in higher classes across a number of school types was also evident and requires further inquiry in terms of transition to upper primary education among the socio-economically disadvantaged sections.

3. THE FIELD SITES

This chapter of the report introduces the three key field sites of the study: one delimited education administration unit each in Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh, Urban Delhi and Kolkata in West Bengal.

3.1 HYDERBAD, ANDHRA PRADESH.

Hyderbad city has been the object of a series of studies that claim that low fee paying schools are able to provide quality education to the poor. The particularities of the city and the state however are important to factor in if one is attempting to interpret what is taking place in the schooling domain. The state has a thriving coaching industry linked to admissions to engineering colleges in particular and also a vast system of engineering education. The State and in particular Hyderabad city has large muslim population (close to 40%). The state has also been forefront in promoting liberalization in many domains of the public service sector.

The education mandals of Hyderabad city exhibit wide diversity in terms of size and distribution of aided, unaided and government schools. The city is also bifurcated in a complex manner into Hyderabad, Rangareddy and Secunderabad. The city growth has also allowed fairly homogenous populations to aggregate in different parts of the city, by socio economic profiles and religion. It was important to choose a mandal which would exhibit some of the diversity that we wished to study and capture through the survey. Demographic profiles of different parts of the city, notified slum areas were examined. Based on the aggregates of schools types in different mandals of the city, parts of the city were visited and the local BRC was met and the demography and variations of school types in the areas were examined.

The educational mandal chosen in Hyderabad comprised about 100 schools, government, private aided and private unaided, according to the data in the DISE. The scenario on the ground is more complex as the survey revealed. Requisite permissions at the mandal level were obtained and introduction to various schools facilitated to the extent possible by the Mandal Education Officer. Between August and October, 2011, for a period of about 2 1/2 months, a team of ten researchers visited each and every school in the area. A total of about 90 'unique' schools were identified, including unrecognised schools, and recognised private, aided and government schools. The schools were located in different areas of the mandal including slums and high income housing. A number of government schools that had been merged or no longer existed were tracked and their current status established. Several private unrecognised instituions were also identified. A small number of institutions refused access inspite of a considerable effort.

On account of the frequent bandhs in the city in response to the Telangana issue, some schools which had given permission could not be covered.

A summary of the schools approached in the Mandal and its neighbourhood is given below.

	Government	other	Private Aided	Private Unaided Recognised	Private Unaided Unrecognised	Grand Total
Completed	**9**	**3**	**6**	**36**	**16**	**70**
Visited and partial or incomplete coverage						**15**
bandh		1		2		3
confusion on status			1	1		2
does not exist			1	1		2
initial refusal then bandh				1		1
Refused				6		6
Unclear			1			1
Grand Total	9	4	9	47	16	85

3.2 DELHI

In the National Capital Territory of Delhi, several agencies responsible for school education follow different geographical delimitations. The classification followed by DISE was used to select East Delhi district for research from the nine districts in Delhi. This area is classified as Shahdara South Zone in the classification followed by Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD). Following table (Table 1) presents the comparative demographic features of these different districts based on 2001 census and district profiles available on the website of Government of NCTE, Delhi.

Table 1: Comparison of Demographic Features of Districts of Delhi (Based on Census 2011)

District No. and Name	Population in comparison to Delhi	Muslim Population	SC Population	Density	Literacy
Delhi		11.72	16.9	11297	86.34
North West 01	21.79% / Rank 1	6.06 / Rank 7	19.3/ Rank 3	8298/ Rank 7	84.66/ Rank 8
North 02	5.64/ Rank 7	16.13/ Rank 3	17.2/ Rank 4	14973/ Rank 5	86.81/ Rank 6
North East 03	12.77/ Rank 4	27.24/ Rank 2	16.7/ Rank 5	37346/ Rank 1	82.80/ Rank 9
East 04	10.57/ Rank 6	9.59/ Rank 5	16.3/ Rank 6	26683/ Rank 3	88.75/ Rank 3
New Delhi 05	1.29/ Rank 9	6.37/ Rank 6	22.2/ Rank 2	3820/ Rank 9	89.38/ Rank 1
Central 06	4.67/ Rank 8	29.88/ Rank 1	23.3/ Rank 1	23147/ Rank 2	85.25/ Rank 7
West 07	15.37/ Rank 3	5.03/ Rank 8	14.9/ Rank 8	19625/ Rank 4	87.12/ Rank 4
South West 08	12.67/ Rank 5	4.35/ Rank 9	14.7/ Rank 1	5445/ Rank 8	88.81/ Rank 2
South 09	16.37/ rank 2	13.85/ Rank 4	15.6/ Rank 7	10935/ Rank 6	87.03/ Rank 5

Since the research focused on questions of educational quality across educational institutions owned, controlled and managed by different kinds of managements, DISE list of schools and the list of recognized schools available on the website of the Directorate of Education, GNCT Delhi were accessed in June and July 2011. This data was used to compare the number of schools across different management types. School reports available at DISE were also accessed to understand the socio-economic profile of different areas and schools within East Delhi besides physically surveying the area. On the basis of existing information about presence of unrecognized schools in different parts of Delhi (published reports and information shared by experts well-versed with education in Delhi), those areas were physically visited by the principal co-investigator to get a first-hand feel of the possible field.

Following considerations were used to select East Delhi: a) district should represent the socio-economic and religious demographic profile of Delhi and should not be skewed with regard to population of district in comparison to population of Delhi, percentage of minority and SC population, density and literacy, b) a variety of educational institutions ranging from high end private schools to unrecognised schools (i.e. different management types) should be present. Within East Delhi, a geographically congruent area was delimited for research on the basis of detailed profile sheets prepared from school reports available from DISE data and visits to the possible research sites. The delimited area corresponded to socio-economic, religious and educational management diversity of Delhi and East Delhi.

Actual collection of data for this research work was planned to for August-October 2011 and the researchers were also hired for this period. But schools run by Directorate of Education (DoE), Govt. of Delhi and Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) refused to allow entry to researchers without official permission for which necessary requests were made to the competent authorities. Even after repeated requests, letters from MHRD and explanations, Directorate of Education (DoE) finally refused permission in September 2011 to carry out research in its schools. MCD finally granted permission in October 2011. Later several unaided (private) schools also refused access to researchers after initially giving an appointment for data collection. Ostensibly, the reason for this change was an (oral) advice/order received from the Directorate of Education (DoE).

The period from August to October used to explore possibility of access to schools by visiting schools or developing/using informal contacts did result in collection of data in two DoE schools and few MCD schools. This denial of permission resulted in substantial loss of time and effort of researchers, reduced time available for research, and left a hole in the data collected. Delay in permission resulted in revision of the number of schools that could be possibly covered with several holidays in the upcoming festival season in November and December.

Following table gives an idea of the initial research plan to cover schools and the actual number of schools covered due to these unforeseen exigencies.

Classification of Schools Covered in Delhi

S. No.	School Type	Population	Covered
1	Directorate of Education (DoE)	31	2
2	Directorate of Education (DoE) Aided	1	None
3	Directorate of Education (DoE) Unaided (Private)	25	11
4	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD)	56	27
5	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Aided	None	None
6	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Unaided (Private)	16	8
7	Unrecognised	21*	3

* At least 21 unrecognised schools were noted in the course of research in the delimited area besides existence of tuition centres, madarsas, NGO run educational institutions, anganwadis and computer or English teaching centres.

The data from these schools was later recorded in excel files with thick description of class observations and interviews (except in few cases where school heads did not give enough time to researchers). Like Hyderabad and Kolkata, this data is being classified with reference to different dimensions of quality which formed the basis of this research study.

3.3 KOLKATA, WEST BENGAL

The chosen area was primarily Ward 78 in Circle 10 though a few schools were included from the adjoining wards to provide representation to school management types not present in the chosen. This component of the research involved a delimited urban geographical area. The chosen area was primarily Ward 78 in Circle 10 though a few schools were included from the adjoining wards to provide representation to school management types not present in the chosen ward. The specific Circle was chosen based on the following broad criteria: (1) representative of a broad range of school management types; (2) representative of a diverse population profile (SES); and (3) having a significant presence of minority population. The chosen Circle, Circle 10, was also in the mid-ranking Circles among the 23 urban circles in Kolkata with an Educational Development Index rank of 15.[2]

The specific ward within the Circle was identified after detailed discussions with the state-SSA office West Bengal in terms of the above criteria and also cost-resources feasibility in

[2] SSA, Kolkata. DISE - Data Analysis: 2009-10 Kolkata. URL: http://www.dise.in/Downloads/best%20practices/DISEanalysis%202009-10-%20Kolkata.pdf

terms of coverage of actual numbers of schools in an identified area. An idea of the overall demographics of Ward 78 in Circle 10 can be had from the following table:

Total number of households	10688
Total population	58930
Total male population	32222
Total female population	26708
Total male population SC	1333
Total female population SC	1126
Total male population ST	69
Total female population ST	60
Total male literate population	24396
Total female literate population	16470
Total male illiterate population	7826
Total female illiterate population	10238
Total working population	18657

Source: Census, Govt. of India, 2001.

The main survey was carried out over the period August – October 2011. A second round of targeted visits was undertaken in January 2012 to try and cover mainly the private schools which were reluctant to allow access in the first round. However, in spite of official letters (from the state SSA and the MHRD) and informal approaches through local NGOs/institutions (such as the Loreto School, Sealdah and Mayurbhanj Basti Seva Sangha), there was no progress possible with these schools which continued to refuse/delay permission. A list of the types of schools that were not able to be covered is provided in the following Table.

Table: Schools that the field team was unable to access

Type of School	Response from School
Govt aided Upper Primary	Continuous delaying of access
Private	No response even after 5 visits
Private	No response even after 4 visits
Private (primary)	Continuous delaying of access
Private (upper primary)	Continuous delaying of access
Private	No response even after 3 visits
Private	Continuous delaying of access
Private	Refused entry
Private	No response even after 6 visits
Private	Refused entry
Private	Continuous delaying of access
Private	Refused entry

As can be seen from the above table, it was difficult to access a large number of private schools in the designated area even after multiple visits.

The specific Circle was chosen based on the following broad criteria: (1) representative of a broad range of school management types; (2) representative of a diverse population profile (SES); and (3) having a significant presence of minority population. The chosen Circle, Circle

10, was also in the mid-ranking Circles among the 23 urban circles in Kolkata with a EDI rank of 15.[3]

The specific ward within the Circle was identified after detailed discussions with the state-SSA office West Bengal in terms of the above criteria and also cost-resources feasibility in terms of coverage of actual numbers of schools in an identified area.

Though there was data available from the state SSA on the schools in the ward, a preliminary survey revealed that there were discrepancies between this data and the numbers we could identify from our survey in the area. The following table provides an idea of the coverage in Kolkata and also the discrepancies in data, especially with respect to private schools in the area.

	Latest study commissioned by SSA (ward-wise directory of schools)	Our Population	Covered
Govt Aided Upper Primary	8	7	6
Govt Aided Primary	11	12	11
KMCP	5	5	4
Specified category (KV)	1	1	1
Madhyamik Shiksha Kendra	1	1	1
Shishu Shiksha Kendra	1	1	
AIE other than Shikshalaya	1	1	
Shikshalaya (AIE)	10	10	9
PRIVATE	17	31	10
	55	**69**	
Madrasah (adjoining ward)			1
Government (adjoining ward)			1
			44

[3] SSA, Kolkata. DISE - Data Analysis: 2009-10 Kolkata.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 HYDERABAD

4.1.1 IDENTIFYING AND ENUMERATING SCHOOLS

The plan of the Census involved covering every single school within the geography of a specific Education Adminstrative Unit—in the case of Andhra Pradesh, this was the Education Block or Mandal. For Hyderabad, the Mandal chosen was A. The list of all School in the Block A of Hyderabad, as per DISE was generated using filters provided on the website for the 2010-2011 data that was available at that time. In addition, mandal wise lists of schools were also available on the website of the District Education Office of Hyderabad District. Using these two lists, a comprehensive list of all schools according to official records in the Mandal area was generated. In addition, one of the mandal Resource Persons had a partially typed, partially hand written list, of schools the schools in the Mandal, where there were a few additional schools written by hand at the end of the list. These schools were also added to the list. A process of 'investigative' and 'alert' movement in the area, talking to some school personnel as well as local people, noticing small signs posted, following children in uniform and talking with them, in the early morning, led us to locate and 'discover' many additional schools—both listed and unlisted—recognised and unrecognised. A few of the schools that were included in the census we found did not technically belong to this mandal A, but were a part of neighbouring mandals, primarily B and C. Such schools were still included in the survey for primarily as there were located in the borderland and constituted the 'fuzzy area' between mandals where there is a fuzzy jurisdiction. It did not seem to be a coincidence that very small, very low income clientel catering, private unrecognized schools were in these fuzzy jurisdiction, inter-district areas. Even among the Government schools, there seemed to be a fuzzy exchange as well as geographic relocation taking place between these two mandals. These were primarily the schools that were in the neighbouring mandal B. The schools that were in Mandal C came to be included as they were in a contiguous large slum and thereby were of interest. It was only over the entire period of four months on the field that the set of schools in the area could be systematically identified, located, corroborated with the official lists and then finalized.

In the course of this effort several features and anomalies with the official lists were noticed.

a. There actual number of government schools was only eight, which is less than the number of schools that were listed on the DISE-2010-2011 (numbering 13). On the ground it was found that many schools that were reported separately, were merged, however DISE recorded them separately. There official existence was separate on account of accounts and requirements with regards positions of teachers. One of the schools that was listed was also no longer in existence and had been closed down; another had been transferred to a neighbouring mandal. Of these, at three locations, a high school and a primary school both ran, each with its own separate HM and with no integral management linkage between the two institutions, and two were only Primary schools. In our study we recorded nine government schools.

b. DISE records listed a total of nine aided schools. However, in the course of the study it was found that only five aided schools were fully functional, and one reported at mid-day meal survey time, but did not seem to have any enrolled students, nor was it ever visited by any mandal official. Of the five aided schools that were functioning, three had, in addition to the aided telugu medium school a functionally separate (defacto separate), English medium school running from pre-school upto class X, that was fee paying, running with the same name, and for official purposes under the same aided school HM, but with a defacto separate management including principal. In two cases the two institutions ran on the same premises, while in one case the building was in a different location even. In official records the two schools were counted as one, listed against the aided school name and bearing the same aided school code. In our study we counted such schools as separate schools—resulting in six aides schools (five working and one in a state of closure), and three unaided English medium schools.

c. Among the private schools we noted the following: DISE reported the same school twice—once as a primary school and once as an upper primary school, each with its own DISE number. We merged such records, and identified these pairs as single schools. In some cases we found that two different names were listed in DISE, but these were defacto merged into one school. We noted such cases and counted them as single schools. The reason for this seemed to be that recognition had been obtained for two separate institutions, but were now functioning as one. There were also private schools and a few 'education centres' for special children or under privileged children, and a madarsa, that were not yet recognized and were not included in DISE. There was one case of two branches of a 'corporate school' but which was not listed separately as two schools in DISE. We counted these as two separate schools. One private school that was listed did not exist. We did not count this. Our count of all private institutions, ie not government and not aided, was, 70.

Exhibit 1:					
	Government	Aided	Unaided-Private-Recognised and recognized madarsa	Unaided-Private-Unrecognised/ Status unclear/ Not yet recognized/Madarsa	Total
Mandal A	8	5	47 + 1 Madarsa	11 (including 1 evening centre)	72
Mandal A-B				6 (incl 1 spl centre)	6
Mandal B			2		2
Mandal C	1		1	2 + 1 Madarsa	5
Total	9	6	56	14	85

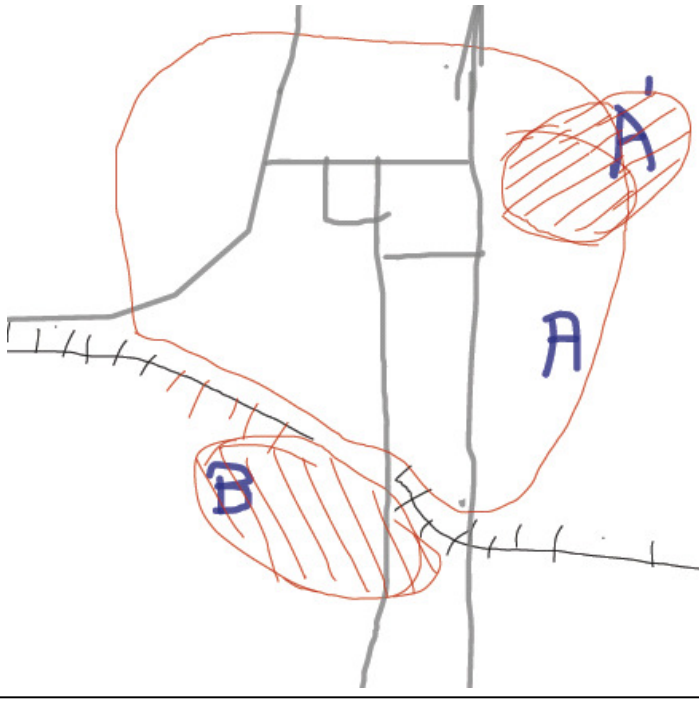
4.1.2 GEOGRAPHIC DELIMITATION AND SPREAD

Ward Maps of Hyderabad available on the GHMC website and Google Maps of the area were taken and mapped onto each other. In addition, detailed discussions were had with the Mandal Education Officers and Resource Persons with regards the geographic delimitation of the Mandal was also carried out in order to establish the geographic delimitation of the block. This was a very difficult task given the nature of urban areas and the lack of 'natural' boundaries separating one area from another. There was no reliable map of the mandal and the schools in the office of the MEO. There was only a rough sketch providing the key slum areas within the Mandal, which were completely off scale. The Education mandal did not map onto either the Municipal ward delimitation or the Election ward delimitation.

Given that we were interested in mapping the existence of any school, whether on official data bases or not, within the said geography, establishing the limits of the administrative boundaries was a necessary first step. Information on the location of various schools was sought from the Mandal Resource Persons. In addition, over time, through a process of exploration and gaining familiarity with the whole area, we were able to locate many schools on our own. Over time, in addition to the schools that were recognized and whose locations were known, we combed the area physically to locate all other schools. We visited tuition and coaching class centres and also scanned for children's presences listening for the children's chatter, the sign of school bags and autos or rickshaws dropping and picking up children, and followed groups of children to identify and locate institutions.

The key urban infrastructural features of the delimited geography, the industrial, vs commercial vs institutional vs. residential areas, the types of residential areas (including slums) according to income type and the relative positioning of the three mandals including the focus Mandal A are all indicated in the sketch in exhibit 2 (not to scale).

Exhibit 2: sketch of the geography



4.1.3 ACCESS TO SCHOOLS AND EXTENT OF DATA GATHERED.

We had excellent support from the Mandal Education Office and the District Education Officer. They were confident we could gain entry into any school as backed us with their authority and also gave us direct support by contacting the relevant contact person in the school. WE had letters of introduction and letter endorsed by the Inspector of Schools in the SSA office (with jurisdiction on all the elementary schools) and the DEO who had jurisdiction over all High Schools. With this backing we approached schools directly, and tried to conduct the study. We had direct and easy access to all the Government schools in the area, and easy to moderately easy access to the aided schools. With regards the private schools the range of ease was quite varied. Some were easy and open and in a few cases even welcoming, some gave us all necessary access following the introduction by the Education Officers; prior to this they were obstructionist or kept postponing our entry to the school. Some, even following the introduction by the education officer, were very obstructionist and kept delaying, postponing and avoiding giving us access to the school or records. Some institutions even, after introduction and several visits, obstructed our entry completely and were even rude and nasty in their conversations with us. In the case of some schools, the IoS and the DEO said that their own writ would not work as these schools, being CBSE, did not consider themselves answerable to the local Education authorities and would even be rude to them. In the case of these schools, we approached them on our own, but in some cases were obstructed from gaining access. Some schools gave us interviews and allowed us to see the premises, but did not allow us to see classes or interact with teachers. Our access to records such as school diaries, timetables, and marks registers was uneven across institutions. In some cases, we were only able to visually assess the school from the front. Some schools had their own website or were linked to a common website, and we also gained information about the school and the curriculum through these data sources. During this period, there were frequent Bandhs on account of the Telangana agitation in Andhra Pradesh. This made several schools very wary of us and they postponed and avoided giving us entry, citing this as the reason. In the case of one school, the MEO insisted it had closed down and as a result we almost missed the school. The school was most offended by our explanation when we finally did locate it and make a visit. As a result of the varying access we gained to different schools, our extent of data gathering varied and also the sources of our information varied. A few schools were willing to allow us to study them eventually, but could not be covered as this was during the end of the study period and with exams and holidays round the corner, they got left out.

The status of being a researcher and seeking access was not regarded as legitimate by many schools. They were vary that we may be conducting a market survey toward establishing a new school in the area, or being from a competitor school wanting to know inside information. Our institutional affiliation—the Tata Institute of Social Sciences—was understood by some of our responding schools as the corporate house of Tatas wanting to establish their chain of schools and hence conducting a market survey.

The table exhibit 3 provides a summary of the extent of access given to us by different schools.

Exhibit 3					
	Government	Aided	Madarsa	PUR	PUU
Easy and open—based on explanation and with no additional verification of credentials and permission. Willingness to give time and share records	4	3	1 (unrecognized)	17	11 (1 was an evening education centre for out-of-school children)
Open—with basic cross checking of official permission of credentials and permission	4	1			
Moderate and officious and bureaucratic Requiring the senior principle investigator or more senior/socially higher Reserachers to explain, official letters and records to be presented and verified.		1		13	
Difficult to very difficult—leading to delays, repeated visits, and the process of gaining access becoming time consuming. In one case, after gaining access the process eased out but in others there was a 'tension' and pressure to leave as soon as possible and not be 'hanging around' for longer than needed.			1 (Recognised)	8	4
Obstructive —2 could not be covered at all and 3 could only be covered partially. This situation led to several visits being made to the site, calls from officials on our behalf, our own attempt to reach out to and meet the 'incharge'				5 (2 could not be covered; 3 partially covered)	4 (2 could not be covered).
elusive		1 difficult to locate and effectively not covered		2—difficult to locate 'falling off records' 1 could not be covered	
Total	8	6	2	49	19

4.1.4 YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS

Exhibit 4									
Row Labels	A	G	G-H	G-P	M	PUR	PUU-1	PUU-2	Grand Total
1935	1								1
1950s	1			1					1
1060s	2								2
1970s	1			1		3			5
1980s						12	2		14
1990s						13	2	1	16
2000s		1	1	2	1	10	3	2	19
2011							3	4	7
(blank)	2		2		1	10	1	1	17
Grand Total	6	1	3	4	2	49	11	8	85

PUU-2 includes school whose status was unclear: some had applied, a few had not applied by they had not been classified as 'unrecognised' nor were their locations within the mandal area recognized as such by the MEOffice (they are not on the DISE 2012 list either), one had recognition and had decided not to renew this recognition that year.

The oldest school of the area which was still in existence was an aided school run by an Arya Samaj trust, started for upliftment of girls. All aided schools of the area were established between the 1950s and 1970s. The oldest school also became aided in this period; it was initially run through philtanthropic funding. The only two aided schools that went up to Class X were both Girls schools, and were run by (religious) missions—the above mentioned Arya Samaj school (now run by a Marwari Trust) and a Christian Mission (Convent).

The oldest Government school of the area was a Primary school and High School, started in the 1950s. Four Government schools (three primary and one high school) were established in the 2000s, one as late as 2009.
Private schools were established from the 1970s onwards continued in existence in the area. Not all schools achieved recognition at the time of establishment. There seems to be lag between year of establishment and gaining recognition, but we were not able to get accurate data about this. Two schools that were established in the 1980s, three from the 1990s and five from the 2000s (including one evening centre for out-of-school children) continued to be unrecognized. In 2011, seven new schools were established in the area. All of these seven schools were high end and of them only four had made applications for recognition and had been included in the 2011-2012 DISE records.

4.1.5 CoEd Status

Of the 85 Schools, 77 were coed . Only the recognized Madarsa was boys only. The unrecognized Madarsa was segregate CoEd—ie, boys and girls were in the same school, but the classes were completely separate from each other, and the two groups did not mix. This was also the case of one of the schools which was distinctly muslim in its character—although ostensibly coed, the school ran as two single sex schools in one. There were three all girls aided schools and one which was girls only from the middle school onwards (ie Coed until primary). One of the high end Private Schools that had started in 2011, which was still unrecognized was CoEd, but had announced to parents that it would have segregated classes when the strength increased.

Exhibit 5

	A	G-H	G-P	M	PUR	PUU	PUU-2	Grand Total
boys only				1				1
coed	3	3	6		47	9	9	77
coed in primary and girls in UPS	1							1
girls	2				1			3
coed (segregated)				1	1			2
coed (with note to parents on segregation in future)						1		1
Grand Total	6	3	6	2	49	10	9	85

4.1.6 Medium of Instruction

Schools in the Mandal were predominantly English medium or included English medium. With the exception of one government school which was in the Slum, all the seven of the eight government schools included an English medium section which had been introduced in all schools three years ago, in 2009. All private schools—recognised or unrecognized—with the exception of two which are discussed below, were English medium.

Telugu medium was available to students in all Eight Government schools—three high schools and five primary schools (all coed). Telugu medium was also available in five aided schools—Of these aided schools, two which were girls schools enabled children to study from Class I to Class X in Telugu medium. In other schools which were coed, telugu medium was available only from class I to class VII. In one case, an arrangement was made with a related school (baring the same name and which was English medium and fee paying) to include telugu medium in Classes IX and X. Telugu medium was not available in any of the private unaided schools (except one mentioned above). One unrecognized school, a shishu mandir with RSS ideology, with a strong commitment to

mother tongue education, and a Christian evening centre run for school drop outs, were telugu medium.

Urdu as medium of instruction was available only in the Government schools and in the two madarsas. In three primary schools, urdu was no longer offered as urdu speaking parents had opted for English instead. Urdu was available as a second language only in three private unaided schools, and in one aided school.

Exhibit 6: medium of instruction

Row Labels	A	G-H	G-P	M	PUR	PUU	PUU-2	Grand Total
English					48	9	8	65
Telugu	6					1	1	8
telugu+urdu+english		2	2					4
Urdu				2				2
telugu+english		1	3		1			5
telugu+urdu			1					1
Grand Total	6	3	6	2	49	10	9	85

The Government Schools offered an interesting model of three different medium of instruction being made available in the same school. Assembly for all children was held together and twice a week assembly was conducted in each of the languages. In practice, in two schools where Telugu, English and urdu was being offered, there was a distinctive separateness of the Urdu group—both techers and students. The HM said she was incharge but she did not interfere with the urdu medium, and left them to function independently. She merely kept records.

4.1.7 LEVELS IN THE SCHOOL AND MULTIGRADEDNESS

Six Government Schools were primary schools and in five of them Pratham ran a pre-school group. The three high schools included upper primary and secondary.

Only one of the full fledged aided schools included a pre-school section. In general they began from Class I only. All the private institutions (recognized or unrecognized) included a preschool. One of them which was newly opened and had only a Class I, was infact connected to a large chain of pre-schools and was explicitly position to take its cientel from these pre-schools. Three of the private unrecognized schools were multigraded—they were very small in size and children were of all levels sitting together and being tutored. Of special interest is the five private schools which were only UPS+SS. Ie they did not include either pre primary or primary sections. These schools (of which two were yet to get recognition) were positioned as coaching children for competitive exams and drew their clientel from other schools. They were also branches of corporate 'chain'/ One of them said that they were now moving away from this model as preprimary was a good catchment for children. Of the two Madarsas, one prepared children, along with religious instruction to study and move into the mainstream in Grade VIII. The other had children from the

class I level all the waay to university, but they were not very engaged with the mainstream curriculum and followed a religious curriculum.

Four of the private unaided recognized schools included a higher secondary (+2). In two cases it was Class XI ad XII in a CBSE school and in two cases it was that an intermediate college run by the same management was available on the same campus.

All urdu classes in the government schools were multigraded. They did not have enough teachers or classroom space and possibly also not enough children—and they were typically combined into two groups—classes I to III together and classes IV and V together. One of the Private Aided schools was also multigraded.

Row Labels	A (telugu medium)	G-H(TUE)	G-P (TUE)	M (Urdu)	PUR	PUU	PUU-2	Grand Total
I							1	1
PP+PS						2		2
PP+PS (upto class 2)						1		1
PP+PS+SS	1				41	4	3	49
PP+PS+SS+HS					4			4
PP+PS+UPS					1	1	2	4
PS			6					6
PS+SS	1							1
PS+UPS	2			1				4
UPS+SS		3			3	1	1	8
multigrade	1 (PS+UPS)		(3 schools urdu sections multigraded; 2 schools telugu sections multigraded; one school telugu and english combined)				2	2
PP+multigrade						1		1
PP	1							1
Not applicable				1				1
Grand Total	6	3	6	2	49	10	9	85

4.1.8 BOARD OF AFFILIATION/PROGRAMME OF STUDIES AND EXAMINATION

It is difficult to speak of Board to which each school was affiliated, given that not all schools had high school classes—ie they had only primary or middle and did not have a high school. If a school was only Primary or had classes till middle school, then strictly speaking it did not need any board affiliation. In such cases the textbooks/syllabus/ and intended exam/board stream with which the school identified and whose materials it used was identified. Of the schools that were primary/upper primary schools in the population covered, almost all followed the SSC (State board) stream—its syllabus and textbooks. One was following its own books patterned on the CBSE and intended to be affiliated to the CBSE board. One school was following the NIOS (although it is not clear and needs to be checked if it was a recognized centre for NIOS, Class VIII).

From among all the schools that had classes IX and X—both timetabled teaching and enrollment—not all were officially affiliated to a Board and it was not possible to clearly establish which ones were and which ones were not. The very small schools did not clearly convey this information, and it was not clear which of them took the SSC exam as private students or were presented as students of some other school in the locality. One of these schools advertised the NIOS examination (although it is not clear if it was a recognized study centre for the NIOS—(to be checked and inserted); it also advertised providing the private SSC Class X opportunity, and the same 'owner' also ran a centre which took enrolments for private class X and conducted coaching classes for the same). Some of the schools (both small and large/ low end and high end) had affiliate and branch schools which were affiliated and through which their students took the examinations Three schools in the area were affiliated to the CBSE. There were two special centres to whom the question of a board of affiliation does not apply—they were both primary schools/centres and ran a special curriculum. Of the two Madarsas, one followed the Darul-uloom syllabus and was affiliated to it. The other had a group which had children studying the upper primary school class textbooks; it ran its own religious instruction programme overseen by the local mosque and in addition prepared children with the State board curriculum to join a mainstream school for secondary school. One school which was not yet recognized or affiliated, but which stated that it offered children the State board, claimed it followed a composite curriculum comprising the State Board (SSC), CBSE and International Baccalaureat. Interestingly this school along with another as-yet unrecognized school also advertised the fact that they prepared children to take 'olympiads'—akin to another affiliation/board conducting examination. On more investigation, this was a 'private olympiad'.

Examination Board Affiliation/syllabus of studies followed

Row Labels	I	multigrade	PP	PP+multigrade	PP+PS	PP+PS (upto class 2)	PP+PS+SS	PP+PS+SS+HS	PP+PS+UPS	PS	PS+SS	PS+UPS	UPS+SS	Grand Total
CBSE							1	2						3
CBSE-syllabus. No HS yet	1													1
darul-ulloom											1			1
NA (only PP has survived)			1											1
no information							1							1
spl school		1				1								2
SSC							36	2			1		7	46
SSC--IB planned													1	1
SSC-NIOS							1							1
SSC-olympiad							1							1
ssc-syllabus. No HS					1		4		3	2		3--aided		13
ssc-syllabus. No HS. Multigraded										2 GPS		1 aided		3
ssc-syllabus. No HS. Multigraded for urdu										2 GPS				2
SSC-syllabus--tutorial type		1		1										2
ssc-syllabus--tutorial type HS					1		5		1					7
Grand Total	1	2	1	1	2	1	49	4	4	6	2	4	8	85

4.1.9 SCHOOL SIZE

School size																
Row Labels	I (with plans to grow)	multigrade	PP	PP+multigrade	PP+PS	PP+PS (upto class 2)	PS	PP+PS+UPS	PS+UPS (aided)	PP+PS+SS	PS+SS	PP+PS+SS+HS	UPS+SS	Grand Total		
0-50	1	1		1						2				5		
50-100		1			1	1	2	2	2	2				11		
100-150					1			2	1	6	2			12		
150-200									1	3				4		
200-300										5			1	6		
300-400										2			1	3		
400-500										7		2	1	10		
500-1000										5			2	7		
1000-1500										5*				5		
1500-2000												1		1		
2000-3000												1		1		
ni			1							5			2	8		
(blank—to be checked and filled)							4			7			1	12		
Grand Total	1	2	1	1	2	1	6	4	4	49	2	4	8	85		
Note: * Four of these five schools had an enrolment of about 1000.																

37% of schools could be considered very small schools, with a total enrolment of less than 200 and an average size of about 100.

4.1.10 CLIENTEL GROUPS

One set of questions in the interview schedule addressed to the management was aimed at understanding the nature of the clientel of the school—to understand the occupation, employment, social class, caste, religious backgrounds of the students families and the extent of education of the primary care givers at home. The names of various occupational types provided by management were listed and categorized into five groups as shown in table below:

Table 10.1 : economic-occupational-grouping of clientel				
group 1	**group 2**	**group 3**	**group 4**	**group 5**
soft ware professionals doctors professionals upper end professionals bank professionals doctors government servants	businessmen lawyers small businessmen gujarati and marwari businessmen businessmen shop owners lower middle class employed hostel owners	plumber low services (electrician, accountant) supervisors clerks private employment shop employees company employees tiffin centre/mess government clerks private/primary school teacher	domestic workers watchmen daily wage labourers rickshaw puller vendors construction workers mechanics fruit vendors drivers auto drivers manual labour food vendors white washing bakery and hotel workers carpenters saree workers	rag picking scavenging scrap paper collection group 5(M) very very poor muslims with irregular employment

The numbering of these groups can be taken to represent a rough hierarchy with group 1 and 2 more white coloured (professional and businessmen), group 3 being more 'pink colored' andn group 4 and 5 being manual—blue colored. Group 5 represents the poorest of the poor in this group and maps onto migrants from dalit communities following 'polluting' occupations and very very poor muslim families living in slum areas. This classification was then again applied on the schools and the tables below … provide various cross tabulations of the schools as per 'clientel type' against other relevant variables such as school size, year of establishment, levels, board, management type, etc.

Table 10.2 : clientel types of schools.

	group 1&2	1&2&3&4	group 2	group 2&3	group 2&3&4	group 3	group 3&4	group 4	group 4&5(M)	group 4&5(M)	group 5	ni	(blank)	Grand Total
Grand Total	15	1	6	2	2	3	10	30	3	2	4	6	1	85

The first observation to be made is that there is a reasonable degree of homogeneiety of cleintel types in schools. Only one school had clientel from social groups 1,2,3 and 4. This was a very small learning centre for children with a specific disability and run by a philanthropic NGO dedicated to the cause of educating children with this disability (classified PUU). Two schools in the population had clientel from groups 2,3&4 (white, pink and blue collared groups). One of these two schools was a full fledged special school run by the same NGO mentioned above, for children of the same disability. The second was a school with a distinctive minority affiliation and holding attraction to a range of parents for that reason. These two schools were thus homogenous fro

another point of view—being 'special schools'and catering to a distinctive minority group. In other words, all the schools were homogenous in one way or another.

A total of 15+6 schools had children coming from groups 1 & 2. There were six small schools with enrollment less than 200 were different—two of them were new schools that had started only that year. They were corporate type/chain/franchisee schools and could be expected to increase their admissions over the years. Neither had applied for or obtained recognition yet. Two schools were very small schools that catered to children with special needs and were run by committed education professionals who wished to run an institution on education ideals that they held strongly. One of these schools was not recognized, and one of them had decided not to renew recognition that year citing the bureaucratic hassels involved. Two were schools that were also established for distinctive educational ideals and had curricula that were different/aims of education discussed on different lines. They used to enjoy high enrolments in the past, but their enrolments had been falling and they were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain viable size.

The schools accessed by group 5 clientel included the Government school- Urdu Section, and Madarsas and schools run by groups with strong religious and ideological-linked management; Christian and Hindu. These were the schools could be said to be catering to the poorest of the poor, and socially most excluded and marginalized groups. There were nine schools that belong to this category. As can be seen from the table 10.2 , almost all of these schools were small schools, with size less than 200 students.

Table 10.2 : school clientel types—by school size

Row Labels	group 1&2	group 1&2&3&4	group 2	group 2&3	group 2&3&4	group 3	group 3&4	group 4	group 4&5	group 4&5(M)	group 5	ni	(blank)	Grand Total
0-50	2	1						1			1			5
50-100	1							5	1	1	2	1		11
100-150				1	1	1		7	1	1				12
150-200	1		1					1			1			4
200-300			1			1	1	3						6
300-400						1	1	1						3
400-500	1						5	4						10
500-1000	2		1				3	1						7
1000-1500	4								1					5
1500-2000	1													1
2000-3000	1													1
ni	2							2				4		8
(blank)			3	1	1			5				1	1	12
Grand Total	15	1	6	2	2	3	10	30	3	2	4	6	1	85

The first observation that can be made with regards distribution of clientel groups in school si that by and large the schools are homogenous. There are very few schools that

Most of the group 1&2 clientel schools seem to be of a financially viable size with enrolment from the 400-500 bracket upwards. Of the three schools which were of the 1-100 size, one had just started that year. Two were special schools and one had enrolement primarily in the pre-school. From among the schools who drew their clientel mainly from group 4 and 5, almost all of them were small schools with enrolments less than 200. Other schools catering to the groups 1&2 were all large schools with size of 400 students and above. Almost all of these were 'corporate', 'chain' or 'franchisee' management schools.

A larger proportion of the schools had clientel from group 4. This accounted for a total of 45 schools; along with the schools catering to clientel from category 5, the total number was 50.

Table 10.3 Schools catering to clientel from groups 4 and 5								
School size		**composite school type**	**G**	**A**	**M**	**PUU**	**PUU-2**	**PUR**
0-50	**2**	PUU,2				2		
50-100	**9**	A,1; G-P, 2; M, 1; PUU, 3; PUU-2, 2	2	1	1	3	2	
100-150	**10**	A, 2; M, 1; PUR,5; PUU,1; PUU-2, 1		2	1	1	1	5
150-200	**2**	A,1; PUR, 1	1	1				1
		To compare for infrastructure, pedagogy, curriculum, teachers and management.	3	4	2	6	3	6
200-300	**4**	G-H, 1; PUR, 3	1					3
300-400	**2**	PUR, 2						2
400-500	**9**	G-H, 1; PUR, 8	1					8
500-1000	**4**	A,1; PUR 3	1	1				3
1000-1500	**1**	PUR, 1						1
ni	**2**	PUR, 2						2
(blank)	**5**	G-P, 3; PUR, 2	3	5				2
Grand Total	50		9	3	2	6	3	27

About 27 private recognized unaided schools catered to group 4. From among these 5 were small schools with an enrolment between 100 and 150 students. 9 of the private unrecognized schools catered to group 4. All of these were very small schools (including one which was an evening learning centre). Of interest are the Private Unaided Recognised schools with enrolment between 400 and 1500 which may be regarded as fairly large schools. All of these schools had a clientel from group 3 and 4, rather than only 4 or 4 & 5. Most of these schools had been opened in the 1980s and 1990s and were more established schools of the area. Only three from among these were established in 2000. The largest school in this group was philanthropic and supported through corporate CSR and catered to the very poor and poorest of poor. The Private Recognised Unaided schools that were catering to this clientel bracket were all established in the 2000s some

only a few years ago. The nine unrecognized schools in this bracket, two catered to the poorest of poor, ie to children from group 5. Both of these institutions had a strong religious affiliation and were supported via charity/philanthropy. One was Hindu and one was muslim. The two madarsas too were in this category. One aided school with a strong Christian link, and one government school also catered to children from this category. Thus the majority of schools catering to the poorest of poor had a strong religious linkage. There was only one secular charitable school in the PUR category that addressed this group. The other private unrecognized schools also catered to the same population as a number of the private recognized small schools.

Two sets of comparisons suggest themselves from the table above. The first is between the small schools—between Government, aided, unaided unrecognized and unaided recognized, to be compared for infrastructure, curriculum practice, pedagogic practice; and secondly between the unaided recognized schools in the small school bracket versus those in the large school bracket to be compared for infrastructure, curriculum and pedagogy and teachers and teaching.

4.1.10.2 ISSUES ON ACCOUNT OF FAMILY BACKGROUND CITED BY SCHOOLS

In the English medium school catering to children from groups 4 and 5 among the main issues that they were confronted with and which bothered them on account of the students family background included:

Lack of support in general for doing homework and financial support to send for tuition, to buy things needed for education and also payment of fee. Some cited an over all lack of interest in education as well as neglect of children. Given the absence of support from home, the extent of dependence on teachers making it difficult for the school to deal with 'dullers' in particular. Some of them seemed to have decided to function with no expectations at all from home. The inability to meet fee payments regularly was an issue that schools in this group faced and was top most on their minds when they thought of the parents.

Table 10.4: issues cited in the English medium schools catering to groups 4&5

Row Labels	PUR	PUU (all)	Grand Total
demanding parents		1	1
english	5		5
fee payment	4	1	5
no expectations	1		1
no interest/support		1	1
no interest; fee payment	1		1
no support	2	1	3
no support (total dependence on teacher) difficult to deal with dullers	1		1
no support/no interest, feepayment	1		1
no support; no interest	1		1
nothing		1	1

older children	1		1
parental neglect, fee payment	1		1
parental neglect; difficult with dullers	1		1
poverty		1	1
ni	7	1	8
Grand Total	**26**	**7**	**33**

In the non English Medium schools (i9ncluding goverment schools which had one English medium section), a few of these reasons were repeated—the lack fo parental interest, the absence of support at home. However there were other distinctive reasons that were not heard in the English medium schools. This included the problems of alchoholism at home, responsibilities of young one fro their siblings, irregularity and long absences when parents took their children to the village at the time of local festivals. Interestingly in one of the Madarsa's along with poverty, violence and conservative attitudes at home leading to lack of support for the schools activities was cited.

Table 10.5 Issues cited by non English medium schools (including English medium section of government schools)

Row Labels	A	G-H	G-P	M	PUR	PUU	Grand Total
alchoholism, sibling responsibility						1	1
homework and no tuition		1					1
irregular; long absence			1				1
irregular; long absence; sibling responsibilities			1				1
irregular; no support (total dependence on teacher)			1				1
no interest	1						1
no support	1		1				2
no support; boys don't study at home		1					1
poverty						1	1
poverty, violence, conservativeness			1	1			2
telugu (for muslim children)	1						1
ni	2			1	1		4
Grand Total	**5**	**2**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**17**

4.1.11 NATURE OF SPACE

4..11.1 TYPE OF BUILDING AND SPACIOUSNESS

33 of the schools ran in buildings that were meant for institutions. These were buildings made on grounds which were earmarked for schools—government, private and aided. Of these schools the majority (ie 25 of the 33) were old schools in the area, all established before 1980s. All the schools with the exception of one, were recognized schools. Schools whose buildings were classified as 'institutional' represented two types of buildings. One, which was characteristic of the older

schools, was of an open courtyard/ground with classrooms built around, with adequate provisioning for administrative spaces and assemblies. This was more characteristic of the older government schools and also older private schools. The later private schools and government schools were more built up and cramped. The other type was the multistory-building. These buildings were designed for schools—several floors of classrooms, wider staircase feeding rooms, many floors and a basement that was relatively free. These were built on plots within the residential colony andn in some cases probably aftera house was torn down. They fully uitlised the space and there was no open space for any grounds. Such schools did not have space for whole school assemblies. The only exception to this was a school where a neighbouring plot was kept vacant and used as a play ground and for assemblies. Typically the whole building was used for the school, and the school itself was within a residential area, away from the main roads/commercial area. 26 of these schools which had buildings designed for institutional use had spacious classrooms, generally good ventilation and light and large and well positioned blackboards.

As many as 10 schools functioned in commercial spaces. Here the building space was typically shared with other commercial users. There was a great deal of variation in these buildings. In some cases it seemed that the owner-manager of the school had developed the space in this form so that rental income could also be earned. In the schools serving lower income groups 3, 4 and 5, the spaces were cramped, poorly ventilated, supported with narrow stairs and narrow corridors, dingy and not kept very clean. In other cases, mostly that of the new schools which had cleintel from groups 1 & 2, commercial space had been rented. These schools were also located in the most busy commercial areas of the mandal, often facing the road. This choices seemed to be strategic so that they could advertise their presence. These schools had large hoardings outside announcing their programmes and their results. The frontage of these schools made them seem like business and commercial offices. Some of them even had lobbies and waiting spaces and plush airconditioned office of the 'owner' resident manager as soon as one entered into the building, guarding over access to the rest of the school. The children all seemed to be tucked away into classrooms. In such places there was no open space at all accessible to children. They remained indoors and within the building at all times.

As many as 33 schools ran in residential spaces. This included independent houses that had been converted into schools. There was variation in the type of housing, from larger bunglows to smaller row house types of houses where each floor containted two or three portions that could be rented. independent houses where the owner-manager continued to live in a part and the school ran in the rest. In such spaces there was typically a small open area available in the front. There were 11 such schools (ie 1/3rd of all schools that were running in residential spaces). Some were apartments or parts of an apartment block. In such spaces there was no open space available at all.

The main consequence of schools that ran in residential spaces was that access to rooms was interconnected as in a house, so one would access one classroom through another. The sounds from one room could spill into the other. Ventilation was often poor and lighting was also usually not natural and poor in its quality. Rooms sometimes had bathrooms attached to them, and some had provision for water, counters and sink, as they were to serve as kitchens. Of the 33 only 7 had

a moderate level of spaciousness and 3 could be considered as spacious (of which two were serving special needs children and had very small enrolment numbers).

From among the schools that ran in such residential spaces, twenty were cramped or very cramped. The classrooms were congested with children huddled on benches close to each other, with barely enough rooms to turn, or keep their school bags. There was also not enough room for the teacher in the front. Often the blackboard in such spaces was small and in a corner of the room with inadequate light on it.

The category of 'other' types of spaces included—the rooftop of a small town house type in a low income area, on top of the second floor, with open brick partitions and tin roof; the open parking area of an apartment block, sheds in an open ground (construction was taking place nearby for the school), two rooms in a house, and a basement of a commercial building. One ran in a house which was still under construction, with rubble for the floor and unfinished walls with steel wires sticking out of the pillars and stairs. All of these places were very unhygienic, unclean, poor or very poor maintenance, cramped and congested and with poor seating. Two of these were recognized schools.

Table 11. 1type of building and spaciousness

	very cramped	cramped	okay	spacious	ni	(blank)	Grand Total
other		6					6
residential	7	13	7	2	1	2	32
residential-house				1			1
residential--independent house	1						1
commercial	2		2	5	1		10
institutional		3	8	18		4	33
ni					1	1	2
Grand Total	10	22	17	26	3	7	85

4.1.11.2 Play Grounds and Open spaces.

Only 3 of the campuses (and 4 schools as one campus had two schools—the English and the Aided run by the same management) had ground that could be considred large enough to accommodate the whole school. Another had a ground which was more than adequate for its small enrolment—this was an unrecognized school. Five had medium sized ground which could accommodate a part of the school for games, and into which the whole school could spill during break time or gather for assembly. The only schools which had grounds that could be used for any form of play and games activities were the institutional schools. The total number was 10 of the population. From among the other schools, only two had evidence of making an effort to take children to another ground where they could play. All schools claimed to have such an arrangement with the local municipality

play ground but there was no evidence of this in the time table or in any other arrangements. Two schools claimed they had indoor games such as carom and table tennis for the children.

4.1.11.3 MAINTENANCE AND OTHER FACILITIES

11.2 Maintenance and group of clientel served by the school							
	very poor	poor	okay	good	very good	ni	Grand Total
group 1&2			2	9	3	1	15
group 1&2&3&4				1			1
group 2			1	5			6
group 2&3					1	1	2
group 2&3&4			1	1			2
group 3			1	1			2
group 3&4	1	3	5	1	1		11
group 4	1	12	15	2			30
group 4&5		1		2			3
group 4&5(M)			1	1			2
group 5	3			1			4
ni		1	2	1		2	6
(blank)			1				1
Grand Total	**5**	**17**	**29**	**25**	**5**	**4**	**85**

There was an unmistakable coincidence of the quality of maintenance of the school and the clientel group that attended it. There was no doubt tha the most poorly maintained schools were one where children from group 5 families came. From among the schools serving this group, there were also those that were better maintained with okay to good quality of maintenance. These were the government and the unaided, unrecognized run by charitable trust schools. The most poorly maintained schools included one aided, two unaided recognized, one unaided unrecognized and one government school.

Table 11.3 Types of the most poorly maintained schools				
	poor	**very poor**	**Grand Total**	**Approx. Proportion of type**
A		1	1	20%
G-H	2		2	About 50%
G-P	1	1	2	
PUR	10	2	12	25%
PUU	3	1	4	20% (of all PUU)
Grand Total	**16**	**5**	**21**	**25%**

A large number, ie about 25% of the schools were very poorly maintained. Almost all the schools had electricity, lights fans and toilets. Almost all also had drinking water. With the exception of the school for hearing impairment and its affiliated centre for hearing impairment, none of the other schools had features that were supportive of children with disabilities. One school had a ramp upto level 1, however the rest of the school had stairs, so it was not clear that this ramp was aimed at facilitating children with disabilities. Two schools were special schools, but they seemed to be oriented to learning difficulties and learning differences rather than to disabilities of the senses.

4.1 .12.RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS/SYMBOLS EVIDENT IN THE SCHOOL

	A	G-P	G-H	M	PUR	PUU	PUU-2	Grand Total
Christian	2	2			1	1		6
Muslim				2	1	2		5
Hindu	2				10	1		11
Sikh					1			2
No religious affiliations evident	1	6	3		28	8	7	53
blank and no information	1				5		1	7

24 schools in the Mandal (ie about 25%) had distinctive religious affiliation that was very evident in the school. Six institutions were Christian, five were muslim (including two madarsas, and two unrecognized schools which seemed to have an affiliation with the local mosque and cater to muslim children) and 11 had external symbols and strong affiliations with Hinduism. Of the hindu affiliated schools, three were explicitly linked to hindu missions , one private unrecognized school was affiliated to the RSS, and the other schools had images of hindu gods in both the HM room or outside, as well as hindu rituals as a part of the school.

4.1.13. CURRICULAR DIVERSITY

The tables 13.1 and 132.2 amply illustrate the very very limited diversity in curriculum available in the schools. Most of the schools, cutting across the school types and clientel types had limited diversity. The highest number was found with the schools catering to the highest income groups.

Table 13.1

	none	Computers	computers and games	limited	exposure	diverse	very diverse	ni	Grand Total
A	2			2		1		1	6
G-H	3								3
G-P	5		1						6
M	1			1					2
PUR	25	1		1	7	11	1	3	49
PUU	6			1		1		2	10
PUU-2	3			2		4			9
Grand Total	44	1	1	6	7	17	1	6	85

Table 13.2

	none	Computers	computers and games	exposure	limited	exposure	diverse	very diverse	ni	Grand Total
group 1&2	3				4		6	1	1	15
group 1&2&3&4							1			1
group 2	2			1			3			6
group 2&3	1						1			2
group 2&3&4	1						1			2
group 3				2						2
group 3&4	7			2			2			11
group 4	24	1	1	2	2					30
group 4&5	1						2			3
group 4&5(M)	1				1					2
group 5	3						1			4
ni	1								5	6
(blank)	1									1
Grand Total	44	1	1	7	6	7	17	1	6	85

4.1.14. PEDAGOGIC REGIMES

There has within education debate on how to make sense of pedagogy. Some Researchers equate pedagogy with teaching and the description of what teachers do in classrooms is frequently taken as the main indicator of pedagogy. National governments often take this route which permits them to approach the questions of quality in education as resolvable by targeting pedagogy while ignoring structure and resources. This encourages the view that pedagogy is a value-neutral vehicle for transmitting curricular content (Alexander, 2000:30). However Winch and Alexander broaden the understanding of pedagogy as "encompassing the performance—teaching—along with the theories, beliefs, policies and controversies that inform and shape it" (p540). All elements of teaching raise questions of value, priority and purpose, and the concept of pedagogy allows us to recognize these dimensions of teaching and elevate it from mindless technique to considered educational action. Acts of teaching simultaneously carry multiple levels of focus—on immediate and long term gains of subject understanding as well as person/pupil formation and development, and the relationship of education to society and social change. Robin Alexanders five cultures study and subsequent work on pedagogy has been drawing attention to the need to understand the intentions and forms of pedagogy, aims as well as contextual systemic features in order to understand what is going on in classrooms, and what children are learning. Our study of schools in India drew attention to the importance of the dimension of expectations from learners and learners homes and that pedagogies differ based on differences in their implicit expectations with regards homes and pupils aspirations. Another dimension that emerged in the study was that along with intellectual expectations, there were differences with regards moral regulation (or discipline).

In order to characterize the significant features and differences of the types of pedagogy that we observed, and made sense of in the schools we visited, I have been working on a 'composite' which comprises the following five dimensions, each of which has a range:

E: The first of these is the 'learning objective' or the standards and expectations of learning that the teacher/institution holds as an over arching educational goal. This varies from standards defined by and determined by teachers—to those that are more textbook referenced—to those that are societal and concept referenced.

H: The second domain or dimension is with regards the expectations that the institutions/teachers have with regards home in relation to school learning. This varies from having no expectations from home and viewing the home empathetically, to having no expectations and viewing the home with distrust and tension, to home and school 'tango' where the child is the object of a moral project to one where the home can be expected to actively support the school to achieve a high level of regimentation of the child's life, and finally one where the home is 'continuous' in terms of cultural capital.

T. The third dimension is with regards the method of teaching. This varies from massified approaches of rote learning to script following for individuating to dialogic forms for individualization. Interestingly in the context of Indian schools, an expectation of how children will be 'made to learn' what is taught to them, is also implicated into the pedagogic form. This varies

from mechanical repetition to drilled repetition under vigilant supervision to practice and revision with space for individual answers.

R. The final dimension is that of discipline. This varied from corporeal punishments, to psychological forms, to expectations of conformity through regimen and structure or cultural/religious norms, and finally through the appeal of reason.

Broadly we were able to identify seven types of pedagogic regimes that obtain in schools and seem to be a characteristic of the school, and not of the individual teacher. Except for PR7 which was individual teacher dependent, but which nevertheless still seemed to be a part of the institutional character.

PR1	E1 E2	H2	T1 T2	R1	PR1: Learning objectives are very basic skills of literacy and numeracy, obedience and at most learning the teachers answers. There are no expectations from children or home, and the home is tolerated; where fee collection is involved, the relationship is tense and one of distrust; The main methods of teaching are to mark our or write out what needs to be learnt—children are to copy and repeat in order to learn. Instructions are short and in English/telugu. The focus is mostly at the alphabetic , spelling and exact reproduction levels. The supervision by teachers is mostly negligent and sporadic. The discipline culture generally involves corporal/physical control. Children's voices not heard in classroom, except when permitted to talk by teacher.
PR2	E2 E3	H2, H3 H4	T1 T2	R2	PR2: Learning objective is to reproduce of exact answers as provided by teacher or textbook answers. There are either no expectations from home, or expectation of negative influences from home; general lack of support and neglect from home. Relationship mainly built around fee collection. Teaching is very brief, with focus on question answers to be written up/marked. Children's voices not heard, or permitted to talk only in response to questions. Learning involves rote memorization, with occasional sporadic checking by teachers . But teaching and learning is on the whole massified. Discipline is physical or guilt based, individualized.
PR3	E3	H3, H4, H5	T3	R2, R3	PR3 : Learning objective is production of textbook or guide answers; and learning english. Home and School cooperate for child—child is a 'moral project' (complaints exchanged and child exhorted to exercise more discipline and self control) or home is to be educated and influence to support and meet school requirements, and monitor punctuality, supervision of home work, etc. Teaching is brief explanation followed by Question-answer focus, and may occasionally involve longer teacher monologues and answers dictated and checked. Learning is repetition with drill, with monitoring by the teacher.
PR4	E3 E4 E5	H5, H7	T3 T4	R2, R5	PR4: learning objective is production of textbook referenced answers with concepts. Home and school are continuous and home support is overall available. Teaching involves explanations and teacher monologues. Children ask and answers questions, but on the whole textbook oriented. Revision is teacher monitored. Discipline is mainly psychological.
PR5	E4 E5 E6	H6	T4	R4	PR5: {corporate old/new} Learning objective is speed and accuracy of reproduction, textbook and guide concept referenced, and with competitive exams in mind; with mostly maths-science focus. School and home cooperate to place children in a tight regimen of disciplined study. Lessons are all micro-planned, frequently scripted and controlled. Revision is micro planned involving repeated testing. New expanded curriculum may or may not be followed, but it is based on micro-curriculum. Discipline is through regimen.
PR6	E5 E7 E8	H7	T5	R5	PR6: Learning objective is comprehension and capability, reasoning, creativity, school and home are continuous, and there is home support for all school requirements as well as English and cultural capital to draw on. teaching is dialogic and interactive, childrens voices are head and encouraged, teacher acts autonomously, practice and revision involve variety and independent. Discipline is through self regulation (invisible pedagogies).
PR7	E3 E5 E7 E8	H1	T5	R5	PR7: Learning objectives vary with individual teachers, and could be low or high including thinking and concepts, self development and development of capabilities. There are no expectations from children or home; home is viewed with empathy. Teaching involves explanation and interaction in the mother tongue. Childrens voices may be heard, and may ask questions. Revision is based on rote or invoking recall, with motivation. Discipline is physical or may involve self control and reason. There may be religious learning.

Examining pedagogic regimes by management type and by clientel to whom the school caters the following patterns emerge:

			'progressive or nationalist & sans cultural capital'	'domesticat ion and citizenship'	'textbook culture' Teacher referred-rote massified<—>text referred indv. 'progressive with cultural capital'				'swatting'	
	NA	**ni**	**PR7**	**PR1**	**PR2**	**PR3**	**PR4**	**PR6**	**PR5**	**total**
group 1&2			1+ 1spl				1	4	8	15
group 1&2&3&4			1spl							1
group 2					1		4		1	6
group 2&3					1		1			2
group 2&3&4			1 spl			1				2
group 3						2				2
group 3&4					5	4	1		1	11
group 4		1	2	8	12	6			1	30
group 4&5			1+1R	1						3
group 4&5(M)			1R	1						2
group 5			2	2						4
Ni	1	4		1						6
(blank)					1					1
Grand Total	**1**	**5**	**11**	**13**	**20**	**13**	**7**	**4**	**11**	**85**

PR4 seems to arise in relation to more cooperative expectations between home and schools as also higher SES and cultural capital and continuity between home and school. PR2 and 3 both catering to a similar SES of clientel.

PR3 in schools more likely to have been started by tuition teachers or business, while PR3 more likely to have been started by school teachers.

PR4 also more likely to be started/run by school teachers.

PR2 to PR6 may be regarded as shades of text culture, varying largely by clientel background, existence of cultural capital (especially with regards English), social distance between the school management and the home background of children and the pedagogic imagination of the management.

PR5-the 'swat' group was exceptional, in that these were all schools with a strong 'corporate' house connection. These were established by coaching houses and were multi-institution chains spread not only across the city, but also the state, and a few in neighbouring states as well. If, as Bernstein argues that pedagogy is a part of the communication systems of society and a relay. The medium is the message. Pedagogic forms vary from highly teacher controlled, domesticating practices to more

individual oriented practice. We see this variation even within what may be broadly considered as still reflective of the textbook culture. Two pedagogic forms stand out however. The first being PR7—which is progressive but seemed to be in relation to a different set of educational aims, and finally PR5f—of 'swat' which represents a new form of deep regimentation which is micro monitored, yet simultaneously mass yet also individualizing through competition.

This last set of findings is among the most interesting that has so far emerged from the study. It is the first attempt to try to compose a composite of what may be the key educationally significant dimensions that characterize a pedagogic form that may simultaneously capture what teachers intend, expect, think, and do, within institutional contexts, when they teach. The differences that we se suggest the importance of not only the class background of students, but also the medium of instruction as well as the pedagogical imagination of the teacher/institution, giving an inkling of the possible educationally significant differences to expect between schools run by teachers and those run by entrepreneurs, even though they may all be 'private'.

4.2 DELHI

4.2.1 ACCESS TO SCHOOLS AND EXTENT OF DATA GATHERED

Initially a total of 150 schools were to be surveyed within this delimited research area in the period August-October 2011. As explained earlier in the report, despite repeated attempts Directorate of Education (DoE), Govt. of Delhi refused permission to carry out research in its schools in September 2011. Fortunately, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) granted permission later in October 2011. DOE officials were quite wary of allowing 'outsiders' in their schools even though the research was funded by EdCIL and letters had been issued by MHRD. Letters by the Vice-Chancellor of Dr. BR Ambedkar University, which itself is established and funded by Government of Delhi to the Secretary, Education and DoE failed to evoke any positive response. This distrust about another public institution and its researchers coupled with no effect of letters by MHRD stands in complete contrast to other states where SSA facilitated entry to schools. It seemed that SSA had little leeway in Delhi. Different state agencies engaged with school education in Delhi acted independently. It seems that criticism by different researchers and activists, sometimes with full media glare and in form of PILs had made the officials deeply anxious about unknown strangers. Heads and teachers of both DoE and MCD schools repeatedly stressed that they had instructions to not allow anyone in the school for any study without necessary official letters. Young researchers pursuing MA/M.Phil/ PhD in Delhi have shared that they are not able to carry out their research in schools in Delhi. Some school heads and teachers also felt disturbed in carrying out their responsibilities due to demands made by researchers on their limited time. With schools being asked to furnish a variety of information under new systems of information management, another research was seen as adding greater burden on overworked staff. Question of how will this research benefit DoE and MCD and their schools was repeatedly asked during our interaction with concerned officials. This situation demands from university researchers and departments of education in universities to engage in continuous dialogue with state institutions and develop necessary linkages.

Entry to private schools in Delhi was also not a smooth affair. For initial entry in established, 'reputed' private schools, a distinct kind of persona of the researcher was needed that included being well conversant in English. In the initial phase of the research, some private schools granted access but later several unaided (private) schools also refused access to researchers after initially giving an appointment for data collection. Some unaided schools refused to entertain researchers from beginning and did not allow even initial interaction with the head to explain the purpose of the research.

These considerable delays and refusals resulted in substantial loss of time for research. Possible time available for survey of schools was further reduced due to several holidays in the upcoming festival season in November and December and examination schedules of the schools. In the light of these constraints, the number of schools and delimited area was revised to maintain a

geographical congruity and representative sample of possible schools. But still a gap remained in the data collected. Following table (Table B) gives an idea of the initial research plan to cover schools and the actual number of schools covered due to these unforeseen exigencies.

Table 2: Classification of Schools Covered in Delhi

S. No.	School Type	Population of school type	Population as % of total schools selected (150) for survey	No. and % of schools surveyed from population of school type (% in bracket)	% of school type surveyed from total schools (50)
1	Directorate of Education (DoE)	31	20.66 %	2 (6.45 %)	4 %
2	Directorate of Education (DoE) Aided	1	0.66 %	None	zero
3	Directorate of Education (DoE) Unaided (Private)	25	16.66 %	11 (44 %)	22 %
4	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD)	56	37.33 %	26 (46.42 %)	52 %
5	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Aided	None	-	None	-
6	Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Unaided (Private)	16	10.66 %	8	16 %
7	Unrecognised	21*	14 %	3	6 %
8	Total	150		50	33.33 %

* At least 21 unrecognised schools were noted in the course of research in the delimited area besides existence of tuition centres, madarsas, NGO run educational institutions, anganwadis and computer or English teaching centres.

Table 2 shows that only one-third of schools could be surveyed from the list of schools selected for survey initially. Only 4 % of DoE schools could be surveyed which is far less than their share of 20.66 % in the population of the school in the area delimited for research in East Delhi. In comparison, the percentage of MCD schools, DOE unaided schools and MCD unaided schools is higher in the survey than their share in the population. These categories of schools are thus relatively over-represented.

Table 3: Nature of surveyed schools

School type	Government		Aided	Private Unaided Recognized (PUR)	Private Unaided Unrecognized (PUUR)	Total
	MCD	DoE				
No. of Schools Surveyed	26	2	0	19	3	50
Percentage	52 %	4 %		38 %	6 %	

As is evident from table 1, 19 private unaided recognized schools (PUR), recognized either by DoE or MCD were surveyed and their percentage (38 %) corresponds to percentage of private unaided schools selected for survey initially. MCD and DOE also together constituted 58 % in the initial plan and are 56 % of the schools surveyed finally. MCD schools occupy a lion share in the percentage of schools surveyed.

4.2.2. YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS

Table 4: Type of school, year of establishment and recognition

Year / Type of School	MCD		DoE		PUR	PUR										Total	
	PP + PR	PR	PR-12th	6th-10th	PP + PR	PP+PR		PR		PP+PR + MDL		PR+ MDL		PP-SEC/SS		E	R
						E	R	E	R	E	R	E	R	E	R		
1940-1949	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2**	**2**
1950-1959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**	**0**
1960-1969	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**	**0**
1970-1979	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	**7**	**8**
1980-1989	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	1		2	2	-	-	4	1	**13**	**9**
1990-1994	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1		1	1	**7**	**5**
1995-1999	2	1	-	-	-	1	2		1	2	-	-	1	1	2	**7**	**9**
2000-2005	-	2	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	1	2	**11**	**12**
2006-2011	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	**2**
Total	**14**	**12**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**7**	**7**	**47**	**50**

Note: E = Year of Establishment R = Year of Recognition

For Government Schools, E and R are same. Here, E and R are separately recorded for private unaided recognized schools (PUR) only, since there were no private aided schools covered in this survey.

The oldest school of the area is a MCD school established in 1948, followed by another such school in 1949. Both these schools were established in the areas designated as 'villages' in Delhi. 15 MCD schools were established in 1970s and 1980s as the new areas were populated or their population swelled and resettlement colonies were established in this area. About 25 % of schools surveyed were established in 1980s. This is also the period when about half (4/7) of the big private schools surveyed in this research, with classes from pre-primary to senior secondary

came into existence. One such private school was a new branch of a school established in Shahdara North area. In contrast, the growth of small private recognized schools having classes within the range of pre-primary to middle do not show any particular period significant for establishment or growth. All the three unrecognized schools were established during 200-2005, which shows their recent origin. Difference in year of establishment of private school and year of recognition ranged from zero to 11 years. Many schools had a time gap of five years.

4.2.3.Co-Ed Status

Of the 50 schools, 25 schools were co-educational. In addition, two MCD schools had co-educational section in Urdu or at pre-primary stage. Of the three co-educational MCD schools, two were Urdu schools while another was an 'Adarshvidyalaya'. All the private recognised schools (19) and private unrecognised schools (3) were co-ed schools. Since the clientele of small private recognised schools (having classes not beyond middle level) and MCD schools significantly overlap, preference for separate schools for girls and boys cannot be simply explained with reference to socio-economic status with better off sections.

Table 5: School type, level and co-educational status

School Type and Level		Girls	Boys	Co-educational	Total
MCD	**PP+PR**	11	1	3	29
	PR	2	9	2	
DoE	**MDL-SEC**	1		-	2
	PP-12th	1		-	
Aided			-	-	-
PUR	**PP+PR**	-	-	3	19
	PR	-	-	1	
	PP+PR+MDL	-	-	5	
	PR+MDL	-	-	3	
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC	-	-	1	
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	-	-	6	
PUUR	**PP+PR**	-	-	3	3
Total		15	10	27	52

Note: Two MCD schools have boys/ girls as well as co-educational section (in Urdu or at pre-primary stage). Thus, the number of schools totaled above (52) do not correspond to total number of schools surveyed (50).

4.2.4 Level of School, Multi-Gradedness, Board of Affiliation and Medium of Instruction

All the 26 MCD schools were of primary level. 14 of these schools also had pre-primary stage and 10 such schools were exclusively for girls. Two MCD schools and one unrecognised school (PUUR) were multi-grade schools. Two of these three multi-grade schools had school size of less than 100. One private recognised school had only primary classes where as three had pre-

primary as well. Five PUR schools had both pre-primary and middle stage. Three PUR schools had middle stage in addition to the primary stage. What is interesting to note is that of the 12 such schools, five schools did not have recognition for pre-primary stage whereas 6 schools were operating middle sections without recognition in violation of existing regulations (see table 6). The big private recognised schools started from pre-primary stage and went up to secondary or senior secondary stage. All these 7 schools like 2 DOE schools were affiliated to CBSE.

Table 6: PUR Schools and classes without recognition

PUR schools' level	Total Number of Schools	Schools with Level in operation without recognition		
		PP	PR	MDL
PP+PR	3	2	-	-
PR	1	-	-	-
PP+PR+MDL	5	3	-	4
PR+MDL	3	-	-	2
PP+PR+MDL+SEC	1	-	-	-
PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	6	-	-	-
Total	19	5	0	6

Table 7: School type, level and medium of instruction

School Type and Level / Medium of Instruction		Hindi	English	Hindi and English	Urdu	Hindi and Urdu	Urdu, Telugu and English	Hindi, Urdu, and Tamil
MCD	**PP+PR**	9	-	2	1	1	1	-
	PR	10	-	-	1	-	-	1
DoE	**PP-12th**	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	MDL+SEC	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Aided		-	-	-		-	-	-
PUR	**PP+PR**	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
	PR	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PP+PR+MDL	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
	PR+MDL	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
PUUR	**PP+PR**	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
	PR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (No.)		21	14	10	2	1	1	1
Total (%)		42 %	28 %	20 %	4 %	2 %	2 %	2 %

Out of 50 schools surveyed, 21 schools (42 %) are Hindi medium and 14 schools (28 %) were English medium schools. All the private recognised schools having classes from pre-primary to secondary or senior secondary level are English medium schools. Six of the 12 PUR schools with classes till middle level were English medium, while four had both Hindi and English medium.

Of the 26 MCD schools, 19 were Hindi medium schools. No MCD school was fully English medium school and two schools had an English medium section as well along with Hindi. No English medium section co-existed with and in Urdu medium schools. Two MCD schools had sections with Telugu and Tamil medium. Telugu medium school had less than 100 students and is a multi-grade school. Only MCD schools had Urdu medium. Private unrecognised schools either had both Hindi and English medium or only English medium.

4.2.5 SCHOOL SIZE

One-fifth of schools surveyed (10/50) had less than 300 students. 11/26 MCD schools (42.30 %) ranged from 100-500 schools. What is interesting to note is that about one-third of MCD schools may be considered big schools with school size above 800 to 1500, given that they are till primary classes. In contrast, 10/12 PUR schools, i.e. 83.33 % schools with classes till primary or not beyond elementary level had a school size ranging from 101 to 500.

Table 8: Type of school, school level and school size

School Size / **School level**	**MCD**		**DoE**		**Private Unaided Recognized**					**PUUR**	**Total**
	PP+PR	PR	MDL-SEC	PP-SS	PP+PR	PR	PP+PR+MDL	PR+MDL	PP-SEC/SS	PP+PR	
1-100	1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
101-300	3	4	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	8
301-500	1	3	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	1	12
501-800	4		-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	6
801-1000	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	9
1001-1500	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
1501-2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
2001-2500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
2501-3000	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
3000-3500	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
No information	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	**14**	**12**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**5**	**3**	**7**	**3**	**50**

*** This school is a multi-grade school.**

Note: Multigrade: Two MCD schools, primary level, school size: 1-100 and 301-500. One private unaided unrecognized school, school size: 1-100.

4.2.6 CLIENTEL GROUPS

One set of questions in the interview schedule addressed to the management was aimed at understanding the nature of the clientele of the school—to understand the occupation, employment, social class, caste, and religious backgrounds of the students' families and the extent of education of the primary care givers at home. The names of various occupational types provided by management were listed and categorized into four groups as shown in table below:

Table 9: Economic-occupational-grouping of clientele

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Post Graduate Salary- 6 to 15 lakhs Doctor Renowned Businessmen Lawyers Having four wheeler vehicle	Graduate Service class School Teachers Small Business Two wheeler vehicles	Education: Class 5 to class 12th Class four employees Small shop owners Skilled jobs Clerks Watchmen/security guard Factory workers Butcher Drivers Plumber Mechanic Welders Electrician Police Constables Painters Having Bicycle	Daily wage earners Income- 3-5000 Rs. Per month Uneducated Domestic help Unskilled jobs Packet making Unemployed Rickshaw pullers Dhobi Hawkers Barber Orphan children

The numbering of these groups can be taken to represent a rough social stratification and hierarchy with group 1 being engaged in professional jobs or owning business with substantial income and education. Group 2 comprised of educated families with regular income and assets. Group 3 is a mixed group where parents have not been educated beyond school, have regular jobs but at the lower hierarchy in offices and factories, are skilled manual labour. Group 4 represents the poorest of the poor in this classification and maps onto migrants, people without any regular income and performing unskilled labour. This classification was then again applied on the schools and the tables below provide various cross tabulations of the schools as per 'clientel type' against other relevant variables such as school size, levels, management type, spaciousness, maintenance and cleanliness etc.

a. School Type, Size and Clientel Groups

Examination of the school type and the clientele that they serve confirms the often repeated observation that children from marginalised and disadvantaged groups attend government schools. Among MCD schools which shared information about the social background of their students, more than one-third (9/24) were accessed by students coming exclusively from group 4. 15/24 MCD schools (62.5 %) had students from group 3 & 4. Almost 4 of every five (83. 33 %) private recognised schools operating till class 8 received students from group 3 & 4. No school in this category has only group 4 clientele. Two unrecognised schools also have students from group 3 & 4 and one PUUR school has clientele only from group 4. 4/7 private recognised secondary/senior secondary schools report students coming from group 1 & 2, whereas group 3 students are also studying in three such schools.

Table 10: School type and Clientele

Clientele / Type of School	MCD	DoE	PUUR	PUR		Total
				PP-MDL	PP-SEC/SS	
Group 1 and 2	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Group 3 and 4	15	1	2	10	-	**28**
Group 4	9	1	1	-	-	**11**
Group 1, 2 and EWS	-	-	-		3	**3**
Group 2 and 3	-	-	-	1	2	**3**
Group 1, 2 and 3	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Group 2, 3 and 4	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
No information	2	-	-	-	-	**2**
Total	**26**	**2**	**3**	**12**	**7**	**50**

Table 11: Clientele and Size of School

Size of School / Clientele	Group 1 and 2	Group 3 and 4	Group 4	Group 1, 2 and EWS	Group 2 and 3	Group 1, 2 and 3	Group 2, 3 and 4	No information
1-100		1	1					
101-300		6	4				1	1
301-500		9	2					1
501-800		2	1		2	1		
801-1000		6	2					
1001-1500		3		1	1			
1501-2000				1				
2001-2500	1							
2501-3000			1					
3000-3500				1				
No information		1						
Total	**1**	**28**	**11**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**

About 25 % schools (12/50) of total schools with a small school size of less than 300, enrolled students from group 3 & 4 only. Of the 39 schools exclusively accessed by students from group 3 and 4, 23 schools (58.97 %) did not have a school size greater than 500. Seven MCD schools had size of 501-1000 but only one of these was cramp and three of these had poor maintenance. In comparison, all the four private recognised schools with size of 101-300 had poor or very poor maintenance. Schools that enrol students from group 1 & 2 had bigger size (above 1000) which points to their financial viability.

b. Issues on account of family background cited by schools

Table 12: Issues Cited in the English medium Private Schools catering to group 3, 4 and EWS

Issues	PUR (PP-MDL)	PUR (PP-SEC/SS)	PUUR	Total
1. Absence of English speaking environment at home	1	3	1	5 (y)
2. Illiterate parents	1	1	1	3 (p)
3. Children not serious about study			1	1 ®
4. No/less educational support for studies/homework	4	2		6 (y)
5. Don't bring pedagogic material to class		1		1 ®
6. No/incomplete home work		1	1	2 ®
7. Increased complaint of theft		1		1 ®
8. Parents don't have time	1			1 (y)
9. No study atmosphere at home	1			1 (y)
10. Slum area	1			1 (g)
11. Financial problem	3	1		4 (p)
12. Unable to speak English	1			1 (y)
13. No proper atmosphere at home to guide/conduct and behavior	2			2 (g)
14. Ignorant parents	1			1 (p)
15. No contribution	2	1		3 (y)
16. Alcoholism	1			1 (g)
17. Domestic conflict and violence	2			2 (g)
18. Deserted mothers	1			1 (g)
19. Lack of interest in children and studies		1	2	3 (y)
20. Don't take interest in school matters	1			1 (y)
21. Don't pay fee on time	1			1 ®
22. Don't know children's date of birth	1			1 (p)
23. Behavioral problems, abuse		1		1 (g)
24. Children face difficulty in adjusting		1		1 ®
25. Irregularity		2		2 ®
26. No information		1		1
27. Total	25	17	6	48

The issues associated with the families and children belonging to disadvantaged social groups (group 3, 4 and EWS) listed above (table 12) can be broadly classified in three groups. One (marked (y) highlighted in yellow, 21/48) relates to failure to take interest in children/their education/school and provide supporting educational environment whether with respect to English or home work. Second set of concerns (marked (g) highlighted in green, 8/48) are associated with dysfunctionality and/or immoral character of the families expressed in terms of domestic violence and conflict, alcoholism, single mothers and coming from 'slum' that acts as a code to express various pathologies and anxieties. These two sets of pathologies together with the third set of issues such as illiteracy, ignorance and financial problems of the family (marked (p) highlighted in purple, 9/48) result in a variety of problems on the part of students (marked ® highlighted in red, 9/48) such as irregularity, problems of adjustment, incomplete home work, lack of interest in studies and even increase in theft.

The range of concerns expressed with regard to the families and children belonging to group 3 and 4 (table 13) get repeated in the non-English medium schools with addition of new concerns and noticeable difference in emphasis. If we follow the threefold classification used above, we find that concerns related to education (42/121, marked (y) highlighted in yellow) occupy more than one-third space. Within it, inability to provide support to studies has highest frequency (11), followed by lack of concern about children and education (8) and absence of English and failure to contribute to school (6 each) being other significant concerns in this category.

Within the second set of concerns (marked (g) highlighted in green, 27/121), which we associated with dysfunctionality and/or immoral character of the families, domestic violence and conflict (11) and alcoholism (8) emerge as significant issues. Their frequency is much higher for non-English medium schools than in English medium schools. Financial concerns (poverty & unemployment) are about half (11/24) of the third category of concerns (marked (p) highlighted in purple, 24/121) and this is almost similar in terms of weightage (4/9) in English medium schools. What is significant to note are the new additions of small size of household and the necessity for mothers (4 each) to work which leaves little space for children to study. A new set of issues are also raised in the non-English medium schools. These relate to neighbourhood community (highlighted in turquoise, 6/121) and encompass forcible entry of drug addicts and criminals in the school, gambling, theft and garbage. Irregularity of students (10) is a major concern among various issues cited with reference to students (marked ® highlighted in red, 20/121) along with incomplete homework. Absence of uniform, cleanliness and hygiene and sexual deviance are new anxieties expressed in these schools and were absent in the list of concerns expressed in English medium schools

Table 13: Issues cited in the non-English medium schools (including English medium section of government schools) catering to group 3, 4

Issues	PUR (PP-MDL)	PUUR	Govt (MCD, DoE)	Total
1. Fight with Staff			1	1 (g)
2. Financial Problem/Crisis/poverty			9	9(p)
3. Parents do not give time			3	3 (y)
4. Absence of educational environment at home			1	1 (y)
5. No English at home			6	6 (y)
6. No contribution	1		5	6 (y)
7. Irregularity			10	10 ®
8. Small house, no space for study			4	4 (p)
9. Unable to support/guide study/homework	2		9	11 (y)
10. Domestic conflict/violence	3		8	11 (g)
11. Unconcerned/uncaring parents about child and education	1	2	5	8 (y)
12. Do not study at home, incomplete homework	1	1		2 ®
13. Involved in criminal activities			1	1 (g)
14. Drug addicts (parents)			2	2 (g)
15. Forcible entry of drug addicts/criminals from neighborhood in school			2	2 (b)
16. Gambling			1	1 (b)
17. No freedom to girls/discrimination			2	2 (g)
18. Don't contact/visit school/ meet teachers	1		2	3 (y)
19. Sibling/household responsibility on students			3	3 (y)
20. Sexual deviance among students			1	1 ®
21. Criminal neighborhood			1	1 (b)
22. Failure to acknowledge oral training as knowledge			1	1 (y)
23. Theft			1	1 (b)
24. Parents concerned only about receiving money from Government			2	2
25. Working parents/mothers, children alone at home			3	3 (p)
26. Don't do homework			1	1 ®
27. Unemployment			2	2 (p)
28. Illiterate parents	1		3	4 (p)
29. Absence of uniform, cleanliness, hygiene			3	3 ®
30. Alcoholism	1		7	8 (g)
31. Problems of neighborhood- garbage			1	1 (b)
32. Children consume drugs (white fluid)			1	1 ®
33. Children follow improper home behaviour	1			1 ®
34. Ignorant parent	1			1 (p)
35. Deserted mother	1			1 (g)
36. Don't pay fee on time	1			1 ®
37. Don't know date of birth	1			1 (p)
38. Abusive parents, children			1	1 (g)
39. Total	16	3	102	121

. 4.2.7 NATURE OF SPACE

4.2.7.1 TYPE OF BUILDING AND SPACIOUSNESS

43 of the total 50 schools ran in buildings that were meant for institutions (see table 14). Government schools (both MCD and of DoE) and bigger private recognised schools with classes from pre-primary to secondary or senior secondary level were constructed on land earmarked for schools. In comparison, 4/12 private recognised schools that did not have classes beyond primary or elementary level operated from residential buildings. Though all the buildings of such schools were owned by the owners of the schools, some owners showed them as rented to avoid possibility of government takeover of these buildings along with the school. Private unrecognised schools also operated from either residential buildings or commercial buildings. One such school had a nursing home on the ground floor while the school operated from the first floor. Three of the four residential buildings were very cramped in terms of space (see table 15). Commercial building space used for school was also cramped. The main consequence of schools that ran in residential spaces was that access to rooms was interconnected as in a house, so one would access one classroom through another. The sounds from one room could spill into the other. Ventilation was often poor and lighting was also usually not natural and poor in its quality. 24/26 MCD schools had playgrounds while only 6/12 PUR till elementary level had play grounds.

Table 14: School Type and Type of Building

School Type / Type of Building		Residential		Commercial	Institutional
		Owned	Rented		
MCD		-	-	-	26
DoE		-	-	-	2
PUUR		2		1	
PUR	**PP-MDL**	2	2	-	8
	PP-SEC/SS	-	-	-	7
Total		4	2	1	43

20/43 institutional buildings were very cramped (7) or cramped (13) (table 15). Of these 20 buildings, ten were of MCD schools (see table 16). About a quarter of institutional buildings (12/43, 27.9 %) were 'spacious' and another one-third (15/43, 34.88 %) were 'OK' in terms of spaciousness (table 15). 7/26 MCD buildings were also 'OK' whereas 8 (30.76 %) were 'spacious' (table 16). Together these two categories constitute 60 % (15/25 MCD schools about

which information was recorded). Proportion of 'spacious' buildings for private unaided recognised schools operating till class 8 (2/12, 16.67 %) was far lower than 'OK' (6/12, 50 %). All private unaided recognised schools of senior secondary level were unmistakably 'OK' and 'spacious'. In comparison, both DoE schools were cramped. All the private unaided unrecognised schools were also very cramped or cramped.

Table 15: Type of Building and Spaciousness

Type of Building / Spaciousness	Very cramped	Cramped	Ok	Spacious	No information
Residential Owned	3		1	-	-
Residential Rented	1		1	-	-
Commercial		1	-	-	-
Institutional	3	12	15	12	1
Total = 50	7	13	17	12	1

Table 16: School type and Spaciousness

School Type / Spaciousness		Very cramped	Cramped	Ok	Spacious	No information
MCD		2	8	7	8	1
DoE			2			
PUUR		2	1			
PUR	**PP-MDL**	3	1	6	2	
	PP-SEC/SS		1	2	4	
Total = 50		7	13	15	14	1

To examine whether the extent of spaciousness had any significant correlation with the social group that attends the school, we need to make simultaneous observations with regard to group 1 & 2 and group 3 & 4. If the number of very cramped and cramped schools attended by group 3 & 4, are taken together, it constitutes about two-third of total schools (13/20, 65 %) in this category. In terms of number, it is lower than 'OK' and 'spacious' schools (15/29, 51.72 %) attended by students from these groups but is proportionately higher in percentage terms. Corresponding figures for group four along these lines of comparison stand at 5/20 (25 %) and 6/29 (20.69 %) which are not significantly different from each other. But comparison with schools attended by group 1 & 2 show that they are invariably 'OK' and 'spacious'. From these observations, we

may conclude that while students from group 3 and 4 have greater possibility of studying in cramped spaces, such possibilities are almost negligible if students belong to better-off social groups.

Table 17: Clientele and Spaciousness

Clientele / Spacious-ness	Very cramped	Cramped	Ok	Spacious	No information
Group 1 and 2				1	
Group 3 and 4	6	7	9	6	
Group 4	1	4	2	4	
Group 1, 2 and EWS				3	
Group 2 and 3			3		
Group 1, 2 and 3		1			
Group 2, 3 and 4			1		
No information		1			1
Total	**7**	**13**	**15**	**14**	**1**

4.2.7.2 MAINTENANCE AND OTHER FACILITIES (PLAYGROUND, RAMP, LIBRARY, SCIENCE LABS)

Of the 43 institutional buildings, a substantial number of buildings (25/43, 58.14 %) had satisfactory maintenance and cleanliness and 17 (39.53%) were either very poor or poor in terms of the quality of maintenance and cleanliness. 2/3rd of residential buildings (owned or rented) also fared badly on this criterion (table 18). In terms of school type (table 19), more than half MCD schools (14/26, 53.84 %) did well (ok, good and very good) but 11/26 (42.30 %) such schools had poor or very poor maintenance. Almost similar proportion of poor and very poor (5/12, 41.66 %) and ok to good (58.33 %) was witnessed in case of small private recognised schools. It is worth noting that almost one-third of MCD schools had either good or very good levels of cleanliness but no PUR till class 8 was very good. Both DoE schools were poor. Most big private recognised schools were found to be reasonably clean and acceptable levels of maintenance. No distinct trend with regard to maintenance can be observed in the case of private unrecognised schools.

Table 18: Type of building, maintenance and cleanliness

Type of Building / Maint-enance and Cleanliness	Very poor	Poor	Ok	Good	Very Good	No information
Residential Owned		2	2			
Residential Rented		1		1		
Commercial				1		
Institutional	5	12	10	10	5	1
Total	5	15	12	12	5	1

Table 19: School type, maintenance and cleanliness

School Type / Maint-enance and Cleanliness		Very poor	Poor	Ok	Good	Very good	No inform ation	Total
MCD		4	7	6	6	2	1	**26**
DoE		-	2	-	-	-	-	**2**
PUUR		-	1	1	1	-	-	**3**
PUR	**PP-MDL**	1	4	4	3	**-**	**-**	**12**
	PP-SEC/SS	-	1	1	2	3	**-**	**7**
Total		5	15	12	12	5	1	**50**

Table 20: School type, spaciousness and maintenance

School Type / Spacious-ness and Maintenance		Very cramped/ cramped and Very poor or poor maintenance	Spacious/ok and Good and Very good maintenance	Cramped and good maintenance	Spacious and poor maintenance
MCD		7	7	1	3
DoE		2			
PUUR		1	1	1	
PUR	**PP-MDL**	3	3		
	PP-SEC/SS	1	5		
Total		14	16	2	3

A distinct coincidence that may be observed from table 20 is the relationship between nature of spaciousness and the quality of maintenance and cleanliness in schools. There were 14 institutions (28 %) which were either very cramped or cramped and were simultaneously very poor or poor in terms of maintenance. This coincidence is further underlined as 16 (32 %) institutions characterised as OK and spacious also had good and very good maintenance. With reference to school type, this data (see table 20) shows that for MCD, PUUR and PUR schools till middle classes, the coincidence mentioned above holds true as the number and percentage of poorly maintained cramped spaces and spacious well maintained schools is equal. As observed above, private recognised schools of senior secondary level are both spacious and well-maintained. The only cramped and poorly maintained private recognised school is a secondary level school with smaller size (less than 600). This school is also classified as a pedagogic regime 2 type school about which we will discuss at length later.

Table 21: Clientele type, maintenance and cleanliness

Clientele / Maint-enance and Cleanliness	Very poor	Poor	Ok	Good	Very Good	No information
Group 1 and 2					1	
Group 3 and 4	2	10	9	7	-	
Group 4	1	5	1	2	2	
Group 1, 2 and EWS				1	2	
Group 2 and 3			1	2		
Group 1, 2 and 3		1				
Group 2, 3 and 4		1				
No information	1					1
Total	**4***	**17**	**11**	**12**	**5**	**1**

* Number of very poor schools is less here (4 instead of 5) because there was no information about the clientele of one very poor maintained school.

Students coming from group 3 and 4 do not necessarily study in institutions with deplorable quality of maintenance and cleanliness (see table 21). 17 institutions (34 %) attended solely by students from these groups have very poor or poor quality of maintenance and cleanliness but the number and percentage of educational institutions with satisfactory or good quality in this regard (21/50, 42 %) is higher. Distinct co-relation of social group location with better maintenance and cleanliness emerges in the context of group 1 & 2. This means that students from higher position in social hierarchy are guaranteed better provisions.

Table 22: School type and infrastructure

		MCD	DoE	PUUR	PUR			No Info
					PP+PR	PP+PR +MDL	PR-MDL	PR-SEC/SS	
Computer		18	2	3	2	4	3	7	2
Science Lab		3 out of 4 Science room non-functional	2	-	-	1 but closed	-	4	
Room for teacher		7	2		2	2	1	5	
Room for head		25	2	3	3	4	3	7	
Playground		24		1	1	2	3	5	
Ramp		17	1			1			
Library	**In almirah**	10			2				
	Separate Room	6	2	1		1	1	4	
Computer aided learning		1		1		3		3	
Sports						1		2	

Most MCD schools (24/26) and private recognised schools of senior secondary level (5/7) had playgrounds (see table 22). Playgrounds were available only in half of PUR schools till middle level. Ramps were made in almost 60 % MCD schools but were not observed or reported elsewhere except in one DOE and PUR (middle level) school. Both DoE had libraries in separate rooms and 16/26 MCD schools had libraries in some form. Only a quarter of MCD schools had separate rooms for teachers and in 4/24 schools where a separate room for school head existed, it was used for multi-purposes. Senior secondary level schools (DoE and PUR-SS) were more likely to have separate science labs those operating till primary or middle level. While computers are present in various categories of schools, computer aided learning was available in 25 % of PUR-MDL and 50 % of PUR-SS schools. Certain other curricular provisions and facilities were present only/largely in private recognised schools and were most likely absent in government run schools (MCD/DoE). These include music room (4 PUR, PP-SS) and 1 MCD), dance room (3 PUR, PP-SS), school transport (5 PUR, PP-SS; 2 PUR, PP-MDL), counsellor (3 PUR, PP-SS), medical room (3 PUR, PP-SS), craft (3 PUR, PP-SS; 2 PUR, PP-MDL), canteen (2 PUR, PP-SS) and yoga (2 PUR, PP-SS; 1 DoE; 1 PUR, PP-PR). Besides these facilities, language lab, gym, swimming pool, horse riding, squash court, tennis court, basket ball court and recreation room were also found in one PUR, PP-SS.

4.2.8 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS/SYMBOLS EVIDENT IN THE SCHOOL

Table 23: School Type and Religious/National Symbols

	MCD	DoE	PUUR	PUR		Total
				PP-MDL	PP-SEC/SS	
Hindu	1	-	-	-	1	2
Muslim	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sikh	-	-	1	-	-	1
Hindu and Nationalist	15	1	1	7	5	29
Nationalist	5	-	-	2	-	7
Hindu, Muslim & Nationalist	-	-	1	1	-	2
No symbols	-	-	-	1	1	2
No information	4	1	-	1	-	6
Total	26	2	3	12	7	50

Information about presence of religious and nationalist symbols was recorded for 44 schools. Of these only four show distinct religious identification (2 Hindu, 1 Muslim and 1 Sikh). But what is noticeable is the significant presence of Hindu and nationalist symbols combined together. This category occupies almost two-third (29/44, 65.90 %) space in the total number of institutions. Nationalist symbols were noticeable in the form of pictures/posters of national leaders and freedom fighters, extracts and quotations from their writings and speeches, pictures of national flag, national anthem and pledges. Hindu symbols were most visible through prayers (gayatri

mantra, saraswati vanadana), pictures/posters/statutes of Hindu gods and goddesses, small temple in the school premises (e.g. at reception), religious symbols (Om) and pictures of Saraswati (Hindu goddess of learning). This suggests that Hindu religious symbols are seen as congruent and continuous with nationalist symbols and not as distinct or in conflict with nationalist symbols. Two schools had both Hindu and Muslim symbols along with nationalist symbols and another 7 schools had only nationalist symbols. Thus, nationalist symbols independently or in combination with other religious symbols were present in 38/44 schools (86.36 %). It may be worth noting that the number (16/23) and percentage (69.56 %) of government run schools (MCD and DoE) with both Hindu and nationalist symbols is quite high in the context of constitutional provisions which bar imparting any religious education in government maintained educational institutions. These practices may be read as passive forms of religious education that naturalise Hindu symbols and ethos as norms in the educational institutions. One school each had photographs of Gautam Buddha and Sikh Gurus. In a PUUR school run by a Muslim management reference to God, Allah and Ishwar were made in the prayer and it did not give a clear sense of religious orientation and being aimed at any specific group. Islamic prayers were offered in one MCD Urdu medium school which catered to Muslim students.

4.2.9 Pedagogies. Pedagogic Regimes, School Types and Clientele

Rationale for an enquiry about the pedagogic regimes of schools has been made in an earlier section of this report. Like Hyderabad, in the context of Delhi also, we have attempted to conceptualise pedagogy as considered educational action and understand classroom processes and what children are learning in relation to the intentions and forms of pedagogy, aims as well as contextual systemic features. In our view, expectations and stereotypes about educability of children from diverse social groups, moral judgements about their homes and nature of disciplinary regulation impinge on the kind of pedagogy practiced in a class and school.

Like Hyderabad, we have attempted to develop a composite of pedagogic types & regimes. The pedagogic typologies developed in the context of Delhi have certain commonalities with those discussed in the context of Hyderabad but they also differ from them in significant ways. Emphasis on teaching for success in examination or corporate connection or swat type micro-managed regimentation were absent in Delhi. There were classes in Delhi where teacher engaged in long monologues and explained things on his/her own.

In the context of Delhi, observations and discussion about pedagogy have been classified at two levels: class and school. The decision to organise observations about pedagogy at class level was guided by following considerations. There were significant differences in the pedagogies

practiced with in a school. Though such schools could be classified as pedagogic regime 7 (see table 24), we believed that such a classification would not have given us an idea about the diversity of pedagogies practiced within and across school types. It also would have failed to do justice to these diversities. Disaggregated data at class level could give a far richer understanding of what was happening in the classrooms observed in Delhi in the course of this study. At the same time, attention to only class specific pedagogy would not have given us any sense about the dominant pedagogic type in a school or the institutional pedagogic culture. Table 24 explains the classification of pedagogies and pedagogic regimes developed and used in the context of Delhi.

Table 24: Pedagogic Regimes Categories Delhi

Pedagogic Regime (PR)	**Standards or expectations of learning**	**Standards or expectations of child/parents/home**	**Method of Teaching**	**Method of "learning'**	**Teacher's attitude to teaching, children and discipline**
PR 1 = E 1, H 1, T 1, R 1, A 1	E 1: production of very basic skills of literacy and numeracy or reproduction of exact answer given by the teacher; obedience	H 1: no expectations from children or home	T 1: No or very brief reading and explanation of the text, focus on question-answers, specifying 'portions' or 'items' to be learnt'; teacher in class but not teaching and is busy in some other work like checking copies/exam papers, school related work	R 1: Mechanical repetition by entire class, no expectation of meaning	A 1: Negligent, interrupted and arbitrary; indifferent towards children; children's voices/questions not heard except when permitted by teacher; children are distracted/do not pay attention
PR 2 = E 2, H 1/H 2, T 2, R 2, A 2	E 2: Reproduction of answer given by the teacher or of the textbook	H 2: Expect negative influence of home; home source of bad habits to be countered in school, lack of home support, generalized/stereotyped observations about home	T 2: minimal work on blackboard, focus on memorization by oral repetition after teacher or from textbook, verbatim reading from textbook with minimal explanation/translation; revision based on memorization with little explanation	R 2: Revision by rote to be carried out by individual children and occasionally checked by teacher	A 2: Performs teaching in a routine manner with little preparation and some interest, moves at own pace with little concern whether children listening/learning or not, discipline involves corporal or physical control to maintain silence in class
PR 3 = E 3,	E 3: Produce	H 3: Awareness	T 3: Reading from	R 3: Listening	A 3: Prepares for

H 2/H 3, T 3, R 3, A 3	answers of questions given in the textbook	about home background, home to be persuaded to support school's requirements towards punctuality, regularity, home work, take interest in/enquire what students learnt at school	textbook with considerable explanation and examples by teacher, use of blackboard to stress important concepts, points, steps in solving problem; responses of children invited in-between but largely ignored or not probed further; revision with space for explanation and clarifications	attentively and silently to teacher, following the textbook and classroom proceedings, copy from the text and solve its exercise questions	teaching with an aim to 'finish' syllabus, prepare for examination or test, teacher–centric class, questions asked from students, homework given; Harsh tone towards children with insulting remarks
PR 4 = E 4, H 3/H4, T 4, R 4, A 4	E 4: Develop conceptual understanding, comprehend what taught	H 4: expectation to take interest in education of child and develop moral values, children a 'moral project'	T 4: Explains the chapter on her own, use of examples outside textbook, teaching involves long monologues by teacher, occasional use of textbooks, uses blackboard, some space for students experiences and responses and brief reference to them	R 4: listen attentively, answer questions asked by teacher	A 4: teaching to develop understanding; tone and attitude neither affectionate nor indifferent, attention and appreciation limited to few students who speak and perform well or addresses all students without any differentiation
PR 5 = E 5, H 4/5, T 5, R 5, A 5	E 5: Production of answers beyond textbooks to questions that test conceptual understanding, ability to answer in own words	H 5: Empathetic understanding of a child's background, challenges and support not/available at home	T 5: Elaborate explanation with reference to previous classes and work; asks lot of questions, Space for students own experiences in teaching and discussions; views of children heard, accepted and encouraged; these experiences and views used to build/develop concepts, theme, chapter; individual attention; revision uses activity, goes beyond textbook to focus on concept	R 5: saying things in one's own words but related to what was being taught and asked by the teacher, students ask questions for clarification	A 5: Active, energetic interest and involvement in teaching to ensure understanding and learning for all; inner drive and satisfaction derived from teaching; Non-threatening and affectionate attitude towards all children, children feel free and comfortable with the teacher, polite tone, concerned about their well-being and learning; tries to attend to all children, attempt to engage children

			building		sitting quietly or distracted in the discussion, effort to develop self-confidence; belief in capacity of all children to learn; classroom decorated with different teaching-learning material beyond textbooks
PR 6 = E 6, H 5, T 6, R 6, A 5	E 6: Production of reasoning, creativity, novelty		T 6: Preparation for activities, dialogic-higher order thinking, use of other material besides textbook, encourages students to develop material	R 6: Students ask their own questions, answering individually and in non standard but relevant ways with interest/excitement and wanting to contribute	A 6: A 5 + encourage independent effort, encourage students to develop teaching-learning material
PR 7 =	Significant difference between teachers with respect to learning objectives, self development, capabilities, attitude towards home and children. Schools where pedagogies differed by a difference of one or more than one adjacent pedagogies were classified as PR 7. Thus, if pedagogy in one class is P 2 and another P 4/P 5/P 6, then this school was classified as PR 7. But if pedagogy in one class is P 2 and another P 3, then the school was classified as PR 2. Lower pedagogy type was chosen to avoid inflated regime classification and with the assumption that the lower denominator may be the norm across other classes as well.				

On the whole 82 classes were observed in 48 schools of Delhi (table 25). Two schools did not allow observation of any classes. In 14 schools, not more than one class could be observed due to permission related issues, chaos in the school or preparations in the school for any celebration or visit. In 34 schools, two classes were observed as per the research plan. Of these 82 classes, more than 50 % (44/82) were in MCD schools. 21 classes were observed in private unaided recognized (PUR) schools operating till elementary level. Nine classes were observed in PUR schools of secondary/senior secondary level and another five classes were observed in private unaided unrecognized (PUUR) schools.

Table 25: School type, level and no. of classes observed

No. of Classes / School Type and Level		None	One	Two	Total Classes observed	Total Schools where classes observed*
MCD	PP+PR	-	6	8	22 (6 + 8*2)	14
	PR	-	2	10	22 (2 + 10*2)	12
DoE		-	1	1	3 (1 + 1*2)	2
PUR	PP+PR	-	1	2	5 (1 + 2*2)	3
	PR	-	-	1	2 (1*2)	1
	PP+PR+MDL	-	-	5	10 (5*2)	5
	PR+MDL	1	-	2	4 (2*2)	2
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC	-	1	-	1	1
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	1	2	3	8 (2 + 3*2)	5
PUUR		-	1	2	5 (1 + 2*2)	3
Total		2	14	34	82	48

* No classes were observed in two schools; hence the total number of schools where classes were observed is 48.

Table 26: School type, level and class-wise pedagogy

Pedagogy Type / School Type and Level		P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6	Total classes
MCD	PP+PR	-	3	7	4	4	4	44
	PR	-	8	5	2	5	2	
DoE		-	-	3	-	-	-	3
PUR	PP+PR	-	4	1	-	-	-	5
	PR	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
	PP+PR+MDL	1	5	4	-	-	-	10
	PR+MDL	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	-	-	4	-	3	1	8
PUUR		2	2	1	-	-	-	5
Total		3	28	26	6	12	7	82
% of Pedagogy in total classes		3.65	34.14	31.70	7.31	14.63	8.53	

As shown in table 26, no classes in MCD schools were of pedagogy 1 type that simply focused on production of very basic skills of literacy and numeracy. 3 such classes were observed in case of PUR (PP-MDL) and PUUR schools. P 2 pedagogy that operates with expectation to reproduce answer given by the teacher or of the textbook and involve focus on memorization with expectation of negative influence from home constituted more than one-third (28/82, 34.14 %) of total classes observed. Combined with P1, both these pedagogies that operate with notions and practices of domesticated citizenship and obedience, this is a significant proportion. Close to another one-third space (26/82, 31.70 %) in the observed classes was occupied by P 3 pedagogy where textbook reigns supreme and both teaching and learning revolve around it. Progressive pedagogies (P 5 & P6) that provide space for children, their experiences, views and expect them to go beyond textbooks and teachers were being practiced in less than quarter (19/82, 23.17 %) classes. Teachers who practiced these pedagogies in the classrooms had a non-threatening and

affectionate attitude towards all children. Children felt free and comfortable in their presence. Such teachers used polite tone, were concerned about well-being and learning of their students and believed in capacity of all children to learn. This smaller share of progressive pedagogies in the total number of classes observed during this study means that in almost three-quarter of classes, love, care, belief in dignity and capacity of all children were being practiced in violation and absence.

Distribution of these pedagogies in classrooms across different types of schools (table 27) shows some interesting observations. Number and percentage of P 2 classes was much higher in PUR (PP-MDL) schools (14/28, 50 %) than in MCD schools (11/28, 39.28 %). Much larger number of MCD schools practiced P 3 pedagogy (11/26, 46.15 %) than all levels of PUR schools put together (10/26, 38.46 %). P 4 pedagogy that involved long monologues by the teacher to explain the chapter herself with occasional use of textbooks and experiences and responses of students to develop conceptual understanding was found only in MCD schools. All classes in DoE were P 3. What is of significant import is very high share of MCD schools in P5 (9/12, 75 %) and P 6 (6/7, 85.71 %) pedagogies and absence of any such pedagogy in PUR schools operating till elementary stage. This becomes all the more noteworthy as the students who access MCD schools are from group 3 and 4 only. We have noted before (table 10) that this same group also enrolls in PUR (PP-MDL) schools. This difference in presence and absence of progressive pedagogies in two types of educational institutions having similar clientele calls for critical reflection on claims about failure of public schooling system and virtuousness of all kinds of private schools, including unrecognized schools.

Table 27: No. & Percentage (in bracket) of each pedagogy across school type

School Type / **Pedagogy**	**MCD**	**DOE**	**PUR (PP+PR, PR,PP+PR+MDL and PR+MDL)**	**PUR (PP-SEC/SS)**	**PUUR**	**Total Classes**
P 1	-	-	1 (33.33 %)	-	2 (66.66%)	3
P 2	11 (39.28 %)	-	14 (50 %)	1 (3.57 %)	2 (7.14 %)	28
P3	12 (46.15 %)	3 (11.53 %)	6 (23.07 %)	4 (15.38 %)	1 (3.84 %)	26
P4	6 (100 %)	-	-	-	-	6
P5	9 (75 %)	-	-	3 (25 %)	-	12
P6	6 (85.71 %)	-	-	1 (14.28 %)	-	7
Total	44 (100%)	3 (100%)	21 (100%)	9 (100%)	5 (100%)	82

If we re-tabulate share of different types of pedagogies within a school type, a new set of insights emerge. P 1 and P 2 together classified as 'domestication and citizenship' constitute 80 % of overall pedagogic type for PUUR schools and 71.42 % for PUR schools where classes ranged from pre-primary to middle (PP+PR, PR, PP+PR+MDL and PR+MDL). This is almost three times the share of such pedagogy in the case of classes in MCD schools (P 2, 11/44, 25 %). We have noted above (table 27) that MCD schools had a high share of P 3 pedagogy (11/26, 46.15 %) among all types of schools. But within MCD, share of this pedagogy is about 20 % lower (12/44, 27.27 %). P 5 and P 6 together classified as 'progressive' pedagogy constitute 34.09 % of overall pedagogic types for MCD schools, i.e. more than one-third of classes observed in MCD schools were of progressive character. It is important to note that this 'progressive' pedagogy was being practiced in schools where children do not come with 'cultural capital'. This progressive pedagogy (P 5, P 6 put together) had a significant share (4/9, 44.44 %) in case of PUR schools (PP-SEC/SS).

Table 28: No. & Percentage (in bracket) of each pedagogy within a school type

	'domestication and citizenship'		**'textbook culture' Teacher referred-rote massified, text referred**	**'Guru'**	**'Progressive' pedagogy**		
Pedagogy / **School Type**	**P 1**	**P 2**	**P 3**	**P 4**	**P 5**	**P 6**	**Total classes**
MCD	-	11 (25 %)	12 (27.27)	6 (13.53)	9 (20.45)	6 (13.63)	44
DOE	-	-	3 (100 %)	-	-	-	3
PUR (PP to MDL combined)	1 (4.76 %)	14 (66.66 %)	6 (28.57 %)	-	-	-	21
PUR (PP-SEC/SS)	-	1 (11.11 %)	4 (44.44 %)	-	3 (33.33 %)	1 (11.11 %)	9
PUUR	2 (40 %)	2 (40 %)	1 (20 %)	-	-	-	5
Total	3	28	26	6	9	6	82

We have explained above that we have classified our observations and discussion about pedagogy in the context of Delhi at two levels: class and school. We had argued that while disaggregated data at class level could give a far richer understanding of what was happening in the classrooms observed in Delhi in the course of this study, attention to only class specific

pedagogy would not have given us any sense about the dominant pedagogic type in a school or the institutional pedagogic culture. After taking note of class specific pedagogies across different school types, we may now turn our attention to the pedagogic regimes at school level. The criterion to classify a school as representative of a particular pedagogic type has already been described in table 24 (see P 7 for reference).

Table 29: School type, level and pedagogic regime

School Type and Level		PR 1	PR 2	PR 3	PR 4	PR 5	PR 6	PR 7	Total*
MCD	PP+PR	-	1	5	1	1	2	4	14
	PR	-	3	1	1	-	-	7	12
DoE		-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
PUR	PP+PR	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
	PR	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	PP+PR+MDL	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	5
	PR+MDL	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	PP+PR+MDL+SEC+SS	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	5
PUUR		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total		2	15	12	2	2	2	13	48
Percentage		4.16	31.25	25	4.16	4.16	4.16	27.08	

* Total number of schools classified according to pedagogic regimes is 48 as no classes were observed in 2 schools.

Table 30: No. & Percentage (in bracket) of each pedagogic regime across school type

School Type / Pedagogy	MCD	DOE	PUR (PP+PR, PR, PP+PR+MDL,PR+MDL)	PUR (PP-SES/SS)	PUUR	Total Schools
PR 1	-	-	1 (50 %)	-	1 (50 %)	2
PR 2	4 (26.67 %)	-	8 (53.33 %)	1 (6.67 %)	2 (13.33 %)	15
PR 3	6 (50 %)	2 (16.67 %)	2 (16.67 %)	2 (16.67 %)	-	12
PR 4	2 (100 %)	-	-	-	-	2
PR 5	1 (50 %)	-	-	1 (50 %)	-	2
PR 6	2 (100 %)	-	-	-	-	2
PR 7	11 (84.61 %)	-	-	2 (15.38 %)	-	13
Total	26 (100%)	2 (100 %)	11 (100%)	6 (100%)	3 (100%)	48

Table 29 shows that PR 2 has the highest share (15/48, 31.25 %) among different types of pedagogic regimes and is closely followed by PR 7 (13/38, 27.08 %) and PR 3 (12/48, 25 %). If

we combine PR 1 and PR 2, then they have a distinct edge of at least 8 % points over PR 3 and PR 7. All other pedagogic regimes from PR 4 to PR 6 have similar share (2/48, 4.16 %). Since PR 7 represents significant differences in pedagogies within a school, it means that more than a quarter of school have such differences. Table 29 and 30 show that these differences are most pronounced in case of MCD schools. 11/13 (84.61 %) PR 7 schools are MCD schools. This suggests absence of an institutional pedagogic regime in such schools. It has been argued that teaching and pedagogy varies significantly in government schools as it is heavily dependent on individual teachers and varies with them. If this preposition is true, it is worth noting that 2 PUR (PP-SS) schools also were found to be in PR 7 category.

Another important observation pertains to PR 5 and PR 6 that represent 'progressive' pedagogy. In terms of institutional pedagogic culture, both the PR 6 schools are MCD schools and of the two PR 5 schools, one each is from MCD and PUR (PP-SS). More than half (8/15, 53.33 %) PR 2 schools are small PUR schools (PP-MDL) and this is two times more than number of PR 2 schools from MCD. Textbook culture (PR 3) dominates government schools as 8/12 (6 MCD, 2 DoE) PR 3 schools are from this group. PR 4 is monopolized by MCD schools. Though the number of PR 4 schools is only 2 but both are MCD schools. This may point to prevalence of 'guru' parampara in some MCD schools where teachers is the sole source of knowledge and other sources of knowledge like textbook or children fade.

Table 31: No. & Percentage (in bracket) of each pedagogic regime within a school type

	'domestication and citizenship'		**'textbook culture' Teacher referred-rote massified, text referred**	**'Guru'**	**'Progressive' pedagogy**			
Pedagogy / School Type	**PR 1**	**PR 2**	**PR 3**	**PR 4**	**PR 5**	**PR 6**	**PR 7**	**Total schools**
MCD	-	4 (15.38 %)	6 (23.07 %)	2 (7.69 %)	1 (3.84 %)	2 (7.69 %)	11 (42.30 %)	26
DOE	-	-	2 (100 %)	-	-	-	-	2
PUR (PP to MDL combined)	1 (9.09 %)	8 (72.37 %)	2 (18.18 %)	-	-	-	-	11
PUR (PP-SES/SS)	-	1 (16.67 %)	2 (33.33 %)	-	1 (16.67 %)	-	2 (33.33 %)	6
PUUR	1 (33.33 %)	2 (66.67 %)	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	2	15	12	2	2	2	13	48

If we attempt to classify share of each pedagogic regime within a school type, we find that in MCD schools, PR 7 (11/26, 42.30 %) outstrips all other PR and is followed by some distance by PR 3 (6/26, 23.07 %) and PR 2 (4/26, 15.38 %). 'Progressive' pedagogy (PR 5 and PR 6) is present in only 3/26 schools (11.53 %). It marks a huge difference in terms of share when we had looked at class-wise pedagogy in MCD schools. We had noted that 34.09 % of overall pedagogic types for MCD schools, i.e. more than one-third of classes observed in MCD schools were of progressive character. But at an institutional level, 'progressive' pedagogic regime is practiced and exists in almost 1 among 10 MCD schools. At the same time it may be noted that no PUR school operating till middle level has 'progressive' pedagogic regime. PR 6 which aims at developing reasoning, creativity, and novelty and signifies presence of activities to foster dialogic-higher order thinking among students and encourage independent effort by them is not present in a single PUR school even when it has senior secondary classes. But taken together with PR 5, one in four PUR school of this level has 'progressive' pedagogic regime. At this moment, an important comparison may be drawn among MCD schools, PUUR schools and PUR schools limited to primary/middle level. 9/11 PUR schools (81.81 %) have pedagogic regimes (PR 1 or PR 2) that are highly teacher controlled, conceive learning as repetition of answer given by teacher or textbook and ensured by rote memorization. This kind of pedagogic regime with domesticating practices enforced through physical and corporal punishment by unconcerned teachers is found in every 4/5 PUR schools and in every PUUR school. In contrast, PR 2 was present in only 4/26 (15.38 %) MCD schools. In proportionate terms, this is less than one-fifth of PUR (PP-MDL) schools.

Table 32: Clientele type and pedagogic regime

Pedagogic regime / Clientele	PR 1	PR 2	PR 3	PR 4	PR 5	PR 6	PR 7	No Info	Total
Group 1 and 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	
Group 3 and 4	2	9	6	1	1	1	7	-	27**
Group 4	-	3	2	1	-	1	4	-	11
Group 1, 2 and EWS	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3
Group 2 and 3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Group 1, 2 and 3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Group 2, 3 and 4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
No information	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	2	15	12	2	2	2	13	-	48

* No classes were observed in the school with students from group 1 & 2.

** There were 28 schools with clientele from group 3 & 4. But in one such school, no classes were observed.

The last set of observations about pedagogic regimes may be made with regard to clientele type. One-third schools (14/38) attended by groups 3 & 4 were of PR 1 and PR 2 types. About one-fifth (8/38) of such schools may be described as those practicing textbook culture (PR 3). More than quarter of schools attended by these groups had significant differences in the pedagogic forms practiced in those institutions and suggest presence of distinct individual orientations to pedagogies than any systematic pedagogic regime form. There was also a distinct possibility of students from group 3 and 4 to experience 'progressive' pedagogy (3/38 schools).

4.3 KOLKATA

4.3.1 BACKGROUND

This component of the research involved a delimited urban geographical area. The chosen area was primarily Ward 78 in Circle 10 though a few schools were included from the adjoining wards to provide representation to school management types not present in the chosen ward.

The specific Circle was chosen based on the following broad criteria: (1) representative of a broad range of school management types; (2) representative of a diverse population profile (SES); and (3) having a significant presence of minority population. The chosen Circle, Circle 10, was also in the mid-ranking Circles among the 23 urban circles in Kolkata with an Educational Development Index rank of 15.[4]

The specific ward within the Circle was identified after detailed discussions with the state-SSA office West Bengal in terms of the above criteria and also cost-resources feasibility in terms of coverage of actual numbers of schools in an identified area. An idea of the overall demographics of Ward 78 in Circle 10 can be had from the following table:

Total number of households	10688
Total population	58930
Total male population	32222
Total female population	26708
Total male population SC	1333
Total female population SC	1126
Total male population ST	69
Total female population ST	60
Total male literate population	24396
Total female literate population	16470
Total male illiterate population	7826
Total female illiterate population	10238
Total working population	18657

Source: Census, Govt. of India, 2001.

The field survey in Kolkata was facilitated with the support of the Vikramshila Education Resource Society, a non-government organization which has been involved in quality education initiatives in the state. The main survey was carried out over the period August – October 2011. A second round of targeted visits was undertaken in January 2012 to try and cover mainly the private schools which were reluctant to allow access in the first round.

[4] SSA, Kolkata. DISE - Data Analysis: 2009-10 Kolkata. URL: http://www.dise.in/Downloads/best%20practices/DISEanalysis%202009-10-%20Kolkata.pdf

However, in spite of official letters (from the state SSA and the MHRD) and informal approaches through local NGOs/institutions (such as the Loreto School, Sealdah and MayurbhanjBastiSevaSangha), there was no progress possible with these schools which continued to refuse/delay permission. A list of the types of schools that were not able to be covered is provided in the following Table.

Table: Schools that the field team was unable to access

Type of School	Response from School
Govt aided Upper Primary	Continuous delaying of access
Private	No response even after 5 visits
Private	No response even after 4 visits
Private (primary)	Continuous delaying of access
Private (upper primary)	Continuous delaying of access
Private	No response even after 3 visits
Private	Continuous delaying of access
Private	Refused entry
Private	No response even after 6 visits
Private	Refused entry
Private	Continuous delaying of access
Private	Refused entry

As can be seen from the above table, it was difficult to access a large number of private schools in the designated area even after multiple visits.

4.3.2 ACTUAL COVERAGE

The actual coverage of schools indicated that there are differences between the currently available data on schools and the population we could map through an intensive and in-depth survey of schools in the designated area.

There are a variety of school institutions in Kolkata and our survey could cover the following types: the government aided schools which are managed and funded by the West Bengal Board of Primary Education, the KMCP schools which are managed and funded by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation, MadhyamikShiksha Kendra which are schools that came up around 2003-04 to provide for shortfall in access to upper primary education in government schools and are managed by the community; Shikshalayasschools which are schools that came about from a plan of action around 2000 to address the issues of out-of-school children in the spatial limits of the city of Kolkata, and the privately run schools.

Table: Types of schools in study area:

	Latest study commissioned by SSA (ward-wise directory of schools)	Our Population	Covered	School nos.
Govt Aided Upper Primary	8	7	6+1	10, 11, 15, 34 (adjoining ward), 37, 42, 44,
Govt Aided Primary	11	12	9	14, 19, 20, 28, 30, 31, 38, 41, 43
KMCP	5	5	3	9, 12, 16
Specified category (KendriyaVidyalaya)	1	1	1	26
MadhyamikShiksha Kendra	1	1	1	18
ShishuShiksha Kendra	1	1		
AIE other than Shikshalaya	1	1		
Shikshalaya (AIE)	10	10	9	13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 32, 33
PRIVATE	17	31	10	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 36
	55	**69**		
Madrasah (adjoining ward)			2+1	27, 35, 39 (from adjoining ward)
			43	

*School40 captures the basic background to schools: 41, 42, 43, 44 as all these are under the same trust

4.3.3 PROBLEMS WITH DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis

The study was dependent on qualitative analysis. The data collection tools were so designed to incorporate diverse elements from the processes in a school and covered: classroom observations; teacher interviews; observations of assembly, observations of school surroundings, and so on. Though these tools which were designed to facilitate the observations of processes had accompanying checklists, the checklists were intended more as supportive tools to map the extent of completion of different aspects of school observations rather than as end-instruments in themselves.

The above made it imperative that we work with a research team that would be thoroughly briefed about the instruments and the processes that were intended to be covered. In order to facilitate this, day-long workshops were carried out with the research team in July 2011. It was decided smaller research teams of 2-3 members would be created to balance the unevenness of exposure to educational processes and qualitative data collection in the larger team that was available from the support organisation.

However, the above plan could not be adhered to for the actual data gathering process. This has led to substantial gaps in the data for purposes of meaningful analysis:

1. There were gaps (missing values) in specific fields across a number of schools surveyed which made meaningful comparisons difficult. This was especially difficult in terms of comparisons within 'designated types of schools' (private, government aided, etc.) where the total number of schools within each category were itself few.
2. Even where data was available, the difficulty of standardizing/normalizing this could not take place as the interpretation of research team of particular fields seemed to be different (e.g. while for some schools data on personnel in school was in terms of sub-categories, in other schools these were aggregated data without sub-categories, or where some sub-categories were missing). This made it difficult to calculate school personnel and student ratios.
3. There were discrepancies in terms of reporting of same data in quantitative and qualitative reports.

The available data has been entered in excel and also collated in the form of qualitative reports. This is shared as Appendix. Some preliminary ideas from the themes emerging from the qualitative reports are summarised below.

4.3.4 SOME THEMATIC ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are a variety of school types in Kolkata in terms of management and administration structure. At the primary level, there are government schools run by the West Bengal Board of Primary Education (WBBPE) as well as by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC). In addition there are private schools affiliated to the different boards – ICSE and CBSE – and also a number of KendriyaVidyalaya schools under the CBSE. Besides this, in recent years, there has been a proliferation of low fee paying private schools. With the management and funding of all government schools, whether they are run by the government, or government aided, or government sponsored, being under the West Bengal Board of Primary Education, there are no administrative differences between these schools.

At the secondary level, there are very few state government-run secondary schools in West Bengal. The majority of the schools are government-aided under the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education. In the few government-run secondary schools, both the funds and management are under the government while the government-aided schools are managed by separate managements at the school level without government interference and the school expenses such as salaries of school personnel and school related schemes are taken care by the government. Though the management of aided schools is supposedly free of interference from the Board, prior approval is required from the Board before appointment

of teachers and these approvals are a problem for the government-aided schools. There are therefore shortage of teachers in these schools and also the route of appointment of temporary teachers.

4.3.5 GOVERNMENT AIDED SCHOOLS

Sixteen government aided schools were covered under the survey; of these 7 were upper primary while 9 were primary.

All the aided upper primary schools come under the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education (WBBSE). Though there are very few secondary schools in West Bengal which are run by the state government, there is considerable variety even in terms of the types of schools which come under the WBBSE. The schools that predominantly come under WBBSE are non-government government-aided types. These schools do not levy any fees and the salaries of the teachers are borne by the State government. But there are also some Anglo-Indian schools, some schools which charge tuition fees and provide for teacher salaries through these fees but get aid in the form of Dearness Allowance from the government, some purely unaided fee-supported schools, and some government sponsored schools which have school managements that are partly nominated and partly elected.

There was considerable variation even among the government aided schools covered on a number of parameters. As can be seen from the table below, even basic facilities available differed quite significantly across schools.

Table: Government aided upper primary schools

Year of establishment	Lowest and Highest class/standard	Total student strength	Total number of teachers	Number of classrooms	Separate room for teachers	Other Facilities
1967	V to XII	1020	11	14	Available	Available: Water, Toilet, Computer Facilities; Science Labs Not available: Library
1952	V to X	230	6	6	Not available	Available: Water, Toilet
1947	V to X	152	9	10	Available	Available: Water, Toilet
1960	I to XII	980	26	6	Not available	Available: Water, Toilet
1952	V to XII	815	16	14	Available	Available: Water, Toilet, Library
1974	V to X	510	9	11	Available	Available: Water, Toilet, Library, Computer Facilities
1964	V to X	447	12	11	Available	Available: Water, Toilet, Library, Computer Facilities

There seemed a possibility of government aided schools optimizing on resources by having a number of schools located in the same premises but having different management committees, administration, and teaching personnel. For example, school42 and school44

were such a set of schools (along with school41 and school43) which were under the same Trust and run from the same premises. The facilities and resources available in such a situation seemed to be quite different from the other schools in the same category. As expressed by the school administrators, their ability to access maintenance funds for 4 schools and then being able to spend it on one building seemed to make such a resource-endowed and well-maintained scenario possible.

At one level the school clientele varied across schools, at another level there seemed to be significant variation among clientele groups accessing individual schools. Overall, predominantly, the parental occupational background seemed to be similar to that of the clientele availing facilities of the Shikshalayas, that is daily wage labour, vending, and casual labour. However, there was also a percentage among the parents who had small businesses and were engaged in lower level government services. A number of the aided schools reported a significant percentage of dropout in the high school stages as students from disadvantaged backgrounds opted for a pass certificate from the Class VIII examinations as a means of enrolling in technical courses oriented towards the job market. It would be interesting to pursue the school administration dynamics in the aided schools also in light of observations that headteachers in these schools have lesser control over teachers as the latter can take recourse of the Management Committees of the schools to bypass the control exercised by the headteachers. A number of the aided schools also reported the acute shortage of teachers in terms of government approvals and therefore recourse to temporary teachers. Also, while the curriculum and timetables indicated scheduling of classes on co-curricular activities (music, art and craft, physical education), in reality these classes were often appropriated for completion of the other subjects. The absence of both facilities and teachers also added to such a situation.

Table: Government aided lower primary schools

Year of establishment	Lowest and Highest class/standard	Medium of Instruction	Total student strength	Total number of teachers	Number of classrooms	Separate room for teachers	Other Facilities
1971	I to IV	Hindi	165	6	4	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water No playground
1974	I to IV	Urdu	85	6	2	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water No playground
1976	I to IV	Urdu	44	4	4	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water, Library No playground
1980	I to IV	Urdu	190	6	1	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water No playground
1952	I to IV	Bengali	196	8	5	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water No playground
1975	I to IV	Bengali	89	5	1	Not available	No basic facilities available
1973	I to IV	Hindi	185	8	4	Available	Available: Toilets, Water No playground
1974	I to IV	Hindi	311	11	5	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water, Library, Computer facilities No playground
1964	I to IV	Hindi	248	9	6	Available	Available: Toilets, Water, Library, Computer facilities No playground

There seemed to be both fewer and poorer facilities in the lower primary aided schools as compared to the upper primary aided schools. While playgrounds were not available in either of these schools, the water and toilet facilities were better in the upper primary with many of the lower primary aided schools toilet facilities being either common (for boys, girls and teachers), or having poorer maintenance and cleanliness. Similarly, availability of classrooms was constrained in the lower primary schools where it was found that often large hall spaces were segregated into classrooms in the absence of separate classrooms. Some of the lower primary aided schools did not seem very different from the unrecognized budget private schools in the same locality in terms of their basic school facilities.

4.3.6 PRIVATE SCHOOLS

There were 10 private schools that were covered: 8 low fee paying English medium schools, 1 Urdu medium school, and 1 elite English medium school.

UnrecognisedPrivate Schools

There were 8unrecognisedprivate schools that were covered: schools 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. All of these were English medium schools and most of these had been established in the last two decades. Besides English, both Hindi and Bengali were taught in the schools. The oldest school was one that was established in 1987 while the most recently established one was in 2010.

All of these unrecognized private schools were seen to be run as a family-enterprise. This was either in the form of an entrepreneur (both single entrepreneur or a husband-wife team) who had moved from or had other parallel business interests in the service sector, or in the form of family trusts running a chain of similar schools in the neighbourhood (including adjoining wards). Out of the 8 schools, in only one school was the school head different from the entrepreneur-owner of the school. Six of the eight schools did not have any separate Management Committees and in six of the eight schools the land/school building belonged to the owner-entrepreneur family/individual responsible for establishing the school while in two of these schools the owner-entrepreneur resided in the same building in which the school was located.

Table: Unrecognised budget private schools

School No.	Year of establishment	Management	Premises	Type of school	Lowest and Highest class/standard	Medium of Instruction
1	2010	husband-wife	rented	co-education	Pre-primary to II	English
2	2006	family	private	co-education	Pre-primary to V	English
3	2001	family	private	co-education	Pre-primary to VIII	English
4	1995	family	private	co-education	Pre-primary to VIII	English
5	1999	family	private	co-education	Pre-primary to II	English
6	1987, 2002, 2009	family	rented	co-education	Pre-primary to VII	English
7	2006	entrepreneur	rented	co-education	Pre-primary to VIII	English
8	1984	family	private	co-education	Pre-primary to V	English

Table: Unrecognised budget private schools

School No.	Medium of Instruction	Monthly fee	Total student strength	Total number of teachers + non-teaching staff	Number of classrooms	Separate room for teachers	Other Facilities
1	English	Rs. 200	80	5+2	5	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water, Library
2	English	NA	150	11+2	8	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water
3	English	NA	100	7+(?)	NA	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water
4	English	NA	70	6	5	Not available	No basic facilities available
5	English	NA	50	5+2	4	Not available	No basic facilities available
6	English	Rs. 500	80	6	8	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water
7	English	Rs. 130	260	12	5	Not available	Available: Toilets
8	English	Rs. 200	270	15	6	Not available	Available: Toilets, Water

Fee structure for these schools was not available uniformly. Self-reported data as collected by the field-team showed that the monthly fees of these schools ranged from Rs. 130 to Rs. 500. The entire range of these schools could be categorized as budget schools, unrecognized private schools or low-fee paying schools as they have been differently referred to in recent studies. Many of these schools reported that in spite of the minimal tuition fees that the schools charged, there were often parents who were incapable of paying even these fees or buying textbooks or uniform for their children. While a few of the schools reported negotiation of fees and waivers on such occasions, there were very few direct instances of observations from the data to substantiate this aspect. As one school report records, 'The parents of some [children] are quite near the poverty line. In spite of the minimal tuition fee that the school charges, some parents are incapable of paying that. Or even if they pay the fees, they cannot afford to buy the text books or the uniform. In those cases the school authority acts more leniently; sometimes the school compromises the fees of those children and charges less. There are also some children who get the service free of cost' (school3).

Children coming to these schools were predominantly from the local minority Muslim population with a small population from migrant Hindu families staying in the neighbourhood. Educational background of parents were noted to be not beyond that of school education with the male members mainly engaged in casual labour, informal service sector, and petty business in the neighbourhood. Mothers were reported to be mainly working as household help. The refrain of parents' disengagement from the schooling process was common across all these schools and school heads indicated a preference for interaction with mothers of their children in terms of them being more concerned with

day-to-day school processes. However, regular engagement of the parents with school processes was limited; not only in terms of strict one-way communication from the schools regarding disciplinary complaints about their children but also in terms of a 'socio-cultural distance' where parents were perceived to engage in a confrontationist mode with teachers of the schools.

All these unrecognized schools were located in smaller lanes within the ward and often in the midst of heavily populated residential neighbourhoods. A number of them were run in small 3-4 storey apartment buildings where the existing residential arrangements of each floor were re-organised into classroom spaces. Whether in independent spaces or in such apartments, the classrooms were not often clearly segregated with different classes running next to each without any partitions or with board-partitions which did little to prevent interference from adjoining classes. None of the schools had separate rooms for the teachers though most of these schools had a separate room for the head-teacher or school management.

In terms of school management, most of these schools seem to be specifically directed by the entrepreneur family which had established the school. Teachers seemed to be closely monitored, both in terms of absence of any separate space allocated for teachers in the school premises and in terms of surveillance equipment like CCTV cameras. Teachers appeared to have very little say in day to day processes and pedagogic practices differed from one school to the other based on the directions of the school management. For example, one school had the following: 'a question and answer book, hand written, photocopied and bound like a book. This contains answers to questions at the end of every chapter in the textbook. The questions are only those and the answers are prepared by the teachers. This guide book is for class IV. "It was a simple way to learn and mug the answers", the HM said (she used the word 'mug' a fair number of times!). It comprised questions and answers for history, geography, science and English literature and is given to every student. They do not have to buy; it is given by the school' (school 6).
The teachers for the schools were invariably local recruits with a high rate of teacher turnover. Each school seemed to have a number of temporary teachers/staff who could act as buffer in the absence of the regular teachers. In cases of family enterprises, these temporary members could as well be family members who could be recruited ad-hoc into supporting school processes as and when required: 'There are approximately 7 to 8 permanent teachers while the number of temporary teachers varies. Since it is basically a family affair, the majority of family members are largely involved in teaching, sometimes her nieces come and teach certain topics to the students, despite that occasional visits' (school 3).

4.3.7 SHIKSHALAYA (AIE CENTRES)

In the last two decades, a large number of programmes have been initiated in urban Kolkata to meet the increased demand for schooling which the formal system has not been able to cater to. These programmes are meant to provide community based educational service for out of school children and, therefore, supplement, the formal schools in areas where the formal system has not been able to expand. As a report by the Vikramshila Education Resource Society notes: "In the case of Kolkata metropolitan area, these programmes are functioning under following major schemes:i) Alternative Innovative Education Scheme for Deprived Urban Children, overseen by the state SSA: As part of this scheme, about 70 NGOs are operating learning centresacross the city, under various programmes, with support from a few nodal agencies that may oversee administration and technical support; ii) The ShishuShikshaKendras run by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation: These are managed completely by the KMC as part of 500 hundred such centres in urban areas across the state; iii) The open school system, or the RabindraMuktaVidyalaya (RMV) also supplements the formal school system through its network of study centres for upper primary school aged children" (VERS 2011: 17-18).

Under the first of this umbrella scheme is the Shikshalayaprogramme which started from a survey of out of school children within the city of Kolkata in 1999 followed by a strategy to address the large numbers that were thrown up by the survey. This is the largest sub-rpogramme under the umbrella scheme of the Alternative Innovative Education Scheme for Deprived Urban Children and "[a]t present there are 340 shikshalayacentres covering about 16000 children through approximately 630 teachers. The partners in the programme are: District Primary School Council, Kolkata; District SSA Committee; City Level Programme of Action (CLPOA- as a coordinating body); Academic Support Group (Loreto Day School, Sealdah); 65 NGOs (partners of CLPOA)" (VERS 2011: 20-21).

In our survey, there were 9 Shikshalayacentres (Alternate Innovative Education Centres – AIE centres) that were covered: schools 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 32, 33. All these centres catered predominantly to the local minority Muslim community from the most disprivileged sections. The fathers of the children were observed to be daily wage labourers and fruit and vegetable vendors, while the mothers were largely employed as household help. Many of the children in these AIE centres were first generation learners. It was interesting to see that in a number of the instances, the children enrolled in the AIE centres were also visiting other educational institutions – private Madrasahs, coaching centres run in convent schools, other AIE centres – in the neighbourhood after the AIE school hours. These observations bear out what has been noted in other reports on the AIE Centres in Kolkata: 'There is no overarching authority to oversee these programmes and

this often results in overlap and wastage. It is even more alarming that AIE centres are concentrated in mostly minority dominated locations, pointing to a shortage of formal schools in these locations followed by a rapid expansion of services by rent seeking organizations that may be taking advantage of the shortage of formal schools' (VERS 2011: 4)[5].

In terms of location and facilities, the AIE centres were seem to be the most ill-equipped for educational transactions. They were almost invariably located next to busy main thoroughfares with a high degree of sound pollution or in the most crowded and dingy quarters of the locality where local club houses could be rented cheap by the NGO running the AIE centre facility. All AIE centres were single room facilities (of a maximum size of around 250 square feet) with no extra space for teachers, different classes, or extra-curricular activities. Most did not have blackboards, furniture for children and teachers, toilets, or drinking water facilities. Again, this resonates with observations about AIE centres made in other studies: 'Most often, AIE centres are run in a resource poor manner and children are forced to study in cramped classrooms, taught by para-teachers receiving a fraction of the salary received by mainstream teachers. Overall resources and infrastructure continue to be at a 'bare minimum' and even basic facilities like mid day meal, toilets and clean drinking water are not available' (VERS 2011: 31). To compound the poor remunerative conditions of the teachers hired by the NGOs for the AIE centres, it was observed that NGOs often required the rent of the club spaces taken for running the AIE centres be paid out of the salaries of the teachers.

The pedagogic aspects of the Shikshalaya project being under the centralized supervision of the Loreto Day School, Kolkata, there seemed to be a regular training and overseeing mechanism in place. However, as was observed, this did not ensure uniformity of teacher engagement across AIE centres and there appeared to be considerable variation among the AIE centres in terms of the engagement of the teachers with respect to both community processes (regular visits to community and counseling of parents to send children to AIE centres) and teaching-learning processes within the AIE centres (use of TLMs, individual attention to children, facilitation of multi-grade teaching). One positive aspect of the AIE centres appeared to be the interest in education these centres could kindle among the siblings of the regular AIE centre children. It seemed that the AIE centres not only served as supplementary education providers for marginalized sections from poor neighbourhoods, but also as day-care centres for some of the children of the pre-school age.

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[5]VERS. 2011. *Alternative Innovative Education Centres – A vision for the post RTE Act 2009 Era*. Draft Report. Vikramshila Education Resource Society.

4.3.8 MADRASAHS

West Bengal has had a long history of madrasah education. The West Bengal Board of Madrasah Education was established in 1994 to oversee Madrasah Education. The website of the Directorate of Madrasah Education, Government of West Bengal, provides an idea of the significant growth in Madrasah Education that has taken place in recent decades[6].

There were three Madrasahs that were covered in the survey (schools: 27, 35, 39). However, almost 9 madrasahs similar to the one seen under school27 seem to be there in the area (see school35). The identifying characteristics were that most of these were single-room unrecognized madrasahs which were focused more on religious education with a single teacher who was generally a religious functionary from the nearest religious institution. Classes were conducted both in the early morning and late evenings and a more extensive survey could explore whether there are differences in terms of preferential enrolment by parents on the basis of gender; it seemed that there are possibilities of girls being predominantly confined to education in madrasahs while boys from the same families (poor Muslim families in urban neighbourhoods) having the option of also enrolling in a formal school. In terms of overall structure and facilities these madrasahs seem to be similar to the Shikshalayacentres surveyed in the locality except for the curriculum and pedagogical aspects. None of them had toilets or water facilities. This does not seem to be very different from the government Madrasahs which also lack in such facilities[7].

[6] http://www.wbmadrasahdte.gov.in/Profile_Growth.aspx
[7] http://www.wbsed.gov.in/wbsed/readwrite/75.pdf

5.DISCUSSION

This has been a complex and challenging study to conduct and only very preliminary insights gathered from the empirical data across the sites of study are summarized here.

5.1 Access to schools in general proved to be a very big challenge in this study. In Delhi, access to even government schools was refused. A concern seems to have emerged on account of numerous studies that have been critical of government schools making the department closed to allowing access to researchers. Considerable effort and time went into obtaining permission. In Hyderabad and in Kolkata this was not a problem. However in all cities, access to the private schools proved to be considerably difficult and ranged from openness to complete obstruction. The data that could be obtained from various schools was therefore a range. Not all field could be gathered in all schools. The absence of comment on this in studies that claim to have gained access to all schools to the point of also accessing fairly detailed data on financing as well as close to unfettered access to classrooms to observe presence and absence of teacher and the king of work teachers were engaged with, therefore needs some comment. If indeed studies are able to obtain such full access, they need to explain how this may have been possible.

5.2 Generally from the data in Delhi and in Hyderabad, it seems that there are fewer government schools in the secondary sector and also that fewer government schools are opening, while since the late 1990s, there are many private schools opening.

5.3 Schools in Hyderabad seem to be very homogenous, in Delhi school clientel seems to show a little more diversification, perhaps on account of the 25% reservation in private schools which is already operational. Importantly in the case of Hyderabad the poorest of the poor were being catered to by charitable institutions, not even government schools.

5.4 In Hyderabad most schools are Coed, while in Delhi, most private schools are coed, but in the government schools sector, we find both single sex and coed schools.

5.5 As expected the private sector is largely English medium, but in the case of Delhi it is of interest to note that there are hindi as well as both medium schools also operational.

5.6 School size wise, it is important to note that the PUU schools tend to be very small, with clientel less than 100 or 150 raising serious questions about their financial viability.

5.7

5.7 We are able to make few limited observations along the six quality parameters identified for the study.

1. Aims of education
   In the case of Hyderabad, schools seem to be catering to a range of educational aims. From focus on passing examinations and certification, to learning English, and consolidating

social and cultural capital. A larger numer of schools in Hyderabad are clearly oriented towards success in competitive examinations as the overriding aims of their educational work. All round development is the aim of very few schools. With regards children of the poor, where schools were functioning and practicing more progressive forms of pedagogy, there was also clarity of purpose towards enabling children to be independent in the short and long term and to learn to think for themselves. But in many other cases the aim seemed to be to 'domesticate'children and keep them under control.

In Delhi the presence of religious symbols in government and private schools was pervasive suggesting a passive transmission of the importance of religion through the school ethos. In Hyderabad there were a reasonable number of schools that did not have such religious symbols in public spaces of the school.

2. Provisioning/design/capacity.
   With regards provisioning of schools, only in the case of older schools were building that were chosen of institutional design with space for play etc. In the case of hyderabd this was true of very small number of schools. The conditions of a large numer of the private schools, particularly those catering to the lower SES groups was pathetic, poor ventilation and lighting, unhealthy neighbourhood, poor maintenance on the whole. It was depressing to note that with lower SES, the maintenance standards were poor. By and large the space provided to children was very very cramped. This again suggests that there is financial problems which lead to limiting the infrastructure provided to children from lower SES groups. It was a matter of serious concern that ther were many many schools where children remained indoors and in their classroom from morning till evening, with no movement permitted at all.

   We were not able to access systematic information regarding staffing in the school and especially with regards teachers. In fact information on teachers proved to be very difficult to establish in the private schools where there were frequently many types of teachers in employment and different arrangements operating.

3. Curriculum
   There was on the whole very limited diversity in the curriculum. In Hyderabad over 50% had nothing apart from the academic subjects in the timetable, and additionally close to 70% had very limited offerings.

4. Standards and achievement
   We were not able to gather systematic information on this important dimension of quality. We were able to gather internal school records in some schools with regards student performance. At first glance these seem to be reliable sources of information of student performance being maintained at the school level. However these have not been analysed. This dimension will be examined in more detail in stage 3 of the study.

5. Practice/Pedagogy. It was found in Hyderabad that pedagogic regimes in private schools represented institutional pedagogy cultures. In the case of the government schools these were more likely to be pedagogies at the level of the individual teacher and with a great deal of variation possible within the same institution. In Delhi there was more variation and pedagogies were established more at the level of individual teachers. The pedagogic regimes on operation the schools suggest to us that progressive pedagogies were found

more in the government schools as compared to the private schools. More of the private schools followed textbook based and examination based regimes and were focused on very retrograde practices around memorization. This was frequently on account of the medium of instruction being English.

6. Accountability
   All private schools sought to maintain interaction and the continued patronage of parents and a cajoling relationship so as to make sure that there was continued payment of fee was concerned. We did not find widespread accountability type practices
   Especially where children of the poor were concerned, there was a distinct tension palpable in all schools vis a vis the child's homes. The data still needs to be mined to bring out aspects of various forms of institutionalized interaction between home and school and management and teachers.

5.8 In the private school sector we found a wide range of provisioning, curriculum and pedagogies in the institutions. Simply being private did not provide us with insight into the type of curriculum or pedagogy or quality of infrastructure on offer. In the case of Hyderabad it seemed important to additionally understand the history and person of the school entrepreneur/owner and to find ways of characterizing these individuals. One of the key aspects which has emerged, but which still needs to be examined in details is with regards their onw professional qualification and experience—teachers, tuition teachers, coaching centres, entrepreneurs seem to lead to significant differences in pedagogic and institutional designs. The data will be further mined to bring out this feature.

5.9 Additionally there is limited data available on children's test performance within the school and this will be examined in more detail to comment on performance and standards. '

5.10 We did not find any evidence of systematic philanthropy in the private schools sector. There were charitable institutions with a specific mandate to cater to children of the poor and these did. In a few other cases reported, these were concessions towards specific religious groups offered on recommendation of a religious organization. Others were centrally concerned about fee collection and maintaining their clientel base and any concessions on offer arose out of this logic and not out of any philanthropic motivation.

This is a very limited discussion of the insights from this study. The data and the existing analysis will be mined further for more insights.

ANNEXURE A. ABBREVIATIONS:

PP	Pre-primary
PR	Primary
MDL	Middle (6^{th}-8^{th})
SEC	Secondary (9^{th}-10^{th})
SS	Senior Secondary (11^{th}-12^{th})
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
DoE	Directorate of Education
PUR	Private Unaided Recognized
PUUR/PUU	Private Unaided Unrecognized
E	Year of Establishment
R	Year of Recognition
P	Pedagogy
PR	Pedagogic Regime

ANNEXURE B: NOTES ON QUALITY IN EDUCATION

Padma M. Sarangapani

Discussion note for workshop on studying Qualityin Education held on December 17&18, 2010 at TISS Mumbai.

This note addresses the questions, "what do we mean by 'quality in education'? How do we make an assessment of quality in education? and why should we want to do so?" The last question must follow the first, because, it is our understanding of the conception of 'quality in education' which would provide us with a clue regarding its significance, and what can follow from such an understanding. In this note I will begin by laying out and developing a framework for quality in education for the Indian context. In order to do this, I will draw on basically four writers—JP Naik (1975), C.Winch (1996), K.Kumar (2010) and R. Alexander (2009)[8] . After this, I will discuss the problem of the 'unit for analysis' and finally take up for discussion the question of how we can assess quality.

'Quality in education' has to do with *making an assessment of the worthwhileness of a programme/system of education.* Assessment implies normative judgment. The purpose of the discussion on quality in education is definitely linked to the need to make such normative judgments and what follows as a consequence of judging quality. But it means first of all that a programme of education will have to described in a manner that is relevant from the point of view of assessing its worthwhileness. It is this requirement that requires both senses of the concept of quality as it applies to education—quality as the characteristics of a thing (noun) as well as quality as a measure of the degree of excellence (adj). The first requirement of assessing quality therefore is one of being able to describe programmes of education in a way that enables them to be understood and assessed comprehensively from the point of view of all those characteristics that are relevant to understanding their educational qualities and worth, and secondly render them comparable to each other[9]. Such a description and comparison allows for the possibility that educational programmes may vary from each other both in terms of type and degree. Ie., they may differ in terms of the manner of doing things as well as the extent to which something is done. Normative dimension of quality applies to both types of characteristics—what and how much ie, 'type' and 'degree'.

I will start with a discussion of Naik and Winch, both of whom seem to find the conception of quality a useful one and develop its scope. I will then taken up Kumar and Alexander who approach the conception more circumspectly and somewhat frugally. We can note upfront one key difference in the former and later groups of writers. For Naik and Winch, the 'public character' of education is

[8] I will also use Dhankar (n.d.)

[9] It is probably worth noting at this point itself, that there may be characteristics of programmes of education which are not important from the point of view of their educational worth, but which, nevertheless may account for or be important in understanding their social role and value.

central and necessitates the discussion on quality. They proactively seek to shape the contours of this concept. Kumar and Alexander seem to be concerned with retaining what they regard as central to education, within the quality discourse.

1. **'Quality in Education'—a Comprehensive, Master Concept?**

Naik wrote his book 'equality, quality and quantity' in 1975. This was about ten years after the publication of the education commission's report. In this book Naik reflectively engaged with the education *system* as it was unfolding in the country, post colonization and provided perhaps the first systematic discussion of the concept of 'quality' as is relevant to education. Naik probably intended that his discussion of equality, quality and quantity and the 'system' encompass the entire range of education from preschool to higher education. In many sections of the book there is a suggestion of this—especially in his concerns regarding relevance of current curricula and the form and status of secondary education, post secondary vocational courses of study, and the linkage of education to employment. [However, my own discussion may be limited to school (including preschool)].

Naik writes:

" In evaluation the 'quality' of an educational system as a whole or of any of its components (such as teachers or textbooks or a specific method of teaching and evaluation), it becomes necessary to discuss the following issues among others:

1. Ends and means—the significance and relevance of goals of education from the point of view of (a) the development of the individual in relation to him-self, nature, and society; and (b) development of the society itself. Moreover, since means are as important as ends, the methods used to achieve the goals of education will have to be subjected to the same rigorous scrutiny.
2. Capacity: very often, one is required to take a view about the potential of a given education system to achieve its content, structure, personnel, organization and finance.
3. Level of performance (or standards): here the main issues discussed related to the actual performance of the system from time to time on the basis of given criteria and techniques of measurement opted.
4. Efficiency: This involves consideration of the relationship between the actual performance of the system and its potential
5. Comprehensive Evaluation: …to take a *comprehensive* view of the education system or of one or more of its components from *every* point of view."
   (Naik, 1975:40-41).

Dissatisfied with discussion which use only the terms 'quality', 'standards' and 'efficiency', Naik defines 'quality' as a comprehensive or master concept and includes in it consideration of the following independent variables:

1. Significance—the judgment of the worthwhileness of the ends and means of an educational system.
2. Relevance—the relationship between the ends and means and individual and social goals of development.
3. Capacity—the potential of a system to achieve its goals.
4. Standards—the level of attainment of students in a given system.
5. Efficiency—the relationship between actual performance of a system to its potential. (ibid: 41-42).

Naik's approach is insightful and significant. He saw the need for any discussion of quality to include a judgment of the ends and means of education—both in relationship to significance and relevance. Further, he explicitly included social goals separate from the individual goals (which also include social ends) and clearly visualizes both kinds of purposes to be achieved by education—both the development of individuals and the development of society itself—this development of society would be in relation to equality. The dimension of relevance seems to have come up in relation to Naik's concern that a universalized system of education needs to revisit its goals and broaden its aims and curricula to include productive capabilities that are not narrowly focused on 'white collar' and 'non manual' forms of employment.

We can treat this 1070s formulation of 'quality' in education as one that arose out of the Indian context, and in relation to the need to be able to comment on the status of a 'system' of education and to chart policy thrust areas. We may also note that when 'Quality' entered formal policy discourse as separate from the concern of 'access', in DPEP, it was *not* the master concept that Naik had in mind, but only with reference to achievement of 'minimum standards' (Sarangapani, 2010), and efficiency.

Winch (1996) is perhaps the only existing systematic discussion of the current notion of quality—which acknowledgedly has entered into education as a part of the ascendency of neo-liberal politics. Winch accepts the validity of the key notions of 'accountability' and 'interest groups' which are central to neo-liberal approach to public services, but argues they are integral to liberal democracy and the increasing democratic scrutiny of public services. Further he takes the view the engaging with the concept of 'quality' can reshape discussions of educational worthwhileness in meaningful ways. For Winch, the discussion on quality becomes essential on account of the 'public' character of education. Firstly, Winch engages with the idea of 'accountability'. The neo-liberal arguments for accountability emerge on account of the utilization of tax-payer money in education. Winch extends this to include not only the stewardship of finances, but also the political and moral dimensions. Accountability is a valid dimension of quality as students and teachers give their time and effort for education, and hence there is need to ensure that this is not wasted. This form of the principle of accountability also applies to pupils towards each other and towards the teacher, as well as the teacher towards children and government towards teachers, etc. The concept of 'interest groups' is shown to be far more complex than the dichotomy between consumers and producers which is the terminology of the 'market'. It includes those being educated (learners),

those responsible for those who are being educated (often parents/care givers), state, tax-payers (both individuals and corporate bodies) and government.

Winch develops a framework for quality in education which includes:

1. Aims—as education is purposeful activity. Winch argues that education must be recognized as a complex activity, and that there is need to take a broader view of aims than is common in the liberal tradition and include economic growth and social cohesion as valid purposes. In other words, the criteria for assessing the educational worthwhileness of aims need not be narrowly confined to the liberal tradition, but may accommodate wider interests. Winch points out that aims of education need to be arrived at through political processes and need to reflect political consensus achieved. The broadened notion of interest groups informs both the 'educational aims'—allowing for diversity—as well as 'accountability'.
2. Curriculum—the plan for the accommodation and achievement of diverse aims.
3. Standards—the existence of an appropriate 'measuring rod' or criteria of judgment. Winch argues strongly that at least in some areas, for example academic achievement, which is an important outcome, there can be consensus on the standards that should apply, that these standards can be used, and performance judged against them, and compared.
4. Practice—the pedagogic work of the school and the teacher, both of which are recognized as being educational because they are not merely technique, but are imbued with value.
5. Accountability—the scope and practice of accountability is redefined with reference to financial, political and moral requirements and in relation to different interest groups.

In a later essay on quality Winch (2010) argues that outputs (measured against standards) cannot, by themselves, constitute a judgment of quality. Not only does this mean that they must be discounted in relation to what they have added (or 'value add'), they must been taken *along with* the process through which they have been achieved.
In Winch's conception of quality in education, schools, located within a system (which includes political processes) are the sites of providing education, and it is with reference to schools, located within a system (which includes political processes), that quality in education will need to be understood. Winch discusses the problem of trying to 'comprehensively' arrive at a judgment of 'quality' of any institution, through any conceivable method. It would never be able to meet either the logical requirements of how one can arrive at such a judgment, nor would it meet the requirement of objectivity—given the time constraint and the processes through which it would be expected to function. Having said this, he find that systems such as 'inspectorates', rather than trying to meet formal requirements of assessing standards, etc., may serve a useful function if they are focused on parts and on particular institutions, etc. , rather than trying to provide 'comprehensive' commentaries on quality (learning standards and quality, teaching quality etc.).

A striking similarity in the manner in which both Naik and Winch develop their conceptions of quality in education is the centrality of the idea of a 'national system of education'—ie education as a political project for which the state commits taxpayers money, and in which the state sees the formation of a public good. For both Naik and Winch, the state is a democratic state and which sees a universal benefit in education. This automatically requires them see education as a complex

process and to problemalitise the notion of **'aims of education'** as being politically contestable and in need of being broadened in order to respond to diverse interests. This not only means due consideration of social and economic aims in addition to individual ones, but it also of vocational in addition to liberal aims. Naik separates significance and relevance as two criteria against which aims must be judged.

Naik and Winch identify the planning process dimension for quality. Naik however looks at this in terms of 'capacity' which includes provisioning, while for Winch provisioning is not significant, but 'curriculum' is. Both curriculum and practice are somewhat underplayed in Naik's conception, which seems to have a greater focus on availability in the system of schools, classrooms, materials, and teachers. The possibilities of substandard learning quality (e.g. rote memorization) or pedagogy do not receive his attention. Winch separates the idea of standards from the performance against standards, Naik uses the term standards only to mean achievement/performance level. Winch does successfully make arguments against epistemic pessimism vis a vis standards, along with a later argument that however, this alone, without knowledge about process, cannot inform one about quality. Furthermore, Winch's arguments are restricted to (performance on) the academic subjects. It does not even extend to self concept as learner, in relation to the academic subjects. Winch has a more nuanced approach to the understanding of practice and also a recognition of the 'value' and 'dispositional forming' dimensions of education, and the need to see outcomes in relation to the process through which they were achieved, rather than in isolation. Naik's efficiency may be mapped onto the dimension of accountability, although the latter is more directly related to democratic requirements while the former seems too flow more directly from administrative/bureaucratic needs and only indirectly from democratic needs. Both agree that quality cannot be reduced to only standards/achievement on standards and accountability/efficiency. While Naik seems to believe that a comprehensive evaluation of quality is possible, Winch does not quite take up the question of what this may entail, but instead focuses on aspects such as school evaluation (which he finds problematic) and sees merit in focused assessements of particular dimensions. For both, educational worthwhileness has both an individual/personal and social dimensions. Naik is particularly concerned about the problem of equality—he effectively seems to arrive at a similar concern that equality requires diversification and the ability of a system to respond equitably to different interests, without attaching status and preference. The unit of analysis seems to be at the political system level—as being the logical point at which aims of education are negotiated and arrived at, and a 'system' put in place for their achievement. We may also notice that the 'school' as an institutional arrangement for the provisioning of education may have an educational sanctity in Winch's formulation (although he does not make this explicit). However, the school is surprisingly invisible in Naik's system.

In contrast to Naik and Winch, Kumar and Alexander seem to have a more focused and approach to quality. Krishna Kumar's (2010) writing on quality is in response to the contemporary discourse which he feels is built around thin ideas of 'outcomes', 'transparency' and 'accountability', and 'competitiveness'. He argues that these are neo-liberal agendas and are not the dimensions which are salient in giving activities their *educational* quality. Instead he proposes two dimensions as salient in conceptualizing educational quality. The first is the autonomy of the teacher (and by

extension, the control that a learner has) over the teaching-learning situation. This amounts to an understanding of where educationally relevant authority rests and how it is shared with teachers and children. The second dimension is to do with the skill and disposition building capacity of education, in relation to 'equality'—how does education address disadvantages that accrue on account of inequality (e.g. language, gender, etc.), and thereby increasing freedom by removing restraints, than the opposition of quality (as excellence) with quantity which is relation to competitiveness. Kumar's characterization of quality is at the level of the school and at the level of the system. Both the key dimensions he chooses as characterizing a programme of education/school/system for an understanding of its quality are significant from the point of view of the Indian context. Ie. *the authority of the teacher in relation to the system and control of the child*, and the *school/programme of education's explicit ability to address and deal with inequality* in Indian society. From Kumar's paper it is difficult to decide whether he intends that these should be taken as individual school characteristics/characteristics of pedagogy which would vary from institution to institution, or as 'systemic characteristics' which would vary at the level of educational systems. More likely the latter. The two characteristics seem to have the quality of 'indicators'—of the 'quality/health of an education system'.

Kumar also seems to approach educational outcomes as 'valued' on account of their being primarily positional rather than possessed of intrinsic worth. They may have intrinsic worth as well, but that in itself is not key to or the crux of the quality question. He seems to be suggesting that educational effort should be directed at addressing inequalities which may alter the acquisition of positional goods through processes of schooling. He therefore seems to be more concerned with the need to ensure that social goals are met in the process of education, rather than social goals *through* any intrinsic qualities of education. His formulation allows one to keep the content and process of education outside considerations of quality and instead to focus on participation and achievement to be examined on the axis of achieving equality.

The last writer I will discuss is Alexander. Alexander identifies pedagogy as central to educational worthwhileness. Pedagogy is imbued with purposes and meanings, and is not mere technique. Further he argues that a *full* understanding of pedagogy is necessary to be able to characterize fully how going to school and being taught produces education.

> "Teachers develop procedures for regulating the complex dynamics of pupil-pupil relationships and the equality of law, custom, convention and public morality in civil society. … Further, teachers and teaching convey messages and values which may well reach beyond those of the particular learning tasks which give a lesson its formal focus." (ibid: 31)

Alexander tries to make an argument for acknowledging culture, and therefore to begin with description and later move to judgment. He also regards the act of teaching as only one facet. The 'act' of teaching takes place in the 'form' of lessons and is 'framed' by space/resources, student organization, time, curriculum and routine, rule and ritual. Further, pedagogy has an ideational dimension—at the level of the classroom: the ideas which enable teaching (about students, learning, teaching, curriculum) the system: ideas which formalize and legitimize teaching (about school, curriculum, assessment and other policies) and at the cultural/society level: ideas which

locate teaching (about community/family attitudes and mores, culture, and self/identity). Although Alexander argues for an approach to understanding pedagogic quality in culturally sensitive ways, he does privilege interaction between teachers and pupil and the use of language in the classroom as especially important in education and in giving pedagogic experiences an educational worth from the point of view of students learning. As such it is not clear what is gained from invoking the concept of culture in the study of quality of education. Instead one may agree that context (in the sense of a political system) is important as aims and purposes of education would differ from context to context. What he calls 'culture' perhaps could be better understood as one of several competing ideologies on the what and why of worthwhile education, schools and pedagogy.

Neither Kumar nor Alexander starts with a comprehensive approach to quality. And although the idea of purposes of education is important in their formulation of what would contribute to understanding quality, the scope of their conception is not developed in response to any democratic requirements, nor the 'public' character of education. Again, although they are concerned with aims and purposes of education, neither has a view about the need for standards or accountability/efficiency dimensions. Yet, they do arrive at a conception of quality which extends to include systemic considerations, intentions and ideas, aims and curriculum, along with actual practice, but which is nevertheless anchored on teachers and teaching. What is significantly missing is the question of standards and performance against standards, and of accountability. Alexander directly articulates a point that is implied in Winch, that there are levels of needs within a system for assessments of quality, and one need not approach conceptualizing quality, nor assessing it, as if the same information as well as same standards of 'objectivity' and 'reliability' be applied across all levels. Table 1 presents a comparison of these four frameworks.

The limitation of the conception of quality in current Indian education policy discourse was discussed and criticized in three essays carried in CED 7(1). Velaskar (2010) berated the displacement of the centrality of the idea of 'equality of educational opportunity' as an aim, and its replacement with 'quality'—as a reduced and tokenistic commitment to equality. Pappu and Vasanta (2010) criticized the class biases in existing conceptions of quality, especially with regards childhood, the place of work in the life of the child, and assumptions regarding role of parents. I expressed a frustration with the formulation of 'quality' in Indian education policy discourse of large scale programmes in elementary education, Sarangapani (2010), that it seemed to be reduced to the question of either achievement levels alone, or of standards of provisioning, and with an undue emphasis on the dimension of efficiency (cost effectiveness)—as if the concept of quality was to be applied only to government schools (schools for the poor), and one could then approach it with a reduced expectation vis a vis aims of education—as having to deliver literacy and numeracy. The extent of these limitations becomes evident against the scope of the concept of quality discussed above. The above discussion however also provides one with an idea of the 'work' that the concept will have to do, in the Indian context[10].

10

We seem to have 'arrived' at the concept of quality in education through a process of discussion rather than by definition. This tells us something about the concept itself. Like the concepts 'play' or 'living', 'quality in education' is a concept from natural and everyday language rather than a definitional one. It has several characteristics; perhaps we could argue that all of them are necessary, but none, clearly is sufficient. Possibly, the concept also is best modeled as a 'prototype' concept, rather than a definitional one. The dimensions of quality must be used to describe an educational unit on the range of its characteristics and its quality reviewed, rather than measured.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION (DHANKAR, N.D.)	
EDUCATIONAL IDEALS AND VALUES	EQUALITY AND JUSTICE, SENSITIVITY AND VALUES, REASON AND AUTONOMY, SOCIO-POLITICAL CONCERNS, ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES	
a. Quantum of learning:	Concepts, information, rules and principles
b. Clarity and depth of understanding:	Conceptual clarity, interconnections, real life examples, counter examples
c. Capabilities for independent learning and investigation	Ability to investigate, Use in further learning, Creative application in problem solving
d. Attitude to learning:	Intellectual honesty and courage, desire to learn, appreciation of value of knowledge, self confidence
e. Sensitivity and value	Sensitivity to others, cooperation, fairness, self-respect, respect for others
EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES	
a. Efficacy:	In terms quantity of learning, in terms of development of ability
b. Ethical acceptability:	Absence of physical punishment, absence of humiliation, emotional independence, absence of fear
c. Engagement of the learner	Enjoyment, active involvement, concentration.
d. Cost-effectiveness	Learner time and efforts, teachers time and efforts, resources needed

Table 1. Compraison of the frameworks.

Dimensions of the concept of quality in education	Naik	Winch	Kumar	Alexander	Dhankar	GMR?
Aims of education--individual and social	Significance of means and ends And relevance of means and ends—individual and social Sys	Aims—(political process) Sys-Sch & interested grps	Addressed to alleviate effects of inequality Neither significance nor relevance of aims –not intrinsic educational worth of aims. Sys-sch	At both ideational/intent and formal and actual manifested. Societal/cultural/ systemic/school institution and classroom, and also teacher and teacher education.	Selection of aims—social and personal	Literacy and numeracy for all.
Provisioning/ Planning	Capacity (includes conception of curriculum but also planning and provisioning of infrastructure and teaching as well as access)					Regarded as enabling quality, but not itself indicative of quality
(Curriculum)		Curriculum—the plan for pedagogic activities for achieving educational aims. Sys-sch				
Standards and assessment	Meeting standards Sys (ind St)	Standards-and outcomes Sch (ind st)	--	---	Standards for quality of learning	Both are important
'Valuable' practice		'valuable' practice Sch-T-Sys	Teacher author-pupil control;'value' based and moral Sys-sch	Practice imbued with educational purpose & value Sys-ind T		Trained teachers
Accountability/ Efficiency	Efficiency Sys	Accountability sys	--	---	Standards for processes	Accountability to community and cost effective

2. ‘system’-‘school’-‘practice’: what is the unit of analysis?

There is a sense implied in the usage, ‘quality of education’, as applying to a programme/course or relatively long-term deliberate engagement with learners, with particular institutional arrangements, organization, involvement of people, including teachers, activities of teaching-learning and assessment. In other words, a ‘system/programme of education’ is an instantiation of the provisioning of education, and the characteristics which are relevant to the question of ‘quality of education’ involve the characteristics of this instantiation: why, where, who, what, how and how much. It would therefore include ideas/intent, planning and practice/real.

What is the relevant ‘instantiation’, carrier of education—ie the ‘unit of analysis’ of quality of education? Is it the ‘education system’ which is assessed and described for its qualities (understood as a political system with a particular views of an commitments to education)? It is an individual school?, Is it a school understood in terms of the sum of its practitioners and practices? Is it a system of schools under an education administrative structure (e.g.in the case of government schools)? Or is it a school along with its management/board (e.g.in the case of a private school)? Is it a Board of Education with all the schools that it oversees and regulates? Or is it a Department of Education, inclusive of all types of schools that it regulates? Is it a political system that gives itself an act such as the Right to Education?

Although arrived at differently, in all the four frameworks—Naik, Winch, Kumar and Alexander—the concept of quality of education seems to be relevant at the level of an ‘education system’. The term ‘system(1)’ is used here in the sense of a particular educational programme/provision vision or plan—what, what type, where, how, how much, for whom, by whom, when, how long. This is different from (tho related to) the idea of a system(2) which is more common place which refers to a particular organization of institutions, people and practices for the purpose of delivery[11]. Quality of education refers to system(1). ‘System(1)’ is different from ‘school’. ‘School’ is a particular spatial unit with institutional arrangements, teachers, classrooms and children, the location of practice and the site where the day-to-day of education takes place. However, as we can see from our dimensions of quality (and the idea of a ‘programme of education’), ‘school’ may not by itself contain all that is relevant to understanding the educational characteristics of a programme of education, the provisioning of which, it is a part, and it has a part to play.

Insert figure 1: institutions-people-processes of the system.

[11]Are there better terms that could be used in place of system(1) and system(2)?

2.1 Education-system(1) (Can we call this a System(1)-to-school approach?)

A 'system(1)' which creates a programme of education not only translates aims into plan, curriculum and practice, but also, at least in the Indian case, may in fact be forging a working consensus on aims of education which would be its guiding purposes. Such a system may coincide with a school, in the case of a private school managed by a trust or set up by an entrepreneur. But it may also encompass a set of schools—in case there is a trust managing several schools, which may be at several levels, or a chain of schools, etc. In the case of government run school again, the Morarji schools in Karnataka, which are all run by a society would constitute such a system. In other words, it is a 'system of education' which would contain all the dimensions and characteristics that have been discussed under the concept of quality—ie aims, capacity, curriculum, standards, practice, accountability—and not the unit of the school per se.

However, we do recognise that the unit of 'school' may be particularly important in understanding practice and teacher's work, and we also realize think that there may be a special status for the school as an institution that needs to be understood and factored into separately in our considerations of educational worthwhileness. Could we argue that aims, capacity/provisioning, curriculum, standards, practice and accountability are all relevant at the levels of system, school and individual teacher/classroom? And could those aspects which are 'more than school' and contributing to system(1) be located in the governance structures e.g. administration, management, board. (see figure 2) ?

Figure 2

SYSTEM	Teacher
	School
	Admin/Mgmt/Board

In other words, would the assessment of quality require us to engage with a matrix of characteristics as illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: Dimension of quality of education

Quality of SYSTEM Ideas-and-practice	Administration/mgmt/board	School	Teacher/classroom
Aims			
Provisioning/capacity			
Curriculum			
Standards			
Practice			
Accountability			

While we may be certain that the assessment of quality of education would be for an education system, but, would we be able to provide an assessment of *quality of education* of a school or teacher—we may provide an assessment (or more likely a partial assessment) of one of the characteristics, as clearly system, school and teacher are not independent of each other but are interacting sites, and their characteristics are likely to be understood only if we allow for interaction and mutual influence. Each is constitutive of and constituted by the other. E.g. the schools accountability for the appropriate use of teacher's effort may be determined, or at least constrained, by systemic factors.

a. **School-as-system.** (Could we call this the school-to-system approach?)

There are arguments to be made in favour of keeping the unit of analysis for understanding a programme of education as the 'school' and not 'system(1)' or 'pedagogic-work/teacher/classroom', and to discuss the relationship of the unit of school with the pedagogic-work/teacher/classroom and the level of system. Firstly, it is the 'school' and not 'system' that is the legal unit (recognized by RtE, requiring NOC etc), and also it is the school that has a physical existence. Further, educational purposes which are under consideration in this discussion on quality are realized through a process of schooling and by going to school. i.e. both the individual and social aims of education which are the purposes of programmes of education, are realized through schooling. Schools, and not individual classrooms, are given the responsibility of providing educational programmes. The 'classroom' is a part of this programme, albeit an important part. Some questions that need to be clarified are regarding whether the school can be understood in terms of the sum of its classrooms/ or average classroom, and in terms of the sum of its individual students and their achievements/ or their average achievement. So also the system is important in how it enters into and shapes the educational worth of a programme of education offered by a

school. Perhaps the relevant unit is school-with-teacher-in-system as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3:

Pedagogic-work/practice

SCHOOL (as a system)

admin/management/board

3. **Approaches taken in selected existing empirical studies**

In this section I will examine the approaches taken in existing empirical studies both to the conception of quality and to the unit of analysis. I will then examine the approach to the definition of quality as well as the unit of analysis in the NCERT quality monitoring format and the UNICEF quality tool.

As we can see from the nine studies summarized in tables 3 and 4, three dimensions have dominated studies of quality—achievement test scores of children in mathematics and language, school infrastructure and teacher absence. Almost all the studies are set out within the government schools vs. private school framework, and are basically aimed at comparing these two sets of schools around a limited set of 'indicators'. The studies provide a limited sense of the scope of understanding quality in a comprehsensive manner. They rely largely on our commonsense understanding of schools and school types to relate these singular characteristics to conjure up a sense of 'quality'—this includes ideas relting to the processes of schooling etc.

Table 4: (tobe completed with ref to table 3)										
Indicator/proxy		Govinda and Varghese	Anitha	Jalan &Panda	TDG	EI2010	TD 2007	Mehrotra and Panchamukhi	Kramer and Muralidharan	Srivastava
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Community involvement	school	yes	yes	no	no	no		no	no	yes
infrastructure	school									
Length of school day	school									
Multi-gradedness	school									
PTR	school									
student attendance	school									
Teacher absence	school									
teacher activity	teacher									
Teacher practice type	teacher									
Teacher motivation/attitude	teacher									
Pupil achievement	student									
Enrollment by gender	student (equity)									

Table 3:

			Unit of analysis	Qualities examined
1.	Govinda and Varghese (1993)	Rural Government Schools, MP	School—class IV	(1) Achievement test on class IV.
2.	Anitha (2005)	Rural Government Primary Schools, Karnataka	School—class IV(teacher and practice)	(1) Standards achieved in numeracy and lit.y test (2) teachers pedagogic practice type (3) Teachers attitude and dfn of edu. Obj. (4) Average length of school day. (5) Student attendance
3.	Jalan and Panda (2010)	Rural Government Primary Schools, WestBengal	school	(1) Achievement test (2) Attendance (3) Dropout (expl) School and teacher characteristics School supervision Teacher training and other govt progs. Community participation
4.	Tooley, Dixon and Gomathi (2007)	Urban zones in Hyderrabad	school	(1) Teacher absence (2) Teacher activity (3) PTR (4) Infrastructure (5) Equity (gender in enrollment) (6) Medium of instruction (7) Parental preferance
5.	Education Initiatives (2010)	Government Schools in 20 states	School (as represented by classes IV,VI, VIII)	(1) Results on achievement test for lang. &math. (2) School infrastructure (3) Teacher practice (4) School characteristics
6.	Tooley and Dixon (2007)	Govt. Private unaided Recog and Pvt. Unaided unreco—East Delhi	School	(1) Teacher absenteeism (no absent on given day). (2) Class 4 teacher activity (3) Infrastructure (inputs) (4) Philanthropy (equity) (5) Gender in enrollment (equity)
7.	Mehrotra and Panchamukhi (2006)	All types of schools-village wise Raj, M.P.(UP), Bihar,	school	(1) Enrollment by gender (2) Teacher absence (3) Infrastructure esp. toilet for girls (4) Mono/multigrade

		WBengall, Assam, and AP and TN		(5) PTR (6) No of working days
8.	Kramer and Muralidharan (2007)	20 states—rural areas govt and private schools	school	(1) Teacher absence (2) Rating on Infrastructure index (3) Incidence of teacher dismissal for negligence (4) Multi-gradedness (5) Teacher pupil ratio (6) Class size (7) % of teachers engaged in teaching (8) Level of starting English (9) Pupil achievement
9.	Srivastava (2006)	2 UP private school	school	(1) Parental views
10.	ICEE studies (?)	'high performing' government school—case study	school	(1) Characteristics of school leadership etc.

4. What do we want to know about quality of education in the current Indian context?

In the light of the above discussions—both relating to how we conceptualise quality of education and the overview of existing studies on quality, we can now ask the question, what do we want to know about quality in the current Indian context and why?

4.1 How can a broadened conception of quality of education be empirically studied?

We would like to understand education programmes/system/institutions/schools with the broad and educationally defensible conception of quality that has been outlined above in section 2. This would constitute a distinctive difference in relation to existing studies of quality, which mostly examine a small set of dimensions some of which are only proxies and of uncertain signficiance from the point of view of 'quality of education'.

i.e as opposed to an approach that looks at:

1. Student academic achievement—by gender, rural urban, caste
2. Infrastructure
3. Teacher qualifications, gender
4. Presence of and use of teaching learning materials
5. Teacher presence and time on task,
6. Access, enrolment, completion, absence

We want to understand quality of education with the following dimensions:

7. Aims of education
8. Provisioning/design/capacity
9. Curriculum
10. Standards and achievement
11. Practice
12. Accountability

Most of these studies approach 'quality' as if it were a concern only of schools for the poor and the problem of 'sub-standard' education being on offer. The broad conception of quality extends across all types of institutions and would allow them all to be compared with each other, regardless of the social status of clientele. The objective would be to produce a description of quality of education, which would allow us to judge the educational worthwhileness of a provisioning of education (system providing an education programme) and also compare systems with each other.

4.2 What is nature and extent of educational diversity in the system, and why?

The Indian education system has always been a very diversified system—beginning from the period of British colonization. Historians of the early phase of the development of schools have noted the presence of many providers—private, missionary, and government as well as government aided, as well as more than one medium of instruction—vernacular or English. Further schools differd in terms of the level of education they offered—one distinction being primary, middle high, as well as the curricula they offered—vocational or 'academic' and also were sometimes segregated for gender, as well as residential or non residential. Schools were also affiliated to different regional boards of education which prescribed different curricula as well as provided different certifying examinations. This variety has only increased since independence. There may be several different boards of education and language policies within boards (especially vis a vis the place of English vs mother tongue). Minority institutions are regulated differently. In addition to the department of education, traditionally social welfare department has also had an involvement in education—setting up special schools for tribal children or SC children. More recently even within government there may be different typesrs of schools—government (municipal), model, sarvodaya, morarji, navodaya, and in addition several government supported pan Indian school systems such as KVs or schools of societies of public sector undertakings, such as Atomic Energy Schools, etc. Similarly the private sector of schools is diversified, not only in terms of the level of fees charged, but also in terms of management structures and multiplicity of schools, as well as school chains, including schools run by NGOs and also by other private entrepreneurs which may not even be recognized as schools. etc. This is a mind boggling variety in types of schools and complex relationships to state departments of education as regulatory authorities and boards of examination as certifying authorities. Our understanding of the educational characteristics of this range of schools is very limited. Often only very broad typologies are offered and followed in existing studies, using very broad categories such as government, private, or only by medium of instruction, or only in terms of rural, urban, and thus giving us very limited understanding of the variations in the characteristics of these institutions and the quality of the education they provide.

The first question we would like to address ourselves to is the mapping of the educational characteristics of the diversity of institutions, as is relevant to the conception of quality. Our approach would be able to arrive at the significant aspects of similarities and differences between school and provide us with the possibility of revisiting whether the current dominant typology of government and private, or government, government aided and private, is significant one from the point of view of educational quality.

4.3 Is the private sector renegotiating educational aims?

It would also enable us to revisit the manner in which 'aims' in education may be getting renegotiated in public and private spaces, so that this and not only 'achievement standards' may enable us to understand school diversification as a social phenomenon in relation to educational aims. It may also enable us to reflect on the extent to which schools have moved away from the aims of the traditional education system that catered to the middle class and are negotiating both the aims of education and curricular requirements that are emanating from policy and boards of education and those that are emerging from politics and from parent communities. The neo-liberal climate too has led governments of some states to deregulate schools to a greater extent. The manner in which this has produced/contributed to the emergence of new aims in education can also be examine. In the course of this investigation we may be able to separate those characteristics/aims that are found desirable on account of their educational value, and those that are found desirable for other reasons—convenience, status, etc. being some possible values. These distinctions are important in understanding and interpreting 'school preferences' and 'school selection' by parents.

4.4 What is the 'locus of quality of education' in different educational institutions/systems?

In other words, as we try to characterize quality of education of a school, what are the sites to which we will have to go? To what extent are we able to characterize the quality of education within the school itself, and to what extent do we have to refer to institutions, spaces and processes outside the school? Is the locus of quality a significant differentiating factor between quality of different education school-systems?

4.5 How and to what extent does the RtE directly affect the quality of education in different schools?

In the context of RtE, there is an increased pressure on the state to provide access to schools, for the state to regulate schools more actively as well as for all schools to now provide access to underprivileged social groups and thus become more heterogenous. The impact of these on the diverse types of schools—their response to the RtE clauses as well as the manner in which the RtE may reconfigure their educational characteristics are also important subjects of study.

4.6 Who goes where and why?

What is the basis of the differentiation of clientel of different schools? To what extent and in what form do 'quality' considerations enter into school selection? To what extent do non quality related attributes of schools—positional attributes, cost, etc. contribute to school selection?

4.7 Quality, Market, State, Culture, History?

If there are variations and differences in quality of schools, to what extent can these be attributed to the 'market' and to what extent can they be attributed to State, or 'Culture' or 'history'?

To summarise, the seven questions which will inform the study are listed below. There may be more.

7. How can a broadened understanding of 'quality of education' be empirically studied?
8. What is the nature and extentof education diversity and why?
9. Is the private sector renegotiating educational aims?
10. What is the locus of qulaity
11. How and to what extent is RtE impacting on quality?
12. Who goes where and why?
13. To what extent can variations be understood in terms of market, or state, or culture or history?

5. Finally the question, how shall we study quality of education?

1. 'unit of analysis'—school or system.
2. Need to make defensible judgments—the related problem of 'subjectivity'.
3. Not checklist
   The problem of 'chunking' or 'level' of an attribute….
4. 'proxies'/indicators
5. Necessarily selective within each domain/dimension—but selecting what and why?

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ANNEXURE C: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IN THE CONTEXT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA[12]

Archana Mehendale

Discussion note for workshop on studying Qualityin Education held on December 17&18, 2010 at TISS Mumbai.

Since the past couple of decades, proposals for 'Public Private Partnerships' (PPP) in elementary education have surfaced obliquely in various forms at both the national and the state levels. The debates surrounding these have not only focused specifically on the content of these proposals per se but they have also pitched the discourse to include issues having larger implications on the aims of national education system, on how education is structured, financed and monitored and who has the legitimate claim to occupy and share the education space in contemporary times. This draft note is prepared in order to present some preliminary observations and questions about the role of public and private in elementary education. It focuses on three areas:

1. The notion of public and private in the policy and legal framework on elementary education starting mid '80s
2. The regulatory frameworks within which private sector operates
3. An exploration of the fine line that has been created between decentralization and privatization in the education system

The discussion on these three issues is left discrete at present and the inter-relationships between these remain to be understood.

1. The notion of public and private in the policy and legal framework on elementary education starting mid '80s

A policy generally refers to a statement of intention or action formulated by an authority which is in response to an issue of public interest, problem, need or entitlement. The policy field of elementary education in India can be characterized by a humongous maze of policy directives on education, issued by various governmental authorities, having different jurisdiction, and with different levels of justiciability and binding values. In this section, I have tried to look at a cross section of the key policy texts, primarily those adopted by the Government of India with the parliamentary approval. A review of the National Policy on Education, 1968; the National Policy on Education 1986 with revised formulations in 1992 shows that although these national policy texts were adopted

[12] Initial draft prepared by Archana Mehendale for discussion at TISS workshop on 17-18 December 2010. For internal circulation only.

primarily to express the aims, plans and modalities by which the government intended to achieve the goals it laid for itself, the policy texts also saw a role that could be played by various non-state actors within the larger framework for education laid down by the government. In other words, what seems to emerge from studying the national policy documents is that the central government determined the policy narrative, main cast was to be played out by central and state governments while the non-state actors formed the supporting cast. The different kinds of non-state actors that were identified and the roles and tasks that were assigned to them for fulfilling the goals enunciated in the national policies included:

- Responsibility of the 'special schools like public schools' to admit children on merit and set aside free-studentship to prevent segregation of social classes (NPE '68)
- Establishment of autonomous book corporations on commercial lines (NPE '68)
- Responsibility of voluntary sector to provide education to disabled children
- Responsibility of conducting mass literacy campaigns placed on various civil society actors such as political parties, mass organizations, mass media, educational institutions, voluntary agencies, social activists and employers (NPE revised 1992)
- Responsibility of providing non-formal education assigned to voluntary agencies who were entitled to receive funds from the government (NPE revised 1992)
- Involvement of local community in early childhood care and education programmes (NPE, 1986)
- Responsibility of establishing vocational courses and institutions on government and employers of public and private sector (NPE, 1986)
- Responsibility of teachers' associations to uphold professional code of ethics and oversee its observance (NPE, 1986)
- Role of local communities in school improvement (NPE, 1986)
- State would prevent establishment of institutions that commercialise education (NPE, 1986)
- Mobilisation of funds using local resources and the Government and community together to find funds for universalisation of education, ensuring equality of opportunities, liquidating illiteracy etc. (NPE, 1986)

We find that firstly, there is little continuity between the three policy texts (NPE 1968, 86 and 92) with regards to the role of non-state actors. For instance, references to involvement of communities in mobilizing funds came in 1986 without any reference to it again in 1992 when India had started to liberalise. The obligation of the private schools to provide free studentships to prevent social segregation did not even find a mention in the NPE 86 or its revisions of 1992. This has now got re-introduced as a reservation of 25% for disadvantaged under the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE Act) but interestingly, not as a means to give effect to what was committed in 1968 but as an extension of the compulsion brought by Delhi High Court on private schools in Delhi. Secondly, the government was able to discern the unique value that each of the non-state actors brought with them and therefore provided a different role to each one of them without lumping them all together in a generic category or a 'hold-all basket' called the private. This has seen a change in the recent times when the government has conveniently lumped all non-state actors in one category called the 'private', thereby glossing over their individual aims, politics and contributions. Thirdly and related to the above, the policies used a differentiated approach with non-state actors i.e. restriction and regulation of private schools so they do not commercialise and

encouraging, partnering and relying on voluntary organizations to fulfill the goals set by the policy. Even within the private sector, the private schools were to be regulated and private enterprises were obliged to contribute to the vocationalisation project. In some sense, the voluntary organizations were seen to fill in the gap in state functioning and reach the 'out of reach' children and communities while the private schools and private enterprise were seen to provide choice and efficiency. Fourthly, the policy texts prescribed such roles for non-state actors to take on which the state itself did not have the competency or capacity to deliver on; for instance, education of disabled, non-formal and vocational education etc; or, in other instances, when the non-state actor in the state's own opinion was more suitable to deliver it. However, it is not clear on what basis did the state make such assessments of competency- of its own lack of expertise or about the capacities of the non-state actors. It is not clear from my current reading if the participation of the non-state actors including private institutions in the policy formulation process in consultative capacities could have contributed to this nuanced role assignment.

Further the policy texts reveal that within elementary education, the state (central government) clearly saw its own primacy as given, with the responsibility of establishing a national system of education and creating a national educational purpose. Although education was a state subject at the time the 1968 policy got formulated (resulting in some protests from the state governments), the acceptance of the state as the key player in the education space was undisputed. In fact, the aims of education were propounded in such a manner (especially in the 1968 policy) that it established the primacy of the state in giving effect to the same. The main aim of the 1986 policy revised in 1992 was 'to promote national progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture and to strengthen national integration' (Para 1.4) and build human resources with 'education as a unique investment' (Para 2.4). Surprisingly, we find that the primacy of the role of state in national education that was established in these policy documents has not been revised subsequently, although there have been significant departures from this position.

Some of the changes that have had a bearing on the policy positions (although not directly on the national policy texts that have been adopted by Parliament) have been a result of push-pull factors operating at domestic and international levels. The Education for All initiative launched at the World Conference on Education for All by the international agencies such as UNESCO, World Bank, UNDP and UNICEF prepared a ground for multi-stakeholder action in the education arena. A review of the Declaration adopted during the conference indicates the following:

- It posited the problem of illiteracy as a problem that impacted all countries of the world, particularly in the light of mounting debt burdens, rising population growth, economic disparities, war, violence and environmental degradation.
- It observed that the regional and local education authorities cannot be expected to supply every human, financial and organizational requirements for ensuring education for all, thus necessitating new and revitalized partnerships between government and families, local communities, private sector, NGOs, religious groups etc.

- It held that if basic learning needs have to be met, resources would have to be mobilized from government, private and voluntary sources. Further, resources from international community need to be mobilized to supplement domestic resources.

The Education for All (EFA) was signed by India and this was also followed by a conference of nine High Population countries in New Delhi which saw the adoption of a Delhi Declaration (1993). Like the EFA, This Delhi Declaration also saw education as a 'societal responsibility' and called upon the international community and international financial institutions to support countries achieve the objectives. This was followed by a governmental decision to receive external grants for programmes on elementary education and although this was approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education, it did not lead to amendment of the national policy. In fact, the authority of the executive to ratify international instruments without a prior approval from the Parliament has also been questioned recently. Since then, the elementary education sector in India has been dominated by large central government schemes/programmes with the objective of ensuring education for all starting from District Primary Education Programme to the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. An examination of these programmes reveals a range of roles that were envisaged for non-state actors:

- Management: Participation of non-state actors (including experts, voluntary agencies, etc.) was provided in the structure of the implementation societies itself that were responsible for managing and implementing the programmes at the state level.
- Implementation: some of the components of these programmes such as delivering innovative and alternative programmes for 'hard-to-reach' children, programmes on inclusive education were completely dependent on the initiative of NGOs and voluntary agencies. Components such as micro-planning, monitoring, civil works was largely dependent on the involvement of the local communities.
- Evaluation, research and in-service training: Governments largely drew from the resources available with academic institutions, private organizations and consultancy firms to perform these tasks independently or by supplementing the available capacities within the government for fulfilling the same.

Thus, the targets set out by these programmes and lack of capacities within the system to deliver the targets necessitated the involvement of non-state actors in various components of these large programmes. Given that these targets were not new but those which had been set at the time of adoption of the Constitution in 1950 leads us to question why the state considered it imperative to involve non-state actors in fulfilling even these basic targets. On ground, the dependency on non-state actors has been to such an extent that in states were non-state actors were unavailable, those components of the programme which are earmarked for non-state actors actually fail to get implemented; for eg work on inclusive education, early childhood care and education, education of street and migrant children does not happen and funds remain unutilized in the absence of such actors. Thus we find that over the years, non-state actors have become de facto 'responsible' for carrying out certain components of the programme. This de facto responsibility has also been placed on the community, which is now 'empowered' to manage its own schools and also get them established as per the requirements through micro-planning processes. An example of this is the

Education Guarantee Scheme which placed the onus of demanding an EGS centre on the community in addition to finding a local teacher and donating space for the centre.

Although not directly associated, the emergence of these programmes (especially DPEP) at the time of structural adjustment imposed a cap on public spending in social sector. In many states facing financial crisis, the para-teachers started getting appointed on contracts instead of permanent school teachers. Thus we find that although there were no revisions in the national policy as such, the position of the state and non-state actors had changed through these large programmes. It may be noted that the programme guidelines did not distinguish between the roles of for-profits and not-for-profits (as was done in the policy to some extent) within the programme and was primarily focused on getting the stated outcomes. Although these engagements are based on contracts, the state's own ability to design, monitor, evaluate, price and follow up on these contracts is limited. The method of inviting and contracting these non-state actors is not always transparent. Thus, the state which is primarily responsible for ensuring universal education became more of a purchaser of services and good from a range of non-state actors rather than a provider of education to all children.

In recent times, with the adoption of Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, the equation between the state and non-state actors has assumed a different dimension. While the state is mainly seen as a provider and a duty bearer, the private is seen as a partner that should contribute to providing education for children from disadvantaged groups while simultaneously adhering to the regulatory norms stipulated by the central statute. These norms range from recognition, prerequisite infrastructure, teacher qualifications, curriculum and evaluation and apply to all schools alike. Although the Act does not refer to minority institutions, the recent guidelines issued by the MHRD provide for extending the norms pertaining to quality even to minority institutions (although not the norms pertaining to establishment of School Management Committees) which are essentially private institutions enjoying fundamental right to establish and administer their institutions.

2. The regulatory frameworks within which private sector operates

The nature of regulation of the private differs on the basis of what constituted the private. In this section, I have primarily discussed the regulatory framework pertaining to private schools. Towards the end of the section, I have tried to make a few observations pertaining to the regulatory framework with respect to private service providers, voluntary organizations and corporate sector. If we were to put regulatory framework on a continuum, we find that the 'old private' consisting of private schools and NGOs were determined by a state driven, bureaucratic set of regulations occupying one end of the continuum. At the other end, we find the 'new private' consisting of corporate sector, for-profit private service providers and consultancy firms and also NGOs which

operate within the new set of regulations which are loose, opaque and sometimes modeled on market competitiveness. This idea requires further work and evidence.

'Old private'-

The private schools in India operate under a battery of regulatory frameworks imposed by the state government, central government, independent Boards providing affiliation and the statutory institutions such as the National Council for Teacher Education. The regulatory norms vary from state to state and with the nature of the private institution in question. Some of these regulatory frameworks are old, built over time and have assumed the shape of a 'Code' very often consisting of Rules, notifications, and orders issued by the executive over years. The main purpose of regulation has been to ensure quality, monitor the private actors in education space and control their functioning. In some cases, regulation and funding go together, as in the case of schools receiving grant-in-aid from the government; but this regulation is not always attached with funding and is applied in order to protect the interests of the citizens availing the public goods from private providers. If private schools do not adhere to the regulatory framework, their aid can be stopped, their recognition can be withdrawn and in some cases, the government can take over the management of the school. Regulatory frameworks are now being questioned for they lack transparency, provide discretionary powers to the executive leading to corruption and rent-seeking. It is claimed that restrictive and unrealistic regulations can force private actors to operate outside the law in a clandestine manner.

A review of the state legislation regulating private schools indicates that the norms and procedures are fairly detailed and include criteria that need to be fulfilled in order establish schools (such as no other school within prescribed radius, infrastructure norms, norms related to management, teacher qualifications, financial reserves), for running the schools (discipline, curriculum, examination, teacher conduct), for expansion (addition of a class, division), for closure, for administrative matters and so on. State legislation also allow the governments to 'take over the management of schools' from the private control in specific circumstances. A large part of the bureaucratic machinery of the state education department along with designated officials for sanctioning grants, conducting inspections etc is consumed by functions necessary to ensure regulation of private actors. With increasing litigation from private schools and managements of aided schools, challenging the actions of the executive, there is a constant tension between the state and private actors about sharing the education space. Critics have asserted that the government is playing a dual role of provider of schools and regulator of schools and focusing more on the latter than on the former. In fact one of the strongest criticisms has been the lack of applicability of the regulatory norms (particularly with regards to infrastructure and teachers) to the government owned schools resulting in poor infrastructure in these schools.

In recent years, private schools have challenged the role of state in controlling and interfering in their matters, including the pending case challenging the provisions of the RTE Act. Some of the directives given by the Courts include:

- Private schools cannot make profits, any surplus should be utilized for development of the school or for setting up/supporting other schools run by the same management
- Private schools cannot charge capitation fees and cannot engage in profiteering.
- Private schools cannot hike the school fees without the approval of the government and PTAs as in case of Mumbai

One of the key observations of the regulatory framework is the manner in which it is implemented on the ground. The birth of low cost schools in different parts of the country indicates the failure of the regulatory machinery to implement the regulatory norms at the state level while the rapid growth of these schools indicates the lack of will to check those who have actually violated the regulations. Given this, it would be important to ask: to what extent is the growth of low cost private schools a function of failure of the regulatory machinery and not the failure of the government schools as it is often argued. Further, should the failure of the government to regulate and such a legal omission be regarded as an unconscious support to the promotion of low-cost private schools that have proliferated and are competing against the state's own schools?

The issue of language of instruction is another area where the government exercises regulation, based on its political preferences. This has been a contentious issue with private schools unwilling to accept the imposition of the state official language as a medium of instruction.

The growing number of litigation also reflects the rising discontent among the private schools about the role played by the government. On the other hand, the government appears to have complete faith in the ability of the private schools to deliver quality education, despite the fact that a number of them are unable to fulfill the basic regulatory norms that have been in place for years.

The NGOs implementing 'grant-in-aid' programmes on behalf of the state constitute the other actor within the 'old private'. The entire grant-in-aid mechanism goes through bureaucratic process including filing applications, review of the institution's credentials, inspection, clearance from the government and granting of funds. Without much monitoring the only way of regulating the outcomes is through utilization of funds. This model of utilizing the NGOs to deliver the services on behalf of the state on the ground continued for several years until recently when the government began to move all such disparate grant-in-aid schemes under the umbrella programmes.

'New private'-

There is a slow phasing out of the frameworks within which the 'old private', especially the NGOs operated. This is on account of the fact that there are fewer grant-in-aid schemes of the government today than what we had until early nineties. The NGOs within the 'new private' do not go through the same processes as were required under the grant-in-aid schemes earlier. Unlike the past where the NGOs tried to only implement the scheme which was designed by the government, the 'new private' NGOs determine their own programmes, the way the programme would be delivered, the strategies that would be adopted and submit the same to the government for perusal and approval. Thus, within the interventions of the 'new private' NGOs one finds a greater spread, different thrusts, various ideological positions operating simultaneously giving a 'mixed bag' approach. Sometimes, the 'new private' also determines what needs to be done and is able to tap public funds to pursue such ventures.

The 'new private' which includes private enterprises go through processes such as bidding and competition and bagging of contracts and MOUs which determine their relationship with the state. Thus, we find different equations that the state is able to simultaneously strike with different kinds of actors within the 'new private'.

The 'new private' has also grown as a category overall and one may tentatively question the role played by the state itself in expanding this category of the 'new private' bringing in various shades of actors. For instance, under the school adoption programme of Government of Karnataka private individuals or corporates can walk into any school and commit to provide whatever they wish to, without necessarily going through the government. Given this nature of amorphous, loose and open ended invitations extended by the government to the 'new private' we find that the state is actually abstaining itself from regulating such actors, perhaps with the fear that the regulation will in fact discourage the 'new private'.

Furthermore, the government is itself creating various models of public private partnership which would require newer and different mechanisms of regulation, for example in the case of Model schools.

3. An exploration of the fine line that has been created between decentralization and privatization in the education system

The idea of decentralization received Constitutional status with the 73rd and 74th Amendment giving powers to the Panchayat Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies. Decentralization itself was not new idea (as it was provided even earlier through state statutes), but these amendments in early nineties coincided with the liberalization of economy and its increased privatization. Two important developments can be traced to have occurred at this time; one, the gradual devolution of functions to lower levels of administration as a follow up of the amendments on decentralization and two, creation of para-statal bodies and user groups at the local level as part of the centrally

sponsored programmes such as DPEP and SSA. These two developments although inter-related were unfolding at the local level through parallel streams. Through the decentralization processes, the panchayat level standing committees on education consisting of elected members from the gram sabha were responsible for the local schools. On the other hand, through the DPEP and SSA, the School Management Committees/Village Education Committees were also assigned important functions with regards to the schools. In many states, there is no linkage between these two parallel streams. While the panchayat raj institutions are legally required to perform the functions, the functions of the school performed by the para-statal bodies were extra-legal until the enactment of RTE, which has now given powers to these bodies, without prescribing an interface between these two bodies. Some of the functions currently performed by the School Management Committees include management of School Fund, hiring services, appointing para teachers and early child care workers, managing corpus funds, collecting donations, maintaining a bank account, helping school administration, construction and maintenance of school buildings etc.

Literature from the World Bank which has also prescribed formation of such user groups under SSA looks at privatization as one of the forms of decentralization where the state transfers its authority and functions to private players, such as the user groups. This form of privatization especially its relationship with the older decentralization requires to be explored. Given that many state governments have not fully devolved funds, functions and functionaries to the lowest level, the role played by user groups requires critical study and reflection. The questions that need to be explored in this context would be: should the state's delegation of its own school-specific tasks to the local community get viewed as decentralization or privatization? Given the nature of the tasks that are taken up by the local communities (primarily civil works), who benefits from such devolution – the local private entrepreneurs/contracts or the disadvantaged within the local communities?

ANNEXURE D: PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND EDUCATION

Manish Jain

Discussion note for workshop on studying Qualityin Education held on December 17&18, 2010 at TISS Mumbai.

This section of the paper tries to understand the meaning and emergence of 'private', 'public', and the relationship between the two in the context of education in colonial India and in the educational discourse and policies in independent India before 1980s.

1.1 Colonial India

In almost two centuries of British colonial rule in India, ideas about responsibility of the colonial state towards education of the colonized and the educational policies to be followed, role of state and non-state groups, kinds of agencies involved in establishing educational institutions and their motivations were intensely debated and underwent considerable changes. Thus, colonial India is not a monolithic period but needs to be unpacked.

1.1.1: 1600-1765

In the early period of the presence of East India Company in India (1600-1765) Christian missionaries made some efforts in the field of education with the purposes of proselytization. Some charity schools were established by the Chaplains of the Company in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Though these schools received support from company in the form of grants, lotteries, collection of funds by the officers of the company or work at schools and higher interest rate on deposits made by schools, they were "maintained by subscriptions and donations" (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 33-35). Both these instances before establishment of the company's political power in India with its victory in the Battle of Plassey (1757) do not qualify as examples of state support of non-state efforts because neither the colonial state had not been established, nor it was meant as a policy for education of Indians.

1.1.2: 1765-1813

After 1765, as successor of Hindu and Muslim rulers, Company continued their policy of support to higher learning in classical languages and established institutions to educate sons of influential sections of Indian population for employment and earn their confidence. In contrast to this company support to Orientalist educational institutions, schools opened by Christian missionaries have been termed "as pioneers of private enterprise in education" (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 38)[13].

[13] The relationship of colonial education, Christian missionaries and proselytization is a complex one. Naik and Nurullah maintain that these schools were opened with a view to gain access to Indian population to convert them, to run schools for converts and to improve their social, cultural and economic condition but

1.1.3: 1813-1854

After the Charter Act of 1813, education of Indians became part of Company's mandate. During 1813-1833, annual grant of Rs. One lakh and of Rs. Ten lakhs from 1833 onwards was used by Company to run its own institutions and very little was offered as grant-in-aid to mission schools, thus paving way for secular schools that rivaled mission schools (ibid: 119-20). After the Charter Act, a larger number of missionaries were permitted to enter and operate in India. During 1813-33, missionaries opened a large number of schools in vernacular medium and after 1833 shifted focus on English as medium of instruction (ibid: 116-7). Number of Protestant institutions and students in them "was almost equal to official enterprise" (ibid: 119). Missionaries worked among lower classes and caste groups of India and used their language as medium of instruction and took lead in the field of education for women at a time when officials were hesitant to enter it (ibid: 114-5). They popularized English schools and latter were also demanded by Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy.

Some British officials like J.E.D. Bethune in their individual capacity and non-British officials like David Hare also established educational institutions and represent the individual non-Indian private effort. With encouragement by Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, *Bombay Native Education Society*, later renamed as School Book and School Society was established. Limited grant-in-aid helped it to open schools in Bombay between 1822 and 1840 which were later inherited by the Board of Education formed in 1840 (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 80-81). Similarly Judge Sir Edward Hyde East impressed upon the Bengali elite in 1816 to form an association to open school for their children and his influence allowed the school which was a private endeavour with private funds to receive private funds as well as appeal for government funds at a later date in 1823 (Rudolph and Rudolph 1972: 14-15). Moral and financial support by these officials was aimed at encouraging "private Indian enterprise" that could "provide the bulk of the educational institutions" (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 126). Unlike Adam, Munro and Elphinstone, Lieutenant-Governor Thomason of the North-Western Provinces received support for his proposals to use indigenous schools to educate the people. He supplemented the funds collected

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had a small growth probably due to "the hostile attitude of the East India Company" and its 'consciousness of the political importance'" and policy of "maintaining strict religious neutrality with acquisition of sovereignty (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 38-39, 44-45). Indian Christian missionaries also developed differences with foreign missionaries and attempted to create their own identity in a religiously plural country (Seth 2007, Libeau 2007). The educational institutions run by Christian missionaries were (and are) much sought after by the upper caste elite of Indian society and at the same time these institutions created a politically conscious and mobile group within the tribal population (Bara 1997). Bara, Joseph (1997). 'Western Education and Rise of New Identity: Mundas and Oraons of Chotanagpur, 1839-1939', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 32, No. 15, Apr. 12-18, 1997, pp. 785-790. Seth, Sanjay (2007). 'Secular Enlightenment and Christian Conversion: Missionaries and education in Colonial India', pp: 27-43 and Libeau, Heike, ''Indianisation' and Education: Reaction from Protestant Christians of the Madras Presidency to the Lindsay Commission Report', pp: 44-73, both in Krishna Kumar and Joachim Oesterheld (eds.) *Education and Social Change in South Asia*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

through levy on land-revenue for schools with equal grant-in-aid from government to maintain *halkabandi schools*[14] (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 108-109).

Thus, till the Woods Despatch of 1854, the key features of public and private in Indian education can be summed up as:

1. Limited public/state expenditure on education but its institutions could compete with those established by private agencies.

2. Private enterprise consisted of missionaries, company officials, some European and almost negligible Indian non-official initiatives with regard to 'modern' schools but was dominated by missionaries.

3. Each of these agencies had different perceptions about educational needs of Indians and had distinct, at times contradictory motivations that guided their effort.

4. Missionaries worked for education among disadvantaged section of India.

5. Size of private was greater than public and was enabled by the state permission to operate in India but an extensive system of grant-in-aid was absent. Missionaries demand of complete withdrawal of Company from any direct engagement with education in favour of education by missions through grant-in-aid and ensure grant-in-aid as a legal right to them was not accepted (ibid: 120).

6. Public institutions gave a competition to mission schools and were preferred by Indians due to their secular character. Mission schools with their later focus on English and its identification with employment in colonial services, new professions and sources of employment popularized demand for instruction in English.

7. Indigenous schools continued to exist.

1.1.4: 1854-1902

Wood Despatch of 1854 marked a shift from the Downward Filtration Theory and establishment of a system of graded schools: high, middle and indigenous elementary schools. Latter were to be encouraged by a system of grant-in-aid. Wood Despatch called for "drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State" that could also foster "a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes" and was considered "of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation" (cited in Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 139).

[14] A Halka refers to a circle or group of villages. A school was established at a central location, which was not more than two miles from any village of the circle. Voluntary consent of the landowners to pay tax was a necessary condition to establish such a school. This description is based on the *Despatch of 1859* quoted in (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 109).

In this period, the educational efforts of the British officials in their individual capacity disappeared totally. Notwithstanding the recommendations of the dispatch of 1854 and the Hunter Commission 1882, indigenous schools were seen "of little instructional value and of a very ephemeral character", were abused in government reports (Kumar 2000: 80) and their neglect resulted in their death (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 157). The policy of religious neutrality announced by the crown in the wake of the revolt of 1857 resulted in an unsympathetic attitude towards missionary activities till 1882 and a policy of direct competition by education department threatened the existence of missionary schools. Education commission of 1882 did not assign a position of preeminence to missionary educational initiatives over the government ones. It classified them as an "outcome of private effort" but distinguished them from 'local' and 'people' meaning Indians. Though missionary institutions could serve as an example to show "what private effort can accomplish" and thus motivate others but by not being local, they could not foster "habits of self-reliance and combination for purposes of public utility" which the grant-in-aid system was expected to develop[15]. Missionary enterprise was given a subordinate position in the development of education in India. Provision of continuation of religious instruction in aided schools and payment of grants-in-aid on the basis of secular education imparted in such institutions allowed them to access public/state resources. Missionaries no longer hoped to control the entire educational sphere in India and restricted their operation to selected educational institutions and maintained a high degree of efficiency there (ibid: 158-66).

Secular education in government schools was decided as a policy. Wood Dispatch recommended the policy of state withdrawal from education with greater reliance on private enterprises to provide educational institutions in India but a large number of government schools were opened. The 1882 Commission was told that for 'educational means' of the country to be 'co-extensive with educational wants', private agencies had to 'relieve and assist the public funds'. Transfer of government institutions to private agencies was seen as a cost saving mechanism that could pave way for opening of more educational institutions (ibid: 170). Following the recommendation of the commission, almost all primary schools were transferred to local bodies but this administrative decentralisation being not equivalent to transfer to a non-government agency meant that the policy of state withdrawal was not followed in practice (ibid: 171). Aid to private schools was inadequate and aided schools were not rigorously controlled by the department of education except in matters of general inspection, examination and how grant was spent (ibid: 178). In Madras, government schools (1263 in 1881-2) were opened only in absence of private schools (13,223 aided and 2828 unaided indigenous) and payment by result system was introduced in 1868. In Bombay, the education department "relied almost exclusively on its own schools" for primary education and neglected indigenous schools (only 73 received aid though 3954 indigenous schools existed in 1881-82). In Bengal, indigenous schools were the chief vehicle of promoting private education but the amount of aid was too low (ibid: 213-4). Education Commission recommended for adoption of a system of payment by result for indigenous schools and its inclusion in all the provincial rules of

[15] Report of the Education Commission, pg 452-4, cited in Naik and Nurullah (1974/2004: 162-3).

grant-in-aid instead of capitation grants checked possibilities of quick expansion (ibid: 223). With provision of grant-in-aid available to only those schools complying with government rules, indigenous schools and purely vernacular schools were eliminated from such aid since 1869 in Punjab (Kishwar 2008: 208).

By 1881-82, Indian private enterprise with 54,662 primary and 1341 secondary schools surpassed the 1842 and 757 schools run by non-Indian managers (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 172). Rudolph and Rudolph (1972: 19-20) have identified three types of Indian private entrepreneurship: nationalist, sectarian movement, caste community, individual philanthropists and local notables. Sects and caste communities were part of social mobility movements of 19th and 20th centuries. Kumar (2000: 84) notes formation of a large number of caste organizations during 1890s to 1930s in Benaras with professed aims of "reform, status improvement and national progress". Caste communities like Vaishya (merchant caste), Kayasth (scribe caste), Rajput and Nair (warrior castes), Jats and Ahirs (in UP and Punjab), Ezhava (in Kerala), Nadars (in Madras), Mahars (in Maharshtra) and Lingayats (in Mysore) also used these for the purposes of achieving and maintaining group solidarity and "preserve or improve their social status and economic opportunities". This mobilization was not restricted to upper caste but mobile castes and peasant and untouchable groups also exhibited their capacities "for self-mobilization and organization" (Rudolph and Rudolph 1972: 19-21)[16]. Both Hindus and Muslims founded educational institutions in response to each other and to Christian institutions to propagate 'their cultural message and identity' (ibid). Kumar (1990: 7-8) has argued that "Arya Samaj provided the upper-caste, literate elements of town society with norms and symbols to define a sense of self-identity and collective goal". A number of individuals and organizations influenced by it campaigned for purging the influence of Persian from the *Aryabhasha* (the language of Aryans) Hindi, to Sanskritise it, to distinguish Hindi from Urdu and accord it a place of eminence in the reconstruction of the nation (ibid: 8). Arya Samaj also established schools to orient the young in the cultural norms and create identity. Use of grant-in-aid by these diverse groups points to 'public financing of private institutions' and the 'permeable boundaries between public and private' from an early period in India (Rudolph and Rudolph 1972: 14).

This interaction between public and private and their response to each other was also shaped by their perception of the purpose and content of education. Both merchants and artisans in Benaras felt that the subjects taught in government schools with no place for selections from religious texts and respect for traditional skills neither paid attention to development of morality, nor was relevant to their vocational future (Kumar 2000: 80-83). The disrespect towards the country, its history and culture in the public education led to concerns to teach these in the new educational institutions established by Indians. Hereby, the private enterprises were imbued with a different or additional public purpose, distinct from those defined in the school curriculum. But the problems

[16] For contemporary discussions of education and caste dominance/mobility, see Jeffery, Roger, Jeffery, Patricia and Jeffrey, Craig (2008). *Degrees Without Freedom?: Education, Masculinities and Unemployment in North India*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

involved in carrying it out in the already packed school curriculum or at home meant that increasingly the private came to lose its distinctness vis-à-vis the public and soon lost that purpose as well (ibid: 91).

These developments suggest that

1. Private initiative by Indians and Indian agencies for growth of education in India was justified for three reasons: a) financial, seen as an avenue to provide resources, b) sensitivity to local needs and aspirations, and c) encouragement of civic spirit, engagement and participation.

2. The growth of missionary enterprise was restricted. Their focus on existing institutions resulted in association of efficiency with such institutions and created greater demand for admission in such schools among non-Christian upper classes of Indian society. Contemporary coupling of efficiency with private enterprise has one source in this historical legacy. The other historical legacy of missionary enterprise of working with and for the education of the marginalized sections of Indian society was till recently not followed by private agencies[17] but is a key argument in the contemporary discourse on school choice, vouchers and public funds for private schools, about which we discuss later in the paper. Missionaries had also called for withdrawal of government intervention from education arguing that it resulted in higher costs while they could provide it at lower cost, an argument echoing loudly in contemporary discussions.

3. If ideas of social reform, patriotic sentiments and cultural preservation were one source of inspirations that guided the agency and entrepreneurship shown by Indians in establishing schools in colonial India, then motivations of maintaining the social dominance or promoting social mobility of their own caste or religious group and creating a cohesive group and self-identity formed another set of reasons that influenced their efforts. This resulted in rapid growth of Indian private enterprise which took benefit of grant-in-aid system.

4. Though the private enterprises were established with a view to resist colonial dominance, introduce new ways of socialization of the young that would generate love and respect for the nation, culture, traditions and religion of the community/nation and develop character among the young, the restrictions on choice of pedagogic tools imposed by the nature of modern educational institution, norms of recognition and grant-in-aid, pressures of school curriculum meant that the distinction of purpose and action between the private and the public was blurred soon.

[17] *Ekal Vidyalayas* run by *Vidya Bharati Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Sansthan* network, created by *RSS* in 1978 work with tribal children.

5. Compulsory education was introduced in England by different acts in 1870s, but the colonial state maintained a studied silence on this issue as it did not identify itself with the colonized. Irrespective of its high rhetoric on significance of education for the development of people of India, it repeatedly used paucity of funds as the reason to invite private enterprise and justify grant-in-aid system. These policies along with practical transfer of education since 1884 to local bodies having little resources at their disposal resulted in serious damage to the cause of mass education.

6. Ideas of state bureaucracy about its own responsibility and capability and attitude towards missionary schools shaped promotion, numerical strength and coexistence of public and private enterprise. This implies that growth of private enterprise was not a result of its inherent superiority and necessary weakness of the public system. Differences of regional policies indicate that indigenous educational institutions did not die a natural death and another system was consciously implanted in its place.

1.1.5: 1902-1921

During this period huge central grants were made for education along with an active role by state in provision of education that resulted in unprecedented expansion of recognized institutions. Under Curzon, state considered opening and maintaining "a few institutions of every type as *models* to private enterprise" among its duty (Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 239-43, emphasis in original). The system of inspection and supervision of private schools was strengthened under influence of similar policies in England, imitation of English bureaucrats to improve quality of education and perception of private schools being a breeding ground for sedition of Indians (ibid: 241, 258, emphasis in original). The number of recognized institutions at different levels in 1901-02 was reduced by more than two-fifth in 1921-22 (ibid: 243). Sound education, actual need of school, financial stability, proper constitution of managing body, teaching of proper subjects, provisions for teaching, health and discipline of students, suitability of teachers with regard to character, number and qualification and a fee that does not result in competition that harms education were laid down as conditions by the *Government Resolution* of 1904 for grants-in-aid, scholarship to students and ranking as 'recognised' schools for all private secondary schools, both aided and unaided (cited in ibid: 258-9). To encourage private schools to seek recognition and achieve prescribed higher standards, the grant-in-aid to private schools was increased. Automatic transfer of students from unrecognized to recognized schools was stopped with a view to bring the unrecognized schools under control of the education department (ibid: 260). System of payment by result was discarded all over India (ibid: 264).

We can sum up the above developments with reference to public and private:

1. A greater role for state in the field of education with respect to finances, regulation and supervision and standard of instruction and institutions was envisaged. Private came under greater control of the public authority and depended on it for sheer existence.

2. In the colonial context, public referred to both the colonial state and the colonized. Public was associated with colonial power and one strain of private enterprise was motivated by nationalist feelings and aspirations and aspired to constitute themselves as a sovereign body. Enactment and implementation of policies and models that worked outside India had a different reception in a colonial context where attempts to reign private schools was seen as an attempt to scuttle development of nationalist feelings and private Indian enterprise. Political factors shaped Indian and British response to public and private.

3. Though better collection of revenue and boom in world finance provided greater resources to government, its allocation was also dependent on political will of the rulers. This increase allowed improvement of government schools to become models for private enterprise. Thus, ideal and desirable was associated with the public while private was to follow it as an example. At the same time it underlined that efficiency and model character of an institution depended on the availability of adequate financial resources.

4. Increased private contribution in the form of endowments, donations and subscriptions was both a result of an awakening among Indians, recognition of education as central to the task of national regeneration as well as the innovative efforts made by community leaders and reformers including women to raise funds for schools established by them. Foundation of this private enterprise was also based on entry of a large number of women who used their personal circumstances and traditional womanly virtues of patience, selflessness and cheerful devotion to enter public arena and promote women's education and in the process developed a different personal and public persona (Kishwar 2008: 221). At the same time the entry and role of women in the public sphere was not free of their caste locations. Rege (2006: 48-49) gives instances how upper caste women while claiming to speak on behalf of all women actually suggested differential education and opportunities for women from different communities and caste groups. Thus, the private initiatives in education in colonial India worked along the inter-related axis of caste, class and gender. Their efforts to 'invent' and preserve indigenous traditions and culture through education also defined boundaries of self and other and were part of other processes to frame 'public' and 'counter publics'.

1.1.6: 1921-1947

With introduction of diarchy under the Government of India Act 1919, education as a transferred subject came under control of Indian ministers. Central government stopped taking interest in and providing grants for education. Report of the Hartog Committee noted that in this period education was seen as "an indispensible agency" for nation-building. Educationally backward communities, like Muslims, depressed classes and tribal aboriginies took interest in "the need and possibilities of education for their children" and demanded "education as a right"[18]. During 1935 and 1947, the growth of primary education "on a voluntary basis" reached "a saturation point in most areas"

[18] *Report of the Hartog Committee*, p. 31, cited in Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 325.

(Naik and Nurullah, 1974/2004: 375). J P Naik believed that in this situation compulsion became a necessity for further expansion.

A resolution proposed to be moved by Rao Bahadur Kale in the Legislative Council, Bombay in 1921[19] provides evidence of a set of opinion that wanted withdrawal of government "from the management of schools imparting secondary education". It recommended that abolition of Government high schools should be abolished "in places where other facilities for secondary education already" existed and private enterprise should be "encouraged…by increasing the proportion of grant-in-aid from one third to one half" and by "removing the restriction on the number of boys attending a private school". Even though this resolution was disallowed, it gives sufficient indications that private schools wanted elimination of competition from the government schools to be the only institutions available for education at secondary level. They also desired for greater public funding for *encouragement* of the private enterprise. Meaning of the third recommendation may be better appreciated if we remind ourselves that "enterprising individuals and associations" opened a large number of new secondary schools during 1921-37 "in mofussil towns and bigger villages" that resulted in a massive increase in the enrolment of students from rural and semi-urban areas[20] (ibid: 336-7). In this context, the third aspect of the resolution may have meant removing restriction on the number of intake of students that a private school could have. Combined with the proposal to abolish government schools, this provided better possibilities of growth for the private enterprise with support from public funds. Such attempts also warn us that idealism, social reform and improvement were not the sole motives that guided the private effort in colonial India.

Discussion about public and private in colonial India would not be complete without reference to those unaided private schools that were modeled on the grammar schools of England meant for the elite of the society. On one hand, in their attempt to imitate the English public schools, they accepted latter's superiority and tried to achieve authenticity by being as much approximate to the ideal as possible by "adopting and adapting ideas of culture, morality, the cult of manliness, and the magical and immutable qualities of heredity…towards its own circuits of power" (Srivastava 1998: 6). On the other hand, they became spaces that would serve the cause of producing national citizens

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[19] *Secondary Education; Encouragement to Private Enterprise and Abolition of Government Schools (Resolution by Rao Bahadur R.R. Kale)*, 1921, Educational Department Legislative Council Index 1921-1935, Accession No. LC 71-F, Archives of Maharashtra.

[20] See Kumar (2000) for these efforts in Benaras, Srivastava (1998) for Doon School and Minault (1998) for Muslim women's education. Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana (including Ajmer-Merwara), Central India and Gwalior. No. 1. Friday, March 21, 1930, at 11 A.M. at the Board's Office, Ajmer, also lists names of several schools in different towns. The names of these schools show Hindutva/Aryatva, caste and religious identities at work (NAI, Foreign and Political, Reforms, 1930, Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana (including Ajmer-Merwara), Central India and Gwalior, Progs, Nos. 127-R, 1930). Minault, Gail (1998). *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

for the would-be free India by training the young in the ethos and modes of participation in civil society and state. These schools posed themselves as custodians of liberal values, modernity and rationality in India. Their products were to bear stamp of character, a shorthand term for a host of virtues such as responsibility, self-reliance, self-initiative, self-discipline, flexibility, co-operation, sacrifice, service, an ability to control worldly passions and morality. These attributes and their development by public schools became a justification of their ability to lead and represent the nation on account of superior understanding and intellectual advancement in contrast to other backward fellow brethren and stand and work for those who were weak, poor and ignorant. To attain independence, anti-colonial struggle in India used the language of inclusion to enlist every member of the national community as an equal citizen against the colonial power. With independence, these same members were asked to improve the 'self', and become 'modern' so that the status of the 'citizen' of the new sovereign nation could be legitimately conferred on them (Srivastava 1998). The responsibility of constructing the new nation and to exhort and nurture the masses to overcome their shortcomings to enter the postcolonial civil society was self assumed by the educated middle class. Within this group, the bodies bearing marks of elite private schools came to signify the postcolonial ideal citizen and their locations of class/caste dominance were masked through reconstitution of these differences along presence or absence of certain traits that marked the *other lacking* them as *backward* instead of being defined as exploited and marginalized.

A review of the policy texts in independent India allows us to look at the different positioning of public and private educational institutions and their students in the formidable task of nation-building.

1.2 Independent India

1.2.1 Public and private in the age of national reconstruction

Speeches of the political leaders, senior judges, officers of army and academicians- many of whom served on the governing boards of private schools give us an idea of characteristics associated with the private and public school and their role in independent India[21]. Doon school was appreciated as 'good' for being 'run efficiently', 'good methods of education', 'making boys to do work', 'amount of science taught' (DSW, No. 286), 'for the proper trainings of its youth', 'its corporate life' that led to 'the development of the total personality of the child', students involvement in village service and 'spread of illiteracy' (DSW, No. 353). To remove the 'psychological gulf' between 'the English-educated and the other people of this country', the public schools were also called upon to use Hindi

[21] For this analysis, addresses of first Indian Governor General C R Rajgopalachari, first President of independent India Sh. Rajendra Prasad, Governor of Punjab Sh. Chandulal Trivedi, philosopher and second president Dr. Radhakrishnan, and Chief of Army Staff Feneral S.M.Shriganesh, given at *Doon School* in the first decade of Indian independence 1947-57 are examined here as a representative sample. These addresses were respectively printed in following issues of *Doon School Weekly* (DSW): No. 286, Saturday 30th October 1948; No. 353, Saturday, 28 October 1950; No. 422, Saturday, 8 November 1952; No. 521, Saturday, 29 October 1955; and No. 555, Saturday, 3 November 1956. They are referred as *DSW*, No. abc in the text.

as language of instruction along with recognition of 'important difficulties in that being done' (ibid). Governor of Punjab Sh. Chandulal Trivedi felt that education in such a school would have made him 'better' 'in many respects' than what he was and to such schools one looked 'for future leaders in different spheres of work, not necessarily leaders at the top but what one may call middle-piece leaders' (DSW, No. 422). Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University, Dr. A.C. Banerji also emphasized 'the corporate sense developed in a Public school boy' as the 'foremost' feature of the 'public school tradition' which appreciated students for not using their abilities for their "own honour and glory, but for the public good"[22]. Responding to the critique of public schools mentioned by the principal in his speech, Radhakrishnan distinguished between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome and argued that democracy did not mean 'the knocking down of variety of initiatives, development etc.' (DSW, No. 521). He bemoaned the existence of unrest in schools and colleges and traced it to 'excessively large numbers admitted into schools and colleges, to the very inadequate and indifferent staff' and 'absence of extracurricular activities'. 'Great achievements' were attributed to 'the capacity of people 'to 'think for themselves' and 'not submit to the crowd'. Chief of Army Staff noted presence of orderliness and friendliness, 'equal emphasis on academic work as well as physical attainments, in the development of learning as well as character'. Irrespective of the professions they pursued, students had to remember that they had been 'members of a famous school, which has big traditions, with no room for narrow self-interest' (DSW, No. 555).

Secondary Education Commission (SEC) noted that it had received 'extreme views' on the need for such public schools. These opinions ranged from such schools being "an anachronism" in modern democracy that made no "material contribution to the educational progress of the country", produced "narrow-minded snob", served rich, perpetuated class feeling and hence, were inappropriate to the democratic set-up (GoI, 1953/1954: 53). Others like Sir John Sargent who were familiar with the students of such institutes, argued that the product of private school despite its limited intellectual range, narrow sympathies and arrogant assumptions, had "a capacity to set up, and abide by, standards of conduct and a readiness to accept responsibility", qualities necessary for "any real public servant" [23].

SEC concluded that the alleged shortcomings of the private schools could be overcome, if they reformed themselves and with proper organization and training on right lines, they could "develop correct attitudes and behavior" and make their students "useful citizens". It further maintained that given the "special facilities" these schools could offer, they had "greater opportunities" than "majority of secondary schools" to develop "certain essential traits of character- including the qualities of leadership" and until other schools could provide such facilities, "it would be *unwise* to reject their special contribution in this direction". Some of the "principles and methods" practiced in these schools could serve as models to be followed "in *all* schools" (ibid, emphasis added). These

[22] This address was given before 1955 and is printed in one of the issues of DSW but I have lost its reference.

[23] Sir John Sargent chaired the report of the Committee on Post-War Educational Development in India (1944). His views are cited in the report of the Secondary Education Commission (GoI, 1953/1954: 53).

schools needed to give due stress on "the dignity of labour and a social sense" and had a "limited but definite place" in the educational system (ibid: 53-4). Chairman of Secondary Education Commission, Dr. Mudaliar who was Vice Chancellor of Madras University, in his founder's day address at Doon school asked these schools to provide such training which made students "always shine not by any adventitious aids but by their own mental and moral gifts" [24].

In the above addresses, the private schools were justified in terms of initiative, range of activities, developing an integrated and balanced personality with ability to take decision beyond narrow self interest and courage to stand apart in the crowd. They trained students to be a citizen of the new nation with no caste, religious or linguistic affiliation. Unlike the *other* young wasting their energies in different expressions of discontent, these students worked for public good and served in villages. The learners and learning in these private institutions were perceived as being superior to others.

It is important to note that the class position of students studying in such elite private schools, designated as 'public schools' and the advantages that it bestowed on them, did emerge as a concern but a correction in their training was suggested as a solution to overcome their narrow and snobbish attitude. In this discourse, the class advantage, vertical divisions of resources and unequal power relations were masked by shifting the focus to 'mental and moral gifts' and 'character' which allowed them to 'always shine' on the national scene as public-spirited, responsible citizens and leaders among the pool of illiterate and ignorant population. English also became a code to discuss and critique privilege and their distance from the masses but it was a privilege which could not be dispensed with.

In this conceptualization, these schools were private on account of their accessibility and the agency that established them, but were public with reference to the educational aims, pedagogic processes and institutional ethos and purposes served in the nascent democracy.

1.2.2 Public and private in Kothari Commission

Report of the Education Commission (EC) 1964-66, popularly known as Kothari Commission noted that private educational institutions at different levels of schooling constituted about one-third (33 %) of total institutions but dominated pre-primary (70.9 %) and secondary schools (69.2 %) (NCERT 1970: 447, para 10.03). The class basis of the system of private and public schooling (NCERT 1970: 449, para 10.05 (3)) and its role in entrenching and perpetuating the class divide and class based access to quality education was strongly criticized by EC[25]. EC favoured abolition of this divide and establishment of a common school system that was to function as a neighbourhood school for children of all communities and social backgrounds. Since "most schools show an average

[24] It is reproduced in *Doon School Weekly* (DSW): No. 619, Saturday, 1 November 1958.

[25] Common schooling was required because "able children from every stratum of society" were not receiving "good education" and it was "available only to a small minority which is usually selected not on the basis of talent but on the basis of its capacity to pay fees" (NCERT 1970: 18, para 1.37).

performance" and were "isolated from its community" (NCERT 1970: 450, para 10.07), this common school system had to be "maintained at an adequate level of quality and efficiency" failing which the parents could "ordinarily feel" the need to send their children "to the institutions outside the system, such as independent or unrecognized schools" (NCERT 1970: 448, para 10.05). Here, a differentiation emerges between the private and the public. Public comes to subsume the recognized and aided schools since "most of their expenditure comes from government grants and fees" (NCERT 1970: 452, para 10.09) and they were to be part of the common school system (NCERT 1970: 448, para 10.05). Report also notes that while many grant-in-aid codes provide aid only if the institutions is conducted by non-profit making bodies, in certain areas, proprietary schools were "still recognized and aided" (NCERT 1970: 457, para 10.16). Schools maintained by government, local authorities and of private managements receiving aid needed to have more "freedom" (NCERT 1970: 452, para 10.08), improve their "performance", achieve and maintain "an adequate level of quality and efficiency", features identified with the private.

The private schools were divided into three groups: recognized and aided institutions, recognized but unaided or independent institutions and unrecognized institutions (NCERT 1970: 452, para 10.09). Recognized and aided institutions had merits of close ties with local community, a fair degree of freedom though disappearing with increasing controls by education departments and loyalty of teachers. These schools suffered from "precarious financial position" due to uncertainty of government grants and inability to raise funds themselves and "very often" had "a bad and even unscrupulous management" (ibid). Management of such schools, to borrow a phrase from J P Naik could aptly be described as 'new zamindars'[26]. A small group of these schools were efficient and a larger were "weak and undesirable ones" established by "a number of voluntary organizations which are dominated by sectarian considerations" and "run, not for purposes of education or social service, but for exploitation and patronage and are like commercial undertakings" (NCERT 1970: 452-3, para 10.10).

This analysis was recognition of grant-in-aid as a mechanism to allow private institutions "within reach of public authority and its definition of public interest" and to provide conditions for use of "public resources for private ends" by private interests. This system was making way for "institutionalized means" to strengthen "private community organizations" even when the institution may be secular and open for admission to all without any compulsion to participate in or honour "the rituals and symbolism of the sect or community that manages the school" (Rudolph and Rudolph1972: 23-24). These institutions established by private entrepreneurs "for profit and power" offered both best and worst education, were being used to build political organizations, achieve influence and support necessary to influence policy and win elections. They reflected both

[26] J P Naik argued that Congress had created 'Zamindari in Education'. The managers of colleges were the new zamindars who used profits from institutions to benefit themselves and use educational institutions as a mean of economic and political power. "The Role and Problems of Private Enterprise in Education", in I. S. S.-Feres *Consultation of Principals of Christian Colleges*, Tambaram, 1967, The Christian College and National Development, cited in Gould (1972: 94).

the political influence achieved and use of such institutions as a mean to gain and consolidate it (ibid: 84).

Attention to this political embeddedness of the aided schools allows us to understand the laxity in enforcement of the minimum legal conditions to establish such institutions and receive grant-in-aid as not a reflection and effect of weakness of administration but an insight in the operation of power and contestation, shared and overlapping space of private and public in a postcolonial democracy where the processes through which different social forces try to defend their interests and counter others have "become *autonomous* from the institutions and norms that are supposed to inform their participation"[27]. It allows us to appreciate that the self-aggrandizing motives of politicians can bring schools in localities where due to poverty and apathy of local population, they would not have been established otherwise (Gould 1972: 95). When individuals and groups operating private schools occupy positions of public authority as ministers, then they are reluctant to act against them and attempts of greater control and monitoring to remove the abuses they are engaged in, results in opposition to such moves by government (Rudolph and Rudolph1972: 87).

The local in the discussion of closer local ties of the private schools refers to two kinds of locality. The first one is the shared caste or religious affiliation of the management, parents and teachers that allows for greater possibilities of use of these attachments by founders and parents to seek admission in the institution, of cooperation and mobilization of these memberships to resolve situations of conflict. Secondly, it refers to networks of founders and managements that influence choice of school as a desired destination, use of local influence and resources to receive land grants from government to establish schools at specific locales and ability to stop release of adverse government orders. Madan and Halbar in their study of private educational institutions in Mysore found that the institutions managed by Brahmans, Christians, Lingayats and Muslims, the social composition "reflect the community of the controlling group, except in the case of small or underprivileged communities whose size or social backwardness may limit the supply of available teachers and students" (Rudolph and Rudolph1972: 88)[28]. In contrast, the public institutions reflected social composition of the territorially defined community of the school district with stronger representation of socially and economically advanced castes and communities[29]. Jeffrey's

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[27] Rajeev Bhargava (2005: 40) has presented this argument of Javed Alam in his introduction to Bhargava, Rajeev and Reifeld, Helmut (eds.) (2005). *Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, emphasis in original.

[28] This observation is reaffirmed by Rekha Kaul (???) as well.

[29] In contemporary situation, when public schools have come to be identified with the poor and disadvantaged and there has been a considerable change in the social geography of the urban spaces, we need to attend to both social compositions of the territorial units and of different schools under study. If equality is an aspect of quality, then intra-institutional segregation in public and private schools with reference to meals, hostels, caste, religion, class and efforts of integration need to be studied.

in their recent study of a network of private schools in the Bijnor district of UP[30] have pointed to use of "visible and semi-public 'events'" to reaffirm social dominance, to test and develop loyalties "between parents and management, pupils and teachers, or the local administration and the management". Thus, the questions of school choice and quality are decided by more than consideration of teaching in English in the school.

EC explained that independent and unrecognized educational institutions had right to exist under different constitutional provisions[31]. The independent schools charged high fees, paid higher salaries to teachers, were English medium and enjoyed high prestige. This prestige was, in the opinion of EC, "partly because of their standards and traditions, but mainly because the children of the most powerful groups in society attend them" and such schools "created an important problem in social integration by segregating the richer classes from the rest of the community" (NCERT 1970: 485, para 10.79). In contrast to the discussion about these schools in the speeches at Doon school and Secondary Education Commission, where efficiency and tradition were characterized as the defining features of such institutions, class emerges as a key figure and basis of critique in EC. EC is not concerned about reforming these schools by training students to be more service oriented towards the disadvantaged but in ushering in a new system of common school with abolition of tuition fees till class ten. It expected that this system would detract the parents from sending their children to private schools, would lead most of the fee charging private schools to seek grant-in-aid and be part of the common school system (NCERT 1970: 454, para 10.13; 457-8. para 10.18). At the same time, the benchmark of quality and efficiency continues to be measured with reference to private schools. A new set of criteria to define minimum and optimum levels of a 'good' school and classification of schools is also proposed (NCERT 1970: 462-3, para 10.30 (3)) [32].

The second set of private schools, the unrecognized institutions, "a very heterogeneous group about which little is known", included pre-schools in urban areas that did not seek recognition; coaching classes that caused more harm than good; private institutions striving for recognition but failing

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[30] Jeffery, Roger, Jeffery, Patricia and Jeffrey, Craig (???). CHAPTER 9: PARHĀ'Ī KA MĀHAUL? AN EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IN BIJNOR, UTTAR PRADESH, p. 341, http://recoup.educ.cam.ac.uk/publications/Jeffery_Chapter_9.pdf , accessed 6 December 2010.

[31] The factors for classification include relations with local community; qualifications of staff and its continuity; in-service training; special programmes, enriched curriculum, new methods of evaluation developed by the school; attention to gifted or retarded students; school discipline; wastage and stagnation; results of public examinations; scholarships achieved; after-school careers of students; co-curricular activities.

[32] These provisions include Article 30 which allows minorities to "establish and administer educational institutions of their choice" and disallows any discrimination against them in receiving grant-in-aid, Articles 28 (10 and 28 (2) which give freedom to establish private educational institutions to provide religious instruction, and clauses (c) and (g) of Article 19 that give rights to form associations and carry out any profession, occupation, trade or business included the right to establish educational institutions for these purposes. These provisions are discussed in the EC report (NCERT 1970: 485, para 10.77).

due to bad standards; institutions giving religious instruction contrary to Constitution[33] and those restricted to certain castes or communities (NCERT 1970: 486, para 10.80). Some of these did "useful work" while others made "a negative contribution to education and society" (ibid). Under the provisions of the constitution, their emergence could not be stopped and education department had no control over them as they did not seek recognition. This situation, EC concluded, had led to a time "when the first steps to introduce legislation for the compulsory registration of all educational institutions" and make operation of an unregistered institution an "offence". Using the Education Act, 1944 of England, it suggested various criterions on which government could remove institutions from the register.

National Policy on Education 1968 makes a single reference to private schools, which are categorized under "special schools" as "public schools" in the section on Equalisation of Educational opportunity. The policy states, "…public schools should be required to admit students on the basis of merit and also to provide a *prescribed* proportion of free-studentships to prevent segregation of social classes". Here, private is identified with the rich and heterogeneity of private schools remains unrecognized. The problem of class segregation is resolved by a modest and suggestive 'should' of merit based admission and free seats. Insertion of the later provision in state policy had to wait for 32 years and continues to be contested.

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[33] In contemporary times also, this concern about instruction in certain private educational institutions being contrary to constitutional values and vision is raised repeatedly. *Vidya Bharati Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Sansthan* network, created by RSS in 1978 which manages a large number and variety of schools from Ekal Vidyalayas to private Saraswati Shishu Mandirs is one such initiative. While these RSS-affiliated schools are run by registered voluntary societies in different states and follow the state/national curriculum, their ostensible focus is on moral, extracurricular and physical education for 'mind, body and spirit'. These schools try to develop 'Hindu worldview' through morning assemblies, prayers and songs, celebration of festivals associated with Hindu heroes/heroines, co-curricular activities, use of myths, abuse against and absence of the other and use of publications including textbooks and examinations to present prejudices and contested issues as facts. While Kumar (1990) and Sarkar (1996) had noted that these schools are marked by 'virtual absence of non-Hindu children' and had children from Hindu upper caste backgrounds (Sarkar 1996: 246, cited in Sundar 2004: 1611), my discussion with Christian relief workers and children affected by attacks on Christians during visit to Kandhamal, Orissa in 2008 and Sundar's observations show that children from non-Hindu, lower middle class, dalit and tribal backgrounds are also present in these schools. Sarkar, Tanika (1996). 'Educating the Children of the Hindu Rashtra: Notes on RSS Schools', in P. Bidwai, H. Mukhia and A. Vanaik (eds.), *Religion, Religiosity and Communalism*, Delhi: Manohar Publishers; Sundar, Nandini (2004). 'Teaching to Hate: RSS' Pedagogical Programme', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 16, April 17, pp: 1605- 1612.

Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education (2005), popularly known as Zoya Hasan Committee Report, titled *REGULATORY MECHANISMS FOR TEXTBOOKS AND PARALLEL TEXTBOOKS TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM: A REPORT*, New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, examines textbooks used in both government and non-government schools, including those run by religious and social organizations. It expresses concern over presence of communal ideology and reinforcement of inequalities in these textbooks.

This discussion about public and private asks us to:

1. Note that education besides being a private and public good is also a political and economic good
2. Unpack the private with attention to its heterogeneity
3. Question appropriation of the aided schools in the arguments for privatization and for the purposes of profit making and to recover it as public
4. Examine the motivations of founders and managements of different 'private' schools and develop thick descriptions of the school processes, events and their network for both political and educational purposes to understand their quality, performance of service, assertion of dominance, formation of political clout
5. Consider how irrespective of recognition or its absence, different schools serve or subvert public purposes of education and constitutional values in various ways and recognize that both the processes may happen simultaneously
6. Look at the social composition of different schools, understand the local and note where are schools located to understand whom it attracts and drives away
7. Question of regulation of private schools and its absence had emerged as a significant concern
8. Note that voluntary organizations had not acquired nobleness and status of a possible partner of the state in achieving UEE and advocacy of private as a benefactor of and an option for the poor was to emerge later

While the common school system was expected to usher in egalitarianism in education, the critics have pointed to possibilities of cultural exclusions of religious and linguistic minorities in such a school (Razzack 1998). This debate was asking the question whether it is possible to establish equality without imposition of homogeneity and erasure of cultural differences and identities. Given the proposals of the commission to deepen the inequalities of resources and opportunities in the rural society and entrenchment of dominance, the proposal to establish equal opportunities in education created a 'mismatch' (Kumar 1996: 2372) and was bound to be of little relevance even if it had been put in practice.

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ANNEXURE E: A RECENT TREND IN PRIVATIZATION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE LOW FEE PAYING SCHOOLS

Rahul Mukhopadhyay

Discussion note for workshop on studying Qualityin Education held on December 17&18, 2010 at TISS Mumbai.

Summary observations:

Most educationists have categorized the schooling system in India into the following three broad categories: publicly funded and managed (government); publicly funded but privately managed (aided); privately funded and managed (private). They have also underlined the similarities between aided schools and the government schools, and, thereby, pointed out the importance of comparing government schools (aided and unaided) with private schools (recognized and unrecognized). Studies by these researchers have also shown a phenomenal growth in the privately managed and funded schools in recent decades (Tilak 1994; Tilak and Sudarshan 2007; Kingdon 2005). In this section, I focus on some of the key observations made by research on this rise of private schools in recent years, especially schools which have been classified as low-fee paying schools (**hereafter LFPs**) catering to the poorer sections in both urban and rural areas. The aim is to highlight the research gaps indicated by and from these studies and also underline the salient observations in order to think through the same for our own research project. I have I have developed these along two broad themes: 'Choice', and Intra and inter-system dynamics'.

Choice

One of the main issues that emerges from this literature is one of 'choice' and that too how poor parents exhibit 'choice' in the context of rising numbers of LFP schools. According to Hirschman (1978), 'ability to pay' is a precondition for 'choice' to be manifest in educational options that are selected by parents. However, studies such as those by Tooley and Dixon (2006) observe that the 'ability to pay' of poor families is compensated for by the concessionary benefits provided by LFP schools and wherever this is not so, 'choice' of poor families for LFP schools is not manifest. Harma (2009), on the other hand, present evidence from her study which seems to contradict Tooley and Dixon's observations:

> "Tooley and Dixon's (2006) assertions that LFPs commonly offer extensive concessionary and scholarship places in order to aid the poor were put before parents during FGDs. These claims were dismissed as 'rubbish and lies'."

What is instead observed by Harma (2009) is something similar to that which Srivastava (2007) points out in her own study, concessionary strategies by the LFP schools to retain clients in an environ marked by severe competition (where exit by the poor parent leads to the benefit of a rival LFP school and also a loss of clientele which is often a 'quality' factor for the choice of LFP schools which are selected based on the higher numerical strengths as an indicator of 'good quality'). The

concessionary benefits that Harma reports are typical bundling strategies of marketing of consumer non-durables such as 'three for two': which meant that the tuition fees of one child is wavered in case of enrolment of three children from same family. As Harma notes, there are no direct cost benefits offered by the LFP schools and these marginal concessions are not compensatory enough for the poorest families which access any form of schooling.

Another level of contradiction evident from the issue of 'choice' is that on gender-based choices of LFP schools. While some of the studies show that there is a male-gender bias in the choice of LFP schools by the poor at the primary level (Dreze and Sen 2002; Kingdon 2005; Bhartia and Kingdon 2007), others show that the poor are as likely to send girls to LFP schools as boys at the primary level (Srivastava 2006; Harma 2009). A question that does not seem to have been explored in the studies is whether there is either explicit or implicit gender-targeting/biases in the rising LFP sector from the supply side. Related to gender inequalities is the question of inequalities on other fronts. As Tilak and Sudarshan (2007) observe:

> "Demand for private education is influenced considerably by household economic factors, social factors such as caste, and parental background such as educational and occupational levels. With respect to household incomes and caste and education of the parents, a systematic pattern could be noted – probability of a child going to a private school is higher among the households of higher strata. Besides a clear gender bias could also be observed."

A number of questions / issues can be raised from the above:

1. What is the nature of compensatory benefits provided by the LFP sector to different socio-economic groups that access this sector?
2. What are the motives behind these compensatory benefits and how are they operationalised? ('three for the price of two' are clearly not based out of motives of altruism but out of strategic considerations of the prevailing local market; however, at the same time other motives have also been noted: for example, Srivastava (2007) notes that LFP managements do offer explanations that they concede fee-bargaining by parents due to philanthropic motives of not taxing the children for their parents' strategies, even when they know the parents can afford full fees).
3. How can 'ability to pay' and 'willingness to pay' for education be operationalised for different socio-economic groups? (this becomes an important issue when we try to situate the 'value' that parents think they can derive from the education system for their children; note may be made of 'sacrifice mentality' of poor parents who cut down on other expenditures: 'indeed 64% of LFP parents reported saving in areas such as clothing, healthcare and livelihood inputs in order to pay private school fees' (Harma 2009), and, especially so in the knowledge that such schooling is not directly tied to either job market opportunities or the ability to access post-elementary education.
   What are the prerequisites for exercising choice of schooling by disadvantaged households?

4. Do LFP schools address existing inequalities or further accentuate them (by creating discriminatory and streaming practices even at the lower socio-economic levels)? If the latter, what are the possible consequences of such trends?

One feature of these studies seems to be problematising the notion of 'choice' as 'rational-choice' in the pure neoclassical vein. An understanding of what the 'rational-choice' model of choice entails can be had from the following:

> "In its starkest form, choice in the context of individualism and liberal market reforms is based on an extension of the concept of *homo economicus*, conceiving of the parent as a rational thinking individual operating in an 'open' education system for self-interest. In their critique, David, Davies, Edwards, Reay, and Standing (1997) outline that choice, from this perspective, can be thought to involve various rational stages which are applied to the selection of a school:
>
> (1) possibilities are identified and separated out as 'different' and distinctive from one another;
>
> (2) information is acquired about each different option so that they can be evaluated one against another, and against previously held criteria; and
>
> (3) this rational appraisal leads to the selection of one option as the 'choice' (p. 399)."
>
> Srivastava (2006)

However, Srivastava (2006) critiques such a model as overly simplistic and tries to problematise the notion of choice by borrowing upon Douglass-North (1990)'s framework of 'mental models' and positing this as one of 'active choice'. In this model parents express choice even in the agency of their non-exiting of poor quality schools. The strategies through which agency of parents is manifest is classified into the following four:

Staying (not-exiting poor quality schools): rationale of obligation to school owners; not a good practice to continuously change schools;

Fee-bargaining: bargaining for reduced tuition fees that were due (acceded to by school management due to proclaimed philanthropic reasons as well as to deter competition from taking advantage of exit);

Exiting: changing schools, even mid-year; and

Fee-jumping: chronic exiters (driven by reduced fees considerations).

Though theorized through an economistic framework, as also Harma (2009) where she looks at links between choice and poverty, the attempt is to **problematise the notion of choice in what appears to be a more anthropological move**. As Srivastava (2007) herself underlines of economistic studies of 'choice': 'Although such studies provide a useful starting point for outlining potential factors influencing resulting school choices, they fall short of analyzing the *processes* through which schooling decisions are made within households, and further, how households interact with their chosen schools once the choice is made'.

What also appears from the above studies, and what probably has linkages with Padma's paper on quality is that the perceived differences between 'quality' of private and government schools expressed by poorer parents seem to be inadequately unpacked ethnographically. Given their own educational background or lack of it, factors listed seem to indicate parents posit discerning abilities with respect to factors such as 'learning of their children' and 'unsupportive and non-responsive school environment for parents', with the further contradiction that the latter being a characteristic that even private schools seldom adhere to. These seem open to further examination in the light of other studies which have pointed out the low-levels of awareness of parents regarding recognized and unrecognized schools as also literacy levels of parents acting as a hindrance to possibilities of well-informed choices regarding schooling[34].

Furthermore, parental choices for LFPs do not come with unequivocal acceptance of a regime of privatization in education. Even parents seemed to be aware that the 'quality' of LFPs was often benchmarked to quality of nearby government schools as is noted in the following observation by Harma (2009):

> "Importantly, parents were worried that if government schools were shut down and LFPs were the only option, then LFPs too would become complacent and quality would soon evaporate, and so these schools would resemble government schools."

Given that parents were often aware that LFPs were run purely for profit and also expressed their unwillingness to trust LFPs which they felt could be wound up at the whims and fancies of their private ownerships, the notion of an unhindered privatization of schooling for the poorer sections also needs to be scrutinized in terms of the perceptions of these sections of such a move in the medium and long term. In the above issues, for the poorer sections, **trust in public systems** seems to counterbalance their preferences for private schooling in the local context.

What emerges is that there is a trust in the government school system as a sustainable option for the poor (probably emerging from its developmental role), while at the same time there is a mistrust of the private system because of the individualistic nature of its management. At the same time social aspirations seem aligned to the kind of education being promised by the LFPs as well as to their perceived accountability as against the government school system. There is also distrust in

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[34] As Srivastava (2006) notes: "there is a dearth of research on the household schooling behaviors of disadvantaged groups who access the LFP sector. Balagopalan (2004) stresses that underpinning Indian educational discourse are the middle classes' ideological constructions of disadvantaged communities favoring child labor over schooling. Such rhetoric portrays these groups either as "vulnerable" and likely to be "duped" by LFP schools (Singh, 1995), or as "irresponsible" (e.g. Banerji, 2003; Government of India, 2002, p. 86). From this perspective, disadvantaged groups are characterized as disinterested in schooling, ignorant of its benefits and, when faced with limited resources, unwilling to send their children to school."

the existence of a purely private school system which is then perceived to degenerate into a government school system. Given that regulations is one aspect that has been and is being bypassed in both the existing government school system and the emergence of the LFP sector, it is pertinent to ask **whether one is looking at an unregulated only private schooling system that will have the same possibility of shaping into the current government schooling system?** This is important as policies need to consider the implications of such **issues of trust in public systems and the corresponding issues of mistrust in private systems.**

Intra and inter-system dynamics

Another issue that comes up from the available literature on LFPs is the set of dynamics unleashed by the rise of private schooling in terms of complementarities and or competition, both within and between the two broad systems of education: government and private. To elaborate, for example, Harma (2009) notes that the level of direct competition between unrecognized and recognized LFPs in rural UP is low with parents **being largely unaware** of the recognized / unrecognized status of a LFP school. At one level this again raises the question of the 'value' (or motives) of education that poor see for their children given that they do not discriminate between a formal school certification process and its absence. However, this observation also contradicts the supply-side dynamics underlined by Srivastava (2008) who points out the 'shadow institutional framework' that operates within the broader private schooling sector with linkages between unrecognized and recognized schools to take care of formal certification processes.

Many of the studies also point out state-specific differences in terms of extent of private schooling both at different levels of the schooling system (primary, secondary, and higher education levels) and even at the same levels of the schooling system. For example, Tilak and Sudarshan (2007) note the following:

> "…at the primary school level, Gujarat is the only state without any private schooling facilities (in the villages sampled). In Haryana, despite 97 percent of the villages having a government school, 32 percent also have a private school. Kerala displays a somewhat different pattern, with the government and the private systems being apparently complementary – mutually supporting each other, rather than competing. Private-aided schools being financed by the government to the most extent do not compete with the government schools. This is also due to public policy promoting private-aided schools.
>
> Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa have no private upper primary schools in the villages sampled. In many states the picture tends to be that villages with government schools are unlikely to have private schools and vice versa."

Based upon the above observations, Tilak and Sudarshan (2007) point out that a demand-supply based analysis of the presence of government and private schools is important to understand

whether the presence of private schools is catering to unmet demand (excess demand) or is it catering to the need created by poor quality of government schools in the same area (differentiated supply). This issue ties up with issues raised by De and Samson (2009) where they point out from their work that private schools are often not about meeting excess demand and, therefore, through their benchmarking with poorly performing government schools, have implications for school quality. According to both Tilak and Sudarshan (2007) and De and Samson (2009), private schools do not create their own demand and come up in areas of poorly performing government schools with a strategy that ensures their survival with a low-cost poor quality environment because of the relatively poorer performing government schools. This comes with **the question of assessing the actual learning levels vis-à-vis the reported learning levels of LFP sector.**

On the other hand, on inter-state variations on private and government schooling, Tilak and Sudarshan (2007) observe:

> "One can infer from all this that **no systematic pattern** in rates of enrolment of children in different types of schools in different states exist in the sense that enrolment rates in government or private schools cannot be related to the level of economic development or educational development of the state."

However, Kingdon (2005) points out some areas of further research through her observations on inter-state variations at different levels of schooling:

> "…in the primary age group (ages 5-10), **the importance of aided schools varies dramatically by state**, with Kerala, West Bengal and Assam having very high aided school shares. It is interesting to that these states – which have tended to have left leaning governments – have chosen to deliver primary schooling predominantly via a system of aided schools rather than via government schools. In the primary age group, private school enrolment is relatively high in AP, Haryana, Punjab and UP; in the upper primary age group (11-14 years), the private enrolment share is relatively high in Punjab and UP; in the secondary age group (15-18 years), the private share is relatively high in Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa, Punjab and UP; and in the higher education age group (19-24 years), the private share is high in Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Assam. **These differences at different ages** (corresponding to different levels of education) presumably reflect the policy choices made by the respective state governments, for instance the choice of how many private schools to bring onto the grant-in-aid list and how much to control private schools."

What Kingdon's observations emphasise is that there are different policy paths being followed by different Indian states on the mix of private and government schooling at both same education levels and at different education levels. This makes it imperative for us to:

> "…**understand the factors underlying these very different policy choices in education by the different Indian states.** While the smallness of the private enrolment share and the largeness of the aided school share in the left-leaning states might be

> explained by these states' anti-private stance and their possible propensity to cave-in more easily to teacher union demands, it does not explain why they have not chosen to provide primary education primarily via government schools, as in most other states. This is something of a puzzle."

The above issue ties up with the thrust of Archana's paper which tries to understand how specific policy choices, and their operationalisation or non-operationalisation in practice, have created helps sustain the spaces for different types of private schooling, including LFPs. To explore this issue further, I draw upon some observations by both Kingdon (2005) and Srivastava (2008). Both Kingdon (2005) and Srivastava (2008) seem to underline that government regulations create a perverse set of incentives that jeopardize equity in an already differentiated schooling system. For example, Kingdon (2005) notes:

> "Since government regulations such as the requirement to be recognized and pay high prescribed-minimum salaries to teachers are progressively more stringent for higher levels of education, more private schools exist at the primary level than at the junior level and the secondary level. Since the children of the poor are best represented at primary education, this pattern is clearly perverse from the point of view of equity."

On another level Srivastava (2008) identifies perverse incentives in two features of the formal education system:

> "(1) different requirements for state and private schools; and (2) its long and laboured procedures.
>
> The first was interpreted by case study schools as an obligation for LFP schools to conform to unequal standards. The most common examples given by owners/principals were the insistence on primary and junior schools to conform to: (1) stricter norms on the numbers and dimensions of classrooms for private schools when (as observations confirmed) state schools would often be built with just three classrooms and a veranda, and not the requisite five for recognised schools; (2) requirements on teaching equipment and furniture when children in state schools sat on the floor on mats; and (3) employment of trained teachers when the state launched an initiative to hire *shiksha mitra* at the primary level to cover the shortage of qualified teacher candidates…
>
> The second root was the formal framework's long and laboured procedures, particularly for granting recognition. Since recognition was the key to increasing a school's status in the local market, owners were undoubtedly interested in acquiring it quickly but felt that the official procedures were not transparent. Many owners claimed that the process of getting their files passed was too lengthy and inefficient."

These two features of the formal system were strategically used by the private schooling system to ensure a non-uniform application of rules of the formal system to the private schooling system that

in turn sustained the 'shadow institutional framework' within which the private schools operated. The shadow institutional framework consisted of arrangements such as affiliations to recognized schools for purposes of delivery of education beyond which recognition was available and also for formal certification. It also included using coaching centres as proxies for delivering secondary education where the coaching centres could be set up without much bureaucratic hassles but at the same time could function as extension wings of recognized schools delivering secondary education.

List of studies:

Three studies so far have attempted this, though it is not known how meticulous they were, relative to each other, in seeking out unrecognised schools. Aggarwal (2000) found that in his four surveyed districts of Haryana in 1999, there were 2120 private primary schools of which 878 (or 41%) were unrecognized. Using information on the date of establishment of each school, he calculated that the number of unrecognized schools in Haryana was doubling roughly every 5 years. The PROBE survey of 1996 in 5 north Indian states did a complete census of all schools in 188 sample villages. It found 41 private schools, out of which 26 (or 63%) were unrecognized. Mehta (2005) finds that in 7 districts of Punjab, there were 3058 private elementary (primary +junior) schools, of which 2640 (86%) were unrecognized. Clearly, unrecognized schools form the majority of private primary schools in the 5 north Indian PROBE states and in Punjab.

Thus, studies of the relative effectiveness of public and private schools in India have had to rely on standardised achievement tests carried out by the researchers themselves in small samples of schools (Bashir, 1994; Govinda and Varghese, 1993; Kingdon, 1994, 1996; Tooley and Dixon, 2003). These studies have been carried out in different parts of India (Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, respectively) but they share the common conclusion that private school students outperform their public school counterparts even after controlling for the schools' student intakes.

ANNEXURE F: THINKING ABOUT TEACHERS AND TEACHING IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES

Manish Jain

Discussion note for workshop on studying Qualityin Education held on December 17&18, 2010 at TISS Mumbai.

Irrespective of the idea of education and its purposes- whether of economic growth, stability of political regime and legitimization of social relations, promoting equality, justice and democratic virtues, nurturance and development of the capabilities of each child, teachers remain critical in developing the kinds of aspirations a child associates with education, their confidence or lack of it in their own abilities (as an individual and as a member of a social group) to achieve it and for enactment, realization and subversion of the goals associated with education[35]. The pedagogic effort by the teachers and the relationships forged between them and their students are "constitutive of the child's political and epistemic being, and is a defining aspect of the child's overall socialisation into modern society and becoming educated into a democratic polity" (Sarangapani n.d.). A teacher engages with both the individual child and the societal perspective in the course of his/her educational work. This paper moves with the assumption that the ideas, social relations, institutional and historical contexts which guide and shape education and learning, also inform the formation of teaching profession, perception of teacher's work, nature of pedagogic endeavor and role of teacher in this exercise. It is believed that these factors and processes also influence teacher's awareness of and sensitivity to his/her work being at the core of the idea of quality.

Before we begin to focus on the key issues discussed in this paper, a brief recapitulation of the contemporary context may not be out of place. With globalisation, human capital theory and efficiency have become predominant models to decide and evaluate the purpose, (economic) worth, processes and outcomes of education. Efficiency translated as cost-effectiveness and "measurable student achievement" became a key marker to define education and educational outcomes to plan, predict, measure and compare the role of education in enhancing the economic growth of different national economies. Deeper engagement in education for creating new types of citizens, for justice and equality, and education as a human right are deemed economically irrelevant, and thus unimportant to policymakers. Both state and non-state agencies began to measure, publish and circulate student achievements in reading and numeracy to compare private and public schools. Public choice theory and the doctrine of efficiency view teachers as merely rent-seeking agents. With a large unemployed labour, teachers are seen as an easily available human resource, a replaceable cog, as one input among many whose purpose is defined with reference "to quantifiable outputs, namely, the learning achievement of students" leading to greater workplace productivity (Welmond 2002: 41-42).

[35] My position is different from the principal-agent perspective adopted by Kingdon (2001 a, b).

In this background, to examine the notion and work of teachers in relation to question of quality, four issues are discussed in this paper: a) the new public management discourses[36] about teachers and how do they shape teacher's lives and teaching on a day to day basis, b) an alternative to this framework which focuses on teacher's identity, work and teaching as a profession, c) institutional contexts of teachers and teaching and d) idea of educability and question of social distance between teachers and students.

I

The key terms, issues and arguments that have come to define discussion in new public management discourses about teachers in India are 'managing'[37] and reducing cost of teacher salary and linking it to market[38], change in employment conditions (from regular to contractual) to

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[36] Mahony (1997: 88-89) has summarized the seven principles of New Public Management identified by Chris Hood (1991). These are:

- Hands on professional management or freedom for managers to manage—'active, visible, discretionary control of organisations from named persons at the top';
- Explicit standards and measures of performance or clear definition of goals, targets or indicators of success preferably in quantitative form;
- Greater emphasis on output controls with resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance and a stress on results rather than procedures;
- Break up of large organisations into smaller units operating on decentralised budgets;
- Introduction of competition often involving contracts and public tendering procedures;
- A stress on commercial styles of management which replaces the former public service ethic;
- A stress on greater discipline in the use of resources involving doing more for less by 'raising labour discipline and resisting union demands'.

Hood, Chris (1991). A Public Management for All Seasons, *Public Administration*, 69, Spring, pp: 4-5.

[37] Mehrotra, Santosh, Buckland, Peter (2001). 'Managing School Teacher Costs for Access and Quality in Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis', *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 8, pp: 4567-4579. Jain, Pankaj S and H Ravindra Dholakia (2009): "Feasibility of Implementation of Right to Education Act", Economic & Political Weekly, Vol 44, No 25, 20 June, pp 38-43.

[38] In the neoliberal ethos, deregulation of education and imposition of market discipline are seen as necessary to discipline the unjustifiably privileged middle class professionals like teachers and contain or reduce the educational expenditure. Concern about privileging the state employees and the high "compensation paid to civil servants" was also expressed by the World Bank (2003). It calculated that the "wages for selected categories of staff are consistently higher than they could expect to make in the private sector". In comparison to 39 Asian countries where teachers' salaries were 1.7 to 1 with reference to per capita GDP, in India the ratio was 5 to 1 (ibid: 36). It was argued that "more emphasis needs to go to local market comparators" (ibid: 37). Jain and Dholakia also argue that "the salary of a schoolteacher in the private sector is almost 25% to 35% of the cost of government salary" (2009: 41). They also calculate that primary teacher salaries in India exceed per capita GDP by seven times (2010: 79). If the GDP/teacher salary ratio taken as a norm, then the primary teacher's monthly salary in India must range from Rs 2,129 to Rs 4,344. In this perspective, paying this salary without the benefits of job security and pension and health-related benefits is not seen as exploitation, but the introduction of market discipline in the period of globalisation.

ensure greater accountability through privatization and decentralization (accountability of the employing authority to parents/community and of teachers to parents/community through pressures and threats of termination of service by management/local appointing authority), performance (of teachers to be judged by the learning achievement of children), performance linked wages/rewards (for accountability and motivating hard working teachers). If the private school teacher has come to embody these reforms, the figure of regular government teacher as produced by contemporary discourses, has come to be associated with unethical practices[39], lack of accountability to parents and local community, failure of children to reach expected levels of learning, frequent absence from school[40] and politicization. The explanations for this rent seeking[41] behavior range from conditions of employment that guarantee protection and permanency of tenure to their unionization and ability to act as a powerful lobby in comparison to weak and unorganized parents and children. It is argued that teachers control education system, enjoy political patronage and wield considerable political power as members of legislatures. Their political power is also derived from their potential to affect political outcomes in an election by virtue of their ability to vote as a block and critical appointment as election officers who are responsible for conducting elections[42]. In these accounts, the figure of the government school teacher comes to personify and represent the systemic failured and all the ills that have come to be

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Jain, Pankaj S and H Ravindra Dholakia (2009): "Feasibility of Implementation of Right to Education Act", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol 44, No 25, 20 June, pp 38-43; Jain, Pankaj S and H Ravindra Dholakia (2010): "Right to Education Act and Public-Private Partnership", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol 45, No 8, 20 February, pp 78-80; World Bank (2003): *India: Sustaining Reform, Reducing Poverty*, Delhi: OUP.

[39] Report of the National Commission on Teachers (1983-85), *The Teacher and Society*, notes two factors that resulted in "utter disillusionment of the public with teacher performance". These are, "the pre-occupation of teachers with private tuitions and income-generating activities rather than with efficient classroom teaching" and increasing politicization (NCT 1986: viii). Kingdon (2001 a: 3063, FN 3, 4) suggests that a large number of teachers own different kinds of businesses, remain absent from school without taking official leave; arrive late and leave early; force students to take private tuitions; help students and leak examination papers in return for money. In her later study, Kingdon (2010: 64) on the basis of calculations from SchoolTELLS survey reports that 65.0 % para-teachers and 75.3 % private school teachers had another occupation in comparison to 34.0 % regular teachers in UP. The figures in Bihar did not show much difference between para-teachers and regular teachers with 44.8 % and 48.9 % respectively.

[40] See Kingdon (2001 a: 3063, FN 3), Kremar etal (2005), Rogers and Vegas (2009). PROBE Report (1999: 63, cited in Kingdon 2001a: 3052) attributes absenteeism to lack of monitoring and local accountability. Kingdon (2001a: 3058-9) argues that Salary Disbursement Act of 1971 and its extension to junior private aided schools along with recruitment of such teachers by the UP Education Service Commission have meant that teachers "can no longer be locally monitored or disciplined for negligence".

[41] Kingdon (2001 a: 3053) uses this framework to discuss teachers and their unions in UP. She defines rent-seekers as people, "who seek to make profits that are unrelated to their productivity" (ibid).

[42] See Kingdon (2001 a, b), Tara Beteille, discussion with Pankaj S Jain.

associated with the public school system. This discourse makes government school teacher responsible for unequal access of the poor and disadvantaged social groups to education. It promises that institution of greater accountability mechanisms and appointment of teachers at lower salaries can address the existing social divide and rupture its reproduction and result in inclusive schools and society.

Para-teachers, teachers appointed on terms different from regular teachers, whether with reference to contract, qualifications or salary are the third category of teachers whose appointment is seen as a solution to various ills associated with the government teacher. Their decentralized and contractual appointment was seen as an effective way of dealing with the teachers' collective opposition to the reform process (Govinda and Josephine 2005). Hiring of para-teachers, who comprise about 16 % of total teachers at primary level[43], is also explained as a way out to recruit teachers without liability of recurring financial liability in the face of mounting fiscal deficit faced by state governments and is appreciated for bringing down PTR (Kingdon 2010: 60). The salaries of these teachers varied from 14 % to 68 % of the salary of regular teachers and "the simple average ratio across the reported states is 36%" in Kingdon's study (ibid: 61). Kingdon (2010: 60-61) also shows that they have higher educational qualifications, are much younger and a majority of them do not have professional teacher qualifications.

Study by Sankar (2008 a: 37) reported in Kingdon (2010: 62) shows that regular teachers have far greater responsibilities related to official duty of other departments, education-related but non-academic duties and administrative duties. Mooij (2008: 520) mentions the range of these duties (census, elections, pulse polio, economic surveys) and also notes that teachers have to fill up an amazing number of registers and forms on a monthly basis, many of which seek repetitive information leading to considerable resentment among teachers and school heads. My own informal discussions with few government school teachers in Delhi draw attention to responsibilities of preparing salary, submitting it to the directorate and its disbursement; collection of fees; distribution of forms for a series of welfare supports to students, preparation of lists and its final distribution; mid-day meal etc. Many of these efforts involve money and any mistake on teacher's part can be costly to them, both in terms of money and adverse remarks from superiors. These responsibilities also involve interaction with a large number of people and patience in dealings and cause stress. Proper execution of these non-academic responsibilities forms one grid of new accountabilities of teachers and their performance. These tasks that lead to loss of teaching time are not performed by teachers in private schools. These new administrative responsibilities are themselves product of a New Public Management in various functions of government including education and result in "ever increasing guidelines and instruction" (Mooij 2008: 521). Successful performance of such new tasks results in newer identities of teachers that have little to do with the key task of teacher, teaching. They also lead to redistribution of the work division at school.

[43] Kingdon (2010: 68) informs that "majority of para-teachers are in the states of Andhra Pradesh (AP), Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, MP, Rajasthan and UP, which together hire 68% of all para-teachers across the country".

This emphasis on performance, with reference to measurable indicators and targets, and pressure from superiors to attain them also results in forcible over reporting and filling of false data of achievement of literacy and child enrolment in the school and use of inappropriate means to increase the percentage of children passing in the examination (Mooij 2008: 520-1, Saxena and my own discussions with teachers in Delhi). The new teachers are trained and socialized into these unspoken practices and codes. Parent's awareness of such practices leads to further deterioration in respect for teachers and their vilification. With little decision space of their own and absence of appreciation from superiors, meaningful feedback, academic guidance and forums to discuss their problems and receive pedagogic support, government school teachers feel demotivated (Mooij 2008: 511-3, 520, Ramchandran 2005, 2009, Batra). These concerns and problems of teachers and their voices remain absent from the discourse on accountability which focuses on teachers but rarely questions the accountability of the higher echelons of educational bureaucracy.

Teacher absence continues to be a key issue in research on teacher's accoutability. It is argued that higher incidence of absence results in poor learning of students and achievement advantage of children taught by para-teachers is an effect of their lower absence (Kingdon 2010: 65). Comparisons of regular teachers are drawn with para-teachers, who are reported to have lower absence. Higher incidence of personal leave by regular teachers and para-teachers appointed for life is attributed less to the travel distance from school and more to lack of "greater accountability pressures" faced by para-teachers (Kingdon 2010: 62-3). But what is the nature of these accountability pressures, how are they exercised, to what effect on teacher's lives, are absent as issues of research in such assessments. We also do not know whether this number of leaves is permitted by the terms of appointment. We also need to ask if recommending non-payment for leave tantamount to endorsing withdrawal of certain measures like maternity leave, sick leave considered essential for the welfare of working population and imposition of the insecure existing exploitative working conditions in the unorganized sector.

Critics of para-teachers policy have repeatedly pointed to their lack of professional training and its possible negative effect on the learning of children. Various studies about professional preparation of para-teachers[44] point out that they had either not received any useful pre-service or in-service training or such programmes had been ineffective in addressing their actual needs leading to stress on rote-learning and memorization in their teaching. On the basis of interviews with head teachers, NCAER study (2008: 2, cited in Kingdon 2010: 63) draws attention to different set of skills in which para-teachers and regular teachers are proficient. Para-teachers were found to be better in preparation of curriculum transaction, developing TLM, use of English and blackboard and regular teachers had greater proficiency in communication with parents, had greater commitment to teaching, did better diagnosis of learning difficulties of students and used science and mathematics kits effectively. Subject knowledge and teaching skills of regular teachers are also reported to be better than para-teachers (Kingdon etal 2008, Kingdon 2010: 65-66). Sankar (2008a, cited in

[44] See EdCIL (1999: 97), Pandey and Rani (2007), Pandey (2006), Rampal and Bhagat (2003) cited in Kingdon (2010: 63-64).

Kingdon 2010: 64) through his analysis of the kind of classroom activities on which these two groups of teachers spent time, reports less involvement of regular teachers in rote learning activities and greater in high order thinking skills. Self-reporting of teachers on the time spent in different activities at school in the SchoolTELLS survey shows para-teachers spent more time in teaching children and substantially less in office work than the regular teachers.

The above discussion suggests various lines of enquiries for research about teachers of various types with regard to their salary, responsibilities, time spent in teaching, subject knowledge and proficiencies, kind of pedagogy practiced, student's learning, teacher's concerns and problems.

Another crucial aspect that should receive our attention is the notion of teacher in the management model of education. At one such school inspired by this model, Gyanshala, the task of teaching is divided and planned into modules of 15 minutes each and teachers are supervised by supervisors. Jain and Saxena (2010) in their critique of this model argue that it treats teachers as workers in the education assembly line, who perform the teaching/learning tasks decided by the management. In it, the teacher lacks any training and agency to deliberate on the curriculum, to conceive, plan and design teaching and learning strategies for specific groups and individuals. The curriculum supervisors break the "complex jobs into specified actions with specified results". The "management controls both pace of work and skill" of teachers to attain specified learning goals set for students (Apple 1995: 128-33). Thus, we need to enquire whether teacher is seen as a person who needs to be closely monitored to perform the tasks handed to him/her by others or a person with freedom and capabilities who can be trusted to initiate discussion with children about human life and experience, different ways of learning, knowing, creating and producing.

For the purposes of this study, it is also proposed that the new regimes of surveillance and responsibilities instituted by private managements and government, who treat education as a 'service' and teachers as dispensable labour, lead to considerable anxieties, dissatisfaction and stress among teachers. We[45] hypothesize that these frustrations with injustice at the workplace may or may not transfer and reflect in the classroom but it definitely affects their homes, personal lives and well being. It is further assumed that conditions in this 'labour sector' are not regulated by 'market logic' alone and gender locations along with cultural and social capital significantly affects choice and "change of employment in search of better service conditions or wages" (Sarangapani n.d.).

II

In contrast to the new managerialist perspectives on teachers and teaching discussed above, an alternative view of teachers and teaching argues that "teaching is more than a service delivery" and

[45] This hypothesis is based on my own experience as a school teacher in a private school for 10 years and discussion with Padma Sarangapani.

teachers own beliefs "about learners, learning, educability, and aims of education are at the core of what constitutes what they do and don't and are at the core of the educational enterprise, rather than 'performance on the job' that is determined by and created in response to employment management systems". In this view, "changes in teacher practices will follow from engagement with core beliefs rather than performance criteria" and "robust pre-service teacher training programmes" can lead to "formation of professional goals and sense of professional community" [46] (Sarangapani n.d.). It calls for conceiving "the teacher and teaching in a holistic manner where it is not just the salaries, but also the autonomy, academic excellence/support, intellectually stimulating environment and recognition of the work that sustains an interest in education and ensures quality teaching" (Jain and Saxena 2010: 80). In this perspective, the source of satisfaction is not external monetary rewards decided on the basis of performance but teaching and satisfaction of learning.

This perspective asks us to examine how teachers' identity as a teacher, their notion of their work and the kinds of educational work for which they take responsibility are constituted by their 'folk' notions regarding the process of learning and the overall aims of education, disciplinary identities and training, their membership of and identification with a community, age group (older teachers are more likely to include 'nation building' into their understanding of educational aims[47]), professional training, institutions, notions of who are the children they are teaching and for what purposes. Enquiry of how rise of English medium private schools that are aspired for by government school teachers for their own children, have affected their perception of themselves vis-à-vis teachers of private schools and how do private school teachers view themselves and government school teachers, can provide us insights into formation of distinct professional identities, selves and others. We may note in the passing that the government school system is also layered and being a teacher in a *pratibha vikas school* (talent promotion school) may have different meanings for being a teacher and the responsibilities associated with it.

III

It is assumed that the educational aims, ethos, nature of administrative practices, support and autonomy to teachers, kind of educational work and processes differ across various educational institutions and as a result educational quality is also not similar. To examine educational quality in different institutional contexts, we need to understand the ways in which the traditions and practices that exist in a school interface with what teacher does. We need to understand from teachers what work is considered important and desirable by them and what kind of management and administration would support them to engage in such work. This attention to the institutions would help us see how the new public management discourses, emphasis on accountability,

[46] See, Gupta, Latika for discussion about the social sensitivity and awareness developed among teacher-trainee students by an innovative pre-service programme, BElEd. In the west, discussions have taken place about possible role of critical race theory and feminism in in-service teacher training programmes.

[47] Mooij (2008: 512-3) points to two kinds of motivations that lead teachers to choose that profession: development of the nation and other mundane considerations.

performance are heard and applied differently by teachers in their pedagogic practice; how are they played out in interaction with teacher's histories and life worlds in schools with differential financial resources, operating in diverse communities and having different ethos (Comber 1997: 391). Comber (ibid) has rightly argued that "the ethos of school communities is not reducible to its statistics" and reference to context also is not enough to understand about institutions and school communities "ways of operating and the dynamic relationships of its membership". The autonomy and work of teachers at various sites can also help us know about trust and mistrust as one of the guiding principles. An enquiry into the culture of school can also help us understand how nature of relationships between teachers affects possibilities of bringing pedagogic change in a school or impedes such attempts. The professional training received by teachers, their awareness of educational resources, innovations at other sites and access to support networks can also impact the culture of the institution.

For this kind of enquiry, we would need to look at the kind of work teachers do, different documents of school such as teacher's diaries, school advertisements, roll books, submissions for funding, school composition, student report cards and reports of workshops. Focus group discussions with teachers, interviews with them and management and interaction with the community would be also useful to understand the ethos, pedagogic and discursive practices at these different sites.

IV

Impact of teacher's efforts and belief on the perception of children especially those coming from disadvantaged background about their own abilities has been made in several studies in and outside India[48]. Various dalit autobiographies have narrated the discrimination practiced by upper

[48] See, Avalos, Beatrice (ed.) (1986). *Teaching Children of the Poor: An Ethnographic Study in Latin America*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre. Sachidananda (1974*). Education among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in Bihar.* Patna; A N Institute of Social Studies; Agarwal, P.C and Mohammed Siddiq Ashraf (1976). *Equality through Privilege- A Study of Special Privileges of Scheduled Castes in Haryana*. New Delhi: SRC for Industrial Relations and Human Resources, both the studies are cited in Nambissan, 1996. Nambissan, G (1996). 'Equity in Education? Schooling of Dalit Children in India'. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.31, No.16/17, Apr. 20-27, pp: 1011-1024. For a representative autobiography by a dalit writer, see Valmiki, Om Prakash. (2003). *Joothan*: *A Dalit's Life*, translated by Arun P. Mukherjee. New York: Columbia University Press. Manjrekar (1999) in her ethnographic study of a school has discussed how children from largely migrant families learn gender norms through different practices and interactions at school in their effort to be "normal" in the gender category assigned to them. Sex based segregation operated with regard to lines in the morning assembly, sitting arrangement, attendance and examinations in the classroom. Ideas informed by 'nature' determined characteristics of girls being "dutiful daughters" and boys as "roughhousing rogues" determined the nature of task assigned to them by teachers and were an extension of their distinct roles at home. Peer pressure and fear of censure reinforced the gender divide at school. Manjrekar, Nandini (1999). 'Through the Looking Glass: Gender Socialization in a Primary School', in T.S. Saraswathi (ed.) *Culture,*

caste teachers against dalit children that takes form of casteist and other abuses, assertions about their inability to learn, classifying them as unintelligent and inferior and designating them suitable only for traditional occupations assigned in the caste hierarchy. The title of the National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education 2001, by NCTE *Towards Professional and Humane Teachers*, also indicates that humanness is a virtue essential for being a teacher besides learning to be a professional.

'Educability' is the concept that guides teacher's perceptions about the natural, genetic, inherited capacity and incapability of certain social groups to receive education and be educated. It is linked to the motivation and worthiness of effort that a teacher is willing to make to educate children from different social strata, caste groups and gender. Teacher's assessment about the present of these children, their imaginations about the possible futures of such children and anticipation of the results of their own and children's efforts also influence their teaching, willingness and longevity of engagement/practice. This question also becomes significant in relation to the arguments made about appointing teachers from local community who are likely to be more committed towards advancement of the children but in the existing literature, the locus of this locality is mostly defined with reference to geographic distance. Does similar caste or religious background of the teacher vis-à-vis students impact on their notions of educability and motivation/nature/longevity of their effort is an issue worth exploring. Whether presence of teachers with cultural capital can increase the social resources available at the disposal of the disadvantaged groups and does such a benefit forms an aspect of educational aims and purposes, is another question, we can address both theoretically and through enquiry with parents and teachers in the field.

Mooij (2008: 513-8) draws our attention to class as another axis of distance in the context of the changing social composition of the students and teachers in government school system. He argues that "decline of the government schools is causally related to the exit of the children of more well-to-do families" to private schools and now government schools are being largely accessed by the children of the poor and illiterates. As members of middle class, a larger number teachers stay in urban areas and have a social distance with the students they teach. For their own children, they prefer private schools with English medium and their own location in a vernacular government school, which has lost value in their own eyes, results in different aspirations of the futures of their own children and the children they teach. Mooij (2008: 513) has argued that teachers are aware of this changing social composition but it does not play any role in their conceptualization of the profession, and empowerment of the excluded as one of its significant purpose.

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APPENDIX G: QUALITY INSTRUMENT

TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

BASELINE STUDY OF SCHOOL SCENARIO IN SOME STATES

INSTRUMENT FOR SURVEYING SCHOOLS

Date: 1 August 2011

Introductory Notes on process etc.

Brief note on the Current Study on School Quality

Current studies of school quality reduce it to school infrastructure and school results in tests. Important efforts that schools make in achieving educational development of children are often reduced to 'process' parts that do not lend themselves easily to quantification. This study aims at understanding school quality in a more holistic manner, so as to engage with a variety of dimensions of what schools set out to do, their achievements and the challenges that they face. The study covers all kinds of schools in urban and rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal. It is supported by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Ed Cil,) Government of India.

The study will be conducted in two phases. In Phase I, which is the current phase, we are using a basic 'quality tool' in order to map all schools within a given geography. This Xcel sheet pertains to this tool. In Phase II, a stratified sampling will be done and more detailed interviews will be conducted with family, teachers, and management.

The Research Team

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1 **Forms and letters etc. you will need to have with you on field visits and for the study in general:**

visiting card

letter appointing you as researcher (to show to school if necessary)

letter to the school from TISS (please carry copies and give copy to school)

copy of letter from MHRD (to be received)--try to avoid using this and use only if absolutely necessary/

2 **Fix up visit to the school at least on the previous day**. Meet the principle/managing trustee with visiting card and letters of introduction and explain the purpose of the visit:

"We are conducting a survey on quality of schools and educational facilities in the mandal. This survey is supported by the Government of India. You will agree that quality of a school cannot be known only by its results. You do many things to ensure quality, and we would like to understand these aspects of the school. We would like to spend a full day in the school and interview you and the head, a few teachers, observe the activities of the school from morning till evening, including some classes, and examine some records of the school. Please confirm that we can visit your school tomorrow." In case you are being introduced to the school by an education officer, please ask them to provide the same type of introduction.

In case they cannot allow you to visit the next day, ask them to give you a date in the coming week. It would be best to fix up with four or five schools and continue to fix up with schools in advance in an ongoing manner.

In case a school is being very difficult about giving you an appointment, then do 'go up the ladder' and bring more senior researchers into the picture.

3 Activities you will need to undertake:

Observe morning assembly

Interview school head/trustee/director

Observe the school

Observe class Ivor III, VII or IV teaching of Language

Interview a teacher of class IV/VII (whose class you observed and who is regarded as good by the HM)

Examine some documents of the school

Examine the school timetable for curriculum diversity

Examine the schools assessment keeping records and report card for performance.

Study documents such as brochure/notice board/advertisements.

4 It is proposed that all these things are done in a matter of about 7 hours; from start to end of school time. After this the record keeping of the day's work is planned, so that on an average you observe and document one school in one day

5 Arrive in the school before the school starts, so that you can observe how children arrive, who brings them, and what they do as they prepare for assembly (if there is a morning assembly).

6 You may use this document as a reference and make notes alongside. You may ask for permission to record the interviews, etc. The series of questions are mainly to serve to direct your attention to various aspects of each dimension that we want to capture. You may find that the interviewee jumps back and forth and while answering a particular question provides you with information about other things as well. You need not go mechanically from question to question. You may also find that you gather information about a particular aspect at various points of time in the course of your visit.

7 You could, when you have some time, sit back to check that you have adequately captures all that needs to be captured, and make notes. At the end of the day you may write in a qualitative way the running notes—you may at this time, record against each head of the instrument, or else, you may record in a running format as it unfolded. In case you are aggregating across points of data gathering and putting them into the instrument rubric broadly, then indicate the source of what you are writing: e.g. aims: during discussion with teacher 1, during discussion with trustee, from the school brochure, see on the name board of the school, etc. etc.

8 After you visit is over, on the same day or latest the very next morning, you will need to type up all your observations in the appropriate spaces of the excel sheet. You will need to have a new excel sheet for each school that you visit and study. You will need to name the file according to the code that has been assigned to you. You will need to email the excel sheet to bssstiss@gmail, and also keep a copy of the excel sheet with you.

A	SCHOOL FACT SHEET		
		CHECKLIST (USE GIVEN CODES)	ENTER DATA / OBSERVATIONS /INFORMATION
1.0	School name		
1.1	postal address		
1.2	web page if any		
2	Mohalla or equivalent urban unit for planning (urban area)		
3	Ward No. (Urban Area)		
4	Pin code		
5	Revenue Block/Mandal/Taluka name		
6	Educational Block/Mandal/Taluka name		
7	Assembly Constituency		
8	Distance of school in Kms From Block Resource Centre (BRC)		
9	Distance of school in Kms. From Cluster Resource Centre (CRC)		
10	Whether school is approachable by all-weather roads? [Yes=1, No=2]		
11	What is the neighbourhood like in which the school is located? (1. residential: class related; market/commercial; slums/shanties; 2. density of population/traffic; noisiness; pollution)		
12	**Whether school recognized? [***Yes=1, No=2*]		
13	Year of establishment of school YYYY		
14	**If not recognized, whether applied for recognition[***Yes=1, No=2*]		
15	Year of recognition of school, if recognized YYYY		
16	Type of school [*Boys = 1, Girls = 2, Co-educational = 3*]		
17	School category [Primary=1, Primary with Upper Primary=2, Primary with upper primary and secondary/higher secondary =3, Upper Primary only =4, Upper Primary with secondary/higher secondary =5]		
18	Managed by (School Management) [Department of Education = 1, Tribal/Social Welfare Department = 2, Local body = 3, Pvt. Aided = 4, Pvt. Unaided = 5, others = 6, Central Govt. = 7, Unrecognised = 8, Madarsa recognized (by Wakf board/Madarsa Board)=97, Madarsa unrecognized=98]		

19	Which board is the school affiliated to? (please record all if multiple boards)		
20	Any particular reason for this affiliation? (please record if multiple reasons)		
21	Lowest class in school		
22	Highest Class in school		
23	Sections per class		
24	Medium of Instruction (a) [Assamese = 01, Bengali = 02, Gujarati = 03, Hindi = 04, Kannada = 05, Kashmiri =06, Konkani = 07, Malayalam = 08, Manipuri =09, Marathi = 10, Nepali = 11, Oriya = 12, Punjabi = 13, Sanskrit = 14, Sindhi =15, Tamil =16, Telugu =17, Urdu =18, English =19, Bodo =20, Mising =21, Dogri = 22, Khasi = 23, Garo = 24, Mizo = 25, Bhutia = 26, Lepcha = 27, Limboo = 28, French = 29, Others = 99]		
25	Medium of Instruction (b) [use same codes as above]		
26	Medium of Instruction (c) [use same codes as above]		
27	Medium of Instruction (d) [use same codes as above]		
28	School timings for primary (from) HH MM		
29	School timings for primary (to) HH MM		
30	School timings for upper primary (from) HH MM		
31	School timings for upper primary (to) HH MM		
32	School timings for high school (from) HH MM		
33	School timings for high school (to) HH MM		
34	Pre-primary section (other than Anganwadi) attached to school [Yes = 1, No = 2]		
35	If yes, a) Total students		
36	If yes, b) Total teachers		
37	Anganwadi Centre in or adjacent to school [*Yes = 1, No = 2*]		
38	If yes, a) Total students		
39	If yes, b) Total teachers/Anganwadi workers		
40	Is the school fully residential [Yes = 1, No = 2; both day scholars and boarding = 3]		
41	If yes, and government, Type of residential school [Ashram (Govt.) =1, Non-Ashram type (Govt.) =2, Others =4, Not Applicable=5, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya (KGBV) =6]		

42	Whether this is a Special school? [Yes=1/No=2]		
43	What is the special nature of the school? (EGS/AIE/CWSN. Etc.):		
44	Total number of children in school		
45	Total number of teachers in school		
46	No. of sanctioned posts (if applicable) Teaching Staff (Regular Teachers)		
47	Actual Teaching Staff (Regular Teachers) For Primary		
48	Actual Teaching Staff (Regular Teachers) For Upper Primary		
49	Actual Teaching Staff (Regular Teachers) For High School		
50	Actual Contract Teachers For Primary		
51	Actual Contract Teachers For Upper Primary		
52	Actual Contract Teachers For High School		
53	Part-time instructor For Primary		
54	Part-time instructor For Upper Primary		
55	Part-time instructor For High School		
56	Non-teaching Staff For Primary		
57	Non-teaching Staff For Upper Primary		
58	Non-teaching Staff For High School		
59	Are there teachers for extra-curricular activities [Yes=1/No=2]		
60	If Yes, what are some of the areas for which they are there (list)		
61	Only for Private unaided schools (provide information for current academic year) a) Number of children belonging to weaker section or disadvantaged group applied for admission in grade I in current academic year (under 25% quota as per RTE)		
62	Only for Private unaided schools (provide information for current academic year) b) Number of children enrolled in grade I from weaker section or disadvantaged group (under 25% quota as per RTE)		
63	For both Aided schools and Private unaided schools b) Number of children admitted in grade I (for Free education)		
64	For all schools Is there a School Management Committee (SMC)? [Yes=1, No=2]		

65	Status of School Building [Private =1, Rented=2, Government=3, Government school in a rent free building=4, No Building=5, Dilapidated=6, Under Construction=7]		
66	Was specifically build for school and not converted from some earlier purpose[Yes=1, No=2]		
67	If no, does the school building convey a sense of a school space[Yes=1, No=2]		
68	Details of classrooms and other rooms (not to be filled for schools without building) a) Total Classrooms used for instructional purposes		
69	Details of classrooms and other rooms (not to be filled for schools without building) b) Total other rooms		

70	Type of building	In general classrooms (used for instructional purposes) in (use 1 and 0 to fill appropriately)			In general other rooms in (use 1 and 0 to fill appropriately)		
		Good condition	Need minor repair	Need major repair	Good condition	Need minor repair	Need major repair
	Pucca						
	Partially pucca						
	Kuchcha						
	Tent						

71	what is the layout and feel of the space? (1. Cramped, evenly spaced 2. whitewashed/recently painted 3. Privacy / non-privacy with adjacent spaces)		
72	Land available for Additional Classrooms [Yes=1, No=2]		
73	Separate room for Head Teacher/ Principal available [Yes = 1, No = 2]		
74	Any Separate room for teachers available [Yes = 1, No = 2]		
75	In general blackboards (Including Green/white boards) available in most classes [Yes = 1, No = 2]		

		Boys/male only	Girls/female only	Common

76	Are separate toilets available for schoolchildren [*Yes = 1, No = 2*]			
77	Are schoolchildren toilets functional / usable [*Yes = 1, No = 2*]			
78	Are separate toilets available for teachers[*Yes = 1, No = 2*]			
79	Are teacher toilets functional / usable[*Yes = 1, No = 2*]			
80	Source of drinking water facility [Hand pumps =1, Well =2, Tap water =3, others =4, none =5]			
81	Whether drinking water facility functional [Yes = 1, No = 2]			
82	Status of electricity connection in school [Yes = 1, No = 2, Yes but not functional =3]			
83	Boundary wall [Pucca=1, Pucca but broken=2, barbed wire fencing=3, Hedges=4, No boundary wall=5, others=6, Partial=7, Under Construction= 8]			
84	Whether school has Library [Yes=1, No=2]			
85	If yes, whether signs of library usage by children [Yes=1, No=2]			
86	Playground [Yes=1, No=2]			
87	If no, whether land is available for developing playground [Yes=1, No=2]			
88	If yes, description of playground (1. adequacy with respect to student numbers; 2. special sports provisions/tracks; 3. trees/recess spaces)			
89	Are computer facilities available for teachers[Yes=1, No=2]			
90	if yes, Are they used by teachers [Yes=1, No=2]			
91	Does the school have Computer Aided Learning (CAL) Lab [Yes = 1, No = 2, Yes but not functional =3]			
92	Does the school have Science Labs [Yes = 1, No = 2, Yes but not functional =3]			
93	If yes, description of science labs (1. Labs for each subject/only one 2. Well-equipped with facilities 3. Have lab assistants)			
94	Whether Medical check-up of students conducted last year [Yes=1, No=2]			
95	Whether specific medical provisions attached / provisioned [Yes=1, No=2]			
96	What kinds? (medical aid; attached doctors, tie-up with			

	clinics)		
97	Ramps/Other provisions for disabled children [Yes = 1, No = 2]		
98	Furniture for Teachers [Well endowed=1, Average=2, Poorly endowed=3]		
99	Furniture for Students [Well endowed=1, Average=2, Poorly endowed=3]		
100	What are special provisions for schoolchildren and teachers if any (canteens, swimming pools, recreation rooms, gyms, school-arranged transport)		
101	What is the cleanliness, orderliness, sense of being maintained and being taken care of? (cleanliness of playground, corridors, headteacher rooms, teacher rooms, classrooms, toilets; provision of cleaners; usage of school premises for non-school activities that contribute to disorder/uncleanliness)		
102	What are the general displays for teachers and children? (notices, reports/results, fees, recreation, informative/punitive/rewarding)		
103	In what ways, if any, do the classrooms or other spaces provide a feel of orientation to children learning needs (low blackboards for lower classes; teaching learning materials – quantity/quality/usage; storage cupboards/spaces for children's materials)		
104	Status of Mid-day Meal [Not applicable=0, Not provided=1, provided & prepared in school premises=2, provided but not prepared in school premises=3]		
105	If 'Provided & prepared in school premises', a. Give status of Kitchen Shed [Not applicable=0,Available=1,Not Available=2,Under Construction=3,Classroom used as kitchen=4		
106	If 'Provided & prepared in school premises', b. Separate Cook-cum-helpers available [Yes=1, No=2]		
107	If 'Provided but not prepared in school premises', Provide source of MDM [From nearby school=1, NGO=2, Self Help Group=3, PTA/MTA=4, others =5, Gram panchayat=6]		
108	**Enrolment in current academic session (by social category)** ***(in case exact numbers are not easily***	**(captured for all classes) ----→**	

	available, interview with HM captures this information with rough proportions)						
	Classes	Pre-Primary		I		II	
	Sections in classes						
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	A - General						
	B – SC						
	C – ST						
	D – OBC						
	E- Total Enrolment (A+B+C+D)						
	Muslim out of E						
109	What are your own perceptions of the way the school has arranged its facilities, including architecture, provisions for transport, provisions for teaching-learning/extra-curricular? (is it trying to cater to specific imaginations of parents? /features relating to social status/your reasons)						
110	What are the languages being spoken by children in off-time (corridors/playground/breaks-recess time) (order them in decreasing order of intensity)						
111	Are there symbols displayed in spaces such as entrance, spaces for gathering, principles rooms, main corridors, which indicate suggest any specific group identities/ideologies. Which are these?						
112	Notes any other features of the schools ethos/order/etc. that you feel are important and not already captured in any other section of this instrument. These are your subjective observations, and you may provide reasons for judgements that you make.						

B.	MORNING ASSEMBLY (IF THERE IS) - OBSERVATION		
		check list	**observation/notes/data to be recorded**
1	What time does school start?		
2	What time does school end?		
	Use this opportunity to get a feel of the children coming in at this time.		
3	How are they transported.		
	by walk		
	by school bus		
	parents drop them by some two-wheeler transport		
	by cycle		
	other		
4	What do children do prior to assembly.		
	some children clean the classrooms, outside spaces		
	unlock doors,		
	fetch water, maintenance of garden etc.		
	play		
	other		
	If there is assembly at any other time, not what time and observe this assembly. If there is only class assembly, then observe either IV or VII class assembly. If assembly is level of school wise, then observe junior school assembly		
5	is there morning assembly in any form in the school	yes / no	
6	are there multiple assemblies	yes / no	
7	if yes, for different stages? In different locations? Primary assembly and secondary assembly in individual classes? Why so?		
8	where does assembly take place (corridors; courtyard; playground; hall; etc.) and sense of space (cramped; spacious)		

9	how does assembling take place (monitored by students/teachers; self; bell; voice announcements; class to assembly); what is the sense of orderliness through which this takes place (silence, queuing, segregation of boys/girls, segregation by classes/sections)		
10	are all students expected to join the assembly	yes / no	
11	are all teachers expected to join the assembly	yes / no	
12	what are the facilities available and used for conducting the assembly (public addressal systems; tape recorders/videos; flag staff)		
13	when does the assembly start (HH-MM)	HH-MM	
14	total duration of the assembly (in minutes)	in minutes	
15	what are the contents of the morning assembly (who is in charge? Who all are involved in conducting the assembly? What happens (sequence of events; e.g. announcement, prayer, exercise, newspaper readings; rewards/punishments);		
16	Qualitative reflections on contents: children's role; teacher's role; explicitly visible purposes if any - disciplinary/ritual/religious/public display-reinforcement of values (and or with instances and some explanation for perception); examples of events if perceived different and some explanation for perception		
17	Note which assembly you have observed		
18	How were children standing/ sitting? (class wise, standing in lines, according to height. Boys and girls together or separate?)		
19	What was the contents of the assembly (give some examples, or note)		
	prayer	y/n	
	national anthem/to do with nation/national flag	y/n	

	hymns/religious prayers songs recitations	y/n	
	which religion	y/n	
	prayers relating to teacher/guru	y/n	
	relating to self/moral self/child as student	y/n	
	newspaper reading	y/n	
	announcements (logistics etc.)	y/n	
	special days mentioned noted	y/n	
	used to mark school or children's achievement/awards/ etc.	y/n	
	used to mark/punish children not in line, uniform, for lateness etc.	y/n	
	used to mark children with birthdays, etc.	y/n	
	exercises, yoga?	y/n	
	individual children came up to talk	y/n	
	class/house puts up a small programme or manages assembly	y/n	
	any other		
20	what type of discipline is associated with morning assembly, are there discipline practices evident? Give examples		
21	Is there public shaming of children? (if yes, give examples)		
22	Is there anything noticeable about the entire population of the school in terms of differences in groups in dress, etc. Make notes		
23	Are children given a role in assembly, and if so what?		
24	Who 'conducts' assembly (principle, teachers, school 'prefects', etc.?		
25	Is the Assembly used to mark things in a public way: achievements of individuals, 'show case' group efforts (e.g. a class or house may by turn be given responsibility to 'run' assembly), or children of a class may make a presentation at assembly, 'birthdays', 'shame'		
26	How do children go to their classes after assembly?		

27	overall impression of the assembly (is It convent like/ rote practice/elaborate et.		
	If you have an opportunity ask/enquire with teachers		
28	Is assembly conducted in the same way everyday? What may be different? Why? Why is this form of assembly important? How was the child selected? Why? Does every child get to come up at assembly?		

C.	**SCHOOL DOCUMENTS**		
	Ask the school HM/secretary if the school has the following document, request a copy and examine them:		
C.1	***Note if the school has/does not have the following. Also note any special features or additional documents which seem to be 'important' for the school***		additional observations if any
1	School has *brochures/pamphlets*:	yes/no	
2	school has a *prospectus* which it gives to its students	yes/no	
3	children/teachers receive a school *diary* (of some kind for daily record)	yes/no	
4	school has an *annual calendar* (this may be printed in the diary or may be a separate document) etc.	yes/no	
5	school has *class timetables*	yes/no	
	ask to see the weekly time table for classes I, IV, VII and IX (depending on which grades the school has)		
6	school gives children *report cards* at the end of each term/ annually	yes/no	
	ask to see the report card **format** for classes I, IV, VII and IX (depending on which grades the school has) i.e. we do not need to see a filled report card. Only the rubric.		
7	school has an *application form* which parents fill at the time of seeking admission	yes/no	
8	school has a *registration form and other undertakings* to be filled when admission is granted	yes/no	
9	school maintains class wise *performance/tests and exam result records* of previous years. In a register or computerised, etc.	yes/no	
	ask to see the register for the previous year, for classes IV and VII and IX		
10	School retains copy of the *question papers for annual examination* (and if no exams then for tests) of previous years	yes/no	

	ask to see the question paper for language and for science for classes I, IV, VII and IX (depending on which grades the school has)		
11	*textbooks*		
12	*workbooks for children*		
	Examination of documents		
C.2	*From the examination of brochure **pamphlets, prospectus, diary pages** look for articulation regarding the following and record what you understand are:*		
1	**Aims of the school**--what does the school say it strives to achieve. What does it regard important in becoming educated, does it portray an image of the 'educated person' what are the characteristics of this educated person that it portrays?		
	school identity		
2	does it give school history?		
	founder, characteristics/values, purposes of founding group	yes/no	
	other		
3	does it convey ideological location?		
	nationalistic	yes/no	
	charity	yes/no	
	religious	yes/no	
	merit	yes/no	
	modern/market	yes/no	
	other ideological		
4	does it project past achievements?		
	student academic or other	yes/no	
	awards	yes/no	
	other		
5	are there any 'symbols' used?		
	nationalistic	yes/no	
	religious (which)	yes/no	
	any other ideological		

6	**rules**--regarding what are there explicit rules and which of these are directed at parents and which are directed at students?		
	uniform	yes/no	
	attendance/regularity	yes/no	
	punctuality	yes/no	
	fees	yes/no	
	obedience	yes/no	
	respect for schools rules	yes/no	
	respect for teachers	yes/no	
	scholastic achievement (e.g. need to pass in all subjects, etc.)	yes/no	
	other		
7	Do the rules indicate any explicit **penalties or sanctions** that the school can take?		
	rustication	yes/no	
	fines	yes/no	
	failure	yes/no	
	being sent back home/kept out of class	yes/no	
	other forms of disciplinary actions		
8	What aspects of the school's **Curriculum/educational experiences** it provides are discussed in these documents	if none	
9	indications regarding scope and depth		
10	references to subjects which are taught and why		
11	extracurricular subjects that are named and any reasons for why they are regarded important		
12	curricular emphases of the school		
	english	yes/no	
	all round development of children	yes/no	
	'global citizen ship'	yes/no	
	employability	yes/no	
	other		
13	Which are the events marked in the **annual calendar**		
	national festivals (independence /republic day)	yes/no	

	cultural annual event	yes/no	
	annual sports event	yes/no	
	excursions	yes/no	
	examinations and tests	yes/no	
	others		

C.3	***class timetables*** *are examined to estimate curricular range. Take weekly timetable for any one section of class I, IV, VII and IX and note how many periods for the following using tally marks, across the days for the week.*	traditional academic subjects	sports/PT/PE	creative' co-curricular e.g. arts, theatre	others (gardening /SUPW)	notes
	class I					
	class IV					
	class VII					
	class IX					

C.4	**Report Cards**		
1	traditional academic subjects	yes/no	
	grades or marks	yes/no	
	qualitative comments	yes/no	
2	non scholastic subjects	yes/no	
	grades or marks	yes/no	
	qualitative comments	yes/no	
3	personality	yes/no	
	grades or marks	yes/no	
	qualitative comments	yes/no	
4	Other observations	yes/no	
	teacher only	yes/no	
	peer feedback	yes/no	

	self-assessment	yes/no	
	space for parental observations	yes/no	
	Other		
C.5	*Examine* ***School Registration Form used at the time of admission***		
1	What background information regarding parents (only father or both parents) is gathered:		
	education level	yes/no	
	religion	yes/no	
	caste	yes/no	
	economic level	yes/no	
	if mother is working or not	yes/no	
	knowledge of english at home	yes/no	
	any other details being gathered.		
2	What is the chief concern of any 'undertaking' taken from parents?		

C.6	***Pupil achievement records of previous year*** *examined for any one section of class IV, VII, IX to count number of children whose performance is in the schools own estimation 'inadequate'-failure/ average-adequate/ good, in the subjects-- language and mathematics. Take aggregate if it is aggregated for full year, otherwise, take final term exam results*	class strength	tally of children with scores below 'C' below 35%	tally of children with scores between 35% and 60% 'C' (adequate/ average)	tally of children with scores above 60%, above average (B or A)	any observations/anomalies / patterns noted
	class IV language					
	class IV mathematics					
	class VII language					
	class VII mathematics					
	class IX language					
	class IX mathematics					

C.7	**textbooks**		
	published by state	yes/no	
	by private 'branded' publisher	yes/no	
	by non-branded private publisher	yes/no	
	by NGO/research organisation	yes/no	
	schools own textbooks	yes/no	
	any other observations		
C.8	**Workbooks**		
	published by state	yes/no	
	by private 'branded' publisher	yes/no	
	by non-branded private publisher	yes/no	
	by NGO/research organisation	yes/no	
	schools own	yes/no	
	any other observations		

D.	**INTERVIEW WITH HM/TRUSTEE/MANAGER (WHOEVER IT IS WHO SEEMS TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE DAY TO DAY OF THE SCHOOL AND SERVES EFFECTIVELY AS THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SCHOOL**		
	This interview is one of the most crucial sources of data of this survey. It is a long interview and it is through this interview that we are learning a great deal about various aspects of the school. Some of the sections are directly to be elicited from the school leadership and pertain to the nature and form of leadership and the leaderships understanding of various issues. There are sections of this interview which are to do with description of the school, and which could also be gathered by talking to a senior/knowledgeable teacher. These sections are highlighted in grey to indicate to you that the view of the leadership is not per se the key source, but it is likely that you will be learning about these things from them. The interview need not be conducted in the order of the listed sections. Further the questions can be treated as prompts to elicit information about an area regarding which we want understanding and you may need to ask the question in different ways or using subsidiary questions		
		yes/no-checklist	observations, qualitative notes
1	Note the designation of the person who is interviewed. In case this person is not the official principal/HM also note this person's designation.		
D.1	**Personal Details**		
1	What is your name?		
2	What is your Designation?		
3	When did you become the HM of the school?		
4	Why did you come to this school/start the school		
5	What were you doing before you came her as HM/Trustee? How long were you working in this capacity?		

D.2	**Building facilities and its maintenance**		
1	What was the building like when the school began? What building activity was undertaken to expand? What types of facilities were added? and why? From whom did the funds come? (*you may find that there are several sources-- government, local politicians, parents, trusts, philanthropic organisations, etc. Sometimes the garnering of such funds is dependent on the proactiveness of the HM and this is what we would like to capture.)*		
2	facilities added		
3	reasons for adding the facilities		
4	source of funds (are they local organisations or generic)		
5	Do you get the sense of 'proactiveness' of HM to do these things? Networking etc.?		
6	Who are the individuals outside the school who seem to be taking an 'interest'?		
7	How is the building maintained? Do children do any work to clean, etc.? Do you have staff for maintenance? Who pays their salary?		
8	Are the classrooms and spaces you have sufficient?		
9	*In case you notice that library/science lab etc. are closed/locked or the spaces are being used for some other purpose.* Why are these facilities locked up? Are they used? Are they taken to class? By whom? When was the last time they were taken? (*ask for an example).*		
10	Do the children go outside the school to use any facilities on a regular basis? / are any of these 'outsourced' to instructors/companies within the school?		
	sports		
	computer learning		
	creative arts etc.		
	science		
	for personality development/life skills		
	mobile library		
	any other		
11	How is the school managed? (managing organisation)		
	government		
	local government		
	trust		
	company (not for profit)		

	society		
	other		
12	What is the name of the managing organisation?		
13	When was the trust started?		
14	When was the school started?		
15	What are the objectives of the trust?		
16	What other activities do they do, apart from the school?		
17	Do they run other schools?		
18	What is the general profile of the trustees/management?		
	family		
	social group		
	alumni		
	other		
19	comment on the ideological location of the trust and its aims if you are able to decipher this. And add some instances to support your judgement:		
	nationalist		
	charitable (charity motive)		
	religious and aimed at catering to a specific group		
	linguistic/regional and aimed at catering to the linguistic group/region		
	caste and aimed at catering to the caste group		
	aimed at catering to a gender group		
	business		
20	Comment on whether the school seems to have any other patrons or active persons associated with it		
	local politicians		
	local social leaders (heads of religious or caste groups)		
	parents		
	ngos/other trusts		
	alumni		
	others		
D.4	**Schools status-recognition, medium etc.**		
1	When was the school started? (if this is a part of many, you may need to ask about both the parent and the present school)		
2	Why was it started?		
	there was need (mostly in case of government schools)		
	to provide 'good education' in the neighbourhood		
	to provide english medium education at low cost		
	excellence/merit		
	there was demand from parents		

	other		
3	also note any historically relevant information.		
4	(If there are other schools also run by the mgmt, e.g. chain), is this school separate or is it a branch of some other school?		
5	Is the school recognised?	yes/no	
6	When was it recognised?		
7	Is recognition there for all levels? (reasons)		
8	(In case it is not recognised yet)Have you applied for recognition?	yes/no	
9	What is the medium of instruction? (note also if there are more than one medium of instruction)		
10	Why was this language chosen?		
11	(In case English is not the medium) Is English taught?		
12	Since when?		
13	From which level onwards?		
14	What other languages are taught?		
15	Why?		
16	The various details listed in the school fact sheet would most likely also be elicited from the school HM via interview. Other senior teachers could also be the source of these facts of the school.		
D.5	**Curricular matters**		
1	Which board(s) is the school affiliated to?		
2	Why?		
3	Are there any special or additional curriculum packages or programme being implemented? (note the details for all the various programmes of a curriculum package character. Elsewhere we would be recording information about additional inputs and activities which are of a more 'one-off' character)	yes/no	
4	what are these? (note the names)		
	school itself has innovated and focusses on special curriculum		
	a company provides a 'package'		
	government has some special input		
	a remediation programme or programme for special children/children with learning disabilities, etc.		
	the board not only examines but also provides curriculum training and support		
5	for which levels?		
6	Why?		
7	Are there any NGOs linked to or intervening/supporting the school?		

8	What do they offer?		
9	Are there any teacher education colleges who send their trainees to the school?		
D.6	**To understand the clientele of the school. Do look at DISE record of the school and note regarding predominance of any caste group, etc. This information could be got from the HM or from some senior/knowledgeable teacher of the school or a combination of both. Pl note sources of particular information where relevant. The aim of these questions is to build a picture of the diversity of clientele of the school and also to understand the extent of presence of children from disadvantageous backgrounds.**		
1	Make a note based on DISE profile of school clientele with special attention to record of % of SC, ST and minorities.		
2	key informants		
	HM		
	teacher		
	For each of the items below, enquire to get a sense of proportion: e.g. 30% mothers are domestic workers ,etc.		
3	what are the parents' occupations? (explore to find out about type of employment--service, professional, daily wage labourers, skilled/unskilled, etc.)		
4	What are the kinds of occupations of the children's fathers?		
5	what are the kinds of occupations of the children's mothers?		
6	what is the 'range' of occupations for fathers:		
7	upper end		
8	lower end		
9	what is the 'range' of occupations of mothers		
10	not working		
11	lower end		
12	upper end		
13	what is the general educational background of fathers?		
14	what is the general educational background of mothers?		
15	Would there be first generation school goes among the children? What proportion?	yes/no	
16	what linguistic groups do the children belong to? (again note approx. proportions)		
17	what caste groups do the children belong to?		
18	What religious groups do the children belong to?		
19	Are there children with disabilities in your school? How many?		
20	From how far do children come to this school? (farthest area/bus or walk)		
	Do children of the employees of the school study here?		

21	teachers		
22	maintenance staff		
	If not, where do they study?		
23	teachers		
24	maintenance staff		
25	(If relevant, ask) Do children work with their parents or in any other jobs before and after school?	yes/no	
26	What kinds of work do they do?		
	boys		
	girls		
27	Why is it necessary for them to work?	yes/no	
28	Do you experience any problems on account of the fact that they are working? (e.g. regularity, finding relevance of school difficult, life style, etc.)		
29	Any other observations regarding children's work		
30	To what extent do parents contribute to school?		
	in curriculum inputs		
	for the management of the school		
	other ways		
31	Do your old students keep in touch?(alumni)	yes/no	
	What kind of higher education do the children pursue after they leave your school?		
32	boys		
33	girls		
	What kinds of jobs/occupations do they have?		
34	boys		
35	girls		
36	Do they come back for admissions of their children to this school?	yes/no	
	Admissions		
37	At which class level do most admissions take place? (note especially if there is no admission process in class I, but effectively some screening is taking place in preschool itself).		
38	What is the method of selection that you have generally followed so far?		
	none--all children who come have to be admitted		
	interview of children		
	test of children		
	interview of parents (for what are they interviewed)?		
	accepting transfer from another school		
	other		
39	Are there children receiving free education in your school?	yes/no	

40	What is the basis for this? /who has made this provision? Why?		
41	Are there any children receiving subsidies or scholarships to study in your school?	yes/no	
42	Who has made this provision? Why?		
43	Do children face issues on the home front?	yes/no	
44	What kind of issues are faced by them? (note the specific phrases and formulation of issues)		
45	To what extent are parents able to support the education of their children? (explore especially if parents education level is low)		
46	What kinds of difficulties do children fact in school?		
47	What are the kinds of problems and issues that you have to deal with?		
48	How have you tried to address these?	yes/no	
49	(If school is English medium), to what extent is English known at home?		
50	What are the issues dealt with in terms of teaching and learning in English?		
51	Are you (as a school) able to help such children by providing them with extra tuition or support at school?	yes/no	
52	Do teachers help these children by giving them extra tuition or support?	yes/no	
53	Record your observation regarding the extent of heterogeneity and diversity as you understand it from the above.		
54	(If there is heterogeneity). What are the difficulties you face because of the heterogeneity?		
55	(If there is an heterogeneity) Record what advantages or positive aspects, if any are mentioned? Do you get the sense that this is 'political'/polite moralism or is this reflective of a value position of the school?		
56	Any other notes pertaining to clientele		
D7	**Aims of Education of the Institution School**		
1	In your view is your school offering good education? How do you justify this?	yes/no	
2			
3	Is the education you offer better than what is offered in neighbouring schools? in what way?	yes/no	
4	In what way?		
5	What in your view are the important aims of education?		
6	What are the qualities that you regard are important in an educated person. How do you try to develop these in the children in your school? To what extent to do you think you are able to make an impact?		
7	What are the important aims that you think you are not able		

	to achieve/able to achieve for all groups of children?		
8	Why do you think you are/are not able to achieve them?		
9	To what extent do you think you can achieve these aims for the children who attend your school?		
10	Why? (what factors in their view support or impede the achievement of educationally important aims)?		
11	To what extent do you think your teaches share these aims, such an understanding?		
12	What percentage of teachers approximately, do you think understand and support you in these aims?		
13	Is there any school that you know of which you would regard as a model school?		
14	What are the aspects that you admire? Like? Which makes you regard it as a model?		
15	What are the valuable ideas that you have taken from there/got from that experience?		
16	OR does your school serve as a model to other schools?		
17	In what aspects?		
18	Do you mentor colleagues from other schools?		
19	What are the plans for the school in the next five years?		
20	To what extent do you think the management/head teacher understands and shares your view of aims?		
21	To what extent do you think the parents share a common view of the aims? Do any of them disagree? Why? How do you address this?		
D8	**curriculum and practice**		
1	If this is relevant you may ask: What is the curriculum you follow?		
2	why?		
	What are the subjects that are included in the timetable? (enquire with reference to level)		
3	primary		
4	middle school		
5	high school		
6	other		
7	why are these subjects regarded as important?		
8	Since when? / (why did you change?)		
9	How do you cater to creative and academically motivated children?		
10	How do you cater to children who have difficulties and are not able to cope?		
11	Do such children come from special groups?		
12	What percentage of children do you think take tuitions after school?		

13	In what subject areas?		
14	To what extent do parents interact with you in matters pertaining to the curriculum?		
15	What are the textbooks that you follow?		
16	How do you rate their quality? (explore to understand what features of the books they value)		
17	Do you use additional workbooks, etc.		
18	Have you been trying to promote any particular curricular approach practice in the school?		
19	Have you/your teachers done anything that you would regard as innovative?		
20	why did you/they do it?		
21	Do you follow any special programmes/packages/activities?		
22	Why was it introduced?		
23	When was it introduced?		
24	How is it contributing to children's learning?		
25	What are the key events of the school's annual calendar? Who decides?		
26	Who makes the calendar?		
27	What were the key events of last year? (description to elicit if all children participate or only some, expense of the events, and educational value of the events?		
28	Are annual day and sports day celebrated?	yes/no	
29	Do all children get to perform/participate or is it a few chosen ones?		
30	How did the children fare in the class X examination?		
31	How do you explain this result?		
32	Did you make any special efforts to enable children to face the board exam? What?		
33	What are your assessment practices?		
	class tests/unit tests	yes/no	
	examinations	yes/no	
	portfolio'	yes/no	
	CCE'	yes/no	
	other		
34	Have the children of the school taken any other tests organised by companies or the state/national level etc.?		
	competitive exams	yes/no	
	talent test	yes/no	
	interschool competitions organised by rotary/lions, etc.	yes/no	
	british council english	yes/no	
	private companies offering testing service	yes/no	
	other		

35	why do you have the children take these?		
	English		
36	How do you cope with teaching English?		
37	What are the difficulties that children face?		
38	What kind?		
39	what are the reasons for this?		
D9	**teachers**		
1	What is the type of teacher you seek for your school and why?		
2	What qualifications do you look for at the time of selecting teachers?		
3	Do you have adequate good teachers?	yes/no	
4	Do you have shortage of any type of teacher here?		
5	What are the types of teachers you have? Subjectspecialization, etc.		
6	Do you have teachers who work as curriculum supervisors/academic heads for primary/middle/high/ science teacher group etc.?	yes/no	
	you may also enquire about types of teachers employed in the school which will enable you to fill up the first sheet regarding the teachers of the school		
	You may also find out about the special subject areas for which there are teachers, and if there are part-time teachers for art, music, etc. etc.		
7	Are you able to retain your good teachers?	yes/no	
8	Is there a problem of turnover of teachers? (we are interested in understanding if the teacher group is a stable group and hence you may also enquire and try to understand from other clues also regarding the extent of stability/turnover of the teacher group)	yes/no	
9	Are teachers regular enough or do you have a problem with absenteeism		
	mostly regular	yes/no	
	they take all their casual leaves	yes/no	
	irregular	yes/no	
10	Have you lost any good teachers in the last few years?	yes/no	
11	Why did they leave?		
12	Are you involved in selecting teachers?	yes/no	
13	Do you feel the need for teacher induction training? In what areas?	yes/no	
14	Have you undertaken any special staff development programme?	yes/no	

15	Have teachers been attending training (this is especially relevant in the case of government school teachers).	yes/no	
16	How closely do you supervise the teachers work? What aspects of the work do you supervise?		
17	When you supervise your teachers, what is it that you try to get them to do/to achieve?		
18	Can you name three good teachers in your school? What do you value in each of them?		
19	what do you value in your good teachers? (let them describe the characteristics that they value--this is an important question and description to elicit)		
20	What are the main difficulties and problems that you faceregarding teachers doing their work?		
21	How do you deal with this?		
22	What are the responsibilities that you delegate to your teachers?		
23	What are the academic or curricular matters in which they need to take permission from you,		
24	In the recent past did the work of any teacher make you happy/satisfied?		
25	What was this?		
26	Do you think that you need to have policies to control teachers more?		
27	Do you think that with a system of rewards/incentives and punishments you would be able to get better work from teachers?		
28	What are the non-educational duties and tasks that your teachers have to take on?		
	census	yes/no	
	home visits	yes/no	
	distribution of incentive scheme	yes/no	
	other tasks		
29	In the last month how many teachers were away from school for non-educational tasks?	yes/no	
30	Note any other overarching observations regarding the HMs view of teachers and information shared regarding this professional group.		
D10	**Wellbeing of Children especially from disadvantageous groups**		
1	What effort do you have to make to implement the govt. programmes?		
2	Have you admitted children under the 25% policy.	yes/no	
3	what effort do you have to make to implement the govt. programmes?		
4	What are the main non educational issues faced by these		

	children? (note the specific phrases and terms used to describe problems)		
5	What are the main educational issues that are faced by the children of these groups? (note the specific phrases and terms used)		
6	Which are the subjects that they find difficult?		
7	Is there a mid-day meal programme?	yes/no	
8	What is the quality of food?		
9	How important is this programme for the children?		
10	What benefits have you seen as teachers on account of this programme?		
11	Do children receive incentive schemes from government?	yes/no	
12	Are you satisfied with the quality or do you think there are issues with it?	yes/no	
	What special efforts are there in the school for these children?		
13	teachers/head personal effort and interest		
14	NGO group		
15	local politician/etc. organising tuition/ guidebookdistribution etc.		
16	special additional trainings, etc.		
17	other		
18	What kinds of disciplining activities do you undertake in the school?		
	fine	yes/no	
	sending children home	yes/no	
	making them stand outside the class	yes/no	
	slapping	yes/no	
	running/physical/corporeal punishments	yes/no	
	ridicule	yes/no	
	other		
19	Are there any special success stories. E.g. admission to navodaya school, admission to higher education , etc.	yes/no	
20	discuss around and make notes regarding the question of children's wellbeing, especially in the form of concern or lack of concern, over the question of the ability of		
D11	**Evaluation and standards**		
1	Were there failures in class X examination?	yes/no	
2	what was the reason for these failures?		
3	What does the school do with failures? What % are failures? Why?		
4	What are the other achievements which are valued?		

5	.How are they valued?		
6	what kinds of questions are set in the examinations and tests?		
7	what is your reference check or standards you try to achieve?		
8	what is your view about marking or grading		
9	What is the extent of regularity of students? Is student's regularity a matter of concern?		
D12	**Accountability**		
1	Who are the groups to whom you feel accountable, who ask you and hold you 'to book' regarding the school and your work?		
2	The groups 'sarkar', trustees. Local leaders, parents, children, society. In what order do you feel yourself accountable to these groups?		
3	For what things do the management hold you responsible?		
4	For what things do you hold management responsible?		
5	For what things do the teachers hold you responsible?		
6	For what things do you hold teachers responsible?		
7	For what things do the parents hold you responsible?		
8	For what things do you hold parents responsible		
9	For what things do children hold you responsible		
10	For what tings do you hold children responsible?		
11	For what things do you feel yourself responsible/to your conscience?		
12	For what things does society hold you responsible?		
13	In what matters do you think you have freedom to make decisions?		
14	In what matters do you think you need to have permission?		
15	To what extent to you think that you have freedom to make decisions that will contribute directly to the quality of learning of children? Have you made any such decisions recently? What? Why? As head what improvements would you like to bring into the curriculum? How much freedom do you have on academic matters?		
16	How often do you review the work of teachers?		
17	how often do you review the work of children?		
18	do you have meetings on the performance of children among teachers, with parents?		
19	do you have meetings/processes to review curriculum and assessments?		
20	have you participated either individually or as a school in any training/workshops/programme for school		

	improvement?		
21	do you seek any such involvement		
22	How regularly do parents interact with the school?		
23	In the last month how many times did you meet parents?		
24	What is the nature of the main issue that they bring to you?		
D13	**RtE context**		
1	How do you think the RtE 25% reservation will impact the education in your school?		
2	How do you think the no-detention policy with impact the education of children in your school?		
3	how do you think the requirement of teachers to be qualified will impact on the education of children in your school?		
4	How do you think the admission policy of no test will affect your school?		
5	How will the no capitation policy affect your school?		
6	Admission policy and no capitation fee policy		
	Other notes or observations		

E.	**CLASSROOM OBSERVATION (TOTAL TWO OBSERVATIONS?)**		
	Observe class IV language failing which observe class III. Language should be preferably medium of instruction, failing which it could be any other language class. or class of 'good teacher' identified by the HM	yes/no or checklist	**observations and notes**
1	Which class?		
2	What subject is being taught?		
3	which period?		
4	start time		
5	end time		
E1	**physical aspects**		
1	Number of children		
2	Comment on the spaciousness of the room		
	adequate	y/n	
	congested	y/n	
	quite roomy	y/n	
3	Is the room clean?	y/n	
4	Is there a dustbin in the room	y/n	
5	Is there provision for storage of books/materials	y/n	
6	Is there adequate light?	y/n	
7	Is the blackboard in good condition?	y/n	
8	Are there things stored?	y/n	
9	Is there a class library or extra materials/books other than textbooks?	y/n	
10	What type of **displays** is there in the room?		
	students work,	y/n	
	teachers made material,	y/n	
	printed material,	y/n	
	Decorative material,	y/n	
	Standardised charts	y/n	
	other		
11	Does the material look worn out and unchanged or new?		
12	What is the **seating plan** and arrangement in the room?		
	benches	y/n	
	individual tables and chairs	y/n	

	mats	y/n	
	on the floor	y/n	
	space for group work	y/n	
	other		
13	Seating arrangement		
	boys and girls sit together in rows facing teacher	y/n	
	boys and girls sit separately in rows facing teacher	y/n	
	other arrangements		
E2	**content of the teaching**		
	In this section we are trying to gauge to what extent the teacher values and promotes learning with meaning, using one's own imagination and answering in one's own words, and promotes autonomy of thought, and higher order thinking/cognitive activity vs. being exam oriented, textbook based, rote memory oriented		
14	what was the topic being taught?		
15	note the sequence of key events of the lesson as it progressed--its key phases		
16	Was the lesson continuous and focussed or were there interruptions (note when the interruptions are more significant and seem to cause a shift/break in the progression of the lesson)?		
	continuous	y/n	
	interrupted as the teacher took time to moralise/punish/etc.	y/n	
	interrupted as the teacher went out	y/n	
	interrupted with children streaming in late	y/n	
	interrupted with noise from outside	y/n	
	interrupted by visitors	y/n	
	other reasons for interruptions	y/n	
	Any other observations		
17	What was the main form of the lesson?		
	revision	y/n	
	new lesson being introduced	y/n	
	a lesson in progress	y/n	
	question answers	y/n	
	grammar	y/n	
	some language development	y/n	
	discussion	y/n	
	practice	y/n	
	game	y/n	

	other		
18	What materials was the teacher using?		
	black board	y/n	
	textbook	y/n	
	other supplementary text books, etc.	y/n	
	other materials (indicate which)	y/n	
E3	**The cognitive capabilities of children being called upon in the lesson**		
19	Was there a focus on memorisation/repeating from the textor saying things in one's own words/deviating from text and asking questions and having discussions related to but not restricted to the text?		
20	Did children's experiences come into the discussion--either brought in by teacher or children themselves		
21	What kind of questions was the teacher asking? (give examples)		
	tag questions/cued questions	y/n	
	clarification of meaning	y/n	
	connecting with other things that have been studied before	y/n	
	higher order thinking oriented	y/n	
	connecting with outside school experiences of children	y/n	
	questions mainly classroom management and clarification of work oriented	y/n	
	other		
22	What kind of responses were children giving		
	answering in monosyllables, picking key words and echoing back/tag ending in chorus	y/n	
	providing answers that seemed like textbook repetitions	y/n	
	answering individually and in non-standard but relevant ways	y/n	
	with interest/excitement and wanting to contribute	y/n	
	other observations		
23	What kind of questions were the children asking (give examples)		
	clarificatory	y/n	
	genuine to extend and engage with the lesson	y/n	
	other		
24	Did the teacher dominate the class or did children feel free to ask questions and interact?		
25	Did the teacher attend to all the children in the class or only		

	some parts or groups of the class?		
26	What was the tone of her voice?		
	bored	yes/no	
	interested/genuine	yes/no	
	varying	yes/no	
	harsh	yes/no	
	indifferent/duty like	yes/no	
	tired/helpless	yes/no	
	encouraging	yes/no	
	other		
27	Did she seem to be paying attention to individual children and differentiating according to individual children or was the orientation to the class akin to a 'mass phenomenon'?		
28	What was the nature of children's involvement		
	engrossed	yes/no	
	distracted	yes/no	
	finishing quickly but quietly waiting for the next thing to happen	yes/no	
	other		
27	If they were involved in an activity, what was the teacher doing at that time?		
28	How conceptually loaded and challenging was the class and it pace?		
	too heavy, children seemed to be struggling to keep pace	yes/no	
	pace was lively and children seemed to be keeping up and engaged	yes/no	
	seemed uneven with some children able to keep up and others lagging	yes/no	
	very little content, and small portion of lesson was stretched out for too long	yes/no	
	other observations		
29	did children use their note books/write in their notebooks during the lesson?	yes/no	
30	what kind of written work did they do?		
31	If English was being taught,		
32	Were conversations only in English or were other languages used?		
33	was the teacher translating?	y/n	
34	were children asking for clarifications?	y/n	
35	Were the children able to say things in english?	y/n	
36	Did the children seem to understand?	y/n	

	Which aspects of children's responses/work/efforts/display of learning seemed to find (i) favour/focus or (ii) receive discouragement/disfavour or (iii) did not find any opportunity for presentation (iv) was on display but was ignored?		
37	imagination		
38	knowledge of the textbook content		
39	abstract thinking/logical thinking/autonomous thinking/argumentation		
40	relating content with everyday life/one's own experience		
41	imitation, and closely following text, doing ones work		
42	pronunciation, handwriting, spelling		
43	asking questions		
44	scoring well in exams/getting marks		
45	attentiveness		
46	quietness/silence		
47	waiting for turn		
48	following teacher's instructions intently and carefully/imitatively		
49	respecting elders		
50	obedience		
51	being outgoing		
52	having elders at home who can help		
53	Did the teacher in the course of the lesson punish or reprimand or communicate disfavour?	never, few times, frequently, seemed to be picking on one child/group of children	
54	for what reason		
55	make notes on the episode		
56	what did you feel was the objective of the episode		
	to shame children		
	to correct children		
	other		
57	Was any child appreciated for anything?		
58	What		
59	At the end of the lesson was any homework given?	yes/no	
60	what was the home work		

61	During the class did she at any time check about homework previously given?	y/n	
62	Did she collect or herself examine homework given earlier	y/n	
E4	**Emotional Climate of the Class**		
63	Does the teacher seem to know the names of individual children?	y/n	
64	How does she address the children?		
	she uses the names of individual children to call them? or	y/n	
	uses casual words--bache, bete	y/n	
	uses words like 'ai', 'oye', 'you'	y/n	
	uses words that indicate refer to children's characteristics--'sleepy', 'mischievous',... or physical characteristics 'fatty' etc.	y/n	
	uses words that indicate reference to children's gender, caste, economic status, language, religion, culture (give specific examples).	y/n	
	doesn't address them at all	y/n	
	addresses different groups differently (in what way)	y/n	
	other		
65	Did she seem to be respecting and affectionate towards children or was she indifferent, or was it generally not something that stood out (neutral)		
66	Did any problems of children come up for discussion? What and how did the teacher respond?		
67	What did the teacher seem to communicate to the children regarding her expectations of them/her aspirations for them/their learning.		
	need to learn and enjoy learning	y/n	
	need to learn and at least pass in exams/score well	y/n	
	need to learn with understanding	y/n	
	should be regular and do ones homework and work hard (end in itself)	y/n	
	morals/good citizenship	y/n	
	all round	y/n	
	everyone can learn and achieve	y/n	
	other notes pertaining to the 'aspirational' climate in the classroom		
68	If moral related issues come up, does she make the children feel that they are themselves responsible for their moral conduct, or is it made out that she 'caught them'.		
69	Note the tone again--is there differential use of the tone towards individual children or towards groups of children?		

70	Note the teacher's eye--is it used differentially towards individual or groups of individuals?		
71	Did any references to children's home background or out of school family related concerns come up in reference at any point.		
	was this used to express concern?	y/n	
	was it brought up as a problem	y/n	
	was it brought up in a manner that allowed stigmatisation/possibility of the child feeling shame?	y/n	
	to indicate or communicate 'educability'/ability of the child to receive education	y/n	
	other		
	Think back on the lesson		
72	What was your impression of the teachers overall concern for children?		
73	What was your impression regarding the 'effort' she was making to enable learning to happen		
74	were any moralism/ideological message communicated during the lesson?		
75	were any characteristics highlighted as desirable and other as undesirable?		
76	Were any cognitive characteristics highlighted as desirable or undesirable?		
77	Were there different messages based on gender, caste, socio-economic group in a manner to stereotype or were there messages that attempted to proactively encourage?		
78	was the overall instruction individualised or massified?		
79	any other observations		

F.	**INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER WHOSE CLASS YOU HAVE OBSERVED.**		
	Through this interview we are trying to understand what the teacher herself tries to achieve through her teaching and how she assesses her own ability and effectiveness to do this as a teacher. As a teacher she likely has both cognitive and moral concerns in learning and we are asking regarding both these. we are also interested in probing her ideas regarding educability of the group she works with. finally we want a few glimpses of her sense of autonomy within the institution, and whether she feels 'valued' by the institution		
1	name		
2	what are your education qualifications		
3	which classes do you teach		
4	what subjects do you teach?		
5	Do you like teaching?		
6	Why do you like teaching/do you not like teaching?		
7	What do you aim to teach in your subject area?		
8	What were you trying to achieve in today's lesson?		
9	What preparation did you do for this lesson?		
10	Were you satisfied with what you achieved in the lesson?		
11	Why were you satisfied/not satisfied?		
12	What do you want children to learn through your classes?		
	personal character		
	autonomy		
	perfection		
	score in exams/pass in exams		
	other		
13	why is this important?		
14	What is your view of the textbook that you were using in the class?		
15	what are its strengths?		
16	What is not good about it?		
17	What are the main difficulties that children face in your class?		
18	Who are the main children/children groups who have difficulty?		
19	why do they have this difficulty/these difficulties?		
20	How do you try to address these?		
21	Is it worth the time? (Isn't it a waste of time?)		

22	you could also refer specifically to children from disadvantageous groups and ask vis-a-vis these children about the difficulties they have.		
23	if you are talking to class IV language teacher, you can ask her, how many children are not able to read and write fluently. Why is this so?		
24	To what extent do you think the school values you as an individual teacher?		
25	How much independence do you have in academic matters		
26	In what academic matters do you need to take permission first?		
27	What are the various assessment events of the year?		
28	What non educational duties are your assigned?		
29	In what way could the school support you to be a better teacher?		
30	You could go back and discuss any specific episode or features in the classroom through which you would be able to provide the teacher to talk about her practice.		
31	What are the things for which the management holds you responsible?		
32	What are the things for which you hold the management responsible?		
33	What are the things for which parents hold you responsible?		
34	what are the things for which you hold parents responsible?		
35	what are the things for which you hold children responsible?		
36	what are the things for which children hold you responsible?		
37	what are the things for which you hold your peers/colleagues responsible?		
38	what is working well in this school?		
39	what would you like to improve?		
40	any other observations or notes		

ANNEXURE H: CODES

01ACCESS
- 01.01 NEGOTIATING ACCESS
  - 01.02date of visit
  - 01.03researcher name
- 02. SCHOOL RELATED
  - 02.01School name
  - 02.02 Schoolcode(s)
  - 02.03 Yearofestablishment
  - 02.04 Recognition status (year or UR)
  - 02.05 Aid status
  - 02.06 Coed etc status
  - 02.07 Other spl categories:residential/spl needs/tr,spl school
  - 02.08 Medium of instruction
  - 2.09 Other languages taught
  - 2.10affiliation board
  - 2.11levels in the school
    - 2.111feedershc/nextlevelschool
    - 2.112preschool
  - 02.12neighbourhood
  - 02.13personel (teachers and staff)
  - 02.14management
    - 02.141trust name and type
    - 02.142School management committees
    - 02.143otherschs&instsrunbymgmt
  - 02.15school timing
- 03. ETHOS
  - 03.01historyincl reasons to set up school
    - 03.011chain-franchisee-etc
  - 03.02achievement motivation
  - 03.03Aims of education
  - 03.04"Brand"/unique concepts/USP
    - 03.041publicity materials/website
  - 03.05Imperatives for changes
  - 03.06 Notions of quality
- 04. STUDENT-ENRMT-BKGRND-ADMISSION-TRENDS&CONCERNS
  - 04.01total strength
  - 04.02backgrounds (socio economic-occupations
  - 04.03background linguistic/regional/religious
  - 04.04background education
  - 04.05background distance
  - 04.06boys-girls-spl groups-25%-minorities proportions
  - 04.07do children work before/after school?
  - 04.08staff/teachers children in school
  - 04.09student characteristics (other)
  - 04.10admission process
    - 04.101admission form information
  - 04.11general trends in enrolment

04.12'issues' on account of family bkrnd
05. INFRASTRUCTURE AND SPACE & facilities
05.01type of building
05.02adequacy&useability-of space-CRs
05.03adequacy&useability of space--admin/staff/spare
05.04grounds/open/non-builtup
05.05clenliness and maintenance of space
05.06'ethos'--notices and displays in common areas
05.07blackboard--size and location
05.08mid day meal
05.081other health related care for children
05.09toilets and drinking water
05.091electricity-fans-lights
05.10other resources--library,lab,computers
05.11other notes on space
05.111features favouring disabled children
05.12bus service and other facilities provided
06. MANAGEMENT/ADMIN
06.01people involved in trust 'top' mgmt and sch head-desc
06.02key 'interest/concern' of the sch head
06.03patrons and others 'who take an interest'
06.04view about pvt schools
06.05views about govtschools
06.06viewabout own school
06.07accountability/ethics other
06.08school finances
06.081strategies for fee collection?
06.082 fee and concessionary seats?
06.09 Strategies for survival
06.10views about govt &govt regulation
06.11systemic challenges
06.12ON RTE
06.13mgmt and Admin strc in the school/day-to-day admin
06.14processes-meetings,etc
06.15interaction with NGOs/outsourcing/enrichment
cctv
07. PARENTS
07.01interaction on issue of teaching learning
07.02parent-mgmt interaction (fee etc)
08. TEACHERS
08.01mgmt views on t mgmt/turnover/t expectations
08.02qualifications and characteristics
08.03t-mgmt xtn for parents
08.04t-mgmt xtn for academicwork
08.05teachers views on mgmt atm work ethos
08.06duties other than daily teaching
08.07teachers who are valued by admin/mgmt
08.08induction or training inputs to teachers
08.09 individual initiative taken by teachers

08.10teachers as subgroup of the school
09. CURRICULUM
09.01sports and play
09.02TIMETABLE
09.03TEXTBOOKS-STUDY MATERIALS
09.04annual calendar and annual events
09.05teachers on what they are trying to achieve
09.06english/eng medium
09.07learning and motivation
09.08provisioning of resources/computers etc
09.09Curricular diversity
09.10curriculum innovation etc
10. PRACTICES
10.01assembly
10.011assembly space
10.012late comers, other announcements
10.013contents of assembly
10.02uniform
10.03rules
10.04discimination/ridicule/censure
10.05pertaining to discipline
10.06timetable
10.07tuitions/study hours
10.08diary to regulate daily work etc.
10.09strategies for learning outcomes
10.10practices for learning difficulties/slow learners
10.11children given non-learning tasks:cleaning, fetching
10.12pertaining to parents mtgs
11. CLASSROOM-teaching
11.01CRlevelobserved
11.011CRsubject and topic
11.012teacher-gender-edcn-othercharacteristics
11.02CR Furniture-lighting-seating-t location etc
11.021 Packed-ness of room
11.03dominant teaching style
11.031teacher-student reln
11.032classparticipation of children
11.033 teacher talk
11.034continuityvs interruptedness
11.04key pedagogic purpose
11.041preparation for class
11.05aspirational climate/motivation
11.06orientation towards disciplines
11.061'public censure?'/ridicule/censure
11.07homework given
11.08key issues faced or concerns articulated
11.081teachers views on parents
11.082 teachers views on children and educability
11.083teachersviewson curriculum-tb

11.09CR additional observatioins and remarks
11.10 childrens freetime activities
11.11Observations-from-additionalclasses-observed
12.ASSESSMENT& RESULTS
12.01assessment practices
12.02Report card format
12.03primary school results and observations (class IV or V)
12.04class 7 results and observations
12.05highschool results and observations
12.06who fails/does poorly and why
12.07spl features/other observations on results
12.08where do children go after they complete?
12.09 Alumni
12.10Otherareasandformsofachievements
13NEW THEMES