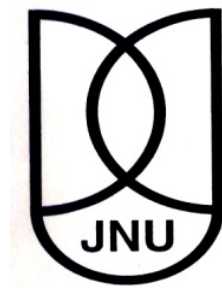# Marketisation, Managerialism and School Reforms: A Study of Public-Private Partnerships in Elementary Education in Delhi

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Vidya K.S.

Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067
2017

21 July 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, entitled **'Marketisation, Managerialism and School Reforms: A Study of Public-Private Partnerships in Elementary Education in Delhi',** submitted by me to the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work. It has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree in any University.
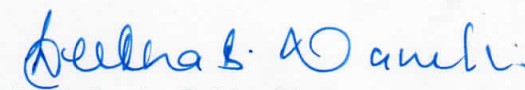
Vidya K.S.

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in this University.

Prof. Saumen Chattopadhyay

(Chairperson)

Prof. Geetha B. Nambissan

(Supervisor)

Acknowledgments

It was some time in 2009 that I first came across the 'Teach for India' programme in a large single page advertisement in the Mumbai edition of the 'Times of India' newspaper. The programme intrigued me in different ways. I was curious about the individuals who sought to leave their high-paying professional jobs to teach in poorly funded government schools. Did they know what they were getting into? Why would they trade their comfortable professional lives for school teaching? How did the school teachers view these enthusiastic 'volunteers'? Was it that easy to 'change' the government school system from within?

These questions remained with me and other new ones developed as I navigated my academic trajectory from the Development Studies programme at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai to the Educational Studies programme at Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi. This PhD dissertation is an attempt to answer some of those questions but situated within a larger discourse of new kinds of educational policy reforms that are aggressively underway in different parts of the world. These reforms advocate Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) with a focus on techno-managerial techniques to reinvigorate ailing government school systems. The 'Teach for India' intervention is one important node within this larger constellation of non-governmental organisations that is reorienting the education policy landscape in India.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1. Introduction

In June 2016, as part of a series of reforms to overhaul the public education system, the Delhi government launched the 'Change-Makers In Education' (CMIE) fellowship.[1] Targeted towards an age-group between 22 and 35 years, the two-year fellowship sought young 'inspired individuals' with a strong belief in strengthening the education system.

The aim of the programme was to encourage individuals from varied professional backgrounds with some work experience in education and the social sector to enter the school system and work closely with the State Council for Education, Research and Training (SCERT), the Department of Education and other stakeholders on a range of projects. These projects included efforts to build school leadership among school principals, developing School Management Committees (SMC) to act as bridges between schools and the local communities, mentor-teacher programmes to institute support structures for school teachers, creating new learning assessment modules for schools, and measures to streamline the work processes within the SCERT.

The Delhi school system required a new apparatus of governance to infuse new efficiency and streamline the work of school teachers and school principals towards producing 'learning outcomes'. This project of massive reform was to be facilitated through Public Private Partnerships (PPP) with key NGOs such as – Pratham, 'Teach for India' (TFI), Saajha and Createnet Education. Each of these organisations was to cater to a certain aspect of the school system. Saajha would be instrumental in establishing SMCs. Pratham would focus on assessing children's 'learning levels' and training teachers. Createnet Education, a forum of social entrepreneurs and educationists, in collaboration with the SCERT would be involved in leadership training of school headmasters and teachers. 'Teach for India' (TFI), the Indian off-shoot of the American programme 'Teach for America' (TFA), would provide guidance on aspects of curriculum, teacher support and would liaise with Saajha and other NGOs in instituting structures for school management[2].

---

1   See website: changemakers.delhi.gov.in

2   'To improve schools: Delhi government seeks 'life thinking, creativity', turns to NGOs', *The Indian Express*, Shikha Sharma, October 4, 2015.

While historically collaborations between the State and non-state organisations[3] in the realm of elementary education are not new in India, these new and emerging partnerships point towards the new modalities within which the education system is being reconfigured. There is an emphasis on moving away from traditional bureaucratic regimes of governance where the State played a central role to more 'managerialistic' regimes facilitated by new kinds of NGOs and private actors. These new kind of NGOs, unlike their older counterparts, gain much of their funding through corporate actors and organisations and have visions of education reform that emphasise techno-managerial models of teaching, standardised assessments and instituting new regimes of accountability. In many ways the vocabularies of these new private actors echo familiar discourses of New Public Management (NPM) that first emerged most notably in the United States of America (USA) and Britain in the early 1980s.

In the run up to education reforms in these countries, various facets of the school came under public scrutiny. These included forms of management, kinds of curriculum, teaching and learning transactions and the structures of labour hierarchies within schools and across school administration boards. The project of educational reform led to new forms of partnerships between the State and a range of private actors and organisations. Principles of public management emphasising performance and outcomes popular in the corporate industrial sector were imported as alleviatory measures into the public school system. These new modes of reform, drawing from the private sector, significantly altered structures of school management, school processes and most notably teachers' work as the school came to be imagined as an important unit in preparing students for labour markets in a competitive global economy.

Increasingly, these typologies of reform are being imported into later developing countries, including India, as effective measures of repairing an increasingly maligned public school system. The modes through which these discourses of reform are interfacing with educational reforms in the context of a postcolonial country such as India present a complex picture today.

---

3   The term 'non-state actors' encompasses a range of voluntary organisations, associations, grassroot groups, religious entities working in education or the social sector and bodies supported by corporate and philanthropic funding. They inhabit a plurality of perspectives and practices when it comes to educational reform. See Nawani (2002) and Kamat (2004).

Post-independence, the Indian State was imagined as a key institution through which equality of opportunity and social justice could be achieved. However, the nature and role of the State changed post the economic policy reforms in the early 1990s. There was an increasing presence of global actors and organisations within the realm of elementary education[4] and privatisation measures were encouraged as suitable means towards reforming a poorly functioning public education system. The government schooling system in India and the work of government school teachers specifically has come under much public scrutiny both within the country and abroad.

This thesis examines how these broader global discourses of New Public Management are entering and reorienting education policy discussions on school teaching in IndiaTeacher education and training are important aspects of this study as a significant number of NGOs focus on school teaching as an important variable in improving learning outcomes among students in government schools. These NGOs,which are important sites for the circulation of these rising discourses of New Public Management, have entered into significant PPP arrangements with municipal bodies in cities like Delhi and Mumbai. Through these PPP arrangements, these NGOs are not only instituting new pedagogical regimes within these school spaces but are also using these sites to formulate and validate certain pedagogical approaches that are more aligned to large-scale standardised testing. These interventions are in turn influencing larger national education policy debates on reforming teacher education and the aims of school teaching.

Apart from a survey of the range and nature of teacher training PPPs in the urban context of Mumbai and Delhi, this study will examine the 'Teach for India' (TFI) intervention in Delhi, one significant PPP in teacher training, that seeks to address educational inequity in teaching-learning transactions in the classroom. As an off-shoot of the 'Teach for America' programme, the case-study of TFI seeks to explore its networks within the larger global education policy landscape and its specific nature of intervention within the Indian school education scene.

The discussion that follows situates the central themes of this research study, beginning with the emergence of 'New Public Management' discourses in the US and Britain, their influence

---

4   Elementary education in the Indian context refers to education from Class I to Class VIII (six years to fourteen years of age).

on reorienting school teachers' work, and the rise of short term teaching alternatives in the education scene such as the 'Teach for America' programme. Programmes such as 'Teach for America' have been critiqued in the US for deprofessionalising school teaching and encouraging privatisation measures through charter schools. Through the 'Teach for All' network established in 2007, the programme and its ideas of educational reform are being introduced in different countries, each fraught with diverse problems of public education. It is in the context of these larger debates that the 'Teach for India' programme will be examined in the later chapters of this research study.

The theoretical framework, research objectives of the study and methodology employed for conducting field work will be elaborated after this discussion.

1.1 Privatisation, marketisation and New Public Management

Private engagements and collaborations with the State in the field of elementary education have existed in varying arrangements across countries in the world[5]. Post the Second World War, the welfare state that emerged in the West[6] largely saw its responsibility as controlling all three functions of funding, provision and regulation in the realm of public education. Concerns of citizenship, social justice and equality in schooling processes that were central to its agenda changed significantly through the course of political and economic reforms that were instituted in the early 1980s in the US and Britain (Dale 1997).

Whitty and Power (2007: 220) observe that the character of these neoliberal reforms vis a vis the imagined role and function of the State were often interchangeably referred to as 'privatisation' or 'marketisation'. However, they make a key distinction between the use of these terms. Private entities had always existed in varying capacities of collaboration with the State in public education. What they point to are the changing permutations in decision-making regarding funding and provision where there was an increasing move away from public funding and public provisioning to increasing combinations of private funding and private provisioning. This move was thus a form of privatisation that encouraged the creation

---

5   Historically, varying forms of private participation and management have existed in the education sector. These were largely charitable or religious organisations or aristocratic philanthropists supporting schools independently or in collaboration with central or local forms of government. The character of these 'private' organisations was markedly different from those that came into the education sector through the late 1970s.

6   'West' in this research study refers to Anglophone countries, notably USA and Britain.

of quasi-markets in state-funded/or state-provided services[7]. Under the Thatcher government in Britain, "there was an increase in the purchasing at public expense of educational services provided in private schools, contracting out of services (such as school meals and cleaning) to private providers and an increasing requirement upon parents in public schools to pay for services" (Ibid: 220).

Private actors here included non-governmental organisations (NGOs), philanthropists and corporate organisations[8] who advocated the use of principles of management popular in the private industrial sector (Ball 2007). Conditions that emphasised competition to enhance productivity, stressed financial decentralisation and contractualised organisational relationships were imported into the public school system (Clarke et al. 2000).

Schools began to be increasingly conceptualised as "small businesses and their income dependent on their success in attracting customers within competitive local markets" (Gewirtz 2002). These significant changes suggested a movement from the authority of the 'archetypal professional/bureaucrat' to the authority of the 'archetypal manager'. This is described by Clarke and Newman (as cited in Gewirtz 2002) as follows:

> By contrast with the professional, the manager is customer focused and is driven by the search for efficiency rather than abstract 'professional standards'. Compared to the bureaucrat, the manager is flexible and outward looking. Unlike the politician, the manager inhabits the 'real world' of 'good business practices' not the realms of doctrinaire ideology…The significance of management as a regime lies in the claim that managers 'do the right things'. It is this which underpins management as a mode of power and is associated with an insistent demand that managers must be given the 'freedom' or the 'right to manage'. (page 6)

In these discourses, there was a concerted disavowal of larger structural or material conditions under which the public school system was functioning. Instead the focus was on the school as a micro unit which was to be controlled by a good school manager and his team of teachers (Ibid: 20).

---

7   The term 'privatisation' as used in this research study refers exclusively to a form that encourages marketisation of public education and related services.

8   By the 1980s new private actors came into the education sector. Corporate organisations can refer to mainstream entities working in various sectors of business and industry who are actively making their presence felt in social sector development through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives. Philanthropists are individuals, organisations or companies who make financial contributions. Increasingly their activities aren't merely limited to making donations but also participating in the modes through which reform should take place.

These principles not only applied to technical ways in which changes were made within schools or its transactions with its range of stakeholders, but one of the important markers of this transition was in the internalisation of performance management within key actors working in education, namely school teachers (Ball 2012, Ball 2007, Clarke et al. 2000). The aim was to streamline and reconfigure the processes within the school towards improving learning outcomes among students (Mahony and Hextall 2000, Ball 2007, Connell 2009).

Performance management as Ball (2007: 27) elaborates "does not simply change the ways in which schools work; it changes the way we think about schools and learning and it changes how teachers think about their work and their relationship with pupils".

It objectifies and commodifies public sector work: the knowledge work of educational institutions is rendered into 'outputs', 'levels of performance' and 'forms of quality', that is this process of objectification contributes more generally to the possibility of thinking about social services like education as *forms of production*, as 'just like' services of other kinds of production. (pp. 27-28)

The modes through which these discourses of public management influenced and altered the functioning of schools were both 'endogenous' and 'exogenous' (Ball 2007: 14). Where 'endogenous' privatisation referred "to changes in the behaviour of public sector organisations themselves, where they act as though they were businesses", 'exogenous' privatisation referred to the increasing involvement of private companies entering education directly through services and programmes and consequently changing not only the organisational structure of school management, labour hierarchies and processes but most notably disrupting the professional codes of the school teacher's work (Ibid).

These 'exogenous' programmes also find significant space within the broader neoliberal educational policy reform discourse advocated by global actors such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This "rhetoric, which is spreading across the globe is an unstable and uneven matrix of closely inter-related ideas that is permeating and reorienting education systems in diverse social and political locations which have very different histories" (Ball 2003:215).

The services offered by these 'exogenous' programmes have been diverse. Private actors are involved in varying capacities in issues of infrastructure, information technology and

developing suitable curriculum materials. However, as Paine and Zeichner (2012: 569) observe there has been an increasing shift in the direction of these private programmes from questions of access to education, systems and curriculum towards concerns of the teacher and teaching. The school teacher and her work are actively being deconstructed as an important variable towards improving school performance. The aim of these pedagogical reforms is to increasingly streamline teaching towards exclusively improving learning outcomes among students (Mahony and Hextall 2000, Ball 2007, Connell 2009).

1.2 The changing nature of school teachers' work

Developments surrounding school teaching have been linked to programmes like school effectiveness through the 1980s in US and Britain (Connell 2009). These studies point to the "growing attention by policymakers to multivariate quantitative research on schools and teacher effectiveness which treat schools and teachers as bearers of variables (attitudes, qualifications, strong leadership, etc.) to be correlated with pupil outcomes, measured on standardized tests" (Ibid: 217).

Within the larger realm of teacher education, behaviourist pedagogies have resurfaced with much force. Effective instruction is conceived as "a series of small discrete (but hierarchically related) steps" where the student is "able to respond correctly to most questions with immediate feedback provided" (Willis 1993: 392). In explaining the resurgence of school teaching "as an applied science or technology", Stolz (2015) notes:

> The argument goes that effective teachers possess certain characterisable skills or techniques in a type of causal chain of actual or potential behaviour which can be acquired for producing students with the desired outcome of good results (see e.g. Carr, 2000). In this case, the whole process would appear to be causally constructed via a 'technology of pedagogy' that is grounded in an empirical science of learning (Carr, 2003a).

He finds that the reliance on certain instruments such as standardised testing as a means to determine 'quality' within education systems is a political choice as "data collected are often used to generate reports for public dissemination as a means to increase market share and/or accountability to its users (or purchasers)" (Ibid: 3).

Teaching as a profession within the context of these intersecting discourses of public management and neoliberal policy reforms is increasingly being repositioned towards producing requirements for the labour markets of the future. There is a concerted transformation from a long-term culture of public service to a culture of enterprise (Maguire

2010: 64). The pedagogical role and identity of the school teacher based on certain child-centred practices that focused on children in holistic terms emphasising activity based learning is being refashioned in terms of form and purpose (Woods and Jeffrey 2004).

In a study on primary school teachers' identities in Britain, Woods and Jeffrey (2004: 238) discuss that the emotional and intellectual work that primary school teaching demands is increasingly being redesigned to meet the instrumental purposes of audit accountability. They write:

> …the teacher's personal identity in the new order is partial, fragmented and inferior to that of the old in that teachers retain a sense of the ideal self, but it is no longer in teaching… Teachers' real selves are held in reserve, to be realized in other situations outside school or in some different future within.

The processes through which teachers engage with students in the class are being reconfigured through public management to ensure student performance in tests. School teachers are being constructed as 'production line workers' as their complex pedagogical work is being stripped down to routinised tasks that shift the focus away from more meaningful dialogical engagement with students, research and curriculum development.

Hardy (2015) discusses that with increasing pressure for "ever-improved outcomes on standardised testing" within this larger context where teachers are constantly criticised for poor performance, specific elements of schooling get construed as 'risky objects' and need continuous management. He explains how schools institute these mechanisms:

This management occurs via a plethora of information networks, whole-school programmes, teaching and assessment programmes, and specific testing and professional development packages – commodities to be purchased by educational systems, schools and/or teachers. Through such managerial technologies, education has itself become a 'risky business' whose governance processes both reflect and produce a range of specific, and arguably relatively narrow, outcomes for those caught up in these webs of intervention (pages 391-392).

New measures of accountability are being enforced as school teachers have to continuously record the details of their tasks performed in the school. Performance based evaluations that are being introduced in schools in the US, Britain, Canada and Australia are focussing not on whether teachers "uphold professional standards but whether they demonstrate publicly that they are fulfilling accountability expectations" (Larsen 2005). Scholars note that the collaborative process of teaching is increasingly being driven by individualistic competition

that pit schools against each other leading to new complications of teachers fabricating data on student performance by teachers (Helsby 1999, Smyth et al. 2000, Mahony and Hextall 2000, Ball 2003, Larsen 2005, Connell 2009, Maguire 2010).

These developments have led to serious implications for teacher education and school teaching as a profession. There is a gradual move away from "the notion that the teaching profession should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens to a view that teachers (and indeed other professions) need to be subjected to the rigours of the market" (Whitty 1996 cited in Mahony and Hextall 2000: 102). There is a growing opinion that "anyone can teach and schools should be allowed to go into the market to recruit graduates (or even non graduates) without professional training and prepare them on an apprenticeship basis in school" (Whitty 1997: 304).

This move to deprofessionalise school teaching in turn is seen to have serious consequences for teacher education. Integrated undergraduate and postgraduate programmes of teacher education that have been instituted within the University domain in countries such as US and Britain have come under attack by both the State and the private sector as being inadequate and inefficient in preparing teachers for the classroom. Shortening teacher education programmes, increasing principles of competition, replacing theories of pedagogy with skills based training and deregulating teacher certification procedures to allow the entry of private providers are being seen as measures to reconstruct the teacher in line with managerialist ideals (Apple 2001, Maguire 2010).

The surge in Alternative Teacher Certification (ATC) programmes in the US in the 1980s has been linked to the rise in impoverished and marginalised public school students as well as significant policy reforms such as the Holmes Report (1986) and No Child Left Behind Act (2001) that called for heightened accountability of public school teachers (Hohnstein 2008). Hohnstein (2008) documents close to eleven types of ATCs operating in different states across the US. Some ATCs active in the US today are 'Academy for Urban School Leadership', 'New Teacher Project', 'New York City Teaching Fellows', 'Mississippi Teachers Corps' and 'Educators of Change' (Brantlinger et al. 2010). One of the earliest ATCs that emerged onto the scene in the late 1980s and which went on to create much publicity in the realm of school and teacher education reform is the 'Teach for America' (TFA) programme (Brantlinger et al. 2010, Glazerman et al. 2006). As has been mentioned earlier,

the 'Teach for India' (TFI) programme which is the focus of this research study is an off-shoot of the TFA. A brief overview of the TFA is given in the next section.

1.3 'Teach for America' and school reforms

The 'Teach for America' (TFA) programme seeks to address "educational inequities faced by children in low-income communities across the United States by expanding the pool of teacher candidates available to schools in those communities" (Glazerman et al. 2006: 75). Envisioned by Wendy Kopp in 1989, the model focuses on recruiting diverse individuals with graduate degrees to teach in schools catering to low-income communities for a period of two years. There is no emphasis on whether applicants should have previous school teaching experience or any related educational background in teacher education or allied subjects (Ibid).

In the course of these two years individuals are given some support and training in certain aspects of school management and teaching in order to equip them with teaching processes and building leadership attributes. This also involved partnering with various stakeholders within the school system – parents, school staff and other community organisations – to understand education inequities and work towards reducing the academic gap. At the end of the fellowship, individuals can choose to move towards different paths either within the education sector or use these experiences to build other careers (Teach for All website: www.teachforall.org; Teach for America website: www.teachforamerica.org).

Within the US, 'Teach for America' is an Alternative Teaching Certification (ATC) course which requires its Fellows or corps members to take certain required credits in teacher education from a recognized College of Education during the course of their two-year fellowship. Alternative Teaching Certification (ATC) courses differ in their structure and focus across the states in the US and are generally characterised by a diminished amount of academic coursework giving more emphasis to classroom practice (Hohnstein 2008).

The coming of the 'Teach for America' programme in the late 1980s coincided with a period of significant educational reforms in the US with the "1983 US Department of Education report *A Nation at Risk* that called for a boosting of educational standards and increased forms of measurement' followed by '*A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st century* (1986) which emphasised a new and expanded conception of the teacher's role in schools" (Bartlett

2004: 567). The sudden surge in ATC courses in the US through the 1980s was linked to the varying demands of certified teachers across the states and changes in the teaching profession that faced high attrition rates (Hohnstein 2008).

Alternative Teaching Certification (ATC) courses also offer routes into the teaching profession for individuals from minority backgrounds and those who wish to make career shifts mid-life. Many of these individuals find it difficult to overcome institutional barriers of a graduate education program. They provide viewpoints, experiences or role models to students that traditionally certified teachers cannot (Maloney 2012). Research on alternatively certified teachers also suggests that they are more willing to teach in schools catering to members of minority and ethnic backgrounds compared to traditionally certified teachers (Dill 1996 as cited in Blumenreich and Gupta 2015).

Amongst the range of ATC courses in the US, 'Teach for America' contributes to less than 1 per cent of new teachers each year (Maloney 2012). While the scale of the programme in comparison to traditional teacher certification routes is small, the position and reputation of the programme with regard to reforming education has grown since its inception considering its active public relations machinery and strengthening corporate funding structure (Kavanagh and Dunn 2013, Ardinger 2012).

The programme Ellis et al. (2015) observe has built its image through the positing of the school teacher as the ineffective 'other', even though effectiveness studies comparing the performance of 'Teach for America' Fellows vis a vis other traditionally certified teachers and alternatively certified teachers have shown mixed results. Straubhaar and Friedrich (2015) note:

> In the U.S.-based literature on Teach For America, the effectiveness of this model in reaching these goals has been highly contested. Several prominent evaluative studies have produced relatively positive results on student test scores at both the elementary (Decker, Mayer, & Glazerman, 2004; Raymond, Fletcher, & Luque, 2001) and secondary levels (Clark et al., 2013), though other scholars have prominently contested these results (Heilig & Jez, 2010, 2014), at times with their own rigorous evaluations that have shown students of Teach For America teachers receive lower test scores than those taught by traditionally certified teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2009; Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, & Heilig, 2005) (page 1).

Apart from effectiveness studies, there is much scholarship on different aspects of the 'Teach for America' programme. These studies draw attention to its vast corporate funding structure and its increasing networks with organisations working within Charter schools and movements advocating School Choice. Most of these studies offer strong critiques of the

programme drawing attention to its managerialist approach to teaching-learning, inadequate training and growing tendencies towards privatisation within public education (Brewer and deMarrais 2015; Kretchmar et al. 2014; Ball and Junemann 2012; Ball 2012; Maloney 2012; Brantlinger et al. 2010; Labaree 2010; Snell 2009).

With regard to teacher education specifically, much of the research literature emphasises how the programme advocates deprofessionalisation, often suggesting that to become a teacher one does not need to have any specialised professional training. In an interesting historical study mapping the evolution of the training and support structures of the 'Teach for America' programme, Schneider (2014) provides a much more complex answer to the programme's relationship with traditional teacher education.

He finds that "while Teach for America cultivated its image as a radical departure from traditional teacher education, and while funders and policymakers increasingly supported the organization for this reason, Teach for America's actual practices moved incrementally toward the work being done at leading college and university-based teacher education programs" (Ibid: 426).

Schneider shows that as the organisation grew, internally there were several issues put forth by Fellows regarding the inadequacy of the five weeks training module and superficial engagement with pedagogy and curriculum. He observes that the organisation steadily made significant changes to address these concerns such as introducing specific reading materials that included critical scholars in education (such as Sonia Nieto, Gloria Ladson-Billings and Lisa Delpit) to engage with sociocultural issues and build reflective skills among Fellows on their social status and privileges. These internal changes occurred even as the organisation selectively projected its managerialist and corporate leanings externally to secure adequate funding. Schneider (2014) points to their extensive mentoring structure through the course of their two-year fellowship which has several similarities to models advocated by traditional teacher educators and often finds much lesser mention in studies on the organisation.

One of the most pointed critiques on 'Teach for America' Fellows is with regard to their intentions in entering the education sector. Brantlinger et al. 2010 suggests that programmes such as 'Teach for America' provide subsidies to a privileged class, allowing them to use the experience to build attractive resumes and move on to other lucrative careers. They write:

> These interlocked organizational networks are directed by privileged, credentialised-class leaders who use them to pursue strategies and objectives that reinforce the shared economic, political, and cultural interests of their class. The super-class shares values, worldviews and a commitment to maintaining the status quo. From where privileged class leaders stand, life is good, and the corporate market model of the magic of the market works. The rhetoric is about serving the poor, yet it is the privileged class that benefits most directly from these new teacher education organizations and the policies and practices that enable them. (page 187)

While initially as the organisation began in the late 1980s much of its cohorts were dominated by White, upper-middle class graduates, the composition of the organisation has changed over the years. Data from the 2015 'Teach for America' Alumni survey on organisation composition indicates that 67 per cent come from a White non Hispanic background, 11 per cent are African Americans, 7 per cent are Latino, 6 per cent are Asian American, 5 per cent are multi ethnic, 0.3 per cent are American Indian and 3.7 per cent are other ethnicities (Teach for America website: www.teachforamerica.org). Close to 65 per cent of 'Teach for America' Alumni continue to work within the education sector in diverse capacities as teachers, school leaders, district and school staff and as public policy advocates. Of the 'Teach for America' Alumni who continue to work as teachers – 48 per cent work in traditional district schools, 38 per cent in Charter schools, 7 per cent in other schools and 6 per cent in private schools (Ibid).

In recent years, scholars such as Scott et al. (2016) have emphasised the necessity to analyse the programme beyond the classroom and school teaching. They underscore the gradual but important shift of the programme from positing itself as an organisation seeking to fill teacher shortages in the 1980s to one that is increasingly building a movement of TFA corps members as social and political actors who seek to remake urban schooling systems through "neoliberal, marketised solutions to educational inequality"(Ibid: 4).

By imagining the corps members as "critical agent(s) in ameliorating educational inequality", Scott et al. (2016) observe that 'TFA has built an active alumni network, and through its partner organization, Leadership for Educational Equity (LEE), has cultivated programs to support and encourage alumni to run for public office' (page 7). They emphasise that TFA must be seen not just as an ATC or a community service organisation 'but as a key agent in the transformation of educational leadership, reform and policy' (Scott et al. 2016: 9). They write:

> We see these policy shaping activities encompassing the leadership of schools, districts, foundations, think tanks, non-profits, and serving as state and system actors. As more alumni move into these roles,

through the policy networks carefully cultivated and sustained by TFA, they help to create the policy and fiscal conditions favourable to TFA's stability and growth as well as help to support the career trajectories of fellow alumni (Ibid: 9).

It is due to these pertinent developments that the spread of the model to different countries through the TFAll network is important and interesting. The programme has off-shoots in 38 countries across the world[9] through the 'Teach for All' (TFAll) organisation, established in 2007 (Kretchmar et al. 2014). The intervention is a subset of a growing 'epistemic community' that consists of powerful corporate players and an active public relations machinery that is informing and influencing educational policy making on a global scale (Ball 2012).

1.4 Changing terrain of education policy discourse: The 'Teach for All' network

The 'Teach for All' organisation was launched at the 'Clinton Global Initiative' in 2007, by Wendy Kopp, founder and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of 'Teach for America', and Brett Wigdortz, CEO of 'Teach First' (the British adaptation of 'Teach for America') with significant start-up support from the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation and the Amy and Larry Robbins Foundation (Ellis et al. 2015; Olmedo et al. 2013). Centred around core values of leadership and 'neoliberal social entrepreneurship', 'Teach for All', like 'Teach for America', seeks to disseminate similar ideas of interventions within the school space as important routes to reforming educational inequity and reducing poverty (Ellis et al. 2015). Data from the 'Teach for All' staff information for 2014 notes that more than 43,000 Fellows have worked with satellite organisations and the programme has reached more than five million students around the globe (Cumsille and Fizbein 2015).

Research on the various satellite organisations of the network and the modes through which it is being adapted to specific national contexts, its interactions with local private philanthropic

---

9   The Teach for All website as accessed on November 2, 2015 (teachforall.org/en) indicates that there are 38 network partners that share a common mission and model. These include Argentina, Germany, Panama, Armenia, Haiti, Peru, Australia, India, Philippines, Austria, Israel, Qatar, Bangladesh, Japan, Romania, Belgium, Latvia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Lebanon, Spain, Chile, Lithuania, Sweden, China, Malaysia, Thailand, Columbia, Mexico, United Kingdom, Ecuador, Nepal, United States, Estonia, New Zealand, Uruguay, France and Norway. The partnership model with Norway is different compared to other countries in the network as it is run by the city local government in Oslo. In other countries, the model operates as a separate organisation to the respective state government.

donors and networks and conflicts with existing systems of teacher education and training is scarce.

With regard to 'Teach First', the British organisation, and 'Teach for Australia', there is some research outlining modes of partnership and scepticism regarding its claims towards improving educational outcomes (Blandford 2014, Skourdoumbis 2012). Cumsille and Fizbein (2015) discuss the recruitment, selection, training and support structures of 'Teach for All' organisations working in Latin American countries and suggest possibilities of adapting these techniques to traditional teacher recruitment channels in these countries.

The growing interest in charting connections between organisations across countries and continents and the resultant dissemination of rhetorics and mechanisms of educational policy reform have led to studies by several scholars utilising network analysis methodologies towards dissecting websites of organisations and their sister concerns in finding similarities, differences and particular local adaptions (Olmedo et al. 2013; Ball 2012; Ball and Junemann 2012; Nambissan and Ball 2010). In a similar vein, Ellis et al. 2015 compare online websites of 'Teach for America', 'Teach First', 'Teach for China' and 'Teach for Norway' to examine how each website catering to distinct national populations with its own set of varied educational problems posit ideas of teaching as a short term commitment and visualises teaching within the mould of leadership. They observe that while certain metanarratives remain common across the four websites, their positioning vis a vis the particularities of the nation-state in question is markedly different.

Thus in China, the 'Teach for China' programme focuses on the rural-urban divide across the vast and diverse country, calling for Fellows to invest in the programme as a means to reduce these differences, while in Norway, the programme is directed towards addressing 'multicultural' schools and building talent among Science and Mathematics graduate students as the country faces shortage of teachers in these disciplines. Unlike other partner organisations, in Norway the programme is run by the city government of Oslo, an exception to public-private administrative arrangements that are common in other countries where the programme functions.

With regard to the Indian model of the programme, 'Teach for India', Vellanki (2014) employs network analysis to draw attention to the corporate funding structure interlinking national corporate actors with global counterparts. In another study on TFI, Blumenreich and

Gupta (2015) contextualise the differing histories and trajectories of teacher education in the US and India to compare and locate the emergence of these programmes in these respective countries and what attributes make them similar and set them apart. Their research on the 'Teach for America' and 'Teach for India' programmes is based on an analysis of the two websites and they believe that "unlike 'Teach for America', 'Teach for India' does not challenge a formal, well developed and long established national tradition of preparing teachers who are state-certified with advanced degrees in education as mandatory for all levels of schooling, and therefore the politics of its reception will look very different from the politics of 'Teach for America' and alternative credentialising in the US" (page 88).

One significant feature of the 'Teach for India' programme that stands out considering its location within the developing world, is its emphasis on English language instruction. The 'Teach for India' Fellows are placed in English medium sections within schools and the thrust on English is linked to its economic currency within a global market economy (Ibid: 94). Blumenreich and Gupta (2015) call for more detailed research on the processes and practices of the organisation within schools in order to situate the intervention in the Indian context.

The modes through which these reforms concerning teaching are being propagated and instituted through new NGO interventions such as 'Teach for India' is a central concern of this research study. The above discussion has largely focused on the nature of education reforms in the context of teaching and the consequent emergence of programmes such as 'Teach for America'. It has also noted the ways in which off-shoots of this programme are being imported into different countries across the world as suitable mechanisms for addressing teacher shortages and introducing new ideas of quality teaching in public education systems. In the second chapter, a more detailed discussion on the emergence of PPPs in elementary education in the Indian context will be outlined. Within this larger domain of PPPs in elementary education, it will focus on the arena of teacher training delineating certain important NGOs in this field in Mumbai and Delhi. The Indian off-shoot 'Teach for India' will be discussed further in the backdrop of these NGO interventions. In the following section, the theoretical framework for this research study will be examined.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

This research study draws on the scholarship of Ball (2016), Ball (2007), Whitty and Power (2007), Gupta and Sharma (2006), Gewirtz (2002) and Clarke et al. (2000) to conceptualise

discourses of 'marketisation' and 'managerialism' within the context of new alignments between the State and the private sector in reforming public education.

'Marketisation' here as Whitty and Power (2007) explain refers to a process wherein the State no longer remains central to provisioning and funding in education. Instead there is an increasing outsourcing of services of various kinds – mid-day meals, teaching, assessments, school administration – to private entities creating 'quasi-markets' within school sites. The emergence of these 'quasi-markets' enforce principles of competition, choice and a reorientation of the student as a 'consumer' of education (Ibid).

This process of 'marketisation' where private entities enter and institute new regimes within public (government) schools, is furthered through new modes of governance where the roles and responsibilities of the State are redefined. Ball (2016) elaborates on these new modalities of reform:

> These are part of a deeper transformation of the political sphere, the 'de-governmentalisation of the state' (Rose, 1996), and they are producing new forms of political organization in which governments no longer exert monopolistic control over statework. This involves repopulating and reworking existing policy networks and giving primacy and legitimacy to the role of business or enterprise or philanthropy in the solution of 'wicked' social problems (like school improvement and social disadvantage) (page 12).

There is a substantial devolving of State authority onto a network of non-governmental organisations and individuals who are not traditionally a part of the formal state apparatus but become "instruments through which strategies for governing populations and communities, and fashioning proper selves, are deployed and legitimized" (Gupta and Sharma 2006: 9).

The strategies through which these non-governmental organisations encode processes of 'marketisation' within public institutions such as schools is termed 'managerialism'. Thus 'managerialism' is an important subset of how 'marketisation' gets instituted.

'Managerialism', as Clarke et al. (2000) explain is a body of practices emphasising "attention to outputs and performance rather than inputs; separation of purchaser and provider; breaking down of large scale organizations and using competition to enable 'exit' or 'choice' by service users and decentralization of budgetary and personal authority to line managers" (page 6). In relation to teaching, 'managerialism' refers to those practices which seek to re-make the role of the school teacher and the aims of teaching itself. This encompasses a stronger shift for teachers to utilise behaviourist methods of teaching, aligning teaching

strongly to standardised testing and continuously showcasing their daily minutiae of tasks in the classroom within parameters of 'performance' (Ball 2007, Gewirtz 2002).

Non-state entities such as 'Teach for America' and its offshoots through the 'Teach for All' network are important conduits towards encouraging and institutionalising the interlinked ideas of 'marketisation' and 'managerialism' within public school sites. The 'ideal-typical form' of school teaching that gets forged through these programmes is one of 'hyper-performativity' (Olmedo et al. 2013: page 497).

These inter-linked discourses of 'marketisation' and 'managerialism' and the modalities through which they are entering and seeking to reconfigure school systems and school teachers circumscribed within very different socio-cultural contexts in the developing world is a focal concern in this research study. Regarding the movement and dissemination of these ideas across transregional sites, Ball (2016) observes:

> There are several scales and ranges of mobility here, the movement of policy forms and ideas from (and between) the USA and England, and movements within India, between cities and states. As practices of governing, initiatives of this sort are beginning to re-define the Indian state at various levels. They are part of the 'continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state' (Foucault in Gordon, Miller, et. al. (1991). Parts of the state are being reconfigured and reinvented in novel ways, at different speeds, from different starting points (page 12).

With regard to school teaching especially, Maguire (2010: 58) notes that it is a "complex, diffuse and differentiated occupation" constructed within "local histories, cultures and politics". It is thus critical to understand how interventions such as 'Teach for India', which posit similar ideas of reform such as 'Teach for America', engage with and seek to reform local school systems and teachers marked by diverse social, cultural, religious and linguistic characteristics.

1.6. Rationale

There have been a number of research studies in the West that have examined the interface of growing privatisation measures drawing from discourses of markets and managerialism in their respective public education systems. These varied research studies have examined domains of policy formulation, forms of institutional practices, classroom processes and intersections between these realms as well. In the context of India, the move towards studying privatisation and its concomitant manifestations in policy and practice is recent. There have been few research studies that have examined its impact on policy formulation and its

reflections in programmes and schemes across the country, such as PPPs, teacher training programmes, emergence of low-cost budget schools and voucher schemes[10].

A key focus of this research study are PPPs in education and specifically the 'Teach for India' intervention, its modes of reform and practices within municipal schools and its related corporate financial links and advocacy networks. Over the past few years, a number of research studies have emerged in the US examining the consequences and effects of interventions such as 'Teach for America' on the public education system. These studies have been severely critical of the ways in which this programme undermines teacher professionalisation and adopts a pedagogical approach focusing on standards and outcomes. There have been no similar empirically based studies to examine the interface of the 'Teach for India' programme with the public education system in India. This research study is one attempt to explore the various manifestations of this intervention in policy forums and sites of reform, most notably the municipal schools in Delhi.

1.7. Research Objectives

1. To situate the larger discourse of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) in school education reform, teacher education and training. More specifically to focus on:

   - The emergence of prominent NGOs engaged in these partnerships around teachers and their training since the 1990s in the urban context of Mumbai and Delhi.

   - The plurality of perspectives of these actors on education, school improvement, the teacher and her training.

2. To study the emergence and global connections of a prominent PPP programme in teacher training - the 'Teach for India' (TFI) programme. More specifically to understand:

   - The origins of the programme in India and its linkages to 'Teach for America' and other global networks.

---

10 Two research studies by Mukhopadhyay (2011) and Sriprakash (2012) employ a similar extensive approach of examining various sites of policy and practice. Mukhopadhyay (2011) studied the educational bureaucracy in Karnataka and Sriprakash (2012) examined the politics and practices of progressive, child-centred education in developing countries taking case-studies of the 'Nali Kali' programme and the 'Learner Centred Initiative' in Karnataka.

- The social (and educational) backgrounds of TFI Fellows and their programme of training.

3. To examine the 'Teach for India' intervention operating in some government schools of Delhi. More specifically to understand:

   - The nature of the partnership between TFI and the Delhi government.

   - The new administrative and teaching arrangements within some government schools.

4. To focus on how the partnership shapes teaching-learning processes and interpersonal dynamics with government staff in select government schools. More specifically to understand:

   - The pedagogical regime within Fellows' classrooms and Fellows' engagements with the school principal and the government teachers.

   - The Fellows' reflections on the organisation's framework of teaching and their professional aspirations after the completion of the two-year fellowship.

1.8. Methodology

Fieldwork for this research project began with a broad survey of the range of NGOs working in teacher training and school management in the cities of Delhi and Mumbai. Keeping in mind the theoretical framework of 'managerialism', NGOs were categorised based on their pedagogical approaches and vision for education reform. This thesis' focus is on the 'Teach for India' (TFI) organisation which is the Indian off-shoot of the 'Teach for America' programme. This programme was chosen as a case study in order to understand how global ideas of school reform focusing on teacher training travel, adapt and enter into school systems with differing social and political histories but characterised by similar concerns of poor quality teaching.

A range of methodological tools were used to examine the macro and micro particularities of the TFI programme. The first part of research on the TFI involved a survey of various documents, newspapers, websites and online advocacy groups to situate the intervention within the Indian context and locate its programme of action specifically within Delhi. In order to map the programme's corporate, financial and advocacy networks locally, nationally

and globally, Social Network Analysis (SNA) was used. This method of mapping transnational educational networks has been used extensively by several scholars and the study builds on previous research by Ball 2016; Kretchmar et al. 2014; Vellanki 2014; Au and Ferrare 2014; Olmedo et al. 2013; Ball 2012; Ball and Junemann 2012; and Nambissan and Ball 2010.

Social Network Analysis as Au and Ferrare (2014) note is a "family of analytical and theoretical tools used to examine and interpret *relations* between sets of actors and events" (page 1). The method has been used extensively to map "complex interactions and affiliations across a variety of educational policy contexts" (Ibid).

The method allows researchers to locate and map certain important structural aspects of educational policy discourses. It allows the researcher to construct certain 'translocal assemblages' and chart policy flows and mobilities between different sets of actors and organisations. However, the method also poses some limitations regarding the spatio-temporal dynamics of educational policy mobilities that are always in flux and are constantly evolving. The method can assume a certain unidirectional flow of discourses from the West (mostly the US and Britain) to the developing world and in some studies also showcase the multi-directions of flows between various entities but it may not capture adequately the differences and negotiations between and within organisations and actors regarding elements of policy. Social Network Analysis can be inexhaustible as connections within connections can be determined and hence the researcher exercises certain choices to present a limited selection that can speak most pointedly on certain aspects of the intermingling of discourses within education policy.

Apart from understanding the larger structural aspects of the programme, the second part of the research on TFI explored the modes through which the intervention operated in government schools in the city of Delhi.

Considering the difficult nature of accessing and studying PPPs within government schools, this study focused exclusively on the narratives of TFI Fellows and TFI organisation members to understand how the intervention functioned within government school sites[11]. A detailed interview schedule was developed focusing on a range of themes such as socio-

---

11   See Appendix A: A note on the process of ethnographic research for a more detailed description.

educational background of the TFI Fellows, organisational training practices, organisational support structures, teaching processes within classrooms, modes of interaction with the government school staff and aspirations after the completion of the fellowship. This interview schedule provided a framework for interviewing TFI Fellows in a focused manner. During the course of the interviews, where new questions and ideas emerged – these were then suitably incorporated and integrated within the interview schedule.

Interview schedules for other groups such as TFI Program Managers, TFI Senior Management Heads and TFI Alumni were developed in a similar manner as well. Close to 40 detailed interviews were conducted over the course of a year (between July 2014 and October 2015). These included Fellows from two cohorts (2013-2015 and 2014-2016) based in Delhi; Program Managers and Administrative team members working with the organisation between 2014 and 2016 in Delhi; Alumni members who were TFI Fellows and were working in the social sector in Delhi and some members from city teams based in Mumbai, Pune, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chennai and Ahmedabad. Interviews with team members in other cities were conducted over the telephone and the internet except for a member from the Mumbai team who was interviewed in person.

Most respondents in Delhi were interviewed in person over the course of two sessions, where each session lasted up to two hours. Interviews were then transcribed and organised into relevant themes which have been analysed to reconstruct various aspects of the organisation and its modes of functioning in government schools in Delhi.

Apart from in-depth interviews, Right to Information (RTI) applications were also filed at respective Delhi municipal government offices (SDMC, NDMC and EDMC) and the Directorate of Education to procure relevant information on the PPP arrangement between TFI and the Delhi government. Information procured from these RTI applications have been used to situate observations in the ethnographic chapters in this research study.

1.9. Overview of Chapters

The second chapter discusses PPPs in elementary education with a focus on policies framing school teaching and teacher training. This chapter provides an overview of prominent NGOs in Mumbai and Delhi working within municipal schools and discusses a few of them that are focused on improving school teaching. Amongst this range of urban NGOs, this study will

examine the case of 'Teach for India'. The third chapter situates the emergence of the 'Teach for India' programme, its national and global institutional networks and its vision for education reform. In the fourth chapter, the educational and professional backgrounds of the Fellows and their choices to enter the education sector will be examined. This chapter also describes the five-week training programme that Fellows undergo at the Summer Institute in Pune, before being placed to teach in municipal schools in different cities.

The fifth chapter locates the intervention in the city of Delhi which was the field site for this research study. It outlines important aspects of the MoU between 'Teach for India' and the Delhi government and the modes through which the organisation is changing teaching and administrative arrangements in municipal schools. The chapter also discusses the city support and mentorship system which guides Fellows as they teach in the schools. Following from this, the sixth chapter focuses on the teaching practices in Fellows' classrooms. The chapter highlights the larger pattern of teaching and assessment regimes in Fellows' classrooms while also drawing attention to small attempts by two Fellows to use alternative pedagogic practices in their classrooms. Apart from academic aspects Fellows were also instrumental in involving students in extracurricular activities. The chapter also examines how Fellows collaborate in diverse ways to provide varied opportunities for the children in their classrooms.

The selective freedoms which allow Fellows to teach with relative autonomy in their English medium classrooms also create divisions within municipal schools. The final chapter discusses the nature of engagement between Fellows and the government staff. It also examines Fellows' reflections on the TFI model of teaching and leadership and their future aspirations.

The concluding chapter provides a detailed discussion on the programme and its project of education reform. This chapter threads observations presented in the earlier ethnographic chapters to elaborate on how certain global discourses of teacher reform are entering and reorienting the Indian education policy landscape through programmes such as 'Teach for India'. This discussion draws on the case-study of TFI to explore what such interventions mean for government school systems, the profession of school teaching and teaching-learning transactions in the classroom.

2. PPPs and elementary education in India:
Examining policy shifts and changing role of NGOs

This chapter traces significant historical and policy shifts in the sphere of elementary education in post-Independent India with a focus on the discourse of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) that emerged in the early 1990s. The first section draws briefly on select colonial antecedents to explain some aspects regarding the presence of 'private' actors and institutions during this period to distinguish them from the newer 'private' organisations and 'partnerships' that emerged during the late 1980s. This section will then move on to discuss key policy transitions from the Kothari Commission Report in the 1960s to the structural adjustment programmes in the early 1990s. This period following the neoliberal reforms was marked by the increasing participation of non-governmental organisations (NGO) in elementary education and schemes that focused on improving school infrastructure and the quality of teaching.

The second section will situate teacher education related reforms and other concerns on school teaching that arose during the 1990s. These changes were important precedents to the rising emphasis on PPPs as modes of reform, which will be discussed in the third section. This section seeks to locate NGOs which are a central node in facilitating PPPs. The final section discusses a select section of NGOs in Mumbai and Delhi working in the field of teacher training. It will briefly introduce the 'Teach for India' intervention which is the focus of this research study and will be examined in detail in the chapters that follow.

2.1. Mapping some historical and policy moments in elementary education

A variegated school system came into place in India under colonial rule in the late nineteenth century. The colonial state did not operate as a monolithic entity across the geographic span of the country and the systemic character of school education in different regions was influenced by a multitude of factors. The differing fiscal engagements across central, provincial and local levels of the colonial state shifted greater responsibility for primary education onto local School Boards. Diverse non-colonial state entities such as missionaries, religious charitable organisations and caste communities also played a key role in the project of education reform. The growth of primary schooling was also linked to the varying sources

of land revenue across regions and the changing colonial policy on 'mass education' (Jain (forthcoming)).

'Mass education' as several scholars have noted remained an uneven ideological commitment under colonial rule. Spending for primary education was largely channelled by the colonial state through select grants-in-aid to different 'private' actors. While Christian missionaries dominated 'private' school development in the early years, the number of 'private' schools by Indians across religious and caste communities far outnumbered mission schools by the late nineteenth century (Jain (forthcoming)).

The grants-in-aid system paved the way for a constellation of schools that came to be referred to as government-aided institutions, some of which continue to function alongside government schools and other kinds of private schools even today. Kumar (2008) refers to this 'parallel' system of diverse 'private' schools as the first 'public-private partnership' in education. While there appear to be surface level similarities between the engagements of the colonial state and the neoliberal post-colonial Indian state in facilitating primary education through a range of 'private' entities, it is important to distinguish between these trends. The changing notions of 'public' and 'private' across these time periods, as well as the alterations in the nature of the 'State' and its relationship with the 'public' suggest the need to complicate the easy parallels between the colonial and the post-liberalisation experiences. The colonial state had a very limited conception of 'mass education' as a 'public' right and duty. These fledgling ideas of 'public' education and citizenship get crystallised within a much more democratic framework of social justice post-Independence, where the Indian state takes on an overt welfarist role promoting equal rights for all Indian citizens[12].

The term Public-Private Partnership (PPP) which will be explored in a later section in this chapter is thus of a more recent formulation where after the neoliberal reforms the Indian state driven by larger global pressures advocating lower social-sector spending is actively moving away from its primary role as provider of education services.

Keeping aside these important delineations between 'public' and 'private', it is important to acknowledge the colonial legacy of disparate schooling systems that the post-independent Indian state inherited. Several features of the colonial system continued to persist in the

---

12 For a more detailed understanding of 'State', 'public' and 'private', see Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds.) 'Civil Society: History and Possibilities', published by Cambridge University Press, 2001.

education system of the independent Indian state. These included top-down hierarchical bureaucratic administrative structures, dual language policies that favoured English medium education and a curriculum content that remained divorced from the realities of both teachers and students (Mukhopadhyay 2011).

The role of the school teacher and the profession of teaching also changed significantly during the colonial period. Before the coming of the British, the school teacher was embedded within differing social and religious contexts across the country. There were vast differences with regard to the forms of schooling, the codes and mediums of instruction, curriculum and the purposes of education. These variations were further complicated by issues of caste, social class and gender. These diverse indigenous systems of teaching and learning underwent much change once schools came under colonial control and the school teacher became a State functionary earning a meagre salary (Kumar 1991; Rao 2014).

Post-independence, elementary education in India was envisaged as a key institution through which "equality of opportunity and social justice could be achieved" (Nambissan and Rao 2013). The Indian State's engagement in the realm of elementary education has differed across the decades. Where in the 1950s elementary education lost out to the "Nehruvian emphasis on higher education, science and technology as instruments for economic transformation" it was only with the Kothari Commission Report in 1964, that it re-entered public discussion forcefully (Batra 2012). Three significant recommendations made by the Report included the introduction of a common-school system, integrating courses of general and professional teacher education in universities and increasing the educational expenditure leading to an estimated investment of 6 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the education sector (Ibid: 220).

It was through the Kothari Commission report that school teaching was brought back into focus for the first time post-Independence. At that time there were wide variations across the country with regard to duration of teacher training, course curriculum as well as age and educational requirements for entry into teacher education institutes. Modes of teacher education and related ideas of professionalization in the US and Britain acted as frames of reference for teacher education and training in postcolonial countries. As a former colony of Britain, there was much intermingling and transmutation of ideas regarding teacher education and training in India. However, there were significant differences with regard to the

ideational understanding of practitioner autonomy in school teaching. Strong ideas of practitioner autonomy were consciously not transmitted by the British to the native population emphasizing a stronger subservient role for school teachers (see Lortie 1969, Lortie 2002, Ginsburg et al. 1988, Kumar 1991, Labaree 1992, Ingersoll and Merrill 2011, Khora 2011, Rao 2014). Up to the 1970s, education was largely the responsibility of state governments and training of school teachers largely took place in institutes outside the purview and regulation of the University system (Batra 2012, Batra 2006, Khora 2011).

However, Batra (2012) observes that the "turbulent political climate of the late 1960s and the 1970s did not allow much momentum and reform on the subject [of elementary education]" and it was only with the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986 that new developments in the field of elementary education came to the fore. The late 1980s and 1990s saw the opening up of the economy and implementation of structural adjustment programmes that severely restricted the State from spending on the social sector, largely education and health. Commitments made by the international donor community at the Jomtein conference in 1990 saw external assistance influencing and shaping educational policies in the country in a big way (Govinda, 2002; Kumar et al, 2001). This period also saw the growing emphasis on "'quality of schooling' through the creation of 'Minimum Levels of Learning', a direct outcome of the NPE 1986" (Sarangapani 2010: 44).

Sarangapani (2010) notes that the focus of this discourse on 'quality' was directed towards reforming government systems of schooling for the poor "efficiently and cost-effectively" (Ibid: 47). International global organisations such as the World Bank and their affiliates became key agents of reform during the early 1990s. A significant programme was the World Bank sponsored District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) which was started in 1994 in 42 districts of seven states of India. Close to 85 per cent of the project was financed by the central government and the remaining 15 per cent was shared by the concerned state government. The central government share was largely resourced through external assistance. It was gradually expanded through diversified sources of international funding to include more districts in different states across the country. The programme led to several infrastructural developments including the setting up of more schools, drinking water facilities, toilets, village education committees and resource centres for academic support and training of teachers. Other foreign funded programmes in the field of primary education launched during this period include the Bihar Education Project (UNICEF), Lok Jumbish

(Swedish International Development Agency), Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (UK foreign aid) and the Mahila Samakhya project (Dutch assistance) (Batra 2012).

Apart from the formal schooling system, the period also saw the legitimising of a parallel non-formal system of education. Where on the one hand the Navodaya Vidyalayas were set up to cater to the growing rural elite, on the other hand the centrally sponsored Operation Blackboard programme focused on providing minimal facilities to all primary schools. Decentralisation and devolution of political power to local government bodies such as the Panchayats characterised several programmes during this decade with the passage of the 73rd and 74th amendments in 1994. While there was some acceleration with regard to educational reform in some states across the country as political leaders doggedly sought to improve Human Development Indices, the uneven structure of neoliberal economic policies resulted in states competing with each other for scarce resources to improve primary education (Ibid).

Batra (2012: 221) notes that "the increasing resignation of policymakers to the declining capacity and credibility of the public education system, perceived resource constraints, and international and national pressures to achieve high enrolment and literacy rates in short periods of time led the government to choose 'economically viable' but 'suboptimal' options, thus compromising quality". The role of the school teacher and the profession of school teaching also gained renewed importance. However, the cut-back on spending had repercussions on reforming teacher education as well.

2.2. New focus on the school teacher and teacher training

The mass scale expansion of the school education system during the 1990s brought people from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds into the teaching profession. There was much concern about the failing standards of teacher training as was highlighted by the Chattopadhyay Commission Report (1983-85) which called for reforming teacher education programmes institutionally. It emphasised the need to locate teacher education within the higher education system in order to bring more depth and rigour to the training programmes (Batra 2006, Govinda 2002).

There were two sets of trajectories in the landscape of teacher education and recruitment at this point of time. At the national level, the central government pushed for professionalising teacher education through the establishment of District Institutes of Education and Training

(DIETs) across the country. However, at the same time the changing economic climate saw states like Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh move to hiring part-time teachers with lower qualifications than full-time teachers. Programmes such as 'Shiksha Karmi'(1987) and the 'Himachal Pradesh Volunteer Teacher' scheme (1984) set the precedent for a range of para-teacher projects that were launched through the early 1990s. (Batra 2012, Batra 2006, Govinda and Josephine 2005, Ramachandran et al. 2005, Kumar et al 2001).

Teachers increasingly came to be regarded as a cost and their position in a majority of countries as the largest single category of public sector employees meant that they rarely escaped from the impact of policies of economic restructuring and adjustment (UNESCO Report 1998). At the national level, the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), which was an advisory body to the government, was conferred statutory status to regulate the professional qualification requirements for school teachers in 1995.

The institutional structure of the DIETs were extended further through the creation of Block Resource Centres (BRCs) and Cluster Resource Centres (CRCs) that were aimed at providing resource support to schools and teachers (Govinda 2002). Another small but significant attempt to professionalise school teaching and locate it within the ambit of the University system was also made in 1994 in Delhi with the four-year integrated interdisciplinary Bachelors in Elementary Education programme (B El Ed) (Batra 2012; 2006).

Despite these disparate efforts at the national level to formulate policy frameworks and quality norms, it was largely up to the state governments to decide on conditions of recruitment and service for both regular and para-teachers. This created wide variations in teaching standards across the country (Govinda and Josephine 2005). Instead of filling up the several vacancies for primary teachers across states in the country, most states took the economically viable route out by appointing para-teachers under various schemes.[13] This choice for recruiting para-teachers also gained much steam with increasing studies that pointed to the growing spate of cases of teacher absenteeism in government schools across the country.

---

13 Some para-teacher schemes include Andariki Vidya Volunteer Scheme (Andhra Pradesh), Vidya Sahayak Yojana (Gujarat), Vidya Sahayak Yojana (Himachal Pradesh), Shiksha Karmi Programme (Madhya Pradesh), Shikshen Sevak (Maharashtra), Shiksha Karmi Programme (Rajasthan) and Shiksha Mitra Yojana (Uttar Pradesh). Except for the Shiksha Karmi Programme in Rajasthan, all these programmes were launched during the implementation of the DPEP (Govinda and Josephine 2005).

The Public Report On Basic Education in India (PROBE) published in 1999, was a landmark study based on an extensive survey of 200 villages in the low-income states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. The study brought attention to the processes of teaching and learning within the classroom showing the disjuncture between curriculum and social reality of children and the mechanical rote-based methods of pedagogy being used. It broke popular perceptions of how low-income families were disinterested in the education of their children and pointed to the growing phenomenon of teacher absenteeism in government schools. It showed that one-third of the head-teachers were absent and little teaching happened in schools even when teachers were present (Ramachandran et al. 2005).

This phase of interrogation into the teaching-learning transactions within the school was further fuelled by a range of studies funded by international organisations such as the World Bank. The government school and the absent government school teacher became the key focus of these studies. Increasing comparisons were made between government and private schools and their respective learning outcomes. A study by Kremer et al. (2005) funded by the World Bank, that covered 20 states in India showed that only 45 per cent of teachers were actively engaged in teaching. Teacher absence rates varied sharply across states with 15 per cent in Maharashtra to 42 per cent in Jharkand. Absence rates were found to be higher in low-income states and there were high rates of correlation between teacher absence and poor physical conditions of schooling (Ibid).

These studies discussed various facets of teaching conditions and teacher motivation in schools drawing links between the social status of teaching and the pay scales involved. No clear correlation could be found between pay scales and teacher motivation. It was also important to note that pay scales for teachers employed in government schools and in private schools varied across states. Mehrotra and Panchamukhi (2006) noted:

> On average, a government schoolteacher's annual salary varied in 1999–2000 between about Rs.63,000 and Rs.90,000 in rural areas, and about Rs.76,000 to Rs.106,000 in urban areas. However, the salaries of teachers in private unaided schools are deplorable. In states like Bihar the annual salary of an elementary school teacher in a private unaided schools is as low as Rs.10,307, which amounts to monthly emoluments of less than Rs.1000 (US$22). In West Bengal, in urban areas, school teachers in private unaided schools are very poorly paid. Their average annual salary can be as low as Rs.6698, which is equivalent to the salary paid to para-teachers in the government system (who may receive about Rs 24,000 per annum) (pages 433-435).

There were also differences in the kinds of work that regular and para-teachers were involved in. Where regular teachers were found engaging a greater number of clerical and administrative tasks that went beyond their profile of school teaching, para-teachers were shown to be more involved in the daily tasks of teaching and controlling discipline within the classroom (Ramachandran et al. 2005). These concerns surrounding the school teacher, her work and questions of accountability gained much significance within the larger State emphasis on improving quality in the school system. This move to focus on school teaching, alongside the slew of other schemes and measures implemented by the national and state governments in assistance with foreign international organisations to improve the quality of schooling, was largely facilitated through a range of non-governmental organisations (NGO) that emerged during this period.

The 1980s saw a diverse group of autonomous organisations, associations and institutions broadly categorised under the umbrella term of NGOs come into being as an active response to the inefficiency of the State across a range of issues encompassing human rights, environment, development, gender and education (Rudolph and Rudolph 2004). These non-state entities were distinct from conventional voluntary associations aimed at charity and inscribed within religion and altruism. These organisations, while drawing on some features of conventional voluntary associations had a larger ideological focus on social justice, welfare and development (Nawani 2002).

Deeply engaged in a range of social concerns, these organisations became important sites to forge solidarities and innovative methods outside the State system (Cody 2013, Sharma 2008). One example was the emergence of Eklavya, a prominent NGO in the field of education in Madhya Pradesh. Despite the setting up of DIETs across the country during this period, Batra (2012; 2006) notes that state-led teacher training institutes continued to be plagued by dated curriculum emphasising behaviourist pedagogies dominant in psychology. It was in sites like Eklavya that alternative pedagogies found validation and space (Ibid).

Through the late 1990s with the neoliberal reforms, these non-state entities that had emerged as vocal critics of State-led development soon became enmeshed within the State machinery. It was through these organisations that the State took initiative to administer most of its welfare programmes (Cody 2013, Kamat 2002). One example of a large scale central

government initiated educational intervention which was administered through a host of NGOs at the grassroots level across different states was the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA).

These engagements between the State and diverse private entities became the foundation for Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), a term that gained much traction through the twenty-first century in State policy documents. The following section examines the discourse of PPPs in the realm of elementary education. It will discuss the diverse types of NGOs that have subsequently emerged in the field and their particular visions of reform.

2.3. Parallel Paradoxes: Landmark policy reforms and PPPs

The twenty-first century brought a series of important policy reforms in the field of elementary education that sought to make the Indian State more accountable to its vast population of children enrolled in a range of government schools across the country.

Discussions on curriculum and free and compulsory education for all children came into the public domain with the National Curriculum Framework, 2005 (NCF) and the Right to Education Act, 2009 (RTE). The NCF, 2005, was a commendable accomplishment that not only sought to revise a curriculum that was tainted with religious overtones and instituted by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government but also sought to strengthen the idea of developing a more child-centred pedagogical approach that connected curriculum to the diverse social realities of the child. Through the NCF, 2005, the task of the school teacher gained more importance as she was seen as a central agent in facilitating the process of learning within the classroom (Batra 2012; Batra 2006).

Aspects of the NCF, 2005, found much resonance and strength in the RTE, 2009 and the National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education, 2009 (NCFTE). The NCFTE, 2009, acknowledged that quality teacher education was essential for achieving educational goals. Keeping the progressive goals of the NCF, 2005, in mind the document outlined several measures in training teachers in the pedagogical skills necessary to adapt to the diverse learning conditions of children and developing sensitivity towards contemporary issues and problems.

As a landmark policy measure, the RTE, 2009, made the Indian State accountable to provide free and compulsory education to all children in government schools from six years up to the age of 14 years. In the context of school teachers, the RTE stipulated quality guidelines on

teacher education determining length of academic preparation as well as level and quality of subject matter knowledge. The Justice Verma Commission (2012) recommendations also reiterated the necessity of locating teacher education programmes within the ambit of the University, in order to broaden the academic curricular content of these programmes. With the coming of the RTE and the consequent increase in enrolment, teacher scarcity alongside the concerns of quality outlined in the earlier section became more apparent. As of 2014, there was a shortage of 9.4 lakh teachers in government schools. This included 5.86 lakh teachers in primary schools and 3.5 lakh teachers in upper primary schools. In addition, around six lakh teachers remain untrained[14].

These progressive policy reforms in the recent decade sought to make the Indian State more accountable in arenas of public education. However, these discourses of reform were also contradicted by important transitions in the field of elementary education over the last decade that advocated an increasing reliance on partnerships with a range of private entities to improve conditions within the school system. Instead of strengthening State infrastructure to meet these diverse demands, there was an increasing outsourcing of service delivery functions to NGOs. This transition towards the 'private' in the past decade has been instrumental in inserting logics of the 'market' within public bodies (Kumar 2014).

Drawing from the work of Matthew Flinders, the political scientist, Kumar (2014) locates PPPs as a fusion between the State and the 'market':

> The logic of PPPs is based on accepting the supremacy of market relationships and focus on efficiency and outputs as the primary indicator of performances […] what this logic of PPPs [has] led to is the possibility of interpreting and modelling the public as consumers or customers in a political marketplace rather than as citizens. However, what can be said of the current transformation is that instead of competing with each other state and capital are in the process of fusing with each other. This is not an assemblage of distinct categories or simply a network but an altogether different entity which is producing new forms of economic and political processes (page 7).

These ideas of reform have increasingly found their presence in State-led programmes and policy documents. In an analysis of Tenth Plan (2002-2007) and Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) documents, Srivastava (2010: 541) notes that "despite repeated assertions of 'a greatly expanded role for the state' in social sectors, namely education, proposed PPP strategies result in a diminished role for the state in the areas of education financing, management and regulation in favour of privatised strategies of delivery".

14 This data was part of the report on the status and challenges of the RTE authored by Ambarish Rai, Convener of the Right to Education Forum, published on the Common Causes website (http://www.commoncause.in/publication_details.php?id=466) on October-December 2015.

The Report of the PPP Sub-Group on the Social Sector, 2004, emphasises certain benefits that have a strong link to 'market' principles:

- *Cost-effectiveness*- since selection of the developer/ service provider depends on competition or some bench marking, the project is generally more cost effective than before.

- *Higher Productivity-* by linking payments to performance, productivity gains may be expected within the programme/project.

- *Accelerated Delivery* – since the contracts generally have incentive and penalty clauses vis-a-vis implementation of capital projects/programmes *this leads to accelerated delivery of projects.*

- *Clear Customer Focus* - the shift in focus from service inputs to outputs create the scope for innovation in service delivery and enhances customer satisfaction.

- *Enhanced Social Service*- social services to the mentally ill, disabled children and delinquents etc. require a great deal of commitment than sheer professionalism. *In such cases it is Community/Voluntary Organizations (VOs) with dedicated volunteers who alone can provide the requisite relief.*

- *Recovery of User Charges-* Innovative decisions can be taken with greater flexibility on account of decentralization. *Wherever possibilities of recovering user charges exist, these can be imposed in harmony with local conditions (page 5).*

These 'benefits' of cost-effectiveness, higher productivity, accelerated delivery and conscious modelling of 'citizens' as 'consumers' marked an important shift in the role of the State and its responsibilities in guaranteeing public rights to education, health and social services.

The justification for PPPs was made through explanations that stated that budgetary allocations could not meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other development targets and hence it was necessary to broaden investment options by bringing in private actors and organisations on board. The emphasis on PPPs called for an expanded role for NGOs and voluntary organisations without fully defining models of partnership between state and private actors, roles of engagement and effective regulatory frameworks for private parties involved (Srivastava 2010).

It was in the Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) document that the 'corporate sector' was explicitly mentioned among the group of private entities that the State can engage with for the delivery of social services. While prominent corporates have run charitable foundations for a range of

social issues including education, contributed towards welfare measures in limited capacities and funded select NGOs, this move signified an expanded role for corporates in participating in PPPs (Sundar 2013).

These developments also connected to the National Knowledge Commission Report's (2006-2009) prescriptions for India in the new global economy. The Report stressed the growing need for English language and technical skills for the country's IT and IT enabled service industries (Chakravarti 2013). Investment in education was seen by a number of corporate players as a valuable route to build a workforce with requisite soft skills and technical skills. It has been estimated that education has a potential market size of 450 million students worth 50 billion dollars per annum and with growth rates of 10-15 per cent over the next decade (Ibid: 42-43).

Individualised efforts of corporates in supporting government initiatives in the social sector also gained greater currency with the notification of Section 135 and Schedule VII of the Companies Act, 2013. This ensured that companies with a net worth of Rs. 500 crore or a turnover of Rs. 1,000 crore would need to spend at least two per cent of their average profits on corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities. Thus, corporations have increasingly begun to promote CSR measures through not just their own foundations but also other NGOs working in the social sector (Goswami and Tandon 2013).

Scholars note that this recent trend of corporates entering into partnerships with the government was also largely concentrated within select geographic areas where these companies have offices and industries. Their approach to social sector projects was also distinctly different from the older set of NGOs that emerged in the 1980s. These corporate actors were keen to promote business models that generated economic returns while supporting social causes and issues. Even NGOs that corporates came to support had to cater to the corporates' respective perspectives of social reform through entrepreneurship (Ibid).

Within this broad spectrum of the social sector, education was the top priority for most corporates. Here education largely encompassed English language based literacy, Maths, vocational and technical skills. The key agent in transacting these 'skills' to students was the school teacher. This led to corporates shifting considerable attention on school teaching as a crucial input towards improving quality in the school system.

The growing demand for 'good quality' teaching also tied in with the Twelfth Plan (2012-2017) observations on how the RTE had increased school enrolment but had not been able to suitably address the dire lack of trained school teachers in the government system. The Report of the Working Group on Private Sector Participation including PPP in school education for the 12th Five Year Plan states:

> The provisions of the RtE such as the prescription of a pupil teacher ratio of 1:30, the prescribed standards for teacher qualification are creating an enormous need for teacher education of 12.84 lakh teachers. Seen in this light, a focus on teacher education in this five year plan represents the biggest opportunity to have a long lasting impact on the quality of education in India and to make it significantly more equitable. Such a large influx of teachers into the government school system may never happen again. Failure to meet this challenge will put all future efforts at improving school education at enormous risk, as these teachers will form the backbone of the school education system for decades to come (page 5).

While the Report highlighted the need to bring the teacher back into the equation of quality through emphasising teacher education, the institutional mechanisms that were outlined towards achieving these objectives clearly privileged the role of private organisations and their 'innovative', 'cost-effective' methods. Thus the larger national policy goals of curriculum reform and teacher education linked to providing all children with the 'right' to elementary education were increasingly being channelled through an apparatus of varied private entities with differing visions of teaching and teacher education.

Amongst the range of NGOs working within teacher training, a select segment of NGOs largely supported by prominent corporates are increasingly gaining much importance in education policy circles. These NGOs employ a 'managerialist' vision of education where the school teacher is envisioned as a 'technician' imparting literacy and numeracy skills. Teaching is framed within an 'input-output' model, where teaching practices need to produce desired results. Apart from these mainstream NGOs, a smaller segment of NGOs adopting alternative pedagogic perspectives also operate in limited capacities. These NGOs also sustain themselves through varied sources of private funding, including corporate donations. However, keeping in mind their particular vision for education reform which is more 'individual' and 'empowerment' centric they have a limited reach and audience (Nawani 2002).

Kumar (2008) refers to the group of NGOs utilising 'managerialist' perspectives and supported by corporates as 'corporate NGOs'. These NGOs that are finding much voice and validation in PPP discussions are keen to promote principles of 'competition', 'choice' and

'efficiency' through their interventions within the school system. They not only operate within certain sections of the government school system but also advocate 'low-cost' private schools as better alternatives than government schools for the poor.

'Corporate NGOs' focusing on teacher training have a strong presence in cities such as Mumbai and Delhi where they are working to reform the municipal school system through particular PPP arrangements. The following section explores select 'corporate NGOs' in the cities of Mumbai and Delhi who are fast becoming influential entities within the education policy landscape.

2.4. 'Corporate NGOs', teacher training and school reform

Complexities concerning schooling differ significantly across rural and urban geographies. According to the Asian Development Bank, India's urban population is expected to reach 550 million that is, over 40 per cent of the total population by 2020 (Bhandari 2006). Public provisioning and management of key amenities related to education, health and housing in urban areas is characterised by inadequate infrastructure, poor delivery, lack of access and quality, which has over the years led to a parallel growth of private unregulated schools in urban areas (Bhandari 2006; Banerji 2000).

With regard to the changing class composition and rising neglect of state-funded schools in urban India, Nambissan (2010) links these developments to the rapid desertion of these schools by members of the middle and lower middle classes through the 1980s. Schools, especially those administered by local municipal bodies that are at the lowest end of the government schooling system are dominated by children from the poorest sections, mostly belonging to lower castes and minority groups. In a study examining schooling of children of the urban poor in Mumbai and Delhi, Banerji (2000) suggests that more than economic considerations of work, the deteriorating quality of the municipal school system is leading to higher drop-outs and non-completion of primary schooling. She finds vast differences and discrepancies in provision and quality of municipal schools within the two cities, which in turn influence the childrens' trajectories and choices to continue with formal education.

One of the most important concerns Banerji (2000) points to is that municipal schools in these cities are plagued by periodic teacher shortages. Systems of teacher recruitment are highly bureaucratised and teachers have little or no support from the Municipal Corporation,

leading to most teachers operating in highly constrained environments with high pupil-teacher ratios and working largely towards system driven demands of completing the syllabus, administering exams and engaging in other mandatory school and local administrative work.

Within this diverse ecology of state-funded schooling for the urban poor, non-state providers or NGOs have played an important role facilitating innovation and providing support structures to mainstream education (Batra 2006; Nawani 2002; Jagannathan 1999). In a study on six innovative NGOs that have enhanced the access to primary education for disadvantaged groups in India, Jagannathan (1999) stresses that while these non-state organisations have played a significant role in increasing accountability of the government towards underprivileged children and involving their family and other community stakeholders within the processes of education, there was still a pressing need to formulate better institutional mechanisms between NGOs and the government sector. She finds that while some NGOs do work within severe constraints of resources often working with underqualified teachers and utilising low-cost options to meet the urgency of expanding elementary education, she cautions against the sole advocating of these measures as they may undermine the formal education system and lead to the "long term dilution of the State's financial responsibility for elementary education" (page 5).

The role of NGOs as primarily providing a structure of support to mainstream State institutions has also seen a notable change. The Dasra Report, 2010[15], mentions how non-profits over the past 40 years have moved from managing independent programs outside the school system to working within. Focusing on the city of Mumbai, where NGOs have been active in the sphere of primary education since the early 1980s, the Report marks three important transitions in the trajectory of NGO engagement with State organisations. In the first phase, NGOs created institutions independently as alternatives outside the government school system. This relationship then matured to partnerships with the government where NGOs operated in select pockets of the school system working on specific services such as teacher training, after school remedial programmes, community mobilisation and curricular

---

15 The 'Dasra' philanthropy foundation examines a range of private NGOs using a plurality of pedagogical perspectives.

innovation. During this phase NGOs began to be actively supported by corporates, foundations and international aid organisations.

By the early 2000s, discourses of 'efficiency', 'accountability' and 'management' gained strength in city reform projects that had a significant impact on education as well. Vellanki (2016) traces these developments to the 'Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a world-class city' Report compiled by Bombay First, a think-tank, and corporate research consultancy firm McKinsey. One of the key recommendations of this Report was to make "governance more effective, efficient and responsive through corporatising departments" (Ibid). It called for heightened implementation through PPPs and measures to make government departments accountable for results.

The 'Vision Mumbai' Report led to high-profile consultations between the state government, corporates and international organisations such as the World Bank. In 2005, following on these discussions, the Mumbai Transformation Support Unit was established. It merged distinctions between government and private sector functioning as individuals across corporates, government departments and international organisations collaborated to bring out vision documents for infrastructure and education. There was an open advocacy for applying private sector principles into the social sector. Ideas of 'Build-Operate-Transfer' (BOT) models popular for infrastructure based PPPs were transferred into PPP projects in education. It also led to corporate research consultancy firms such as McKinsey and Boston Consulting Group to conduct large-scale effectiveness studies on measuring the impact of government schools versus private schools (Vellanki 2016).

The earlier dispersed PPP arrangement between NGOs and government organisations significantly changed as a result of these developments. School education became imbricated within a larger infrastructure of governance where several aspects were to be surveilled, monitored and measured.

This led to important changes within the NGO sector in the field of education. Some NGOs, for example Pratham, began to take data collection seriously, forming templates to measure learning outcomes among children. Teacher training especially came to be defined as an important variable in improving school quality. The government and the corporates began channelling their attention and resources into those NGOs that could build 'innovative

teaching practices' that could be scaled up and implemented across the school system (Dasra Report 2010).

Another significant aspect towards improving school quality was the creation of separate English medium sections within a select group of government schools. These English medium sections were to be managed and supported by certain NGOs. The introduction of exclusive English medium sections was to cater to the growing aspirations of socio-economically deprived families who wanted English medium education for their children (Dasra Report 2010). This process of creating separate English medium sections led language to operate as the conduit through which ideas of 'choice' and 'market' could be introduced within the school system.

These new dynamics which necessitated a more intensive implementation of the entire spectrum of techno-managerial techniques to monitor outcome oriented teaching with a greater emphasis on English language, Maths, technical and computer skills led to the forging of new kinds of partnerships with select NGOs. In these new kinds of PPPs, there was a greater devolution of authority to NGOs to steer the education process according to their vision and goals. The government in this scenario acted as a much more distant regulator who only ensured that the NGOs were meeting the respective 'targets' of learning irrespective of the pedagogical practices employed (Teltumbde 2013, Vellanki 2016).

The Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, the richest municipal body in India, plagued by increasing drop-outs and poor teaching quality was the first to enact and implement these new set of PPP reforms under the 'Mumbai School Excellence Program' in 2013 (Teltumbde 2013). In these new set of 'partnerships', NGOs could take over entire schools and control the respective school management. Termed 'school adoption', the select schools that would be taken over would be run through complete private funding and school teachers trained by the respective NGOs. The central principles of 'school adoption' mirrored BOT models common in infrastructure projects run through PPPs (Vellanki 2016).

These 'adopted' schools were to act as 'model schools' for other government schools in the city. In the sense, 'innovative teaching practices' and other aspects of head-teacher training used in these schools were to be standardised and replicated across other government schools. Another kind of 'partnership' was 'full school support' where the school employed government staff but the requisite teacher training and school management support was to be

41

provided by the NGO. Older forms of 'partnerships' where NGOs or corporates could provide specific inputs such as computers, furniture, teaching aids and other limited services also found space in the 'Mumbai School Excellence Program'. This blueprint of PPPs advocating 'school adoption' by corporate bodies and associated NGOs also circulated within municipal school reform proposals in Delhi in 2013. Thus these new models of reforming municipal schools through private 'enterprise' that began in Mumbai is gaining ascendance in similar patterns in different cities facing problems of quality in government schooling.

Through an examination of news items, relevant corporate documents and information procured from Right to Information (RTI) applications filed with the Delhi municipal bodies, 16 NGOs were found to be prominent in the municipal school system in Mumbai and Delhi. These two cities were the key centres of these new PPP reforms (see Appendix C).

Diverse private entities such as corporate bodies, international aid organisations, international foundations and banks funded these NGOs. The most prominent among them that funded several of these NGOs were the Mahindra Group of Industries (KC Mahindra and Anand Mahindra), Thermax Industries, Central Square Foundation, Michael and Susan Dell Foundation and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. A few NGOs such as Akanksha Foundation, Pratham and Door Step School received funding from the Mumbai and Pune municipal corporations as well.

Most of these NGOs focused on teacher training while a few others concentrated on school support concerns such as school leadership, school management and curriculum. Life Trust was the only NGO working within digital literacy providing computer training in schools. Masoom was another exception as it ran night schools for an older population.

Based on information regarding time frame of establishment, funding and vision for education reform, these 16 NGOs were categorised within four broad types: Old Indian NGOs, NGOs that are CSR wings of corporates, new Indian NGOs and NGOs with international links.

Old Indian NGOs

These NGOs were established between the late 1980s and the late 1990s (see Table 2.1). All of them began as initiatives outside the mainstream school system and over the years integrated into the school system through PPPs.

Table 2.1: Old Indian NGOs

Name	Spread	Year of founding	Focus area in education	Pedagogical Focus
Akanksha foundation	Mumbai, Pune	1991	After school remedial classes, now PPP with BMC and PMC schools focused on teacher training and head teacher training	Teacher centred, behaviourist and classroom management focused
Aseema	Mumbai	1995	Non-formal schooling, now focused on teacher training in BMC schools. Emphasises English literacy skills.	Teacher centred, structured methods, English language skills focus
Door Step School	Mumbai, Pune	1989	From improving school enrolment to curriculum, pedagogy and teacher training	
Pratham	Mumbai, Delhi, across different states	1995	Teacher training, curriculum, data collection	Teacher centred, structured methods, literacy and Maths skills important
Katha	Delhi	1988	Began with a literacy project for street children. Involved in textbooks and pedagogy. Has a tie-up with CBSE.	Child centred, constructivist pedagogy

(Source: Compiled through information on websites)

Akanksha Foundation began as an after-school remedial programme before evolving into an organisation focused on teacher training, curriculum and school leadership. It was one of the NGOs through which 'school adoption' PPPs were instituted in Mumbai and Pune. The organisation also has important connections with influential NGOs in Delhi and NGOs with international connections such as 'Teach for India'. Aseema that focused on non-formal education also moved into teacher training. This trajectory into teacher training was also common for Pratham, Door Step School and Katha.

Pratham diversified its operations to include data collection and at present has the largest presence across the country through its Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) surveys. It is a household based survey and is the only annual source of information on children's learning outcomes[16].

The pedagogical vision of most of these NGOs drew from teacher-centred[17] methods with a focus on building basic literacy and numeracy skills[18]. Katha, the Delhi based NGO, was the only exception among them as the website of the organisation suggested a more child-centred pedagogical approach. The organisation also had notable links to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and conducted story-based reading and writing sessions in Hindi in government schools in Delhi[19].

NGOs that are CSR wings of corporates

Naandi and Tech Mahindra Foundation were established as CSR wings of the Mahindra Group of Industries. Naandi was linked to the Anand Mahindra Group while Tech Mahindra Foundation was run by the KC Mahindra Trust. Both these NGOs emphasised 'skill' based education and were involved in teacher training efforts as well. Naandi, like Akansha Foundation mentioned earlier, was also involved in 'school adoption' in Mumbai.

New Indian NGOs

This included two NGOs: Indian School Leadership Institute (ISLI) and Sajha that were established only a few years back. ISLI was set up in 2013 as a project of Akanksha Foundation focusing on head-teacher training and leadership. Sajha focuses on setting up School Management Committees in government schools as per the RTE regulations. Both organisations were funded by Central Square Foundation (CSF), a philanthropy venture fund and policy think tank which funds projects that encourage social entrepreneurship. The funding organisation has prominent links with Akanksha Foundation and Pratham as well.

---

16 Information from the ASER website: www.asercentre.org

17 The term 'teacher-centred' in this thesis is used to indicate pedagogical practices where the teacher is seen as the centre of knowledge and students are seen as receptacles of the teacher's knowledge.

18 Ascertained through information on teaching provided on the organisations' websites.

19 Apart from Katha, Muktangan was the only other NGO utilizing child centred perspectives in teacher training. It was established in 2003 and operates in very few schools across Mumbai. It is funded largely by the Paragon Charitable Trust.

NGOs with international connections

This category of NGOs comprised of four organisations: 'Room to Read', 'Teach for India', STIR and ARK (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: NGOs with international connections

Name	Spread	Year of founding	Focus area in education	Pedagogical Focus
Room to Read	Several states, offices in Mumbai and Delhi, ten countries across South Asia, South East Asia and Africa	2003	Literacy and gender equality	
Teach for India	Mumbai, Delhi, Hyd, Chennai, Bangalore, Pune, Ahmedabad. Indian off-shoot of the American programme.	2009	Teacher training	Draws on Akanksha's pedagogical model
STIR	Delhi (head office), presence in Uganda as well	2013	Teacher training	Teacher centred, classroom management important
ARK	Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, UK	2002	School adoption, quality standards	

(Source: Compiled through information on websites)

'Room to Read' and 'Teach for India' have important antecedents in the US. 'Room to Read' a San Francisco based organisation, founded by entrepreneur John Wood, works to provide literacy and gender equality in countries across South Asia, South East Asia and Africa. The organisation utilises a structured, phonics based approach to introduce children to reading.

'Teach for India' is the Indian counterpart of the influential 'Teach for America' programme, founded by entrepreneur Wendy Kopp, that began in the US in the late 1980s. Through the 'Teach for All' network established in 2007, the programme which combines teaching with leadership is now functioning in close to 40 countries across the world.

The 'Teach for America' programme and its counterparts recruit graduates or professionals to work in low-income, under-resourced schools for a period of two years. The pedagogical focus is largely teacher-centred, focusing on classroom management and performance in

standardised tests. Over the last decade the organisation has gained much corporate funding and support. It has been instrumental in advocating 'school choice' and 'market' based alternatives to bring quality into the public school system. The 'Teach for India' programme which borrows this model of reform also has strong links to the Akanksha Foundation. Its pedagogical tools combine frameworks from the US context with Akanksha's model of teacher training emphasising English and Maths skills. Compared with other NGOs working in teacher training, this programme has a larger spread having expanded to seven cities over the past eight years. It also has considerable corporate support both nationally and internationally.

ARK is a UK based organisation that runs a network of private schools through PPPs in the UK. The organisation's vision of education draws heavily from 'managerialist' techniques aiming at improving test results among children. In India, the organisation has initiated small efforts in 'school adoption' in Delhi and devising school quality standards for government schools in Madhya Pradesh. In the course of its operations it partners with 'Teach for India', Akanksha foundation and STIR.

STIR which focuses on cost-effective methods of teacher training has connections to 'Teach for America', 'Teach for India' and ARK. Apart from India, the programme has branches in Uganda as well.

These NGOs with international antecedents and connections operate as important channels facilitating a constellation of reforms that connect discourses of New Public Management and PPPs across global, national and local geographies. While there is a distinct time-space lag in the nature and evolution of these interventions from the sites of their origin to the sites where they travel to, these programmes are in a constant process of 'translation' adapting to local institutions and demands (Mukhopadhyay and Sriprakash 2011).

In order to understand these global and local interfaces of PPP reforms especially in the context of measures to reorient teacher training to improve the quality of schooling, this research study focuses on the 'Teach for India' intervention. The following chapters examine different aspects of the programme through the narratives of Fellows who work in the programme. Studies on the American counterpart have emphasised its 'managerialist' inclinations and technicised approaches to school teaching. An exploration of the 'Teach for India' programme at the Delhi site will help unravel the complex processes through which the

intervention is seeking to introduce new ideas of school management into a select segment of poorly functioning government schools.

Concluding Observations

This chapter provided an overview of significant policy transitions in elementary education in India, focusing largely on the emergence of PPPs in the post-1990s scenario. Amongst the range of reforms that took place in the field of education during the 1990s, the chapter sought to situate the discussion around teacher education and increasing discussions on the necessity of good teaching to improve the quality of schooling. In a contradictory turn of events, while measures were taken at the central level to professionalise and standardise school teaching, at the state level teachers were recruited under para-teacher schemes with inadequate training and pay.

A number of non-governmental organisations emerged during this period to address a range of social issues, including education, outside the government system. However, gradually NGOs became important channels through which the State administered a number of welfare programmes. This paved the way for 'partnerships' with the State. The chapter then moved to discuss the growing emphasis on PPPs to reinvigorate the social sector. This discourse of PPPs interfaced with a period of progressive policy reforms in elementary education, most notably the NCF (2005), RTE (2009) and the NCFTE (2009). These reforms called for not only greater responsibility and accountability from the State but also reiterated the need for child-centred curriculum and important changes to teacher education. However, instead of strengthening State institutions to address these concerns, NGOs with diverse perspectives in education continued to carry forward the project of reform at the grass-roots level.

The language of 'partnerships' also took a notable turn during the early 2000s as principles of 'efficiency' and 'management' popular in the private corporate sector were imported to reform the social sector. In education especially, discussions centred around making teachers accountable through ensuring that their students produced results. The corporate sector also began to take a particular interest in teacher training noting the need to develop a workforce with requisite 'skills' to work in the IT and IT-enabled service industry. The philanthropic efforts of corporates gained new direction through their CSR foundations that had a distinct 'managerialist' and 'outcome-oriented' approach to school education. In order to secure corporate funding, a number of NGOs began adopting similar perspectives of reform.

The previous dispersed CSR efforts of corporates in the field of education gained strength and direction as the State increasingly consulted with them and partnered with them to develop blueprints for reform. In Mumbai, where corporates have been active in a much more organised fashion in reforming education through NGOs since the 1990s, new forms of PPPs were introduced which allowed schools to be 'adopted' by NGOs. Through 'school adoption', entire schools could be auctioned to select corporate supported NGOs who would fund and manage the school through their own resources and staff. In another form of partnership called 'full school support', the school would employ government staff members but the NGO would provide the requisite teacher training and other associated services. Older forms of engagement with NGOs and corporates for provision of specific inputs such as furniture, teaching aids and other amenities also continued in this new framework of PPPs.

These new modes of reforming poorly functioning government schools in urban areas through corporate partnership circulated in Delhi as well. As these two cities were at the forefront of these new PPP based reforms, an effort was made to map the prominent NGOs operating in the school system. Four categories of NGOs emerged. This included old Indian NGOs (Akanksha foundation, Aseema, Door Step, Pratham and Katha); NGOs that are CSR wings of corporates (Naandi and Tech Mahindra Foundation); new Indian NGOs (ISLI and Sajha) and NGOs with international connections ('Room to Read', 'Teach for India', STIR and ARK). A majority of these NGOs focused on teacher training and school management. Their websites indicated that many of them utilised teacher-centred methods and had the same corporate benefactors.

In order to understand how these NGOs infuse these new logics of 'management' into the government school system, this research study will focus on the 'Teach for India' programme operating in Delhi. This intervention which is the Indian counterpart of the 'Teach for America' programme is one of the most popular NGOs working within the space of reforming school teaching. As of 2015, it works in seven cities (Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chennai and Ahmedabad) across the country. The following chapter traces the history of the origin of the programme in Mumbai, its powerful network of global and national connections, its organisational structure and vision for reforming school education.

3. 'Teach for India':
Origins, Networks and Management structures

Following from the earlier chapter which situated Public-Private Partnership (PPPs) discourses in the realm of elementary education and the growing focus of NGOs on teacher training and school management, this chapter examines the origins, networks, management structure and vision of the 'Teach for India' (TFI) organisation. An off-shoot of the 'Teach for America' programme, 'Teach for India' is emerging as an important organisation seeking to provide 'quality' teaching for underprivileged children in poorly functioning government and low-income schools. The first section of this chapter will locate the antecedents of the organisation and its significant connections with the Akanksha foundation in Mumbai. In the second section, Social Network Analysis (SNA) will be employed to highlight TFI's networks with important actors and organisations in the education policy landscape in Mumbai and Delhi.

Once the larger background of the organisation has been established, in the third section an overview of TFI's organisational management structure will be examined. The final section explores the vision of educational reform of the organisation. It highlights how the central thrust of the programme is shifting towards a discourse of 'leadership' and how this in turn is changing the ways in which the organisation is positing educational reform through school teaching.

3.1. Traversing Origins: Akanksha Foundation and 'Teach for India'

In 'Redrawing India: The Teach for India Story'[20], a narrative memoir of the organisation, Shaheen Mistri, the founder of Akanksha Foundation and the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of TFI, recounts her passion for education of underprivileged children through her childhood, college years and voluntary initiatives with children residing in slum communities in Mumbai. While the memoir's dominant voice is Shaheen Mistri, it interweaves the observations and experiences of Fellows from different cohorts of TFI, Alumni members

---

20   The memoir is co-authored with Kovid Gupta who has worked on 'Teach for India's' Alumni Impact team.

associated with different organisations and members from 'Teach for America' and 'Teach First'.

Brought up in a cosmopolitan milieu in different cities across the world, Shaheen Mistri encountered vast disparities in Mumbai through the conspicuous presence of street children in Mumbai. Through a series of informal interactions with underprivileged children and their migrant families during her under-graduate years at St. Xaviers College in Mumbai, she decided to get actively involved in teaching them basic English and numeracy skills. She began informal arrangements to teach children from slums in convent schools willing to offer free space in the evenings and gradually mobilised like-minded college friends, acquaintances and members from slum communities to participate in these endeavours.

In 1991, Akanksha Foundation began as a non-profit organisation offering after-school support for children from low-income communities. Akanksha Foundation's first trustees were all students from St. Xavier's College (Gupta and Mistri 2014: 35). The focus of academic engagement that has gradually evolved over the years today emphasises three areas: English, Mathematics and Moral Values. Shaheen Mistri through a collaboration with Arnavaz Aga, Chairperson of Thermax Industries' charitable foundation Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation (TSIF), also opened up similar centres in Pune in 2000.

In 2003, Akanksha Foundation through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation began its first in-school intervention adopting English medium sections in a few municipal schools. These English medium sections were run by teachers trained at Akanksha Foundation in the requisite curriculum and methodology. Four years later, the organisation made in-roads into Pune municipal schools as well through a collaboration with the Pune Municipal Corporation and TSIF (The Akanksha Foundation website: www.akanksha.org).

As Akanksha Foundation was working in select capacities within government and low-income schools in Mumbai and Pune, Shaheen Mistri was also keen to find opportunities that would help her expand the scope of such educational interventions. She became acquainted with Wendy Kopp, founder of 'Teach for America' in 2007. In 'Redrawing India: The Teach For India Story', she draws parallels between her ideas of education as emancipatory for the poor and Wendy Kopp's 'Teach for America' project. She writes:

As a college senior, Wendy had written an unlikely thesis that imagined the creation of a corps of top recent college graduates who would devote two years to teaching in the most challenging public schools. Through that experience they would become lifelong leaders committed to ending educational inequity. Her 'Plan and Argument for the Creation of a National Teacher Corps' depended on the growing idealism and spirit of service that she believed was inherent in college students (page 66).

The idea of mobilising college students as active catalysts of change within the education sector drew on Shaheen Mistri's own experiences of setting up Akanksha Foundation.

Through collaborations with Archana Patel and Anand Patel (of Indicorps), Anand Shah (who set up the Piramal Fellowship in Rajasthan), Vandana Goyal (who is the CEO of Akanksha Foundation), Nandita Dugar (Boston Consulting Group), Anu Aga (TSIF) and members from the McKinsey Global Management Consulting Group, a blueprint for the 'Teach for India' fellowship was outlined (Gupta and Mistri 2014: 72). The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation were also instrumental in providing key financial support to the programme in its initial stages.

Shaheen Mistri also approached the 'Times of India' newspaper's Chief Editor Jaideep Bose in 2008 to help publicise the programme in the media. The newspaper carried several large advertisements for the programme free of cost between 2008 and 2009 (Subramanian and Sarangapani 2011, Gupta and Mistri 2014: 89). It is interesting to note that the 'Times of India' newspaper also began a voluntary programme 'Teach India' in collaboration with British Council to help teach English to underprivileged children and adults to aid employability options among these sections of the population (British Council website: www.britishcouncil.in).

The inception of 'Teach for India' and the organisation's pace of growth across prime cities in the country has been facilitated by circuits of corporate funding and proximities to network ensembles of foundations, NGOs and other entities that have been working in close collaboration with government bodies. As of 2015, TFI had 1,084 Fellows enrolled and teaching close to 60,000 students across Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, Chennai, Hyderabad, Bangalore and Ahmedabad[21] (see Table 3.1, Teach for India website: www.teachforindia.org).

---

21 Information for this is based on interviews with various City Team members of 'Teach for India' working in these seven cities.

51

Table 3.1: Spread of the programme in different cities in 2015

City	Govt	Pvt low cost	Govt aided	DoE	PPP/NGO partnership	Others	Total no. of schools	No. of Fellows across schools
Mumbai	37	20	4	-	-	-	61	203
Delhi	37	10	-	30	4	-	81	285
Pune	27	17	-	-	7	1	52	217
Bangalore	19	4	-	-	-	-	23	55
Hyderabad	27	16	-	-	-	-	43	126
Chennai	30	6	-	-	-	-	36	118
Ahmedabad	7	17	-	-	-	-	24	80
Total	184	90	4	30	11	1	320	1084

(Source: Recruitment Head, 'Teach for India' Mumbai Office)

Apart from Ahmedabad, in every other city it was seen that the organisation was working in a higher proportion of government schools vis a vis the proportion of private low-income schools, government aided schools and NGO schools. It was in Delhi that the programme was functioning in the highest number of government schools and had the largest number of Fellows enrolled across schools vis a vis other cities where TFI was in operation. The following section examines the organisation's adaptations to local particularities and its growing interfaces with municipal bodies in seven cities in India, most prominently Mumbai and Delhi.

3.2 'Teach for India': Local adaptations and networks

When 'Teach for India' first began its programme in Mumbai schools in mid 2009, the organisation's curricular objectives for English and Mathematics were aligned to the US Common Core standards. The Common Core State Standards Initiative is an educational initiative in the United States that details what students from Grade 1 to 12 should know in English and Maths at the end of each grade. The initiative seeks to establish consistent educational standards across the states in the US and ensure that students graduating from high school are prepared to join college programmes or the workforce (Common Core standards website: www.corestandards.org). The modes through which these standards have been developed and sought to be implemented in different states in the US have been

criticised by a number of education scholars, parents and teachers (Strauss 2014, Ravitch 1995).

In Mumbai where the programme first began, in order to teach to the Common Core Standards, Fellows utilised texts and resources largely utilised in US classrooms. However, in the past seven years, the expansion of the programme has also resulted in moving away from the US standards and adopting Indian curricular norms for teaching. A former City Director of the TFI Delhi team noted:

> "I think we've in Delhi and kind of nationally as well, we've been in conversation with SCERT and NCTE to learn more about these approaches, especially literacy acquisition and what's the understanding, what is stated in NCF, and the kind of preliminary discussion that went into framing of NCF as well, so we met a lot of experts who are part of this panel, Professor Krishna Kumar, and lot of other experts who are part of the NCF committees.. we've had extended conversations with them…So I think slowly through experience and by kind of getting exposure to SCERT people, NCTE and kind of reading more of the kind of philosophy of these documents, that kind of knowledge and philosophy is slowly infiltrating [into the organisation]".

Other than Mumbai and Pune where the programme was first initiated in 2009, the organisation today has entered into partnerships through MoUs with municipal bodies in Delhi, Chennai, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Bangalore[22]. The programme focuses its intervention within English medium sections of government schools[23] in these various cities and has mapped its curricular objectives for the teaching of literacy (which involves the subjects of English, Social Studies and Science (in upper primary grades)) and Maths onto state curricular standards. Thus in Delhi, 'Teach for India' maps its objectives to NCERT standards and in other states of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Telangana, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the organisation has aligned its objectives to the respective state curricular demands[24].

There are also some differences in the modes through which the programme is functioning in different cities. In Chennai, for example, the programme has a greater interface with the

---

22 The MoU framework for the organisation differs from city to city. In Pune, TFI has entered into a ten year partnership with the Pune Municipal Corporation in 2015; in Chennai the MoU is for seven years; Bangalore the MoU is for ten years; Ahmedabad for two years and Delhi for three years. With regard to private low income and NGO schools where the organisation also works, the MoU is made and renewed on a case to case basis. This information was provided through interviews with TFI City Team members from these cities.

23 Apart from government schools, the programme works in low-income private schools and NGO schools as well.

24 These guidelines however do not hold strongly within private low-income schools where the intervention also works. Information from interviews with respective City Team members.

government school system. Here government school teachers have also been brought within the ambit of 'Teach for India's' mentorship. Government teachers are also coached by mid-level Program Managers on their classroom teaching processes, just as 'Teach for India' Fellows[25]. A member of the TFI Government Relations team based in Delhi observed:

> "Chennai is doing a good job, which in Delhi we are not able to do yet. The Corporation agreed to have a model where their teacher and our Fellow will partner. So now there was an understanding that we will partner in Delhi, it's not written in the MoU, but it is precisely written in the Chennai MoU, that these MCD school teachers, in this particular school will co-partner with the Fellow. So the Fellow, the way she is being guided by the Program Manager, this teacher will also be supervised by the Program Manager".

A Program Manager from the 'Teach for India' Chennai City Team, also spoke of key teacher training collaborations where few government school teachers were sent to attend sessions at the 'Teach for India' Summer Institute in Pune. The TFI Annual Report 2014-2015 also notes the Corporation of Chennai as one of the significant sponsors of the programme[26].

In order to examine the various channels of funding, collaboration and intellectual exchange that have influenced the growth of the organisation, this section draws on Social Network Analysis (SNA) methods and ideas employed by scholars within educational studies and policy studies (Ball 2016; Kretchmar et al. 2014; Au and Ferrare 2014; Vellanki 2014; Olmedo et al. 2013; Nambissan and Ball 2010).

Through an examination of websites, interviews with respondents associated with 'Teach for India' in various capacities, information from Right to Information (RTI) applications filed with Delhi municipal bodies and the Annual Report of the organisation for 2014-2015, more than a hundred entities were ascertained to have notable linkages with 'Teach for India'. These organisations were then categorised based on their nature of type and association with 'Teach for India'. Various mediums of funding, collaboration and forms of 'material' and 'non-material'[27] exchanges characterise these associations (see Table 3.2, Appendix D (a)).

---

25 Aspects of coaching and guidance need to be further examined to understand how government teachers view such interventions as well. As my study is based in Delhi, this aspect can only be stated with some caution and needs to be further validated.

26 There is also mention that the Hyderabad municipal government as part of the 'Vidya Volunteer Scheme' paid a small part of the Fellows' stipends. However, whether this scheme is still in operation for 'Teach for India' Fellows based in Hyderabad is not known. Information on this is mentioned in Kovid Gupta and Shaheen Mistri's co-authored book, 'Redrawing India: The Teach for India Story', published in 2014 (page 172).

27 'Material' exchanges meant monetary transactions, while 'non material' exchanges meant formal or informal associations built through personal friendships and modes of intellectual collaborations.

Table 3.2: Classifying Organisations for Network Analysis

Global financial organisations	Global corporates/industries	Global Foundations	Global NGOs
Barclays	Deutsche Post DHL	Bill & Melinda Gates	Khan Academy
Acacia Partners	Symantec	Michael & Susan Dell	
Bloomberg LP	Genpact India	Omidyar	
BNP Paribas	Microsoft	Porticus	
Credit Suisse	NYK Line	Emerson Collective LLC	
Bain Capital		Pricewaterhouse Coopers	
JP Morgan Chase		Allan & Nesta Feguson Charitable Trust	
KPMG		Western Union Foundation	
Goldman Sachs			
UBS			
Indian financial organisations	Indian corporates/industries	Indian Foundations	Indian NGOs
HDFC	Godrej	Cognizant Foundation	Akanksha Foundation
ICICI	AZB & Partners	Murugappa Group (AMM Foundation)	Azim Premji Foundation
	Chell	Central Square Foundation	Give India
	Indira Foundation	Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation	Mantra 4 Change
	REC	Tech Mahindra Foundation	Just For Kicks
	Emcure Pharmaceuticals		Khel Khel Main
	Western Outdoor Interactive Pvt. Ltd.		STIR
	Infosys		Indus Action
	TCS		Pratham
			Naandi
			Educo
			Kaivalya Education Foundation
			ISLI
			Firki
			Educational Initiatives
			CENTA
			Design for Change
			Createnet Education
			Saajha

Think tanks/Consulting	Government Bodies	Education Institutions	Consortiums/PPPs
			Bol

Becoming I

Deepalaya |
| JPAL

McKinsey

Boston Consulting Group

Centre for Civil Society | Chennai Municipal Corporation

Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation

Bangalore Municipal Corporation

Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation

Hyderabad Municipal Corporation

Pune Municipal Corporation

Delhi Municipal Corporation

Directorate of Education, Delhi

SCERT, Delhi

DIETs, Delhi

NUEPA | Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs

Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government

Indian Institutes of Management

India Institutes of Technology

Symbiosis University, School of International Business and Management

FLAME University, Pune

St Xaviers College, Mumbai

Jai Hind College, Mumbai

HR College, Mumbai

St Stephens College, Delhi

SRCC, Delhi

Sri Venkateshwara College, Delhi

Hindu College, Delhi

Tata Institute of Social Sciences

Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education, TIFR

Azim Premji University, Bangalore

Vasant Valley School, Delhi

Heritage School, Delhi

Riverside School, Ahmedabad | Clinton Global Initiative

The Education Alliance

KIPP

3.2.1 schools, Mumbai

ARK Network

NCSD |

		American International School, Chennai	

(Source: Compiled through information from reports, websites and interviews)

In order to locate certain national and local specificities of 'Teach for India' and its interface with municipal government bodies, associated networks of NGOs and key support organisations in seven cities across the country, a select table and matrix from this larger network was developed, situating important nodal intersections with municipal and government organisations in the seven cities where the intervention is functioning (see Appendix D (b), Figure 3.1).

The 'Teach for India' Annual Report 2014-2015 outlines a mix of global and Indian corporate bodies, philanthropic foundations and banks sponsoring the organisation and its various activities (see Appendix D (a) and Appendix D (b)). Omidyar Network which is among the highest ranked sponsors in the Annual Report 2014-2015 calls itself a philanthropic investment firm that "supports market based approaches with the potential for large-scale catalytic impact" (Omidyar website: www.omidyar.com).

Figure 3.1: 'Teach for India' and key intersections with NGOs, Municipal Bodies and Government Institutions

59
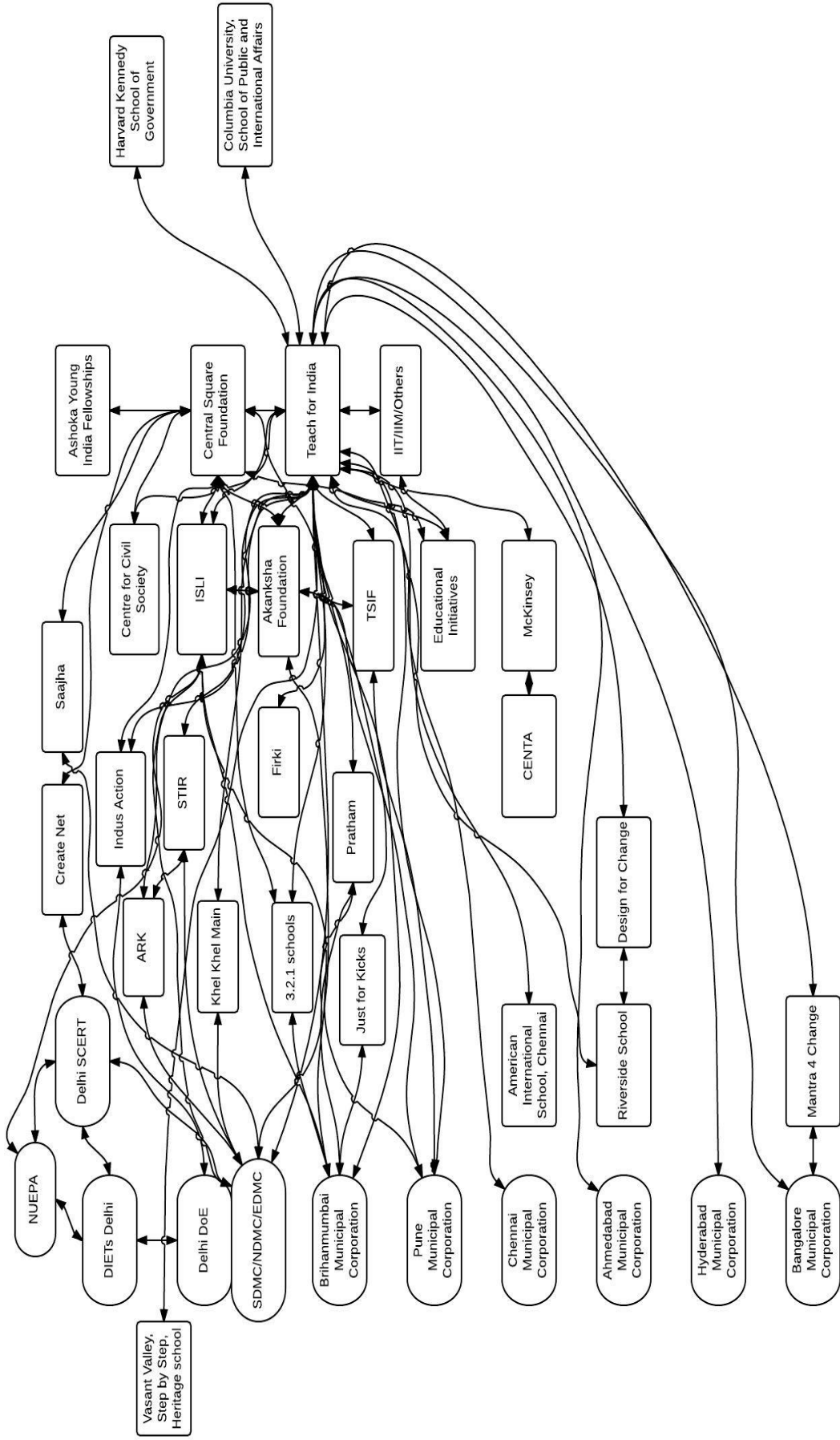
Omidiyar Network invests in for-profit companies and provides grants to non-profit organisations as well. It values "organizations that have the potential to embody innovation, scale and sustainability or help bring them about within their industry" (Omidyar website: www.omidyar.com)

In an interview with a member from the National Development Team of 'Teach for India' based in Mumbai, the role and prominence of the Omidyar Network among the range of corporate sponsors was reiterated. The member noted:

> "Most of our sponsors give based on their CSR guidelines. If the CSR focus of the organisation is very education centric, then they give based on that…Omidyar which is one of our biggest sponsors gives funds based on targets that are impact specific. A certain target is set and if we meet that target number, based on that we get a renewal for the next year…"

The modes and semantics of the organisation invoke a 'managerialistic' framework which finds much resonance and conviction among its corporate sponsors. Here, as suggested by the member from the National Development Team, there is a clear link between funding and 'meeting targets'. This reiterates an 'input-output' framework for education. Funding from a range of sponsors also cover administrative costs such as recruiting, training, supporting Fellows in different cities and the emerging Alumni body.

Some of the Board Members of TFI hold multiple portfolios – traversing between several organisations creating important institutional linkages. Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation heads Anu Aga and Meher Pudumjee (who also happens to be Anu Aga's daughter); Nandita Dugar (Boston Consulting Group) and Neel Shahani (Barclays Capital) are on the Board of Members for Akanksha Foundation. The Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation is one of the most prominent sponsors of Akanksha Foundation. S. Ramadorai, one of the Board members of TFI, is the Advisor to the Prime Minister of India on the National Council on Skill Development (NSDC). The NSDC facilitates PPPs between the government and industrial parties for skills training and social entrepreneurship.

Apart from Akanksha Foundation and 'Teach for India', Shaheen Mistri is also on the Board of Members for the Indian School Leadership Institute (ISLI), which is one of the first organisations in the country focused on training school principals and school teachers in ideas of school leadership.

The most prominent Board member of TFI, however, is Ashish Dhawan. He is the founder of venture philanthropy fund and policy think tank Central Square Foundation (CSF) which funds Akanksha Foundation, TFI, Centre for Civil Society (CCS), Educational Initiatives (EI), ISLI, Saajha, Indus Action, 3.2.1 schools, Pratham (Delhi) and Createnet Education, among many other organisations and was also involved in setting up The Education Alliance (jointly with DELL, Omidyar and ARK) (Ball 2016).

He is on the Board of Members of several of these organisations as well, which includes Akanksha Foundation, 'Teach for India', ISLI, CCS and Centre for Teacher Accreditation (CENTA). The Centre for Teacher Accreditation (CENTA) was founded by Ramya Venkataraman of McKinsey and is a budding organisation within the growing field of teacher professional development. In conceptualising the multifaceted labour and engagement of Ashish Dhawan within this growing network of educational organisations, Ball (2016: 5) refers to him as a 'boundary spanner' – "someone who joins up separate fields and social sectors". He connects realms of philanthropic funding to several aspects of school education, which include teacher training (Akanksha, 'Teach for India', CENTA), school leadership (ISLI, Createnet Education), school choice (CCS), school management and governance (Saajha), PPP networks (3.2.1 schools), school assessment (Educational Initiatives) and advocacy (Indus Action).

Figure 3.1 also charts trajectories to and from educational institutions and their overlapping interfaces with these networks of funders, non-profits and government bodies. Educational institutions encompass private unaided schools, well known colleges and universities in India, Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), Indian research institutes and global universities such as Harvard and Columbia University. They are important sites within these circuits of exchange. Some institutions such as private unaided schools and college campuses act as critical forums to conduct conferences, bring people from various fields together to foster discussion and exchange and also induct interested individuals into the TFI Fellowship. The Riverside School in Ahmedabad (founded by Kiran Sethi) which has initiated the 'Design for Change' programme is one prominent private unaided school which has strong links with 'Teach for India'.

Other institutions such as Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai; Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education, Mumbai; Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs); Harvard University

(Kennedy School of Government) and Columbia University (School of International and Public Affairs) offer certain credentialising routes for TFI fellows to enter arenas of school education, educational management and public policy. It is within the Foundation for Liberal and Management Education (FLAME) University college campus, that TFI's Summer Institute, where Fellows are trained for five weeks before being placed in their respective schools in different cities, is located.

The post-fellowship trajectories of some TFI Fellows have spawned a range of non-profit organisations in the cities of Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore as well. These include particularly organisations such as Indus Action, 3.2.1 schools and Mantra 4 Change. Other organisations such as Just for Kicks and Khel Khel Main also founded by TFI Alumni focus exclusively on building sports education and interest among underprivileged children. They end up largely catering to children of TFI classrooms.

Indus Action in Delhi was set up in 2013 by a group of students from Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) who work in a diverse range of sectors including elementary education where their prime focus is on building advocacy and awareness around Section 12 (1) (c) of the Right to Education Act (RTE). This section of the Act mandates the reservation of 25 per cent in entry level classes (Nursery, KG or Standard I) in all unaided, non-minority, private schools for children from socially and economically disadvantaged sections. The Founder and CEO of Indus Action, Tarun Cherukuri, has strong associations with 'Teach for India', having been a Fellow (2010-2012) and former City Director for the organisation's Delhi team. He pursued his Masters at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and was awarded the Emerging Global Leader award in 2015. Indus Action has worked in collaboration with the Delhi Directorate of Education in building awareness on the RTE as well.

The 3.2.1 network of schools founded in 2012 by Gaurav Singh, a former TFI Fellow, operates on a PPP model in collaboration with the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation. The school's model framework is inspired in part by the US Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) a prominent charter school network that has strong associations with TFA and provides affordable quality education to children from underprivileged communities.

In Bangalore, Mantra 4 Change founded by a group of former TFI Fellows provides systemic and school support to government and low-income schools. The organisation offers training

modules for school teachers and school principals and also collaborates with the Bangalore arm of the TFI organisation.

Two other organisations that also figure within this matrix and have a strong association with TFI is the ARK network and STIR. A number of TFI Fellows gravitate to these sister organisations after completing their fellowship. ARK, one of the prominent funders of STIR, is a UK based network of schools catering to underprivileged children and has recently entered into a PPP arrangement with a South Delhi municipal school in Lajpat Nagar. The organisation aims to open 20 fee-free high quality, high performing schools in India by 2020. Prior to this intervention within Delhi municipal schools, ARK has been active in Madhya Pradesh designing school assessment frameworks for government schools, equivalent to the UK Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED). STIR is an emerging organisation within the field of teacher training and support. It works with school teachers in select government schools and low-income private schools in Delhi.

This section has sought to lay out the prominent networks of TFI and the modes through which it is becoming an important organisation among a network of NGOs working within the education landscape in Mumbai and Delhi. In the next section, TFI's management structure will be discussed.

3.3 Management structure of TFI

At the apex of TFI's organisational structure is the 'Board of Trustees' which comprises of ten prominent members[28]. Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation Head, Anu Aga, is the Chairperson of the 'Board of Trustees' and Shaheen Mistri is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the organisation. The national team of TFI is based in Mumbai and the organisation has city teams in Delhi, Pune, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Chennai[29]. Mumbai has a city team as well, and like other city teams works in close coordination with the national team (see Figure 3.2).

---

28 The 'Teach for India' Annual Report 2014-2015 mentions ten prominent members. These include Anu Aga (Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation), Shaheen Mistri (Akanksha Foundation), Deepak Satwalekar (HDFC), Ashish Dhawan (Chrys Capital), Nisaba Godrej (Godrej Industries), Neel Shahani (Barclays Securities), Nandita Dugar (Boston Consulting Group), Meher Pudumjee (Thermax Limited), S. Ramadorai (National Council on Skill Development) and Zia Mody (AZB and Partners).

29 As of 2015, the organization has a presence in seven cities across the country. This number could expand in the coming years.

Figure 3.2: Organisation Structure

```
┌─────────────────────────┐
│    Board of Trustees    │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Shaheen Mistry (CEO)   │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│  National Team (Mumbai) │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ City Teams (Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, Hyderabad, Chennai,          │
│ Bangalore, Ahmedabad                                          │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
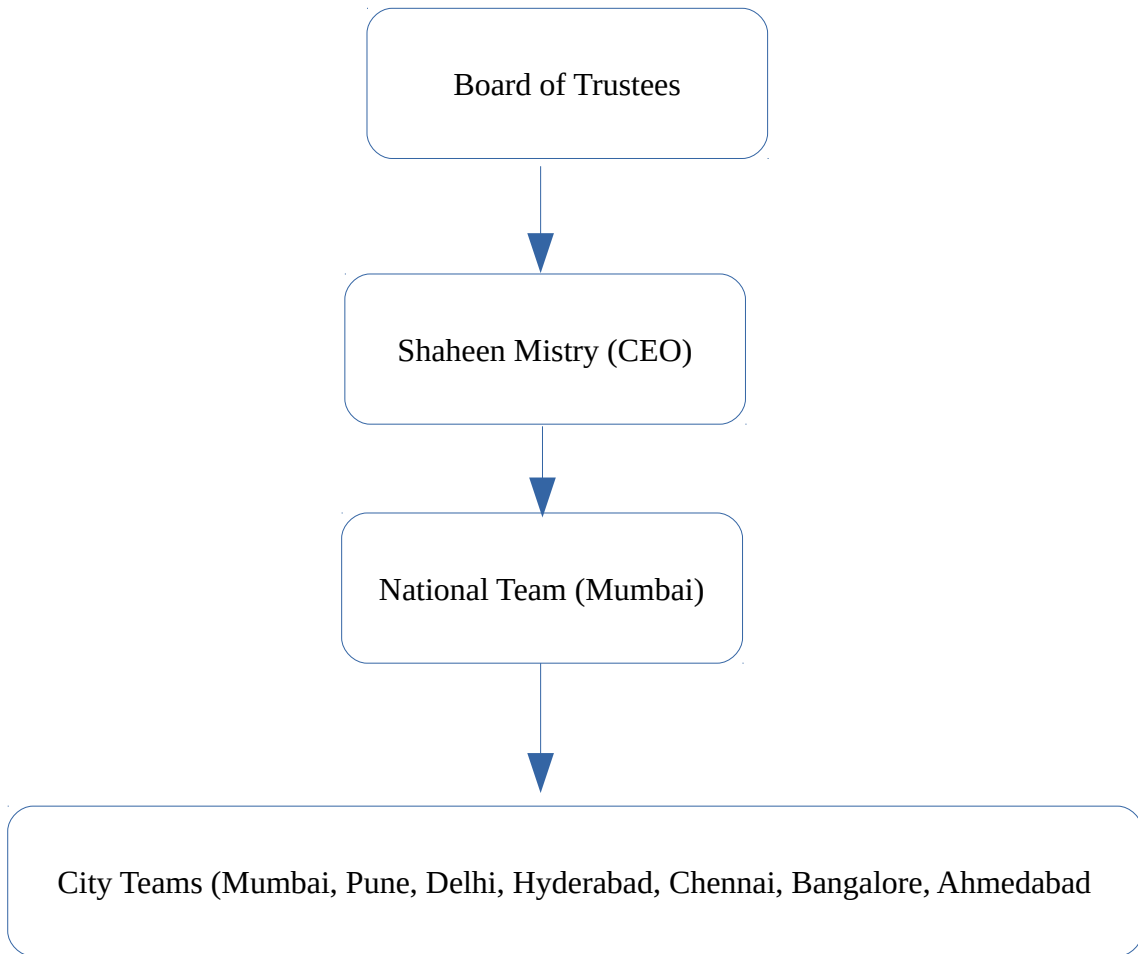
The national team comprises of departments of Training, Alumni, Development, Recruitment/Selection and Human Resources (see Figure 3.3). Each department has a Team Head and a group of Research Associates who assist the head-in-charge of the respective department. The Training department focuses on aspects of classroom content and pedagogy training that is not only introduced to the Fellows as part of their five week training module at the Summer Institute in Pune but also extends into their mentorship system over the course of the two-year fellowship. The Alumni team tracks members' career trajectories after the fellowship and keeps an active portal that allows new Fellows to connect with older members giving them easy access to information on scholarships and other kinds of financial assistance, internship opportunities, job openings and means to network with corporates and

other related organisations. The Development team follows up on companies' CSR policies and is involved in fund raising activities. 'Teach for India' raises funds one year in advance to ensure the sustainability of the organisation. The Recruitment/Selection team, defines the parameters of eligibility of the candidates who can apply for the fellowship. There is a rubric that outlines the criteria of selection which is confidential[30]. Apart from these departments, the national team also has a Human Resources department which looks after members' administrative concerns, compensation, leave structure and other related issues.

Figure 3.3: National Team Structure
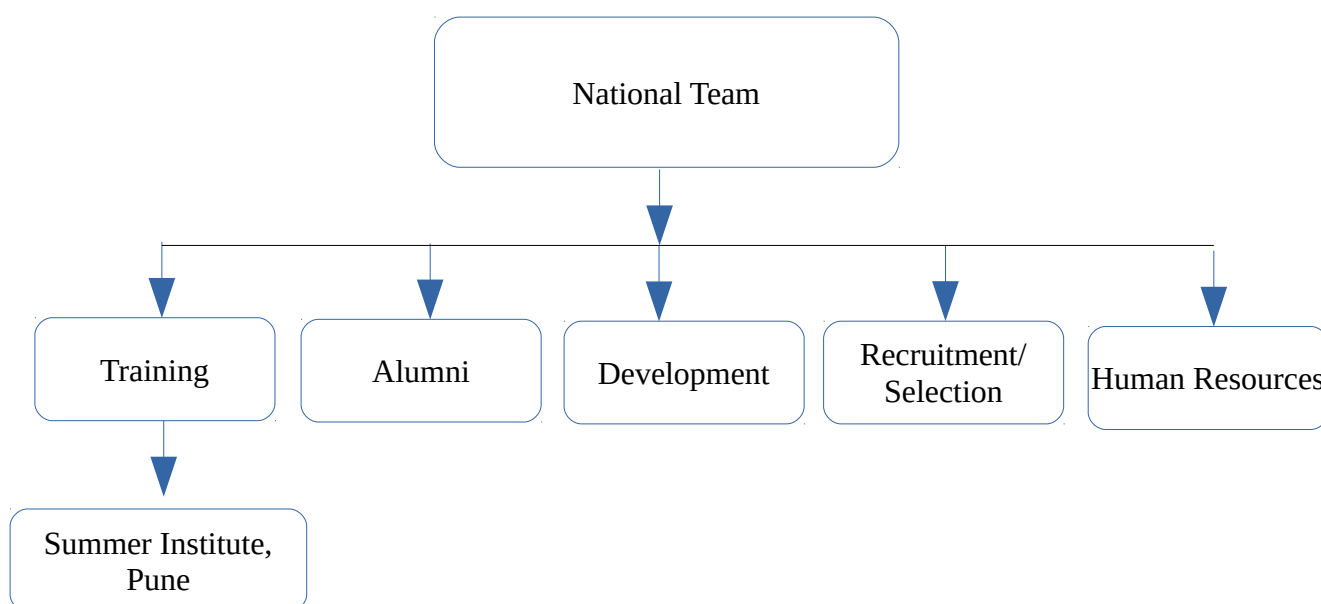
Every year the organisation puts forward a set of goals and targets at the national level and the various city teams formulate goals and targets based on this national team agenda for their respective city contexts. There is a clear framework of goals and targets streamlined from the top to the bottom of the management chain. Each city team headed by a City Director has an Administrative Arm and a Fellowship Arm. The Administrative Arm of each city team has similar departments along the lines of the national team comprising of Training, Alumni, Development, Recruitment, Government Relations and HR. The Fellowship Arm which is more focused towards providing support to Fellows during the course of their fellowship has

---

30 Attributes of the rubric were not shared with members outside the organization.

a distinct hierarchy of positions with the Fellow at the bottom and the Senior Program Manager at the top of the chain (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: City Team Structure

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │  City Director  │
                          └─────────────────┘
                            │              │
                            ▼              ▼
              ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
              │ Administrative   │   │  Fellowship Arm  │
              │ Arm              │   │                  │
              └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
                      │                       │
                      ▼                       ▼
          ┌──────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────────┐
          │ Recruitment      │   │ Senior Programme Manager│
          │ Alumni Development│   └─────────────────────────┘
          │ Government Relations│              │
          │ Human Resources  │                ▼
          └──────────────────┘   ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                 │ Programme Manager Coaches│
                                 └─────────────────────────┘
                                              │
                                              ▼
                                 ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                 │   Programme Managers    │
                                 └─────────────────────────┘
                                              │
                                              ▼
                                 ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                 │        Fellows          │
                                 └─────────────────────────┘
```
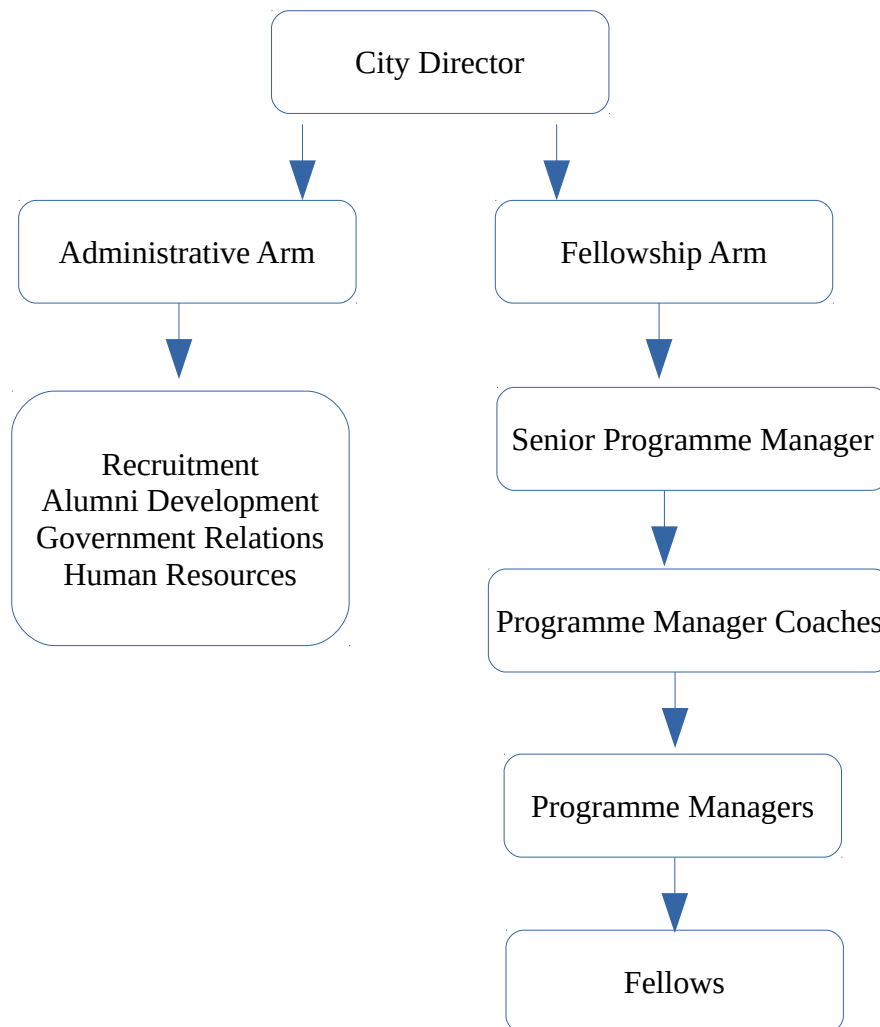
An important department within the city team is the Government Relations team which liaises with members of local municipal governments within cities scoping for schools and building on PPP policies. The Recruitment team at the city level publicises the programme at college campuses and through CSR networks of various companies. The Alumni and the Development teams at the city level, like their national team counterparts, are involved in building networks and raising funds.

The Fellowship Arm in every city is an important team of members which guides Fellows during the course of their fellowship. They help Fellows adjust and build relations within their respective schools. This system also actively works towards facilitating several interactive workshops, meetings and conferences where Fellows connect with other similar minded peers and are introduced to diverse opportunities within the social sector.

Within the Fellowship Arm, the Senior Manager governs the work of the Program Manager Coaches, who in turn provide systemic support to Program Managers. Program Managers are the first point of contact for Fellows within this mentorship system. They regularly observe Fellows' classrooms, provide feedback and guidance on teaching-learning practices.

Positions within the Fellowship Arm were largely occupied by individuals who had been Fellows previously. Members' roles within the organisation offered some fluidity wherein some individuals interested in profiles outside their designated positions could choose to work within other departments. There was much scope for upward and lateral mobility within the organisation. For example, Fellows could graduate to roles of Program Managers and Program Managers could graduate to roles of Program Manager Coaches. Some Fellows had also taken up positions within the administrative wings of city and national teams after the completion of their fellowship. All internal positions available within the organisation were advertised to Fellows through an internal web portal and members were recruited through formal processes of applications and personal interviews. The final section examines TFI's 'theory of educational change'. It seeks to understand how it positions school teaching and the fellowship as opportunities for Fellows to make a 'change' in the educational system.

3.4 The 'Teach for India' Vision: 'Short term' and 'Long term' theories of change

Over the past seven years, the organisation has demarcated three distinct phases of development. In the first phase of development (2009-2013), the primary focus of 'Teach for India' was in building systems, setting up Public-Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements with local municipal bodies and evolving vision plans for 'poor' children – who the organisation was seeking to 'impact', and Fellows – who were the organisation's 'agents' in facilitating this project of reform. The second phase of development (2013-2017) – where the organisation is situated at present – seeks to build on the first phase to deepen and sustain the

nature and 'quality' of operations of the programme within the differing school contexts across the seven cities.[31]

As 'Teach for India' neared the end of its second phase cycle, the course of the third phase (from 2017) of development also marked a notable change. There was an emphasis to redirect attention from the 'short term' theory of change which focused on Fellows' two-year stint and their 'leadership learning' within the classrooms to initiating Fellows to think strongly about the 'long term' theory of change.

In the 'short term' theory of change the classroom remained the project of educational reform. Teaching underprivileged students was positioned as an opportunity to develop 'leadership' skills which could then be applied by Fellows in different professional sectors of their choice after the completion of the fellowship. However, the organisation was now aiming to transition from a 'short term' theory of change to a 'long term' theory of change. The thrust of the 'long term' theory of change was that through the experience of the two-year fellowship, Fellows would be motivated to consider options which saw them working to achieve 'education equity' through 'long term systemic changes' ('Teach for India' Annual Report 2014-2015, page 6). This meant instituting changes that would guide Fellows to actively consider opportunities within the education sector after completing their fellowship. One aspect of the 'long term' theory of change was to also build a wider ecosystem of individuals and opportunities that would provide Fellows enough information and sustained guidance on making these choices.

These transitions towards a 'long term' vision necessitated measures to strengthen the Alumni team of the organisation. In a Phase 3 stage report on the organisation's financial allocations for various teams, Arhan Bezbora (a member of the Alumni Impact team) notes:

In 2015-16, TFI's annual budget is approximately 54 crores. The annual budget of the Alumni team (including personnel costs) is approximately 45 lakhs (0.83 % of total budget). This translates to a per--–Fellow spend of around Rs 500,000 versus a per--Alumnus spend of just over Rs 4,000 (what's more, this represents the largest budget the Alumni team has ever had since TFI was founded in 2009) (page 8).

---

31 Learning and Reflections: Phase 3 Retreat Report, August 8th to August 9th, 2015, page 1.

It showed that while the organisation's staff strength was 180, the strength of the Alumni team was only 13 members (7.2 per cent). This move towards strengthening the Alumni team and its role in facilitating Fellows to enter spaces where they were engaged in impacting the 'system' of education was in some ways linked to how the organization positioned itself at large within the education landscape and how it sought to get those enthused with 'making a change' to remain within this sector.

The Phase 3 stage report also compared the trajectories of 'Teach for America' Fellows and 'Teach for India' Fellows discussing the systemic differences between both countries regarding routes to enter and have careers within the public education system. It noted that "while the overall percentage of TFA and TFI Alumni working full-time in education is not very different (between 60 – 65 per cent for both organizations), the split by role/pathway in education is striking in its contrast" (page 8). Where in TFA, Alumni members did take up roles within the public school system after the completion of their fellowship, in TFI this engagement with the government system was negligible. More than 90 per cent of TFI Fellows ended up taking roles only in the private sector (Ibid). The report provided some details on TFI and TFA engagements with school teaching and the education sector after the completion of the fellowship as well.

In the realm of school teaching, the report showed that of the 11,000[32] Alumni members of TFA who continued to work as school teachers, nearly 48 per cent worked in district public schools as government teachers. In comparison, of the 1,050 Alumni members of TFI, only 70 Alumni members (6.7 per cent of the total Alumni members) continued to work as school teachers. What is interesting to note is that none of these 70 Alumni members of TFI worked in government schools. All of them worked "either in high-fee private schools or schools run by nonprofit organizations, some of which have a partnership with the government" (Ibid).

Here it is important to state that there are significant differences between TFA and TFI with regard to the programmes' interface with the formal teacher education system. In the US, TFA functions as an Alternative Teaching Certification (ATC) programme. Alternative Teaching Certification programmes are integrated within a larger framework of teacher education which demands that TFA Fellows enroll themselves in teacher education colleges during the term of their two-year fellowship. It mandates that Fellows complete certain formal

---

32 Here 11,000 is 30 per cent of the total number of TFA Alumni members in 2015.

requirements of teacher training in teacher education institutions apart from the organisation's five week training programme as well. Thus TFA Fellows have to engage with both the formal teacher education system as well as the organisation's training and mentorship system (Maloney 2012, Hohnstein 2008).

There are several critiques to how ATC courses dilute formal teacher education programmes and focus only on practice oriented concerns in pedagogy as opposed to more theoretical, historical and philosophical foundations of teacher education (Labaree 2010; Hohnstein 2008). Keeping these limitations of ATCs in mind, it is still important to acknowledge that TFA works within a formal apparatus of teacher education in the US.

In India, however, TFI remains outside the realm of the formal teacher education system. Fellows receive training and mentorship only from the organisation before being placed to teach in government schools. The duration of training is similar to the TFA programme – where Fellows are trained for five weeks at the Summer Institute in Pune and then receive mentorship and guidance through the organisation during their two-year teaching stint in schools. The programme in India operates as a non-governmental entity facilitating PPP arrangements with local governments.

The Phase 3 stage report also pointed to notable differences between post-fellowship trajectories of TFI and TFA Fellows regarding entry into the school system managed by the government. It showed that in the US, approximately 250 TFA Alumni members worked as 'school-system leaders'. They served as superintendents in several public school districts. In contrast, such roles did not exist for TFI Alumni members in the Indian context. This indicated differences not only in the administrative structures between both countries, but also suggested deeper structural separations between civil society engagements with the formal government apparatus.

The role of a district superintendent in the US context, according to the report, was equivalent to the position of an Education Officer in a local municipal government. In the Indian bureaucratic system, these roles are traditionally occupied by individuals from the state or central civil services. The entry to the state and central civil services in India involves passing through several levels of centralized examinations and interviews before being selected to serve as a civil servant.

Thus deeper systemic administrative structures separated civil society intervention within the formal government space in the Indian context vis a vis the American context. The vast majority of TFI Fellows – more than 70 per cent – work within non-profit organisations. The report highlights information from internal surveys that show that most TFI Fellows have a preference for roles in the private sector through the CSR divisions of corporate companies. When probed on the underlying disinclination to work full-time in the education system, reasons stressed on vast differences in pay scales between corporate and social sectors, lack of career growth options and placements in areas far away from major cities (TFI Phase 3 Report).

Where on the one hand, the organization wants to work towards 'education equity' and bringing quality education to the poor child in under resourced schools, the future aspirations of those who enter the organisation dominate its frame of reference. With the third phase, 'Teach for India' is largely leaning towards building support systems and networks that focus on opportunities for Fellows after the fellowship. It consigns the role of teaching for two years as a 'short term' theory of change which cannot make as much of an impact as career options that encourage Fellows to 'change' the system.

Concluding Observations

This chapter has focused on certain important antecedents to how TFI came to be established in India. In situating its emergence, the chapter traced its connections to the Akanksha foundation and how the organisation is linked to a prominent network of NGOs, corporate sponsors and private consultancy firms. It is through this diverse matrix of associated entities that TFI is playing an important role in entering realms of education policy and suitably seeking to reform the functioning of government bodies such as the municipal corporations, the DIETs and the SCERTs.

Unlike older NGOs which were smaller scale in their functioning, the internal management structure and semantics of operation of new non-profit organisations such as TFI resemble mainstream corporate companies (Kumar 2008; Kamat 2004; Nawani 2002). The chapter has outlined TFI's departmental systems at the national and city level and how it seeks to publicise its programme across cities through its various teams to attract interested individuals from certain professional and educational fields to join the fellowship. There has also been a significant shift in the larger 'theory of educational reform' of the programme. As

discussed in this chapter, the organisation is moving towards emphasising a 'long term' theory of change where the experience of classroom teaching is to help Fellows envision opportunities through which they can move beyond individual classrooms and 'impact' the larger education system.

The next chapter will focus on the Fellows. It will examine their educational and professional backgrounds, their choices for joining the fellowship and the process of recruitment and training they undergo within TFI before entering government schools.

4. Becoming a 'Teach for India' Fellow:

On choices and experiences of the training programme

> "I had kinda mis-assessed what I wanted to do or who I was as a person. I was going through a sort of identity crisis, a quarter life crisis of sorts…you can call it that or whatever. And then there was Aamir Khan and there was this ad for Teach for India. I went on the website…I liked it. I wasn't really attracted to the leadership aspect necessarily. But I was very attracted to the fact that I would be able to contribute in some ways…or find myself…I mean that's very clichéd but that's what it was about for me. That's how I found out about it…went to the website and applied."

– Amit[33], Fellow (2013-2015), Delhi

Amit had a Bachelor's degree in Commerce (Honours) from the Sri Ram College of Commerce, Delhi University. Before joining the 'Teach for India' fellowship he had worked at different establishments in varying capacities for more than four years. He started out at Ernst and Young business consulting, then dabbled in his father's telecommunications business and also partnered with his friend in running a real estate firm. In early 2013, feeling dissatisfied and listless with the way his professional trajectory was panning out, he came across a brief one minute video by Hindi film actor Aamir Khan publicising the 'Teach for India' fellowship[34]. Known for his personal interest and commitment to social issues, Aamir Khan at that time had gained much fame for his television programme 'Satyamev Jayate'. In the programme over a series of episodes, the actor and his team had focused on a range of social issues such as female foeticide, child sexual abuse, rape, honour killings, domestic violence, untouchability, alcoholism and the criminalisation of politics.

Aamir Khan in this brief one minute video spoke of the 'Teach for India' fellowship as an opportunity to not just provide 'quality' education to underprivileged children, but to also contribute to nation building. The fellowship, he remarked, required "strength, grit and courage" and was a new revolutionary movement that could effectively change the nation's course[35]. A fan of the 'Satyamev Jayate' programme and curious about 'Teach for India', Amit surfed the website. Impressed and thinking of it as an alternative that would allow him to contribute in more meaningful ways than his present job, he applied for the 'Teach for

---

33 Names of Fellows and other members associated with 'Teach for India' have been changed to maintain confidentiality.

34 The You Tube video can be accessed at: *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3QWRS3GrZdo*

35 As mentioned in the You Tube video: *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3QWRS3GrZdo*

India' fellowship online and went through the organisation's cycles of selection involving written tests and interviews followed by a five-week training module at the organisation's Summer Institute in Pune. Once the training was completed, he was placed to teach for two years at a municipal government school in South Delhi in July 2013.

This chapter begins with situating the educational and professional backgrounds of the TFI respondents who were a part of this research study. The narratives of the respondents were important sources that helped understand aspects regarding Fellows' individual choices as well as the larger organisational modes of functioning. Most of the respondents were working as Fellows in government schools in Delhi. Some of the respondents were Alumni members who were working either within TFI teams in Delhi and Mumbai as senior staff members or in prominent NGOs in Delhi during the time of my field work.

The second section examines the choices of these respondents for entering the fellowship. These choices to enter TFI foreground how individuals relate to education and their role in the project of reform. The final two sections draw on the narratives of Fellows to reconstruct the process of getting selected for TFI and the five-week training programme that all selected candidates have to undergo at their Summer Institute in Pune. This five-week training programme provides the basic skills and framework which guides Fellows once they enter schools to teach as part of the fellowship.

The focus of this section is not to compare or contrast the programme with 'Teach for America' but to locate and describe some facets of how the Indian off-shoot is functioning. The narrative on the five-week training module of the organisation has been developed through information from interviews with Fellows and other members associated with 'Teach for India'. The website of the programme provides some general information, but this has been substantiated with respondents' experiences in order to situate the programme's vision and practices.

4.1 Profiling respondents: Education, Professional backgrounds and learning about TFI

The undergraduate educational backgrounds of the sample of respondents in this study were categorised along four main axes (see Table 4.1, Appendix E). Candidates with degrees in commerce, economics and engineering dominated the sample. There were some members in the sample who had backgrounds in the basic sciences and humanities disciplines as well.

Table 4.1: Respondents' undergraduate educational backgrounds

	Commerce/Economics/CA	Engineering	Sciences	Humanities/Others	Total
Fellows	7	5	2	1	15
TFI Team members*	2	2	1	3	8
Alumni	2	5	1	-	8
	11	12	4	4	31

*Team Members include Program Managers and Administrative Staff working in TFI after the fellowship

Of the 31 respondents, 11 members had also completed post-graduate degrees in varied disciplines such as business management, basic sciences, public policy, psychology and elementary education. Kailash, an Alumni member, had completed a Masters' degree in Elementary Education from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, alongside his fellowship stint at a low-income private school in Pune. He also had a Masters' degree in Molecular Genetics from a UK University, making him a rare member in the sample with double Masters' degrees. Tanvi, another Alumni member, had completed her Masters' in Education and Development from Azim Premji University, Bangalore after her fellowship. Abhijeet, a former City Director of the Delhi team of 'Teach for India' had completed a Masters' degree in Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government on a Fullbright fellowship after his two-year teaching stint at 'Teach for India' (see Table 4.2, Appendix E).

Table 4.2: Respondents' post-graduate educational backgrounds

	MBA	MSc Sciences	MSc Psychology	Masters Public Policy	Masters Education	MSc Sciences + Masters Education	Total
Fellows	3	2	-	-	-	-	5
TFI Team members	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Alumni	1	-	-	1	1	1	3
Total	4	3	1	1	1	1	11

With regard to duration of work experience, it was observed that half of the respondents had little or some work experience – somewhere spanning between few months right out of college to close to five years at jobs they had taken up after completing their Bachelors' or Masters' degrees. About 11 respondents had no work experience and had joined the fellowship straight after completing their undergraduate or post-graduate degrees. There were some members who were mid-level corporate professionals with more than five years of work experience and were looking at entering the social sector (see Table 4.3, Appendix E).

Table 4.3: Respondents' work experience

	No work experience	Up to 2 years	Up to 5 years	More than 5 years	Total
Fellows	1	4	4	6	15
TFI Team members	5	1	2		8
Alumni	5	1	2		8
	11	6	8	6	31

As Table 4.4 shows, half of the respondents had worked in organisations from diverse corporate and business sectors involved in information technology services, banking, insurance, business management and manufacturing. There were only two members in the sample – Neeraj and Kirti – who had had some experience of working in fields directly related to children and elementary education (see Appendix E).

Neeraj had worked as a researcher on projects focusing on science education for children at the Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education, part of Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) in Mumbai. Kirti, who was now working as a Program Manager with 'Teach for India' in Delhi had interned for three years with Childline Foundation, during the course of her higher education in psychology and counselling for children. Companies such as Infosys, Mahindra and Mahindra and Ernst and Young, it was found, had Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) tie-ups with 'Teach for India'.

Table 4.4: Professional experience

Organisations	Fellows	TFI Team Members	Alumni	Total
Infosys	1	1		2
Birla Sun Life Mutual Funds	1			1
ICICI Prudential	2			2
Mahindra Special Services Group	1			1
Ernst and Young	3			3
Cognizant	1			1
IBM	1			1
Unilever			1	1
Standard & Poor			1	1
Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education	1			1
Childline Foundation		1		1
Total	11	2	2	15

In delineating the channels through which the respondents got to know of the programme, it was seen that a significant group in the sample knew of the fellowship through their friends and through the organisation's active publicity in the mass media: newspapers, television and the internet. According to some of the respondents, 'Teach for India' also publicises the programme on college campuses and through CSR networks of certain corporate organisations.

Colleges under Delhi University such as Hansraj College and Sri Venkateswara College feature 'Teach for India' as part of their campus placements activities. St. Xaviers College under Mumbai University was one of the founding sites of the programme as the CEO of the organisation Shaheen Mistri is an alma mater of the college and initiated her endeavours under the institution's support. The well-known Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) and Indian Institutes of Management (IIM) were also popular sites to publicise the fellowship.

Corporate companies such as Infosys, Birla Sun Life Mutual Funds and Ernst & Young offer employees with sabbatical options to join the fellowship. Three Fellows – Kartik, Manav and

Anita – had availed of sabbatical options from their respective companies Infosys, Birla Sun Life Mutual Funds and Ernst & Young to join the programme (see Table 4.5, Appendix E).

Table 4.5: Information on 'Teach for India'

	Through friends	Mass Media*	CSR Publicity	College Campus events
Fellows	6	5	3	1
TFI Team members	1	2	1	3
Alumni	5	2		1
	12	9	4	5

*Mass Media here refers to internet, television, newspapers and other related sources

The following section seeks to understand the narratives of choices and aspirations of the respondents in entering 'Teach for India'. The promise of working within a sector of education catering largely to poor and marginalised populations of children invoked myriad ideas of reform.

4.2 Changing Tracks: Examining narratives for joining 'Teach for India'

'Teach for India' offered an entry into a broad imaginary of the 'social sector', where 'education' was one aspect that provided both a stepping stone and an access into a socially diverse experience of sorts. Five themes emerged in situating the narratives of the respondents. There were those for whom the programme was to engage with 'meaningful work', work that was distinct from their stressful high profile corporate professional lives. For some it was to be able to actualise the potential of certain ideas and projects directly or indirectly related to education and children. Others who were clear cut in their ambitions to use the fellowship to enter the public policy space.

A fourth section was made of members, most of them in their early to mid twenties and straight out of college, who were unsure of their career prospects. They wanted to use the opportunity to explore their interests in ways that taking up a regular job would not allow. They were wary to be bound into dictates of a regular job and were aware of the possibilities of utilising their time in the Fellowship to build contacts and networks. They also wanted to project this time spent in ways necessary to enter highly competitive Masters programmes in Public Policy and Business Management in prestigious universities and colleges abroad, who

were looking for candidates who had dabbled in areas that were not seen as run of the mill. Finally, a fraction of the members were those who had taken a sabbatical from their jobs and were looking at the opportunity to refresh themselves or take a much needed break. They seemed unsure about leaving their regular jobs and use the platform to move into the development sector.

A. Education as 'meaningful' work: From the 'corporate' to the 'development' sector

For some individuals with some years of work experience in the corporate sector, questions centred around what their professional lives were leading to. There was a constant mention of stress, of engaging with inanimate objects and earning money that after a point in time started to seem meaningless. Payal, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort teaching at a government school in Delhi took a tough decision to quit her corporate job at ICICI Prudential Services and join the programme. She mentioned:

> "Okay honestly, I really have to think that what excites me the most to go to the work every day. And if I will subtract the money factor, this was the only, or one of the strongest urge that I could feel. Like if I don't have money as a priority then this is something I can do for my life as of now. Or something in a social sector. And obviously growing stress without any reason, like I'm just going to the office, hitting my desk, coming back and it's not a very-very happy experience there also. So I don't think so to earn money one has to be so, like I have to get myself into such an uncomfortable position just to ensure that I get my monthly salary in place…"

She kept reiterating how the decision to forego a regular income was difficult but the stress endured on a daily basis finally convinced her that she needed to take a clean break. The Fellowship was to help her foray into the development sector.

Abhijeet, a former City Director of the TFI Delhi team connected a series of events that pushed him to take a call and quit his prestigious job at Hindustan Unilever.

> "I could see the contrast of the life Unilever was giving me and obviously the realities of Bombay. Like I stayed in Wadala, so obviously passing through, it was not hard to miss the reality, especially if you travelled by the local and the buses. So that's when I started volunteering in my third year, so I said like let me go beyond my comfort zone and I think somewhere 26/11 was kind of instigator as well. So all of us asked big questions around that incident and HUL's [Hindustan Unilever's] kind of top management was in Taj that night […] So all of that kind of prompted, obviously, existential questions for all of us in the company, and amongst the group of friends, like what is it that we are doing here if we are just producing ice-creams and jams and ketchups. So yeah that's why I started to volunteer and my first access to kind of schooling was through the Teach India program, I started volunteering in a municipal school in Mumbai in Powaii with Muktangan, and that kind of exposed me to realities of public schooling system…"

He reflected on how the city's socio-economic diversities got him to question his privileges and lifestyle, which slowly encouraged him to volunteer with education NGOs in Mumbai. Incidents surrounding the 26/11 terrorist attack in Mumbai finally strengthened his resolve to leave the corporate sector and join the TFI fellowship. For Fellows like Payal and Abhijeet, there was a constant assertion that their corporate jobs could not provide enough of a meaningful experience. The choice to join the fellowship was in some ways an opportunity to 'give back' to a society they saw as mired in poverty and inequality. Education, for them, was seen as the ideal means through which social development could be brought about.

B. Education to explore individualised 'solutions' to systemic problems

Somewhat different from the above segment of individuals who saw the Fellowship as a move from the corporate to the development sector, there were some members who had already engaged with systemic questions closely related to education at an individual level. These questions revolved around aspects of curriculum, 'quality' in education systems and opportunities to engage with poor children through certain formalised sites and routes that would not have been previously possible.

There was Girish, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort in Delhi, with a Masters' degree in Physics from IIT Delhi and years of work experience in IBM who had had a brief but unfruitful experience of starting online courses for school children. He observed:

> "So mine was really gradual and over a period. So education is something that I have been passionate about, I have been very angry about, throughout my student life as well as during my professional life as well. And there came a time when I realized it's no use talking about it, so I built a platform for online courses, just like you have Coursera and stuff… So I wanted to do something similar like that within the school structure and frankly that was a very immature move because I really didn't know the reality of the school life and so when I sat down to design a course I realized I'm totally ill-equipped, totally unaware and incompetent. And so I wanted to really understand the structure, the realities before really doing something here. You cannot solve a problem without knowing the problem and here I was basically trying to solve a problem without knowing the problem…"

He got to know of the Fellowship through common friends and decided to take up the chance to understand the school system from within.

Questions of 'quality' and the gaps that existed within the schooling system that prevented children from gaining a kind of education that allowed them to transition into higher education or suitably move into the job market were foremost on the mind of Samarth, an Alumni member based in Delhi.

80

> "I worked with a company called Standard and Poor, it's a rating company…We were grading the quality of education for business schools to see why business schools in India have not been able to perform at the level at which US Business schools or other Ivy Leagues or you know, top business schools in the world would do. It was more or less benchmarking exercise in India for business […] And then I came across the Teach for India Fellowship, because what I felt was that though we were looking at business schools, but the business schools in India according to me were failing because the input which was coming in from let's say a K12 or your undergrad was not good. It's like you know, say, if horses come in you could make them better horses. But if donkeys come in you can't expect to have horses right. So my experience was we were not putting the right material in the school, rather we were not equipping them in K12 and undergrad for them to be successful in their post-grad. And that's where I felt that if India's demographic dividend has to be reaped, we would need more qualified people with skill sets…"

Samarth chose to utilise his two-year experience with 'Teach for India' to build on his previous work experience of grading educational institutions. To him, the trajectory of education from the beginning was to set a clear path of equipping certain 'skill sets' that allowed students to integrate into lives of labour productively.

Kirti, a Program Manager in Delhi with a Masters' degree in counselling for children saw the fellowship as a viable route to use her training with children from marginalised backgrounds.

> "So when I thought about my options after the Masters, right, like while I was going through the Masters I was thinking about what is it that I'd like to do, and one of the obvious options was school counselling, and counselling kids. But I realized that if I continue with counselling […] I knew that the scope for counselling in India is limited to schools which have very rich children. Right like it's very privileged schools that actually ask for a counsellor to be attached to a school. And I wasn't sure if that was really my calling and when I saw Teach for India it kind of like, it just gave me that, hit because I was like ya that makes sense to teach in low-income classrooms, I've always wanted to do it…"

An underlying subtext in Kirti's observations also reflected the desires of certain young, urban, upper middle class individuals who wished to engage with the public system of education but were unsure of what to expect for a number of reasons. They largely did not see themselves entering the lifelong vocation of school teaching and perceived the public school system as one that was entangled in bureaucratic red-tape. 'Teach for India', then allowed them an easy but somewhat more formalised access into engaging with the 'poor' child.

C. Education to do 'policy'

The 'Teach for India' fellowship also provided a platform to build 'fieldwork' experience to enter rarefied institutions that work in public policy and governance. To Naina, a Fellow from the 2013 to 2015 cohort in Delhi, the fellowship would allow her to understand the classroom as a site to make an 'impact'. She noted:

"So I always knew that I kind of liked policy, 'cuz it's like a mix of economics, politics, sociology, like all these things combined. And I liked writing, so I get to like you know write lot of reports and analyze… So I tried UNESCO and that education policy which I ended up loving, and I got some really good advice from my boss, who I became very close to, he told me if there's something you want to do, you need to get field experience. If you want to work in education policy, do you know what's happening inside the classroom? Because the ultimate aim is to impact growth, and learning in a classroom. So why don't you volunteer, and that idea, I went beyond volunteering and I decided to join Teach for India. It was the best decision I made, I loved it…"

Mihir, an Alumni member based in Delhi and actively engaged with the Aam Aadmi Party's Delhi Dialogue Commission for education saw the fellowship as an opportunity to engage with policy implementation at the school level most notably through the figure of the school teacher. He mentioned:

"So mine was a very informed decision. I knew what I was walking into. But my motivation was simply to can I understand, from education perspective, why such good policies […] which look so good on paper, brilliantly well-designed, end up bringing disasters, or at the least, end up bringing nothing. So why do policies fail. And the other point was what keeps the poor poor. So those were two motivations that made me join Teach for India, to understand policies of the education sector from the viewpoint of the person who matters the most in the education system – the teacher. So I've been on this side of the table for twenty years, let me be on the other side of the table and see the same policies that apply on me now."

He constantly referred to his educational choices as one that limited him from understanding the realm of the 'social'. For true 'change' to happen, 'mindsets' needed to be engaged with.

"Its just before I knew I was pushed towards Sciences. So I was still making my mind for whether to take Humanities or Science, but I was pushed towards Sciences…I started to read a lot of things, I mean within the first year of my engineering I had already read not just the Constitution of India but the various interpretations of it by various authors […] I realized that engineers while are doing a noble job, the best of engineering is not sufficient to move this world from poverty. Because essentially they are providing a product or the service through technology or innovation, it is a technical fix. But the essential problem, the core problem in the world is to do with mindsets. There is no point having a toilet if I don't have the mindset to keep it clean. So building a toilet is easy, building hygienic habits is far tougher. And that does not require engineering. So that's when the shift started to happen for me…"

The Fellowship, then for Mihir and other individuals like him was an opportunity to be able to use the experience in the classroom to comprehend the 'social', to be able to formulate possible 'solutions' and effectively become 'agents of change' in the process.

D. Education as a stepping stone to other career opportunities

A considerable number of candidates who applied for the fellowship had completed their undergraduate education and were looking at the programme as an opportunity to 'find themselves', to take the time to involve themselves in activities they wouldn't have earlier, to connect with the 'Teach for India' Alumni networks and locate the best possible professional

opportunities that maybe different from their assigned career trajectories, but a path nonetheless that helped them combine the best of the 'corporate' and the 'social' worlds.

Varun, a Program Manager with the Delhi team, joined the programme right after his Bachelors' in Commerce degree at Delhi University. He saw 'Teach for India' embody several of these promising aspects. He noted:

> "So I went through the model, the website and I have an older brother, he knew about it and he had really good ideas about it as well. And when I went through the model I was like this is something I'd really love to do because…I was interested in dramatics, dance and stuff like that […] And again like a lot of factors added to that, like the teaching as leadership model…So I remember now that I got placed at PWC from college -   directly. But my brother, so he's also a Venky graduate, B.Com Hons, he worked with PWC right after that, so it was a tough decision but he told me like there's nothing major you'll get out of PWC, so if you are really inclined towards Teach for India, you definitely go for it…"

After completing the fellowship, Varun got inducted as a Program Manager with the Delhi city team, an opportunity that allowed him to mentor and guide new Fellows who entered the programme to work in schools at the Delhi site. He was with the Delhi team for close to three years as a Program Manager and was open to considering choices that helped him move up the career ladder within the organisation as well as options to pursue a Masters' programme at an Ivy League university in the US.

> "I don't mind staying in the organisation and growing. But other than that I am also okay with going in for further studies…I am also thinking of giving my GMAT, GRE because some time in life I will have to do that. […] The thing is I don't really care much about the course. I care about the place I am going to and the people I will be with. And that is why I want to go to one of the best places. And probably do an MBA that's in Social Entrepreneurship maybe…"

Familial support for these unconventional choices was also central for these young individuals to make a choice that would not guarantee them their imagined financial and professional security immediately. Where Varun had a supportive older brother, Kapil the Recruitment Team Head for the programme in Mumbai spoke of having liberal parents who encouraged him to take up the fellowship. He had taught in a low-income school in Mumbai as part of the 2011 to 2013 cohort after completing his BTech in Aeronautics engineering. He discussed how he got to know of the programme:

> "In terms of how I heard about Teach for India is, so they had come to our campus for a placement talk. But I wasn't really scheduled to be in the conversation but I just walked in to the room and it was awkward to leave. […] Then this was one day before the final application deadline. I guess this was random chance that I heard about Teach for India, spoke to my parents, idea seems interesting, I went ahead and applied, went to the interview process, met a couple of interesting people. My parents were like okay whatever… So I guess the thing was that I generally come from a liberal family. […]They were always there to guide me, tell me about what they knew in the world, connect me to other people who can help me understand […] my dad was like it is a two-year thing it is fine…you want to do it

you can do it because there is no career lag…because the entry level positions in engineering are not brilliant in any way given the job market in 2011…"

Within Kapil's observations also exist allusions to the larger global turn of events in 2011 – the economic recession. His choice then to enter the fellowship also pointed to the slowdown in the job market, which pushed many students to consider other possibilities, waiting for the economic tide to change.

E. Education as a sabbatical

A small fraction of candidates entered the fellowship through sabbatical options offered by the respective companies they were employed at. Infosys, Ernst & Young and Birla Sun Life Mutual Funds were few of the companies that offered employees the chance to 'give back' to society through these endeavours. Manav, Kartik and Anita – Fellows from the 2013 to 2015 cohort based in Delhi took up the sabbatical option to experience a much needed break from their stressful corporate lives. While the experience had influenced their modes of thinking about the 'social' and the struggles of educating underprivileged children, they were unsure about making a complete shift into the development sector. Kartik believed the sector was fast changing and maybe in a few years he could reconsider his position.

"At present, I don't think I can work with an NGO…but yes it does make me think that maybe I can work within organisations that integrate technology and learning. That is something I could be interested in…"

Anita was considering the possibility of requesting her seniors at Ernst & Young to move her into the company's CSR wing. She felt that she would be in a much better position to build advocacy for 'Teach for India' in this new role, engage in effective fund raising opportunities and encourage other employees to take up the fellowship.

These five themes elaborated the different choices and aspirations for individuals to enter the Fellowship. Their trajectories highlighted a mix of chance and purpose as some entered the programme to address their personal need to be charitable in limited ways or gain a foothold within the social sector, while for others the intervention was a space to hone their own talents and traverse new opportunities. For many Fellows this question of educational reform often got intertwined with their own individual experiences with education and how they believed they could now be a part of the system to 'change' it.

'Teach for India' has a distinct institutional apparatus to facilitate and guide Fellows through the two-year fellowship. In the following section, the process of applying and getting selected into the programme will be discussed.

4.3 Applying to 'Teach for India' and getting selected for the programme

The 'Teach for India' fellowship mandates that interested candidates must have a Bachelor's degree at the time of application and must be Indian citizens or of Indian origin. It also emphasises broad attributes of belief in the organisation's mission and vision for education, leadership potential, critical thinking ability and strong English communication skills[36].

Applications for the fellowship open between September and February every year. As part of its PPP arrangement with respective city governments, 'Teach for India' places Fellows exclusively in English medium classrooms in government and low-income private schools. The website states:

Teach For India Fellows are placed in 2nd to 8th standard classrooms where they teach all major subjects — including English, Mathematics, History and Science with the exception of regional languages. Although the mother tongue is helpful in interacting within our communities, it is not a necessary prerequisite as our schools are English medium.

The application process begins with an online form where Fellows provide details of their educational and professional backgrounds and answer a series of general questions about themselves and their lives to determine their interests and reasons for joining the fellowship. After submitting the online application form, a member from the organisation conducts a telephonic interview with the person interested in joining the fellowship to verify his personal details and corroborate his or her answers to the questions asked. As Neeraj, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort based in Delhi recollected:

> "There were these tedious online forms and with what are your strengths, what are your weaknesses, recount an event when you helped your group to achieve common ends and so on. So not too much of a fan of this kind of questioning, was very generic and repetitive and you know, leading…too leading into the answers which they were expecting. Anyways, went through it, and after that there was a telephonic conversation, an hour long, essentially along the same lines of the online form which I filled, in the spirit that Neeraj you wrote this-this in your form, could you tell us more…elaborate about this, Neeraj you wrote this, can you tell more about this and so on. So more of reinforcement of the previous thing. […] And after that the final interview, the assessment centre where you had to stay for a day…"

---

36 The website as accessed on March 29, 2016.

After this stage of screening, shortlisted candidates are assessed in a day long process involving a group discussion, a teaching task based on a class plan and a personal interview. Candidates are asked to prepare a rough class plan for any grade between Class II and Class VI for either English, Maths or Social Studies based on the NCERT textbook before attending the Assessment Centre. Neeraj explained the process:

> "So 3 things…a group discussion where on one table, 15 people talking and discussing and coming to a coherent solution about a school problem or something like that, brainstorming. Second was the lesson plan which one person was as good as another…no emphasis on nuances or anything... And finally it was the interview and the interview again was…the interviewer would be sitting on a laptop and you know, typing it in, you have to wait so that she types and then you proceed, and in the similar lines again…suppose the interviewer pretended to be a child, so with this-this problem, so how will you address it as a teacher, to see I guess the basic sensitivity and stuff…"

The thrust of the screening processes based on Fellows' responses was to understand the broad interests and aptitudes of the interested candidates and engage them in a format of questions and answers where one could gauge the candidate's problem solving skills for hypothetical classroom situations.

Candidates who passed through this second stage successfully were intimated that they had been selected for the fellowship. They were then asked to fill in forms providing details on city and grade preferences. These details guide the organisation when placing candidates in cities after their training at the Summer Institute in Pune. The final section examines the compulsory training module that selected candidates from across the country have to go through before being placed in schools. It takes place between the months of May and June every year and coincides largely with the summer vacation period for primary and upper primary schools across the country.

4.4 Training at the Summer Institute in Pune

The 'Teach for India' training module like its American counterpart spans for a period of five weeks and provides a hands-on introduction to Fellows on the organisation's frameworks, processes of teaching and structures of mentorship in practice. Sanjay, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort described the five-week training:

> "I think Teach for India Institute just focuses on how you cater to your needs in a classroom and how you use resources around you which are unlimited in nature in the Institute but very limited in the city. Like creating that collaborative structure, making more friends not only in Delhi but maybe in other cities and using all those resources when you come to the city…you can't expect all the Fellows to be of a certain style of working, but that is what Teach for India tries to do, because it is only that which will help Teach for India reach its objective".

In the first week of the training module Fellows are taken on 'community visits' to engage with families from humbler backgrounds. This is then followed by certain content and training sessions over the next few weeks which focus on classroom teaching and interacting with children. Apart from the sessions related to classroom teaching, Fellows also participate in interactive meetings that showcase the organisation's larger vision and framework that link processes of teaching to building skills in 'leadership'.

This section is divided into three themes. In the first two themes the processes of 'community visits' and classroom training are elaborated. The final theme situates the organisation's guiding framework linking 'teaching' and 'leadership'. This theme particularly highlights key differences between the American and the Indian models of the programme, where in 2014 there has been a distinct shift in the guiding framework for the Indian model: from 'Teaching as Leadership' to the 'Leadership Development Journey'.

A. Engaging with the 'community'

The first week of training was to initiate Fellows into understanding the 'community'. As part of these 'community' visits, Fellows were taken to some villages close to the Summer Institute in Pune where low-income communities resided.

> "For the first one week our major sessions were on building relationship, pushing your thinking out of the box. We went into the community, I still remember we had to build things from scrap. We went into the village in Pune, like literally to a community, and we bought, we were given 30 minutes to collect any thrown away item. So we collected rags, kooda everything. And then we built various things, we built a basketball court. So making us think that we can be resourceful with anything around us. Because that is something which we need to build upon when we reach the city because in Teach for India classrooms you will realize that infrastructure is not the first priority…you have to make do with a lot of things around you…"- Sanjay, Fellow (2014-2016), Delhi.

> "So in the first week, it was very interesting actually, we had an activity called the yellow hat activity, where you are supposed to go, we were supposed to go into a market and earn some money, by offering whatever services we can. And it was basically in teams and we did that, which was sort of like an ice-breaker. It was completely new…radical for me, like I had never thought about doing anything like that. That was one. Then there was, we had also another time just gone into the community, just to chill with the kids in a sense, which I found really awkward. I enjoyed the game because we had something to do. But just going there, without any agenda was very funny for me, I was very awkward. So that was one experience also which can be classified under community visits." - Amit, Fellow (2013-2015), Delhi.

As Sanjay and Amit recollected, the purpose of the first week was to initiate Fellows into situations outside their comfort zone and to build an attitude of resourcefulness when working within poorly equipped classrooms. These community visits also sought to ease

Fellows' interactions with children from 'poorer communities' through games and other activities. This short span of engaging with the 'community' was quickly followed by intensive sessions where Fellows were introduced to some pedagogical sessions on the classroom.

B. Training to teach in the Classroom

When the programme first began in 2009, most of the content sessions were dominated by videos and resources from an American context. Kailash, an Alumni member who was a Fellow in the 2011 to 2013 cohort provided some insights from his time at the Summer Institute:

> "Yeah on the obvious face of it we had two white people who were running the show at Institute. They were both really good, I mean in what they did, just their sort of energy, but obviously well, contextually things are different and one needs to sort of understand. A lot of their texts that we were using back then also did straight come from the US. Like this Tie episode that I'm talking about, was from a story where I don't know, there's a muppet or something like that. And I'm like, it took me time to figure out what a muppet is. And then you go into class, and then you have to explain what a muppet is. And then you are like why am I doing this. And a muppet is just one, there's some blueberry pie…"

These concerns of contextualisation have been addressed to some extent. Efforts have been made to use NCERT and state specific textbooks to teach the literacy (English), Maths and Social Studies components since 2014. This is a significant move away from the organisation's earlier curricular alignment with the American Common Core standards and use of teaching learning materials exclusively from an American context. Abhijeet, a former City Director of the Delhi team, commented on this shift:

> "So our literacy curriculum also aligns with the NCF and so our literacy curriculum in Delhi aligns with the NCERT because NCERT are the textbooks that we base our literacy and instruction on. And in other contexts, for example in Maharashtra, there are state boards who have different textbooks, so we try and align with them. But we moved away from Common Core and we also recognized that that was kind of a strategic error as well, that we made at that point in time and that we kind of saw the consequences of it as well, in terms of being rooted in the context of our children's experience. […] I think Math we are at a strong place, in terms of delivering on the spirit of NCF."

In the beginning of the second week, Fellows were gradually introduced to sessions on content, classroom management and assessment. Along with these sessions, Fellows also got their first practical exposure to classrooms. The schools where the Fellows taught were largely low-income private schools and some government schools that had a tie-up with 'Teach for India' in Pune. Within these schools, Fellows taught exclusively in English medium classrooms. These sessions on teaching were conducted by members of the

organisation who had previously been Fellows and were now working in differing capacities with 'Teach for India' as Program Managers or members of the administrative and training teams.

I. Group structures for training

Before their practical teaching sessions at the schools, Fellows had to go through certain sessions on content and teaching strategies. They were divided into two broad groups for the content sessions - primary level and secondary level - based on a standardised test that assessed them on logical reasoning, Maths and English comprehension. This mode of differentiating Fellows was first introduced in 2014 at the Summer Institute.

The primary level group comprised of Fellows training for grades II to V, while the secondary level group focused on training for Class VI and above. At present, the Summer Institute offers no specialised content training geared towards the requirements of particular grades.

Fellows who had been divided into primary level and secondary level groups based on the results of the test were further divided into smaller groups headed by a group leader, most often a Program Manager who would guide and provide necessary feedback to the Fellows. As Sanjay a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort remembered:

> "So there is a structure for every damn thing in TFI, which I liked. So the induction never started in the first week when we reached Pune. So the first few days was more focused on why are we here, what is Teach for India doing. Then Week 2 we were given Program Managers. So I was, in a Program Manager team, I was with 14 other strangers, even though we used to say hi-hello every other day, but we were all strangers. Then we discussed each other's stories, we learnt more about each other. We built that rapport. Then all 15 of us were divided into 4-4-4, like team. Then I was given class 2 with 3 more people…we were class teachers for one class. So whatever happens in that class is our idea. Everything that we do will be in our class."

It is important to note here that each team of four (called a Collab) was assigned to teach children of a specific grade in the school during their sessions of practice, however their sessions on content training were not grade specific as mentioned earlier. So for example while Sanjay taught Class II during his practice sessions at the Pune school, his content sessions were not specific to the second grade. He had members in his content sessions who were teaching other grades. These content sessions were conducted in the medium of English and focused largely on aspects of behaviour management, assessment processes and some teaching strategies specific for teaching components of Literacy and Maths.

II. Content Sessions: Behaviour Management, Assessment and Teaching Strategies

Behaviour management, often used synonymously with classroom management, as some Fellows recollected were a set of regulatory procedures to establish discipline and 'incentivise' learning within the classroom. Amit, a Fellow from the 2013 to 2015 cohort, gave an example:

> "There's a big emphasis on behaviour management, order control in the classroom…what are you going to do, how are you going to motivate the kids…something like a star system. Or like differentiated levels like when somebody answers the question, to encourage them giving them something, some kind of a sticker or whatever, some kind of incentive".

Fellows were taught to use 'rewards and punishments' techniques to assess students' behaviour and institute student trackers which would help showcase children's results in standardised tests.

In the first week of entering the classroom as part of the practice session at the Summer Institute, Fellows were involved both in instituting classroom management procedures crucial to enforcing discipline as well as administering standardised tests for Literacy and Maths. Assessments were central to classroom teaching processes and Fellows first administered standardised tests to measure Literacy and Maths learning levels even before setting out to teach Literacy and Maths components in classrooms in Pune[37]. Sanjay, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort in Delhi, described his first week as part of the practice session at the Pune school site:

> "For the first one week we were not asked to teach children. We were asked to build a classroom culture and also like test the children. […] So we realize there are many children who can't read, there were many children who were very good at reading. So accordingly the Fellows had to, we went into various sessions, where we were taught how to analyse it".

The results of the children on standardised assessments for Literacy and Maths guided and shaped the organisation's training sessions for classroom teaching. Content training sessions for Fellows in both primary and secondary level groups focused largely on creating unit plans for Literacy and Maths components and strategies to execute these plans in the classrooms. 'Literacy' referred to the teaching of the subject English. The Literacy component was

---

37 The standardised assessment tests for literacy have several differentiated levels developed along Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives that hierarchizes learning from factual, inferential to critical thinking. In Maths the assessments are grade level assessments. No assessments have been developed to measure learning outcomes for Science and Social Studies yet so secondary level group Fellows also initiate their classroom teaching processes with Literacy and Maths assessments.

divided into: Reading Comprehension (RC), Reading Fluency (RF), Writing and Grammar[38]. Reading Fluency as a component which stressed on phonics, words and meanings was taught by Fellows as a separate subject only for grades II and III[39]. By grade III, Fellows were told to focus on the RC component which emphasised a transition towards reading and writing skills. The secondary level group training focused on RC, Writing, Maths and Social Studies/Science (see Table 4.6, Appendix F).

Table 4.6: Content area training for primary level and secondary level groups

Primary level (Classes II to V)	**Literacy**: RC, RF*, Writing and Grammar* **Maths**
Secondary level (Class VI and above)	**Literacy**: RC, Writing **Maths** **Social Studies/Science**

*RF and Grammar often included within RC

There was a rotation system within each Collab team such that each member teaching primary grades got one week each to train in content sessions and some practice sessions at the Pune school site for RC, RF, Writing and Maths. Secondary grade Fellows followed the same cycle and process for RC, Writing, Maths and Social Studies/Science. Sanjay, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort who taught the second grade at the Summer Institute in Pune described the process in detail:

> "There were four Fellows in every Collab team who were tagged A-B-C-D. And children were taught four subjects every day. So A was Reading Fluency, B was Reading Comprehension, C was Writing and D was Math. So I was Fellow A, so my cycle at the Institute was RF, RC, Writing, Math…Fellow B in my team started with RC and ended her cycle with RF…you can figure it for Fellow C and Fellow D…you get it right…Toh when the day started, when I used to go as Fellow A, my content lesson started with RF, so all the Fellow 'A's of all the Collabs at the Institute used to come together and do RF in the morning. Similarly all the Fellow Bs would go to a different hall and do RC. All of us used to independently learn the subject and then we used to have a Lesson Plan…two days later we had to teach our content areas one after the other like you know different subject periods in our classroom…so I will teach RF for twenty minutes, then Fellow B of my team will teach RC for 40 minutes…Fellow C Writing and Fellow D Maths…The content that is taught to us is taught in our respective classrooms

---

38 A new component called 'Speaking and Listening' (S & L) was introduced in 2015 as part of the Literacy theme. Fellows in this study were not trained in this component specifically but were introduced to aspects of this component when they began teaching in the school through their mentor circles.

39 Even though RF is not taught as a separate subject in higher grades, Fellows state that there are children in higher grades who cannot recognize alphabets and have a poor understanding of phonics. This is explored further in the next two chapters.

two days later…So we had two days to plan our lesson, send it to PMs [Program Managers], who review and help us with a better plan or they finalise it".

Apart from this routine comprising of content and practice sessions, Fellows also engaged in group related activities and attended talks by individuals from varied walks of life. This included members from NGOs, corporates, 'Teach for America' and other affiliate organisations. An important focus of these interactive meetings was to introduce Fellows to ideas of 'leadership'. This is central to the guiding framework of the organisation termed the 'Leadership Development Journey'. It is this framework which helps situate these various content and teaching sessions within a larger vision such that Fellows can relate and understand how 'teaching' can build 'leadership' skills effectively.

C. Guiding framework: The Leadership Development Journey rubric

One of the central selling points of the TFI programme, is how the struggles of school teaching help build strong leadership skills that can take Fellows beyond the classroom and onto new pathways where they can effectively work to change 'systemic' inequities. Raman, an Alumni member working at an NGO in Delhi discussed TFI's project of connecting teaching and leadership:

> "So this is actually mentioned by Wendy Kopp and Shaheen, both have mentioned it clearly that 'Teach for India' is not a teacher developer program. It's a leadership development program. So its job is not to train you as a teacher, its responsibility is not to train you as a teacher. And I heard a lot of criticism about that you know five weeks of Institute does not help you develop, and frankly none of us become great teachers…The idea is that two years of teaching is going to give you ground experience…what education looks like, what are the challenges, and challenges is not just pedagogy, it is about what are the real issues in the communities, what are the real issues inside a school. So it's through teaching that you learn all these, you build leadership skills".

Till 2014, the guiding framework of 'Teach for India' was based on the 'Teaching as Leadership' (TAL) model (see Appendix G). The TAL model, which is used by 'Teach for America' is an extensively detailed framework that focuses on six prominent pillars of teacher action: set big goals, invest students and others, plan purposefully, execute effectively, continuously increase effectiveness and work relentlessly. These teacher actions are mapped onto a gradation of teacher proficiency, moving from pre-novice to exemplary. The model breaks down teaching processes into several micro levels and the primary focus is on the teacher and her students within the classroom.

However, in 2014, 'Teach for India' developed its own guiding framework called the 'Leadership Development Journey' (LDJ). While inspired by the TAL rubric, the content and underpinning of this framework is significantly different (see Appendix H). Unlike the TAL which is close to a 20 page document, the LDJ is a two page document comprising of two important scales which complement each other: Student Vision Scale (SVS) and the Fellow Commitments Scale (FCS). There are three strands within each of these scales moving from a point scale of one which is the lowest to five which is the highest. The SVS includes academic achievement, values and mindsets and access and exposure, while the FCS includes commitment to personal transformation, commitment to collective action and commitment to education equity.

It is the broad framework of the SVS which guides the day to day teaching goals of the Fellow. Fellows design detailed class plans for the teaching of Literacy and Maths components (subsets of the academic achievement strand of the SVS) and introducing children to a range of extracurricular activities (subset of the access and exposure strand of the SVS). The 'values and mindsets' strand is an abstract but important strand within the SVS framework. It refers at one level to classroom management: seating arrangements, codes of discipline and conduct instituted by the Fellow to facilitate a certain type of structured and seamless teaching process. At another level it also refers to the teaching of 'moral values' through lessons as part of the Literacy component, videos and other interactive modes of discussion.

The underlying focus of the SVS is a simple gradation that seeks to visualise the Fellows' efforts as a teacher in the behaviour and learning outcomes of the students. Unlike the TAL, the SVS moves from a very general premise of children being destructive or not learning towards becoming independent and joyful learners. The scale does not elaborate on what these attributes mean in detail and the discretion of judgement is left to the Program Manager who uses this scale to assess the Fellow's efforts.

This aspect of the classroom as reflected in the SVS is but one part of the LDJ as it feeds into the FCS which notes an interesting gradation across the three strands. It sees the Fellow as an individual whose work is to extend beyond the classroom (as defined by the SVS) and connect several concentric eco-systems: the classroom, the school and the community. As Chandni, a Fellow from the 2014 to 2016 cohort based in Delhi, remarks:

"So there are two things that are the centre of the LDJ. First of all the leader which is you, and the people you are leading, that is your kids. So you and your kids. As far as the kids go so a person who is a true leader has to take into account the most important things that affect the life of the people you are leading right. So obviously in the Indian scenario, or any other scenario, the people that would come into the ambit of the students' lives would be the people in the school, the administrators, the teachers and their community and parents, their family. Especially the community in which we work in, like because of their special challenges, the economic challenges, the social challenges, the educational challenges, there are so many influences in these kids' lives, so it is not just explaining to them content from books or values, just saying that okay this is respect, because they see just the opposite of that happening in their community or sometimes in the schools. So to teach respect to the kids and then to challenge what they already know that is existing in the school and in the community, I think that is what leadership is all about".

It is in these aspects of emphasising the Fellow's role as much more than a teacher and as someone whose work is to begin with the classroom, but in the process mobilise several stakeholders across different systemic geographies is what sets the LDJ apart from the TAL, which focused largely on the role of the Fellow within the classroom.

How Fellows understand this rubric and put into practice their various teaching strategies is influenced by a host of factors. Within the space of the classroom the teaching practices of the Fellows are influenced by their personal dispositions regarding school teaching, TFI's training and mentorship requirements as well as the dynamics of the government school system.

These aspects of classroom management, teaching strategies and being introduced to the LDJ model form the crucial components of the training programme at the Summer Institute in Pune. By the fourth week at the Summer Institute, Fellows are intimated of the city and grade they will be teaching in. Generally, Fellows are placed in cities of their choice as mentioned in the application forms they had submitted before attending the Summer Institute. Grades, however, are assigned based on city specific requirements and it is thus not necessary that if a Fellow taught a certain grade during his or her practice sessions at the Summer Institute, he or she would be given the same grade to teach at the school in the respective city. In the following chapter, the programme's functioning within a section of government schools in Delhi will be explored.

Concluding Observations

This chapter began with a discussion on the educational and professional backgrounds of the TFI respondents. Most of the individuals had completed degrees in engineering, commerce and economics and some of them had work experience in the corporate sector as well. The

choices of the respondents for joining the programme highlighted a diverse set of reasons. For some the organisation acted as an important stepping stone towards entering the social sector, while for others the two-year fellowship was a hands-on experience towards understanding the education system from within. The course of understanding the education system from within was to in turn allow the Fellows to chart their individual trajectories into starting their own NGOs or entering the education policy space through working with international organisations. Younger respondents saw the programme as an important opportunity to gain a certain kind of field experience that they could utilise to shape their applications to prestigious Universities abroad.

The section on the organisation's five-week module of training discussed how candidates were selected and trained at the Summer Institute in Pune. The training programme comprised of a broad set of teaching strategies for Literacy and Maths components and sessions on 'leadership'. Here it was seen that pedagogical processes were imagined as decontextualised techniques that would help Fellows teach subjects such as English and Maths in an 'effective' manner centred on standardised testing. The training did not involve any grade based specifications. Thus all Fellows irrespective of the primary grade they were teaching in at the Institute were exposed to only a common set of teaching strategies for Literacy and Maths. It was only in 2014 that a separate track for training Fellows teaching in upper primary classes of VI and above was introduced at the Institute in Pune. This was, however, just a broad distinction between Fellows teaching primary grades and those teaching upper primary grades determined through a test at the Institute in Pune. There was no significant grade based differentiation in the teaching strategies that Fellows were trained in at the Institute.

The 'Leadership Development Journey' rubric further narrowed the complex work of school teaching into two simplistic scales – 'Student Vision Scale' and the 'Fellow Commitments Scale'. The SVS imagined teaching along the gradation of behaviour based outcomes and the FCS emphasised the role of the Fellow beyond the space of the classroom. Both these scales, however, did not define their parameters clearly leaving it to be interpreted differently by individual Fellows. Most Fellows interpreted the FCS along their individual aspirations and in consonance with the demands and expectations of their respective Program Managers as will be seen in the following chapters.

The next chapter will discuss the modalities through which the organisation operates in a select segment of government schools in Delhi. Apart from the five-week training module at the Summer Institute in Pune, Fellows were also mentored by senior members from the city-specific TFI team during the duration of their fellowship. These senior members called Program Managers guide Fellows' teaching practices, conduct regular interactive meetings to discuss the Fellows' progress and help Fellows build social networks within the city to further their individual interests within the education sector. The following chapter also explains aspects of this support and mentorship system available to Fellows as they teach in schools in Delhi.

5. Modalities of 'partnership':
New institutional structures within municipal schools

This chapter examines the entry of 'Teach for India' into the government school system in Delhi. The aim of this chapter is to present the broad institutional and pedagogical contours within which the programme is functioning in some government schools in the city of Delhi. The first part of this chapter will provide an overview of the government school system within the city of Delhi. There are several kinds of government schools within the government system, but this study focuses on municipal schools, which are at the bottom of the hierarchy in this system and cater to children from the poorest sections of society, largely migrant labourers with peripatetic lives (Ramachandran 2006). This section will also discuss some aspects concerning the bureaucratic structure, routine and responsibilities of government teachers within this system.

The second section will locate the particularities of the Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangement between TFI and the Delhi government. Here, the Delhi government will refer to the respective municipal corporations and the Directorate of School Education (DoE), which is responsible for all administrative matters pertaining to school education.

This will be followed by a demographic overview of the number of government schools the programme is working in at present and situate the sample of Fellows interviewed as part of this research study. The final section discusses the teaching and administrative arrangements that have come about within government schools as a result of this intervention. This section will also examine the city-specific support and mentorship system which guides Fellows teaching practices and fellowship experiences. Program Managers of the TFI team in Delhi were also interviewed and their observations have been used to discuss the city-specific support and mentorship system.

5.1 Overview of the school system in Delhi
The government school system in Delhi is internally heterogeneous and demarcated along different parameters of levels of schooling and management. The majority of schools offering primary education (Classes I to V) are under the administration of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), which was trifurcated in 2012 and has three important divisions based on

broad regional parameters: the North Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC), the East Delhi Municipal Corporation (EDMC) and the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC). Apart from these main municipal bodies, there is also the New Delhi Municipal Council and the Delhi Cantonment Board that manage a mix of schools offering primary, upper primary (Classes VI to VIII), secondary (Classes IX and X) and senior secondary (Classes XI and XII) education.

While the primary focus of these municipal bodies is on the first few years of elementary education, the Delhi Directorate of Education (DoE) is the next prominent authority managing schools offering higher levels of education. It manages a range of schools offering upper primary, secondary and senior secondary education. Most students who complete primary education in municipal schools move onto feeder schools administered by the DoE in their respective regions. Sarvodaya schools come under the purview of administration of the DoE. There are some Sarvodaya schools that offer education from Class I to XII while most offer education only from Class VI to XII.

A select segment of model schools under the DoE offering education from Class VI to XII are the Rajkiya Pratibha Vikas Vidyalayas. These schools select meritorious students from other government schools through state-level examinations and have facilities at par with some private unaided schools in the city. There is a control on the pupil-teacher ratios in these schools, ensuring better classroom engagements.

Two other types of government schools are the Kendriya Vidyalayas (KV) and the residential Navodaya Vidyalayas (NV), both of which are under the authority of the Ministry of Human Resource and Development (MHRD). The KVs run by the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan under the MHRD were established to cater to children of Central government employees who are in transferable jobs throughout the country, while the NVs are residential co-educational schools offering education from Class VI to XII. Admission into the NVs is based on a state-level examination administered by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) at the class VI level. For the meritorious students selected into the NVs, education is completely free of cost[40] (see Table 5.1).

---

40 This information on schools has been taken from the Delhi Directorate of Education and MHRD websites, as on March 2016.

Table 5.1: Distribution of government schools in Delhi

Government school by management	Number of schools
MCD	1795
New Delhi Municipal Council	77
Delhi Cantonment Board	06
Directorate of Education	1022
Kendriya Vidyalayas	44
Navodaya Vidyalayas	02

(Source: Delhi Directorate of Education website)

Within this heterogeneous system of government schooling, the MCD schools which provide free education are at the bottom of the hierarchy in terms of the class and caste composition of the children who study in these institutions. Most of the parents of these children are involved in daily wage occupations and have migrated to Delhi due to economic or agrarian distress in their native villages (Ramachandran 2006).

A prominent feature of the teaching structure in these primary schools under the MCD is that a government teacher transitions through grades along with her batch of students, implying that a government teacher who begins teaching a group of students in Class I remains with that group till they finish Class V and leave to enrol for upper primary education in feeder schools administered under the DoE. The teacher then begins a new teaching cycle from Class I with a new batch of students. As per the NCTE guidelines 2001, government teachers for the primary section are required to have either a diploma in basic teacher's training of a duration not less than two years or a Bachelors' degree in Elementary Education (BElEd) and must have qualified the Central Teacher Eligibility Test (CTET) administered by the CBSE.

This larger structure of teaching in MCD schools has also significantly been altered by the increasing contractualisation of government teachers in recent years[41]. Teachers are increasingly being employed on contract basis in MCD schools. Contract teachers have to renew their employment annually with the MCD and can be shifted to different municipal schools based on particular school needs.

---

41 Information based on informal interviews conducted with school teachers working in MCD schools in 2014-2016.

In a study examining the schooling of children of the urban poor in Mumbai and Delhi, Banerji (2000) points to how systems of teacher recruitment in these cities are highly bureaucratised and teachers have little or no support from the Municipal Corporation. This leads to most teachers operating in highly constrained environments with high pupil-teacher ratios and working largely towards system driven demands of completing the syllabus, administering exams and engaging in other mandatory school and local administrative work.

Ramachandran (2006) also mentions the social distance between 'teachers (who are middle class) and a vast majority of students (who come from extremely poor families)' as a prominent reason for high drop-out rates as children are routinely verbally abused and subjected to corporal punishment which affects their self-esteem and confidence.

It is within this larger social context of poor schooling infrastructure, quality and rigid teaching environment that in 2009-2010 around 267 municipal schools were selected to start separate English medium sections across grades. Each class, from Class I to Class V, was to have a separate English medium section. An MCD circular, dated July 5, 2010, explains the introduction as a means to cater to the growing aspirations among poor parents and the high fee structure in English medium private schools:

> In the present era of intense competition, economically backward people are also very keen to get their children educated in English medium schools, but due to very high fee structure in English medium private schools, they are unable to get their children educated in such schools. Therefore keeping this in view, 267 English medium sections of Class I in 267 schools of MCD (one section in one school of each of 267 wards) were approved by MCD vide its Resolution No. 239 dated 14-10-2009.

These schools with separate English medium sections were to have a maximum intake of 40 students in a section and preference was to be given to children who had completed their nursery education in either an MCD school or a nearby aided or recognised private school. The circular mandated that prescribed and prevalent admission rules and regulations would be followed in the admission of students to the English medium section. However, in the event that the number of children aspiring for admission exceeded 40, admission would be made through a lottery system by a committee constituted by the Director of Education.

Basic amenities concerning infrastructure, electricity, potable drinking water, desks and toilets would be made on a priority basis in these select schools. With regard to teachers, the circular mentioned:

Teachers of the same school who are competent to teach through English medium will be assigned the task of teaching in the proposed English medium section/class. Teachers competent to teach through English medium and working in other MCD schools can also be transferred to the proposed Nigam Pratibha Vidyalaya to meet the demand of capable teachers to teach through English medium.

The creation of these separate English medium sections in select schools by the Municipal Corporation was an important precedent to the entry of NGOs such as 'Teach for India' within MCD schools. These English medium sections were in some measures aimed to be select spaces having priority regarding provision of basic amenities, infrastructure, 'competent' teachers and controlled pupil-teacher ratios.

It is important to note here that grades having separate sections based on language of instruction were not new in the Delhi government school system. Some Sarvodaya schools administered under the Delhi Directorate of Education have had these divisions of English and Hindi medium sections since the 1990s (Vaish 2008). In these separate English medium sections, as Vaish (2008) notes, government school teachers simultaneously used English and Hindi to teach different subjects. Thus having a separate English medium section did not mean that English was the only medium of instruction. This was because the children in the Sarvodaya schools did not come from families where English was spoken in their homes. The school was the first site for them to be introduced to the language. Government school teachers used pedagogical practices of choral recitation in English followed by sentence-by-sentence translation into Hindi to teach the English language in the classroom. Memorisation of words and sentences in English was also an important part of the teaching-learning processes in these classrooms. Vaish (2008: 46) refers to these teaching practices as a 'culturally situated pedagogy that is ecologically harmonious with the contexts of biliteracy that the children bring to the classroom'. While from the perspective of English Language Teaching (ELT) in countries where English is spoken as a first language, these pedagogical practices would be considered mindless and rote-based, in the Indian context these practices were rooted in age-old religious traditions of learning that placed a high value on recitation, enunciation and memorisation (Ibid).

In some ways, the reasons for introducing separate English medium sections in municipal schools were similar to the reasons for their introduction in Sarvodaya schools. However, there were important points of divergence. For the first time, the Delhi government school system was opening out its English medium sections to a group of individuals who had no

formal teaching qualifications or experience. The TFI Fellows were largely graduates and professionals who had been exposed to some teaching strategies over a five-week period at the organisation's training institute in Pune. Their teaching practices were also geared towards very different aims within the school system as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The following section examines the process of entry of TFI into a select segment of government schools in Delhi. It also discusses the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between TFI and the Municipal Corporation of Delhi.

5.2. The MoU between TFI and the Delhi government

In April 2011, negotiations between the members of 'Teach for India' and the South Delhi Municipal Commissioner led to the signing of an Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (see Appendix I). Sadhana, a member from the Government Relations team of TFI in Delhi, recollected the reasons which allowed TFI to enter a select segment of government schools in Delhi:

> "I think municipal corporation was selected because I think they did not have a strong bar of teacher accreditation…we are not telling our Fellows are teachers, but they are additional teaching resources which was right. So that we are trying to pitch in and at that time Nigam Pratibha Vidyalaya, the English-medium classrooms in the corporations started I think in 2010 or so and 2011 was the right time to talk to them because Director also thought they are not having enough bandwidth or capacity to cater to the English-medium classrooms because for years they have been in Hindi-medium. So their teachers are very good, but at the same time, English as a competency was missing I think, which she did not say but somewhere it was coming out of that conversation, that yes we need your support".

The MoU was signed for a period of three years from the date of execution and subject to a yearly renewal. This agreement with the SDMC was extended for another six years in 2013. The organisation entered into similar agreements with the NDMC in 2012 and the EDMC in 2013.

In MCD schools, Fellows were to work in English medium sections of classes II, III, IV and V. Fellows entered English medium sections of Class VI in schools managed by the DoE in 2014 through an informal partnership[42].

---

42 The MoU with the MCD was accessed through a series of Right to Information (RTI) applications filed at the SDMC, NDMC and the EDMC in early 2015. Similar efforts were made to access the terms of the partnership with the DoE, however, no information was made available to me. I was told in categorical terms that there was no formal MoU between the DoE and 'Teach for India'. I was given only one response through an RTI application that provided a list of the DoE schools that the intervention was working in. I spoke with a member from the Government Relations Team of 'Teach for India' to find details regarding the terms and conditions of the 'partnership' with the DoE. The member mentioned that there was a very informal sort of agreement made on the lines of a MoU but without any formal binding obligations between the DoE and 'Teach for India'. I procured this information in August 2015.

Six important domains were delineated through a reading of the MoU document. This included domains concerning the administrative arrangement, pedagogical focus, financial transactions, support structures, community development and other mandatory responsibilities of 'Teach for India' Fellows to the MCD department.

A. Administrative arrangement

The terms of the MoU referred to the arrangement as an "access to excellent teaching resources". It stated clearly that the first line of formal authority for the Fellows was their own organisation. However, within the school space, it was also required that the Fellows work under the supervision of the school principal. Fellows were entitled only to five days of leave as per 'Teach for India' guidelines and could request for casual or emergency leave based on the school principal's recommendation. The Education Department was to ensure the maintenance and upkeep of the Fellows' classrooms and allow 'Teach for India' senior members to interact with school officials to build relations. Fellows' classrooms were to be supervised by 'Teach for India's' City Team members, but were open to be observed by MCD officials and respective school principals as well.

> Fellows will report to TFI, and their letters of engagement will clearly state that their teaching in schools is under the auspices of TFI and does not entitle them to claim employment with the Education Department, MCD. However, TFI will regularly seek feedback from the officers and officials of Education Department, MCD school (e.g. Principal etc.) and other Education Department, MCD officials regarding the Fellows' performances and act accordingly (page 3).

They were also permitted to hold Parent-Teacher Meetings to interact with the families of their class students. With regard to the role of the Fellow within the classroom, the MoU allowed for ample autonomy ensuring that they did not have to share in the regular administrative responsibilities of school teachers.

> Fellows will not be responsible for collecting fees and will not be engaged in other duties during their classroom hours (page 3).

Another important condition in the MoU was that 'Teach for India' shall have long term access to the same group of students ensuring that Fellows move up grades with their students. As Fellows remained with a class only for a period of two years, this clause ensured that 'Teach for India' classrooms were cyclically provided new Fellows every two years. It

also stated that Fellows would not replace existing MCD teachers in English medium sections.

B. Pedagogical Focus

The long term pedagogical aim as mentioned in the MoU was to equip students with the necessary English language 'skills' to perform well in the Class X CBSE Board examination. There was an important stress on how the intervention was to increase attendance levels and curb dropouts in the long term. Classroom size was particularly emphasised as the MoU restricts the pupil-teacher ratio in a Fellow's classroom to 40:1 and provides for additional support in the event that more than 40 students are admitted.

> The ideal class-size for a classroom would be in the range of 25-40 students. If the number of students in a class is over 40, TFI will either split the class into two separate classrooms (wherever possible) or place 2 Fellows in the class to co-teach (page 2).

Fellows were accorded considerable freedom with regard to the teaching-learning processes in their classrooms. They focused only on English, Maths and Environmental Studies (in the medium of English) and were exempted from teaching regional languages (Hindi, Urdu and others).

> Fellows will teach all subjects except 2nd and 3rd languages (e.g. Hindi, Urdu, etc.) to students in Standards 2nd and onwards in English medium classrooms with the medium of instruction as English. The senior officers of MCD may inspect these classes during school hours and also seek feedback from the students (page 3).

Fellows were expected to follow the Board's curriculum but could also supplement the same with a range of additional resources:

> Fellows will supplement the Board's curriculum with their own/TFI provided grade level teaching material (e,g, storybooks to develop reading fluency, independently develop worksheets) (page 2).

The MoU allowed Fellows to have additional support in the form of volunteers to assist them in the teaching-learning processes within the classroom. To enhance the learning experiences of students, Fellows could take their respective class students for field visits and excursions. They were also permitted to take remedial classes after school for 'weaker' students.

Assessment was an important aspect of these teaching processes. Here the MoU allowed Fellows to track their class students' performance periodically based on assessments

developed by 'Teach for India' as well as the regular exams administered by the MCD. There was a strong emphasis on getting children to read, write and speak in English.

Through objective impact assessment, Education Department, MCD will be able to systematically track the impact and results achieved by Fellows in classrooms. TFI will periodically share with MCD all assessments administered in the classrooms. TFI will provide all children the ability to read, write and converse in English (page 1).

It provided much flexibility to the Fellows within the domain of assessment, especially keeping in mind the long term aim of preparing students for the CBSE Class X Board examination. One clause in particular permitted Fellows to assess students in government teachers' classes as well:

In order to equip students to perform well in the long term (standard 10 CBSE Board exams), in the short-term it is critical to build foundational skills in students given the extent of achievement gap. Therefore, Education Department, MCD will provide flexibility to Fellows to supplement CBSE test papers with internally developed skill-based assessments that enable them to address the achievement gap without getting weighed down by the pressure of achieving high marks in content based CBSE tests. MCD School Board will allow TFI to conduct internally developed student assessments to gauge and ensure impact on student achievement and this may also include assessing students in classrooms not taught by TFI Fellows, as a control group (page 5).

Here, the language of the clause suggested that in the course of preparing students to be 'exam ready' there would be no undue pressure on 'Teach for India' Fellows to ensure that their students 'get high marks'. The permission to assess government teachers' classrooms pointed to an underlying intention to compare 'performances' of children in government classrooms and 'Teach for India' classrooms. It allowed an undue advantage to the organisation to encroach into spaces beyond their immediate control.

While there was some mention in the MoU of the various ways in which Fellows could expand their teaching processes within the classroom, there was an overarching emphasis by the MCD on how these teaching processes must ensure periodic assessments that can produce 'objective' and 'measurable' data that can indicate levels of 'achievement' among children. The MoU also clearly stated that the work experience that Fellows gained as part of the two-

year fellowship would not entitle them to apply for official teaching positions within MCD schools.

C. Financial transactions

The MoU mentioned that the MCD would not be responsible for the payment of stipends to the Fellows. All financial issues related to Fellows would be handled by the 'Teach for India' organisation directly. In Delhi, TFI paid Fellows a stipend of Rs. 17,500 along with a sum of Rs. 8,300 as House Rent Allowance per month. The organisation also provided Fellows with some reimbursement of stationary and field trip expenses incurred on a monthly basis.[43]

D. Support and training

As a part of this arrangement, senior guiding members of 'Teach for India's' City Team would be allowed to enter MCD schools to observe 'Teach for India' classrooms and guide Fellows in their classroom engagements. The MoU also allowed Fellows to participate in conferences, meetings and workshops conducted by their organisation as part of their mentorship system.

E. Community development

An interesting clause in the MoU stated that Fellows should work in capacities beyond their classroom and help implement projects that can contribute directly to improving 'school-community' relationships.

> Beyond classroom hours, in their 2nd year of the Fellowship, they will work on a Project to help the Education Department, MCD realize its vision of providing excellent education by addressing barriers to education, identified by the Fellows through their work and interactions with teachers, officers and systems for the school, creating counselling programs and improving the school-community relationship. (page 4)

This clause linked to 'Teach for India's' own emphasis for Fellows to expand their imaginary of 'community development' beyond the space of the classroom.

F. Other responsibilities

The 'Teach for India' organisation was expected to submit regular reports to the MCD on their work and engagements with schools and the school community. This was especially

---

43   Information on stipend and reimbursement was procured through interviews with Fellows.

important with regard to the data collected by the organisation in their respective classrooms through their independent assessments. The MoU also allowed 'Teach for India' to document its interactions with class students and staff within the school premises through various means including photographs and videos.

A reading of the MoU across these six aspects underscored the small but pertinent ways in which the MCD was allowing private organisations such as TFI to enter and shape aspects of teaching-learning within English medium sections in a select segment of government schools. While the central premise of the partnership with TFI was to prepare students to pass the CBSE Board examinations, this proposal also entailed a series of measures which restructured certain crucial aspects of teaching within the government school system in order to accommodate the Fellows. It allowed for the creation of a parallel institutional regime within the school sites where Fellows were to be largely governed and answerable to the TFI's support and mentorship system. Regarding their work of teaching, the focus was to teach children necessary 'skills' of literacy and numeracy and establish the necessary technological infrastructure to enable processes of regular assessments. Fellows were to teach only select subjects of English, Social Studies, Maths and Science in the medium of English. The MoU asked for government teachers of regional language subjects to be 'provided' to TFI classrooms but it did not prescribe any formal requirements for Fellows to have any competency in regional languages. This is of significance because the schools in which Fellows taught, as has been mentioned in the earlier section, were largely inhabited by first generation learners with no formal understanding of English.

Fellows were allowed certain freedoms which were not available to regular government teachers. This included not engaging in administrative work in schools, taking their class children for frequent school trips and excursions and some autonomy to teach using diverse methods and resources outside the prescribed curriculum and objectives.

Where the MoU provided Fellows these select freedoms regarding teaching, it also restricted Fellows from formally applying for teaching positions within MCD schools after the completion of the TFI fellowship. At one level this restriction was due to the fact that Fellows did not have the necessary qualifications according to the NCTE 2001 guidelines to teach in government schools.

However, at another level this restriction was to also keep in mind the vast economy of contract teachers in the Delhi government school system who could not be legally ignored to facilitate the entry of Fellows as formal teachers within the government school system, especially when Fellows did not have the requisite teacher qualifications.

The PPP arrangement of TFI with the Delhi government operated on an ambivalent platform as Fellows were not referred to as 'teachers' in the MoU but as 'teaching resources'. The emphasis in the MoU for Fellows to engage in tasks beyond the classroom such as initiating community development projects also pointed to an underlying conviction that Fellows were not merely 'teachers'. The previous chapter has described the broad framework of TFI's thrust on building 'leadership' attributes through the project of teaching underprivileged students. It was interesting to note similar aspects of 'leadership development' within the discourse of the MoU as well.

In the following section, a profile of the schools the organisation is associated with will be presented followed by a discussion on the sample of Fellows and the teaching and administrative arrangements within their school sites.

5.3 The TFI in Delhi: An overview of TFI schools and sample of respondents

A. School Profile of 'Teach for India'

'Teach for India' was working in a mixture of government, low-income private and NGO schools in Delhi (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: School profile of 'Teach for India' (2014-2015) in Delhi

Government				Private		Total
SDMC	NDMC	EDMC	DoE	Low-income private schools	NGO schools	
21	9	7	30	10	4	
67				14		81

(Source: TFI Government Relations Team)

108

As a proportion of the total number of government schools, it was found that the intervention was working in less than 3 per cent of government schools (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: TFI schools as a percentage of government schools

Total no. of TFI govt. schools	Total no. of MCD schools	Total no. of DoE schools	Percentage
67	1795	1022	2.37 per cent

There were a total of 285 Fellows[44], as of October 2015, working across government and private schools in the city. Within government schools, the SDMC had the largest concentration of Fellows[45]. This study draws on narratives of 15 Fellows teaching across eight government schools in Delhi. The following section situates the sample of Fellows demographically discussing details of the respective schools and grades they were teaching in.

B. School and Grade Profile of Fellows in the sample

Majority of the Fellows in this sample taught in municipal schools administered under the SDMC, one Fellow taught in a school administered under the NDMC and four Fellows taught in upper primary grades in two DoE schools in South Delhi (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: School and Grade Profile of Fellows

Fellow	School	Administrative division	Grade (as in 2014-2015)	Cohort
Payal	NPV, Samarpur*	SDMC	II	2014-2016
Manav			III	2013-2015
Kartik			IV	2013-2015
Dhara			V	2013-2015
Sanjay	NPV, Taimur Sarai*	SDMC	II	2014-2016
Hari			III	2013-2015

---

44 Here the number of Fellows includes those who are in the second year of their fellowship (2014-2016) and those who have just entered the fellowship as of July, 2015.

45 Information based on an interview with a member from the National team of 'Teach for India' in Mumbai in October, 2015.

Chandni			IV	2014-2016
Amit	NPV, Golnagar*	SDMC	III	2013-2015
Anita	NPV, Paradise Gardens*	SDMC	V	2013-2015
Naina	NPV, Billavapuram*	SDMC	V	2013-2015
Vineet	NPV, Sonia Vihar*	NDMC	IV	2014-2016
Girish	DoE, Golnagar*	DoE, South Delhi	VI	2014-2016
Trisha			VI	2014-2016
Neeraj	DoE, Billavapuram*	DoE, South Delhi	VI	2014-2016
Ravi			VI	2014-2016

*Names of localities have been changed to maintain confidentiality

The teacher-pupil ratio in Fellows' classrooms across primary grades (classes II to V) in MCD schools was maintained at 1:40. Fellows in these English medium sections of primary grades in MCD schools were often singularly responsible for most of the teaching tasks in these classrooms.

Pupil-teacher ratios were high in DoE schools, where a single English medium section of a certain grade could often have a population of 70 or more students. Thus 'Teach for India' often assigned two Fellows per section in upper primary grades to maintain the teacher-pupil ratio of 1:40.

Keeping these regulations of teacher-pupil ratios in mind, Girish and Trisha were assigned to teach the Class VI English medium section in a DoE school at Golnagar, while Neeraj and Ravi were assigned to teach the Class VI English medium section in a DoE school at Billavapuram.

The following section describes the specific teaching and administrative arrangements that have emerged within the government school site with the entry of 'Teach for India'

5.4 Parallel regimes

This section elaborates on the larger institutional and pedagogical arrangements that were instituted within school sites with the entry of TFI. It begins with explaining the new

110

institutional structures which operated within the school system. One of the important aspects of this new institutional structure is the city-specific support and mentorship system which guides Fellows' teaching practices and journey through the two-year fellowship.

The next section then situates the new teaching and testing regimes that have come about within the government school space with the coming of TFI. This involves a discussion on how the programme has altered structures of teaching and assessment within school sites. These sections provide a broad overview of the government school system, its interface with TFI and the specific regimes which govern the teaching and assessment processes conducted by Fellows and government teachers. What these institutional and pedagogical arrangements entailed in terms of the nature of professional relationships between Fellows, the school principal and the school teachers will be discussed in a later chapter.

A. New institutional structures

There were two distinct institutional regimes within the government school site – 'the government school regime' and the 'TFI regime'. As Figure 5.1 shows, the 'government school regime' referred to an existing bureaucratic administrative hierarchy which had school teachers at the bottom and the MCD education officials at the top of the system. In this hierarchy, the school teachers were answerable to the school principal who was in turn governed by school inspection officials working under the respective MCD department. A similar parallel administrative hierarchy existed for TFI with Fellows at the bottom and the Delhi TFI team at the top of the system. Fellows were largely answerable to Program Managers who supervised them. Program Managers in turn worked under the guidance of Senior Program Managers who in turn had to report to senior administrative members of the Delhi TFI team.

The 'TFI regime' within the school system interfaced with the 'government school regime' on some aspects and had some autonomy with regard to other aspects. An important point of interface between the 'TFI regime' and the 'government school regime' according to the MoU explained earlier in this chapter was that school principals and MCD officials could inspect Fellows' classrooms on a regular basis. This alluded to a certain radius of government authority under which Fellows were to work within the government school system. However, as the arrows in Figure 5.1 suggest, the nature of these inspections of Fellows' classrooms by

school principals and MCD officials were of an unofficial nature. Fellows work in schools was largely regulated under their respective parallel institutional structure. This was the support and mentorship system of the Delhi TFI team.

Figure 5.1: Institutional regimes within the municipal school

l
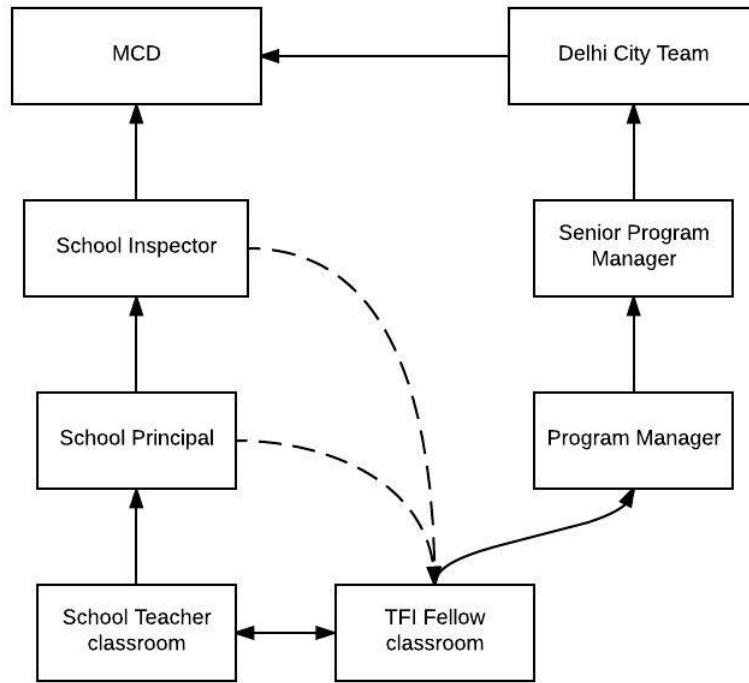
B. Support and Mentorship system of the Delhi TFI team

The systemic support structure available to a Fellow at the school level included their co-Fellows teaching different grades in the same school, the respective Program Manager who guided their teaching practices in the classroom and the larger extended community of Fellows and organisation members working in Delhi and other cities.

The city team structure as elaborated in the previous chapter comprised of an Administrative arm and a Fellowship arm. Fellows were largely guided under the Fellowship arm of the city team structure. In Delhi, Fellows working across government and low-income private schools were divided into teams of 18 to 20 members and each team had to report to an assigned Program Manager. These teams were referred to as Program Manager (PM) teams[46].

The first point of contact for a Fellow within her PM team was the Program Manager. The Program Manager, on most occasions, was a former TFI Fellow who was familiar with the routines of school level teaching. Fellows were exposed to certain rudimentary aspects of developing unit based class plans for teaching and assessment processes at the Summer Institute in Pune. Program Managers in Delhi further guided Fellows through these processes as they began to teach in classrooms.

I. Assisting with teaching practices within the classroom

The aim of a unit plan, which spanned a duration of six weeks was to outline specific objectives for the teaching of subjects such as English, Maths and Social Studies and the perceived learning outcomes of these teaching objectives. As Kirti, a Program Manager in the Delhi TFI team explained:

> "So for example like how to make a unit plan, how to set a vision, how to look at data. Its very much the basic skills that you are building at that point in time in Fellows right, like okay look at your data and tell me what you can see, tell me what are the patterns, that kind of stuff just for them to start building data analysis, build vision setting, building the skill you are planning, those kind of things".

According to her, Fellows needed to understand how to 'build vision', 'look at data' and 'study patterns'. The emphasis here was to institute certain structures of teaching and

---

46 All the Fellows in this study, with the exception of one Fellow, taught in different government schools in South Delhi. They were teaching across grades II to VI during the time of the field study conducted between 2014 and 2015. Some Fellows within this sample were part of the same PM team and reported to common Program Managers, while other Fellows belonged to different PM teams and reported to different Program Managers.

assessment that allowed Fellows to equate processes of learning with clear cut 'learning outcomes'. How Fellows developed these structures within the classroom and executed their tasks as teachers was also supervised by Program Managers regularly through the routine of classroom observations.

During the initial phase of their fellowship, Program Managers were more hands on in acquainting Fellows with processes of unit planning and setting systems of classroom management in place. Most Fellows noted that classroom observations took place once a month, wherein the Program Manager visited a school and spent close to 30 minutes each in different Fellows classrooms observing Literacy and Maths transactions. These routines of observation were most often pre-planned and Fellows had to submit their unit plans to their respective Program Managers a day or a week in advance. The Program Manager observed Fellows teaching across different grades in the respective school and then provided feedback on the Fellows' modes of teaching keeping in mind the Fellows' previously prepared unit plans. These feedback sessions often took place on the same day as the classroom observations.

As Fellows gained some confidence and set up regular routines of teaching and assessment, Program Managers focused their attention on building discussions around 'leadership development' and organising meetings to discuss future opportunities available to Fellows after the completion of the fellowship.

There were two kinds of discussions that Program Managers organised for their team members. The first kind of discussion was group based and involved more regular meetings between the Program Manager and her team of Fellows where the conversation was largely focused around the classroom. Aspects of 'community development' and 'leadership development' featured in these regular discussions as well but they were largely connected to the ecosystem of the school and the families of the children who studied there. These regular group sessions were of two kinds: 'Learning Circles' (LC) and 'Grade Level Circles' (GLC).

The second kind of discussion facilitated by the Program Manager was oriented towards the individual Fellow and her goals beyond the classroom. This form of discussion between the Program Manager and the Fellow was termed the 'Leadership Development Journey' (LDJ) conversation.

II. Learning Circles and Grade-level Circles

'Learning Circles' as most Fellows observed were group based meetings led by Program Managers to connect classroom concerns with projects of 'community building' and 'leadership' that Fellows could consider initiating within the school ecosystem or within the urban communities where the children resided. Sanjay, a Fellow from the 2014-2016 cohort noted:

> "He [Program Manager] says Learning circle is space where we zoom out, classroom ke baare mein main debrief mein tumhe bata deta hoon, how can we zoom out and see how we have grown as a professional or as a teacher or as a human being. So learning circles are a space where we discuss each other's roles in education, roles in society and how we can contribute to a variety of things".

Fellows often used the forum to discuss means of engaging with school staff, building confidence measures amongst themselves as team members and routes to enter internships and secure jobs that linked their experience and interests.

'Grade Level Circles', as Kirti explained engaged directly with classroom based processes:

> "So a GLC is mostly focussed on, so in the beginning right what I told you about LCs was like we were doing a lot of skill building. The GLC is basically focussed on classroom outcomes, how to make them better. The Learning Circle is focussed on your skills, how you make them stronger. So the divide is very much as technical stuff that you need to do for your kids in GLCs and learning circles is very much like skill-building for yourself. Or reflection for yourself".

These GLC sessions were organised for Fellows teaching specific grades and were largely led by second year Fellows (called Fellow Advisors (FA)) for first year Fellows. These sessions dealt with Fellows' grade level specific struggles regarding teaching methods and assessment processes for Literacy and Maths components. As second year Fellows had had a year's experience of handling the classroom, it was felt that they could relate more directly with first year Fellows doubts and experiences. These sessions were conducted on a weekly basis in most PM teams and Fellows had much freedom to collaborate across PM teams in Delhi based on their particular requirements.

In order to encourage Fellows to explore opportunities within the social sector, Program Managers also connected Fellows with a number of NGOs in Delhi and other cities as well. The Delhi city team conducted conferences every month where individuals working in different capacities in education and the development sector were invited to present talks and lead discussions. These forums were to act as key sites through which Fellows could explore prospective job opportunities after the fellowship.

116

Apart from these sessions, an important facet of the mentorship system were the LDJ conversations that were conducted twice a year by the Program Manager with her respective team Fellows. These were one on one conversations between the Program Manager and the Fellow where the larger purpose was to assess the performance of the Fellow on the LDJ rubric. Certain key aspects of this LDJ rubric have been discussed in the previous chapter. The purpose of the LDJ conversation was to evaluate Fellows' work both within the classroom and link these experiences with their own personal goals and aspirations with regard to the fellowship.

III. LDJ Conversations

The LDJ conversations between the Program Manager and the Fellow centred around the LDJ rubric which has been explained in the previous chapter. This framework comprised of two scales: the Student Vision Scale (SVS) and the Fellow Commitments Scale (FCS).

All Fellows saw the LDJ conversations as an organisational mandate through which their individual performance was assessed not only within the classroom but also alongside their personal goals of 'growth' and 'leadership' as envisioned by them during the course of the fellowship. The foundation of the conversation was built on 'evidence' that the Fellows provided to the Program Managers regarding their engagements within the classroom, the school, the community and the city at large. 'Evidence' here according to the Fellows meant a variety of artefacts within and outside the classroom. Inside the classroom it included most importantly the performance of students in standardised tests of Literacy and Maths, videos and observations that validated a certain kind of classroom culture where students spoke in English and adhered to the guidelines instituted by the respective Fellow. Participation of students in diverse extracurricular activities organised by Fellows also added to the account of 'evidence'.

How Fellows progressed along the LDJ rubric depended largely on how Program Managers judged the individual work of the Fellows through classroom observations, participation in group sessions such as LCs and GLCs, collaborations with other team members and involvement in projects that extended beyond the classroom.

Sameera, a Program Manager, emphasised the need for Fellows to collaborate with other Fellows and get involved in projects outside the classroom:

"So there are direct parallels between Student Vision Scale and Fellow Commitments Scale. I mean if you look at the Fellow Commitments Scale, it moves from not reflecting at all to independently producing experiences for yourself in all aspects of your life. Then if you look at Collective Action it starts with like not working with anybody but working alone to like working with multiple stakeholders in order to multiply our organizations effect […] So if you look at direct parallels in a very mundane sense, like somebody who's been planning alone in classroom, is probably doing really great in class, but can do even better with their time and get engaged into doing different projects if they start working on collective action, if they start working with other people".

Most Fellows believed that a lot of how they were assessed on the LDJ rubric depended on how successfully they could convince their Program Manager on the nature of 'evidence' they provided. This is evident in Sanjay's observations of his LDJ conversation with his Program Manager, Varun.

"You rank yourself and then there's a discussion, so the PM will ask why do you think you rated yourself 3 on Collective Action. So obviously as a person if I'm rating myself some number, I will have reasons for it. so I discuss that, like I rated myself a 4, so I discussed I am collectively working with all the grade 2 Fellows in my divisional area, we collaborate, we plan together. And I even call up randomly all the teachers around me, to check how they are doing. We discuss structures, if what is working in my class can work where, so I am working on the collective action in a very good way. […] I even talk to many other people in InspiRED, I know many people. I have visiting cards galore. So that means I am working on that bit […] I tell Varun that I have to bring in people from my corporate background to come and visit my class, maybe involve them in this drive of educational equity. Then maybe I can call myself as a 4…"

He mentioned how each of his actions connected as substantial 'evidence' to certain strands of the FCS and how he imagined this would lead him to gaining a higher rating on the LDJ rubric. The clear incentive for most Fellows was to record as many 'evidences' as possible both within the classroom and outside which would directly influence a good rating on the LDJ rubric[47].

The entry of TFI also reoriented certain important structural aspects of the school system. This included the different divisions in teaching and administrative tasks between government teachers and Fellows. The organisation also instituted parallel systems of assessment within the government school sites.

C. New structures of teaching and assessment in government schools

A clear division existed between Fellows and government teachers within government schools with regard to administrative responsibilities and the teaching of subjects across

---

47 Fellows also noted that data collected by the organisation on their performance on the LDJ rubric was also used to showcase the largescale performance of TFI to corporate sponsors in order to secure funding.

English and Hindi medium sections. Processes of teaching in government schools were in turn linked to a cycle of assessments. 'Teach for India' was also instrumental in introducing new cycles of assessment in English medium sections of primary and upper-primary grades in government schools.

I. New divisions in teaching tasks and administrative work

Fellows assigned to the English medium sections of grades II to V in MCD schools focused on teaching English, Maths and Environmental Studies (EVS) in their classrooms. As Fellows were not required to have a competency in Hindi or other regional languages and were not responsible for teaching regional language based subjects according to the MoU, government teachers of the Hindi medium sections of grades II to V were assigned this additional responsibility. Thus government teachers of Hindi medium sections of grades II to V in MCD schools taught Hindi and another subject similar to Social Studies referred to as 'Samajhik Vigyaan' in the medium of Hindi in TFI classrooms[48].

In some schools, there were informal arrangements between individual Fellows and individual government teachers of Hindi medium sections across grades II to VI regarding the teaching of some subjects. In these arrangements, during the periods in which the government teacher of the Hindi medium section would teach Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' to children in the English medium section, the TFI Fellow would concurrently teach English to the children in the Hindi medium section.

There were also a few cases where the MCD had assigned government teachers to some English medium sections where Fellows were already working. In these select cases, the parallel government teacher of the Hindi medium section was not responsible for the teaching of Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' in the English medium section. The assigned government teacher for the English medium section was to teach these subjects instead.

In grades VI and above, Fellows were also expected to teach the Social Studies and Science subjects as well. Similar divisions of teaching tasks as in the primary grades of MCD schools operated in the upper primary grades of DoE schools. Government teachers of Hindi medium sections of upper primary grades in DoE schools were expected to teach the language based

---

48 The subjects English, Maths, Social Studies (EVS) and Hindi were taught through the 2009 NCERT textbooks. 'Samajhik Vigyaan' was taught through an old Delhi SCERT textbook.

subjects such as Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu in the DoE English medium sections where Fellows worked.

Apart from teaching tasks, government teachers were also entrusted with a host of administrative responsibilities in the school system. This included a number of tasks such as tabulating monthly attendance of students, keeping track of mid-day meal accounts, preparing pay slips for permanent and contract teachers, maintaining health cards of the children and issuing report cards[49].

The MoU exempted Fellows from all administrative responsibilities in the classroom. Apart from marking the daily attendance in the class register for her respective English medium section, all other administrative work for the Fellow's classroom was handled by the government teacher in charge of the Hindi medium section of the respective grade. Amit, a Fellow from the 2013 to 2015 cohort, spoke of these differing administrative responsibilities:

> "Filling up marks, attendance, filling up the register names, but I would say ke 20% I did, 80% my class teacher [of the Hindi medium section] did […] kyunke Principal ma'am would say ke no let the MCD teachers do the admin work because it's official work so I prefer that the government officials do and not you guys."

The ambivalent location of TFI Fellows in the government schools was alluded to in his description. Here, administrative work was categorised as 'official' work which could be handled only by government employees namely the government teachers.

Thus the government teacher of the Hindi medium section for a grade was responsible for double the administrative work, both for the Hindi medium section as well as the English medium section.

II. Regimes of assessment: 'Government cycle' and 'TFI cycle'

The Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) was the general system of evaluation in the Delhi municipal school system. Under the RTE 2009 guidelines, the CCE system was to be a multi-dimensional process of evaluating students in various spheres (scholastic and non-scholastic) throughout the year through a series of curricular and extra-curricular activities. The process sought to replace older systems of examinations which assessed students through sets of tests at the middle and the end of the school year. However, the CCE

---

49 This information was provided by a government school teacher working in a municipal school under the NDMC.

reforms have largely remained unsuccessful. In various instances, the CCE has been reconfigured into a series of cyclical tests that have increased the workload of school teachers, reinforcing older ideas of examinations that the policy had sought to modify substantially (Nawani 2013)[50].

In the municipal schools where the TFI intervention was functioning, two cycles of assessment operated – 'the government cycle' and the 'TFI cycle'.

Government cycle in Nigam Pratibha Vidyalaya schools

In the 'government cycle', for classes I, II and III, there were a series of unit tests conducted internally by government teachers over the year as part of the CCE. From Class IV onwards, apart from the regular unit tests conducted internally by government teachers at the school level, there were two summative assessment tests that were centrally prepared by senior MCD education officials and administered across schools under the particular jurisdiction. As the school year began in July, these summative tests took place in September of one school year and March of the following year.

It is important to note here that while all students in municipal schools were tested in this manner and their performance was diligently recorded by government teachers, students studying in classes I to VIII were not detained in a particular grade as a result of their poor performance. This was due to the no-detention policy of the RTE 2009 regulations. Students who secured less than the pass percentage of 33 per cent in the unit tests and summative tests conducted by the government teachers were most often awarded the required marks by the government teachers and promoted to the next grade.

Apart from school level examinations, students from Class IV and V across MCD schools were also selected based on their school performance to appear for the Merit scholarship examination (Medhavi) administered by the MCD. This exam took place in February, towards the end of the school year, and the top three students from Class IV and V (across English and Hindi medium sections) were selected by the school to appear for the Medhavi

---

50 The implementation of CCE calls for several significant changes to the structural aspects of a teacher's role and daily work commitments within a school. It also emphasized reorienting teachers' perspectives on the value and function of assessments in the school life of the child. Due to the lack of critical engagement with these crucial aspects which necessitated not just reforming teacher education but also the bureaucratic apparatus of the school system which privileges standardised assessments, the CCE reforms have largely remained unsuccessful (Nawani 2013).

examination. Students who qualified the Medhavi examination were given a merit based scholarship through the MCD.

The Teach for India Cycle

Assessment preceded and directed the structures, routines and processes of teaching in a Fellow's classroom. The importance of assessment as being the foundation to teaching processes has been explored in the training module of the Fellows in the Summer Institute in Pune, the support and mentorship system of the city team and the LDJ rubric. In 'Redrawing India: The Teach for India Story', Gupta and Mistri (2014) defined impact by a 'Teach for India' Fellow as achieving '1.5 years of academic growth' within a classroom over the course of the two-year fellowship. Sanjay, Fellow (2014-2016), who began his fellowship in Class II at an MCD school explained '1.5 years of academic growth' further:

> "So if the RC [Reading Comprehension] average of my class is 0.5 at the start of the year and I achieve an average of 2 at the end of my fellowship it means I've achieved 1.5 years of growth".

The numbers that Sanjay mentioned indicated specific 'learning levels' that were determined through the administering of standardised assessments on a class of children. Thus the model of 'academic growth' for 'Teach for India' was tied explicitly to the performance of students in its three major standardised tests - Beginning of the Year (BoY), Middle of the Year (MoY) and End of the Year (EoY) – conducted at three junctures during the course of the school year. Every Fellow's classroom underwent two cycles of the BoY, MoY and EoY during the course of the fellowship (see Appendix J for details on tests). These standardised tests were developed by a private company 'Indus Learning'. Table 5.5 provides an overview of the 'TFI cycle' and 'government cycle' of tests from Class IV onwards.

Table 5.5: Assessment Cycles (from Class IV onwards)

Government Cycle of Tests			TFI Cycle of Tests		
Tests	**Time Frame**	**In-Charge**	**Tests**	**Time Frame**	**In-Charge**
Four Unit Tests	July, Aug, Nov and Jan	Govt teachers and Fellows	Weekly Tests	Through the year	Each Fellow handles it for his or her own section.
Summative Test I	September	Centrally administered through MCD	BoY	July	Centrally administered through TFI

					Delhi
Medhavi examination	February	Centrally administered through MCD	MoY	October	Centrally administered through TFI Delhi
Summative Test II	March	Centrally administered through MCD	EoY	March	Centrally administered through TFI Delhi

Apart from these three major standardised assessments which were prepared externally and administered by the Fellows in their respective classrooms, Fellows also regularly conducted weekly tests for Literacy and Maths in their respective English medium classrooms. These weekly tests were designed by the Fellow along similar patterns of the three major standardised assessments. The performance of the students in these weekly tests were to be largely used by the Fellows to map 'learning levels' in the class and re-orient teaching practices where needed. This data from the weekly tests was not centrally monitored by the organisation like the three important standardised assessments – BoY, MoY and EoY.

The marks that Fellows tabulated and collected based on the BoY, MoY and EoY cycle of tests for their respective classrooms were to be forwarded to their respective Program Managers in the Delhi city team. These marks were not shared with the government staff in the MCD and DoE schools[51]. The aggregate average scores of students on these standardised assessments (of Literacy and Maths) at the beginning and end of the two-year fellowship determined the 'impact' or 'performance' of the Fellow in his or her classroom.

There were certain key points with regard to the administering of these assessment cycles within English and Hindi medium sections that need further explanation. Where the Hindi medium section was to undergo only one set of tests every year as per 'the government cycle' explained above, the TFI Fellow's English medium section had to undergo two cycles of tests – 'the government cycle' as well as the 'TFI cycle'. Students in English medium classrooms were thus doubly assessed[52]. The following chapters will discuss how these larger

---

51 I base this observation on Fellows' statements that they did not share information on their students' performance in the standardised assessments conducted by TFI with their government peers. The MoU, however, states that such information must be shared with senior MCD officials. Whether the organisation followed up on these requirements was hard to ascertain. I did not get any information on these aspects through my RTI applications.

52 Fellows were often assigned to set test papers for the respective subjects that they taught in their classrooms – English, Maths, EVS, Social Studies and Science – as part of the unit tests for the 'government cycle' as

123

institutional and pedagogical arrangements shape teaching-learning processes in Fellows' classrooms and engagements of Fellows with the government staff in their schools.

Concluding Observations

This chapter began with an overview of the government school system in Delhi. The research study focuses on a segment of municipal government schools which are at the lowest end of the government school system hierarchy. These schools were characterised by a poor teaching-learning environment and a scarcity of resources. TFI sought to enter this segment of schools with the aim of providing quality English medium education.

An examination of the terms of the MoU between TFI and the Delhi government revealed a number of interesting aspects on the partnership. The MoU helped create a convenient autonomy for the TFI Fellow where she had to only focus on the teaching and assessment of select subjects without the burden of any administrative work. Fellows were accorded a number of freedoms in comparison with government teachers. This included engaging volunteers to assist with the teaching processes, collaborations with other NGOs for extracurricular activities and raising funds for improving teaching facilities in the classroom.

Fellows were mentored through the TFI team in Delhi during the course of their fellowship. Their processes of teaching and assessment in the classrooms were supervised by their respective Program Managers. The larger thrust of this mentorship system was to help Fellows connect their experiences in the classroom with ideas of 'leadership'. Concerns of pedagogy and curriculum were not the central focus in these mentorship discussions. Within the space of the municipal schools, the coming of the intervention led to the institutional creation of parallel regimes. One part of the school remained under the control of the MCD while the other part of the school was largely managed by TFI with some administrative control by the municipal government. There were two separate institutional and pedagogical

---

well. They often did not prepare separate unit tests in the format in which government teachers set unit tests for English and Maths subjects. Fellows merely substituted the routine weekly tests that they prepared in their classrooms for Literacy and Maths as unit tests for English and Maths. For subjects such as EVS, Social Studies and Science they prepared separate unit tests along the format of the unit test prepared by the government teacher for these subjects. Fellows evaluated the students for the unit tests as part of the 'government cycle' and passed on the final set of marks to the government teacher in charge of the Hindi medium section of the respective grade. It was the government teacher (of the Hindi medium section) who was generally responsible for most of the administrative work for both the Hindi and English medium sections of the particular grade. In English medium sections, where government teachers were assigned by the MCD and who were to share the work of teaching with TFI Fellows, these responsibilities were largely handled by these assigned government teachers.

structures governing the Hindi and English medium classrooms. The new teaching arrangement increased the administrative responsibilities for government teachers and altered their professional roles significantly. The English medium section in particular came to be constructed as an exclusive site with its own regime of teaching and assessment practices. The following chapter takes this discussion forward by examining the pedagogical regimes instituted within Fellows' classrooms.

6. Situating teaching practices within 'TFI classrooms'

Following from the previous chapter which provided a broad overview of the government school system in Delhi within which TFI functions this chapter examines how Fellows translate the organisational training and mentorship they received into their teaching practices within classrooms in some government schools[53].

There are four sections in this chapter. It begins with discussing Fellows' classroom routines and processes of classroom management. The second section focuses on how Fellows teach Literacy and Maths components through English, Maths, EVS, Social Studies, and Science subjects. While there was a large consonance among most Fellows regarding their teaching practices, the third section narrates two exceptions among the sample of Fellows. This section tries to situate how these two Fellows negotiated dominant organisational visions of teaching and testing in their classrooms. It seeks to illustrate sites of resistance among Fellows regarding the organisation's methods of teaching.

Apart from academics, Fellows were also instrumental in introducing a range of extracurricular activities in their classrooms. The final section provides a narrative of how Fellows involved children in extracurricular activities. The space of extracurricular activities, also termed as the 'Access and Exposure' strand in TFI parlance, facilitated collaborations with other NGOs working in education as well.

---

53 This research study relied on Fellows' narratives of how they taught in the classrooms. I was unable to observe the Fellows' classrooms for a sustained period of time due to permission issues. I thus rely largely on the terms Fellows used to describe their teaching practices. When asked if Fellows had any guiding literature during the course of their training at the Summer Institute in Pune or during the course of their two-year teaching experience in the schools, all Fellows in my sample answered in the negative. They only mentioned the online portal where some lesson plans, formats of tests and links to some US education websites were uploaded. This online portal could be accessed only by TFI Fellows. Benjamin Bloom's taxonomical framework was often quoted by most of my respondents. I use the Fellows' description of Bloom's framework for their teaching practices in this chapter as I found that it allowed me to elaborate on how the organisation has appropriated Bloom's framework to guide its teaching practices. The use of terms such as 'enquiry' based teaching or teaching using 'structured' methods is often used in a very general sense in this chapter to capture two broad differing epistemologies of teaching. Here 'structured' methods refers to teacher-centred forms of teaching driven by very clear teaching outcomes. The teacher is seen as the centre of knowledge transmission in the classroom. Fellows often used behaviourist methods of classroom management in tandem with 'structured' methods of teaching. 'Enquiry' based teaching on the other hand refers to a more open-ended form of teaching. It is more discussion oriented and learning outcomes are not rigidly decided before hand itself. 'Enquiry' based teaching was observed to be more constructivist in its pedagogical approach. The study does not seek to analyse, compare or evaluate pedagogical approaches. Rather it seeks to highlight a larger pattern of why certain pedagogical practices were being used more prominently and others ignored.

6.1. Setting class culture in a TFI classroom

Teaching in TFI classrooms began with rituals of testing. Similar to their training at the Summer Institute in Pune, Fellows at the beginning of every school year administered a series of standardised tests for Literacy and Maths in their respective classrooms. Based on the results on the standardised tests for Literacy, children were segregated into different groups within the classroom. Most Fellows described three prominent groups in their classrooms – 'lower order', 'middle order' and 'higher order'. 'Higher order' classified children were those whose scores on the standardised tests for Literacy indicated that they were the ones who were closest to 'grade level'.

This process of segregating children based on their performance on standardised tests for Literacy was practiced by Fellows across grades II to VI. Once children were assessed and thus segregated, Fellows instituted a time table and a routine for the teaching of English, Maths, Social Studies/Science and involving children in extracurricular activities.

Municipal schools in Delhi have a six-day week, with school starting at 8 am and ending at 1 pm[54]. The first half of the day was dedicated to the teaching of the Literacy component. This spanned a period of two hours, after which there was the lunch break for half an hour. The next half of the day spanned another two hours during which Fellows taught another part of the Literacy component, the Maths component. In the last half hour of the school day they engaged students in extracurricular activities such as art, theatre, music or sports.

The organisation emphasised English language instruction in all spheres within the classroom. Most Fellows tried to adhere to the organisation's guidelines on English language instruction but often ended up using a mix of Hindi and English in their communications and teaching processes. Some Fellows like Naina, however, strictly followed the organisation's rule:

> "I wanted them to speak English from the get go, I've learnt, I've taken language courses before, I know that the way to teach is to you know, to immerse you immediately. The teacher talks in only Italian, only French, or whatever. And also it helps that my Hindi isn't very great, so I'm anyways not too comfortable speaking in it".

Amongst the Fellows' observations on the preferred medium of instruction for teaching, there was a divide between how they perceived the function of the medium of instruction – as

---

54 Most DoE schools also operated with the same time schedule but some DoE schools such as Neeraj and Ravi's school worked on an afternoon shift. This DoE school in Billavapuram for boys worked from 1 pm to 6 pm.

either building basic language conversation and writing skills, or developing critical learning through conceptual clarity. For most Fellows, the aim of the Literacy or English classes was to hone certain basic skills in conversing and writing in English and hence they followed what Naina referred to as the immersion technique of teaching a new language.

For Maths, Social Studies and Science however, most Fellows believed that conceptual understanding was more important. They used a mix of Hindi and English in getting children involved in the discussions. Girish explained this choice:

> "So I mean, except for in English class, I keep it Hindi-English mix, and because I get responses from students who are rather handicapped because of the language skill, they are not able to participate, I don't want that to happen. So I keep it Hindi. Also when you are having discussions like Science and Social Science lessons you will see that the kids who are not really performing in literacy or Mathematics are also the ones who are participating. Because their cognitive levels are there, it's just that they have not been trained in those two fields".

The emphasis on building competency in the speaking, reading, and writing of English language was circumscribed and reiterated by Fellows through both the use of certain artefacts in the classroom and establishing certain codes of conduct among children. Artefacts in the classroom included numerous charts with explicit instructions on good behaviour in English, lists of words and phrases, pictures with labels in English, and the use of audio and video teaching aids on a variety of topics in English.

Most Fellows also mentioned setting up libraries in their classrooms. They procured a variety of reading material largely in English from various sources including book exhibitions and close friends. Unlike the Hindi medium classrooms, Fellows were free to raise funds for their classrooms through a range of sources such as Facebook the social media platform, and noted online portals for philanthropic endeavours such as GiveIndia. These efforts were often easy to implement and successful as Fellows could tap into old college and work-place networks. Sanjay described how he managed to raise funds for his classroom through his corporate networks:

> "We create our own funds, by GiveIndia or various websites, asking friends. Like GiveIndia has helped me a lot. Because when I was in corporate [ICICI], GiveIndia was one of the main places where people used to donate money. So to blind school, to shelter homes. So I created my own page, Class 2A Taimur Sarai page and I used to mark it on Facebook, Whatsapp, to various friends and family. They donated money, then I used that money in my class, set up a rack full of books in my class, which children can grab and read at any time".

A central feature of these classroom management processes was to also incentivise learning and build competition among children through putting up student trackers that displayed

students' performance in standardised tests. Fellows also used a 'rewards and consequences' system that they were familiarised with at the Summer Institute in Pune to reiterate certain codes of 'good behaviour' among the children. Manav described the disciplinary structures he had implemented in his classroom:

> "Rules like you know you have to pay attention in my class. There was a rule chart which I made […]And they were not just pasted on the wall, it was like, told to them repeated, again and again in my class. And it was done so many times that they understood ki nahi yaar yeh bohot important cheez hai, isko hum give up, aise nahi ignore nahi kar sakte. […]Then there were rewards. So rewards were like very simple thing that Doremon was one of the cartoon character, so I just took printouts of those Doremons and when, they have to speak in English or show some good values, or anything, so then they will get that Doremon. So it was like a currency for them. So they can trade also. They want say eraser or they want a pencil, they have to give back to me. Punishment was that Doremons can be confiscated".

The underlying emphasis of these classroom management processes which was to institute 'discipline and control' and enforce a culture of competition through marks resonated with an existing traditional school culture which also sought to enforce these values albeit not using these particular strategies.

Formal codes of discipline where the teacher invoked a sense of authority and fear have largely been central to the maintaining of social control within a classroom (Sarangapani 2003). In her study on teaching-learning processes within a government school in Kasimpur village, Sarangapani discussed the various means through which discipline was enforced either through fear or corporal punishment or a combination of both in the government school. She showed how a certain kind of academic knowledge was valued and children who were able to perform according to the demands of the school would in turn hope to progress to the much aspired for 'sarkari naukri'. Children who could not keep up with these demands were labelled derogatively by teachers and ridiculed by their peers.

Most TFI Fellows noted that the organisation strongly complied with the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) guidelines on corporal punishment.[55]Traditional methods of enforcing discipline sought to correct 'bad' behaviour and poor performance in examinations through acts of physical and/or verbal violence. Unlike those, the methods used by Fellows sought to directly associate certain actions of 'good behaviour' or 'good performance' in standardised tests with material incentives.

---

55 Whether some Fellows themselves used corporal punishment methods within the space of the classroom could not be ascertained through the interviews as most Fellows replied in the negative. They stated that if anyone was found using corporal punishment he or she would be asked to leave the organisation immediately by senior members in the City Team.

Children who behaved in certain ways and performed well in the organisation's standardised tests were singled out, praised, were given high scores on their behaviour and exam performance trackers. They were also given special treats by Fellows which included gifts such as new stationery, trips to the zoo or the shopping mall to have ice cream.

The enforcing of these strategies and codes within the classroom was seen as fundamentally necessary and important before Fellows could actually engage in the teaching of subjects. Most Fellows noted that without adequate structures of discipline in place, children could not be made to focus attentively on the lessons being taught in the classroom.

6.2 Teaching of Literacy and Maths components

TFI classroom teaching was focused on Literacy and Maths components. Fellows were introduced to strategies for teaching these components at the Summer Institute in Pune. The Literacy components of Reading Comprehension (RC), Reading Fluency (RF), Grammar, Speaking and Listening (S & L) and Writing were taught largely through NCERT English readers for respective grades and other English language reading material. These will be discussed in detail below. Some Fellows also used Social Studies (EVS) textbooks to teach the Literacy components. The teaching of Reading Comprehension (RC) dominated the Literacy strand in most TFI classrooms and was invariably used as a shorthand for the teaching of the subject English. Maths, in TFI classrooms, was taught largely through NCERT Maths textbooks. The subjects Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' [Social Science] in TFI classrooms were to be taught by government teachers from the Hindi medium sections. This aspect of division in teaching tasks among government teachers and Fellows has been detailed in the earlier chapter. The teaching of these two subjects will not be part of the following discussion.

A. Teaching Reading Comprehension (RC)

The teaching of Reading Comprehension (RC) followed an extensive process that was highly micromanaged. Children were first organised into three or more groups based on their 'learning levels' as ascertained through standardised tests at the start of the year. This process has been referred to above. Fellows then seated the children in four to six separate teams within the classroom. This involved a physical rearrangement of benches and desks within the classroom. In a regular classroom, benches and desks were aligned as rows facing the

school teacher's table. However, in Fellows' classrooms, depending on the available infrastructure, benches and desks were arranged in a way to seat children in small teams of five or six members facing the school teacher's table[56].

Every group or team generally comprised of children of mixed 'learning levels'. Based on specific teaching purposes, children were moved across different teams such that for some activities children were seated in homogenous groups and for other activities children were seated in heterogeneous groups. Homogenous groups meant that all the children in a team were of similar 'learning levels', while heterogeneous meant that the team had children of mixed 'learning levels'.

Payal, who taught grade II, described a homogenous seating arrangement for her class during the RC session:

> "So what I generally do is they can sit the way they want to, but especially when there is a RC class, where the differentiation is very high now, so that is the time when there is a similar group sitting together".

Another Fellow, Naina, who taught grade V, also maintained two seating arrangements – one for RC and another for group discussions and activities. She found the heterogeneous seating arrangement particularly useful for delegating teaching tasks to her 'higher order' children who coached her 'lower order' children. She noted:

> "Other than that [homogenous seating arrangements] I had 4 teams which were mixed. And that was very much on purpose because I really pushed for teamwork and collective learning. So I taught my kids strategies, any group discussions for any group activity project, all the higher order kids inside are going to sit and make sure the lower order kids answer all the questions. […] Like I really trained them on how to teach the lower order kids, I think that's what pushes the level of the lower order kids so much".

Naina's description of delegating teaching tasks also alluded to an older form of monitorial teaching that existed in varying forms in government teachers' classrooms as well. In Sarangapani's (2003) study of teaching-learning within a government school, government school teachers actively delegated teaching tasks to certain children in their classrooms who in turn taught other children in the classroom. These assigned children were referred to as class monitors.

---

56 Some Fellows mentioned that government teachers who co-taught with Fellows and those from the Hindi medium sections were not comfortable with this spatial arrangement and often asked Fellows to revert back to standard rows. However, since the English medium classrooms were largely controlled by Fellows, over a period of time government teachers let the physical arrangement continue as teams rather than rows.

The monitorial system of teaching has a long and interesting colonial history. Tschurenev (2008) traces its emergence in an 'orphanage school at Madras, its export to London where it was developed into a standardised model, and it's subsequent "re-import" into India' (page 245). One of the important features of this model was its immense popularity within mass-based elementary education systems where the teacher could delegate the task of teaching to select advanced pupils. These pupils as instructed by the teacher would then teach and supervise their peers accordingly. Tschurenev (2008) notes that this order was maintained through 'a strict disciplinary regime based on constant examination, panoptic surveillance by the master, and mutual control of the students' (page 248).

Thus in certain ways, this method followed by Fellows was not completely a new phenomenon. While Fellows referred to these classroom management techniques as 'Teach for India' strategies that were introduced to them through the Summer Institute in Pune, these pedagogical techniques invoked older systems of classroom management.

The teaching of RC for which most Fellows seated children in homogenous groups of similar 'learning levels' drew upon Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives for the cognitive domain[57].

Situated within the domain of educational psychology, Bloom's system of teaching which originated in the late 1950s focused on a certain outcomes-oriented approach. It organised the process of learning into a hierarchised set of objectives, where cognitive thinking began with factual comprehension, then moved to inferential understanding, and finally to critical thinking. Each set of objectives had to be mastered within a certain frame of time and be judged through a series of diagnostic tests, before proceeding to the next set of objectives which again had to be taught and assessed within a certain frame of time (Bloom 1984).

How 'Teach for India' adapted Bloom's pedagogical approaches for its respective teaching strategies was evident in Fellows' narratives of practice in the classroom.

Most Fellows used a wide range of reading material for teaching RC. At younger grades such as classes II and III, Fellows used not just the NCERT textbooks for English but also improvised by using levelled readers that were easily available online or in children's

---

57 Benjamin Bloom divided educational objectives within three domains: cognitive, affective and psychomotor. For each of these domains, he developed a hierarchised system of outcome based teaching processes. In this discussion, I restrict myself to describing only some aspects pertaining to the cognitive domain in order to situate the teaching practices of the Fellows which draw from this paradigm.

bookshops. One online resource immensely popular with many Fellows was 'Reading A-Z', a US based website, which had levelled readers of 29 different reading levels. There was a recognisable gradation in the content of these levelled readers, where lower reading levels had more illustrations and shorter sentences while higher reading levels had more complex passages and questions.

In older grades such as classes IV, V and VI, Fellows focused on teaching RC largely through the NCERT textbooks for English. Some Fellows also tried to teach RC through the NCERT textbooks for EVS (Social Studies) in the higher grades which will be discussed in a later section in this chapter.

The teaching of RC involved three stages: 'Read Aloud', 'Shared Reading' and 'Independent Practice'. In a 'Read Aloud' session, a Fellow read out a selected passage or section from a grade level text to the whole classroom. Most Fellows used the respective grade level NCERT textbook for English for these 'Read Aloud' sessions[58]. In a 'Shared Reading' session, children engaged with their levelled readers in pairs, taking assistance from peers with similar 'learning levels' to read and answer questions in the respective levelled text in front of them. The 'Independent Practice' session finally had children reading and attempting questions from their levelled readers on their own.

There was a constant emphasis within these teaching stages of RC to ensure that children of certain 'learning levels' attempted questions appropriate to their level. Anita, who taught grade V, associated specific skills to specific 'learning levels'.

> "So in Teach for India there is this sort of, at every level there are few objectives that they should be knowing which come under like a few, like literacy skills, so for example they are at a 0 or a 0.5, there would be only factual questions. Then going ahead at like 1 maybe, they would include one inferencing question. So similarly up till whatever, 5.5 level there is inferencing, critical thinking"

It is here that Fellows constantly reiterated Bloom's taxonomical approach suggesting that 'lower order' children would only be able to answer factual questions in a text, while 'middle order' children would be able to attempt factual and inferencing questions and 'higher order' children would be able to answer questions of critical reasoning. 'Critical reasoning' here largely referred to questions that involved a 'Why' component.

---

58 Some Fellows also used other literary texts, which they had individually ascertained as being of a particular grade level for the 'Read Aloud' session.

Anita described how she would teach a chapter at grade level and then break down the lesson into three different levels of questions for her 'lower order', 'middle order' and 'higher order' children.

> "So what I initially started doing was that I made three kinds of worksheets of the same chapter. And at each level I made questions for each level. So while we read the chapter at the highest level, but when they were doing questions, they've understood the chapter and they have questions at their level. For the emergent kids there would be like 5 line text and questions like who is this character, where was he and all those things, picture-matching questions. However at the highest level would be like critical thinking, for example, if you were the cook what name will you give to the dish and why or something like that".

This focus of training children to read a text and answer questions specific to their 'learning levels' was innately linked to the format and structure of the three standardised assessments that 'Teach for India' conducted every year through an external private company 'Indus Learning'. Even the weekly assessments that Fellows themselves conducted in their class for the various subjects they taught had an underlying thrust on preparing students for these important standardised tests.

Sanjay observed that Fellows often went through old sets of question papers of the three standardised assessments – BoY, MoY and EoY – to understand the pattern and in turn train children in specific ways to succeed in the tests.

> "We look at assessments and try to see what are the questions being asked at the Level, so I know if my kid has to clear Level 1 he should know these 10 things. And accordingly I teach those 10 things. Either I teach differentiated things to that level, or I teach the whole class. For example grammar should be taught to the whole class. But I won't be asking too much of critical thinking questions to a 0.5, because there's no point. Because he won't be tested on it."

The other Literacy components such as Grammar, Writing, Reading Fluency (RF) and Speaking and Listening (S & L) were taught in separate sessions by Fellows keeping in mind their relative importance in the standardised assessments for RC. These elements were often tested within the RC standardised assessment module with different questions focusing on aspects of grammar, sentence construction and writing. Speaking and Listening (S & L) had begun to be assessed in a small way by the organisation in 2015. Here a sample of students in the class were asked to answer certain questions and their performance was recorded via video. However, as this was a new assessment module, Fellows did not focus much on S & L.

B. Other components of Literacy: RF, Grammar, Writing and S&L

The other Literacy components which were also an important part of the teaching of English were taught in separate segments during the course of the school day. Amit, who taught grade III, observed that there was no focused training on the teaching of Grammar at the Summer Institute in Pune. In order to teach Grammar in his classroom he went through the standardised assessments and noted a certain pattern of what was being tested. He decided to focus on these aspects in a concerted manner.

> "I initially tried to do explicit things like nouns and verbs ke liye I would do Name, Place, Animal, Thing... There was no training ke kaise isko sikhana hai. Toh I did that. And then verbs are all action words. So then we would do match the following, circle the word, assess them like that, give them worksheets. So basically for me grammar was giving them also worksheets and discussing ke ye sahi hai, yeh galat hai, kaunsa sahi hai, kaunsa nahi hai".

Reading Fluency (RF) was a component that was largely taught to children from younger grades such as classes II and III. It focused on teaching children phonics which involved associating sounds with letters and getting children to read short words. Fellows used a range of reading strategies, games and songs. Amit described a popular 'points game' for RF in his class:

> "We did a points game. And the kids had an incentive to win which is not necessarily what I'm really proud of, but that is what worked. So I had 5 groups in the class, so I would divide them into 5 teams or whatever. And each time like, I would throw a word, they would have to, I would throw sounds and they would have to blend and give the word. Or I would throw a word and they would have to break it down. So they would raise their hands and whoever gave the right answer, if they gave the right answer they get 2 points, their group got 2 points. If they weren't able to then the question passed and whatever."

The aim of RF was to build a basic vocabulary through a consistent reading of lists of 'sight words' that would then help children read sentences and develop better reading comprehension. 'Teach for India' had developed primers of important 'sight words' as a part of the RF module, which Fellows taught to their class children.

Reading Fluency (RF) in tandem with Speaking and Listening (S & L) sought to encourage children to discard their inhibitions and speak in English. There was no structured format for teaching S & L. Informal interactive activities and group discussions that Fellows initiated at different points during their daily teaching session for Literacy helped to build S & L skills. Fellows often organised a short morning meeting after taking attendance where they

encouraged children to talk in English, discussing any topic of interest. Sanjay, who taught grade II, described his daily morning meeting practice:

> "So I start with a morning meeting, which is very quick 5 minutes, during attendance. So what I do is I have an activity where children, [standing in] concentric circles, talk to different partners in English. So they talk about their day, I give them a new topic, they just have to, rule is to talk in English. So then they move, the inner circle keeps on moving, the outer circle stays put so they get new partners every 30 seconds".

Apart from morning meeting sessions, Fellows also integrated S & L during the teaching of RC sessions. They got children to enact passages or conduct mock events which again got children to practice speaking in English. Naina, who taught grade V, noted that the purpose of a 'Read Aloud' session in the teaching of RC was to encourage children to listen and speak in English as well as develop themes for other Literacy components such as Writing and S & L.

> "So Read Aloud is a text you are reading out to the students, but you are doing it for 2 reasons. One to get them used to spoken English, they are hearing it and not just writing it and two it provides you a theme for the year or the week, a theme for writing topics, a theme for plays, a theme for Speaking and Listening topics, you know".

For her grade V classroom, she used the 'Harry Potter' series to integrate S & L and writing skills:

> "If I want my kids to practice interview skills, which by the TFI curriculum is SNL curriculum […] I'll have them imagine Dumbeldore is interviewing a new Potions teacher. So the point of Read Aloud is it gives you a fun theme for everything. If your kids love the Read Aloud, they're gonna love their Writing class. They are gonna love writing about Voldemort breaking in to Dumbledore's office. They are gonna love the fact that I'm making them do advertisement posters for Quidditch teams. So they are practicing the art of poster-making but the Harry Potter theme. So they are doing all these skills without knowing it because it feels like a fun activity for them".

Higher 'learning level' standardised assessments for RC tested children's writing skills through an essay exercise where children were assigned to write about any general topic. Fellows often developed themes for their Writing sessions from the RC sessions. There was a structured format to teach Writing which encompassed five steps: Ideate, Draft, Enhance, Edit and Publish. Chandni, who taught grade IV, narrated in detail an example from her classroom:

> "We have this IDEEP point - Ideate, Draft, Enhance, Edit and Publish. So one writing topic happens over a week. So in the first day, they Ideate and Draft together. So they build the ideas and they write a draft. So suppose they got a topic on 'Why is unity important in India?' So they get 5-7 minutes to Ideate, so they will write down the points. Ideate is just points. Then they will draft it, from the points they will write sentences and they will draft it. So it's like a 30 minutes lesson in all, 30-35 minutes. The next day on the same Draft they will enhance, they will enhance as in I will give them, suppose we are doing Vocab for the week and the Vocab is always in line with their Writing. Suppose this time they are using words like discrimination, different, or variety, culture, these are the words they are using,

these are the words they will use to enhance their writing, to better writing. So the ways of enhance they know are, number 1, through vocabulary, 2nd through grammar, use of conjunctions, use of different ways of writing, exclamations, inverted commas if they are doing something like a fiction-writing. So they enhance their writing. That's another 30 minute lesson. Then the next day they edit, they go back and they correct. As in okay, this week we have done capitals, paragraphing, spacing, structuring. Do I have an introduction, do I have a proper body, do I have a proper conclusion. So they edit all this and publish they do for homework. Publish as in, after they edit, I also edit, because I see, obviously they cant edit, so I do another edit through my red pen, and then I give them a new sheet of paper, each one gets one and they just write out the whole edited thing".

In teaching children to write or express their ideas as part of the exercise, there was a focused effort on developing a sense of structure in the process of writing. Children were taught to pay attention to framing of sentences, vocabulary and the correct use of grammar. In Chandni's description there was also the need to teach each of these requisite steps within the allotted time of 30 to 35 minutes.

Where for the Literacy components there was an evident differentiated structure to the teaching processes, the teaching of Maths presented other challenges to the Fellows.

C. Maths

Till 2013, the curriculum for Maths in 'Teach for India' classrooms was based on the US Common Core objectives. In 2014, the organisation aligned its objectives with the National Curricular Framework (NCF) 2005 and Fellows began to use the NCERT textbooks for Maths in the Delhi classrooms. Apart from the NCERT textbooks, grade level activity workbooks by different private publishers and teaching-learning resources marketed by the NGO Jodo Gyaan were also used by some Fellows in their classrooms.

The pedagogical progression for the teaching of the subject as defined by the organisation and noted by the Fellows was: Concrete, Pictorial and Abstract. At a general level, this pedagogical progression resonated with some aspects of the NCF 2005 curricular objectives which state that at the primary stage children must be taught concepts using concrete objects and a variety of games, puzzles and stories (Position Paper, National Focus Group on Teaching of Mathematics: page 14). In the description of practice in a Fellow's classroom a much more complex picture presented itself. Naina narrated an example of teaching the concept of fractions in her grade V classroom:

"So Maths, the way you teach is a method called CPA, Concrete Pictorial Abstract, that TFI teaches us at institute itself. So for example, lets say I'm teaching fractions, what is a fraction? […] So Day 1 you will teach it Concretely, which means that you will actually give them something physical to understand the concept. So I actually printed out a picture of 2-3 pizzas, like cut them into pieces, and

asked like 'how many pieces do I have?' '4 pieces' 'so if I've given you one, how many do you have?' So iska matlab hai ke total mein 4 tha, unmein se, you have one, so the fraction is 1/4, so you concretely [teach] the concept, actual, physical manipulative that they can touch and see. And then you just make them, like they don't write any numbers at all, they just verbally talk about what fraction means, like part of a whole, I give them multiple examples. Then on day 2, you do it pictorially. Then they start drawing the fraction, they draw the pizza, they draw the rectangle, squares, and they shade them. So that's the pictorial version. And on Day 3 it's the abstract version, which means with numbers. Then they write 2/4, 3/6, that's what a fraction is. And there are multiple ways of doing it […] If you are either a really good teacher or it's a really easy concept, you can do all 3 CPA in a one hour lesson, or you can do C and P in a one hour lesson and then A the next day".

In her description there was a time bound linear progression to teaching children the concept of fractions. She began with an exercise of engaging children in concrete objects the first day and ended with the progression to the abstract notation by the third day. Naina also mentioned how multiple methods could be used to teach the same concept. She also observed that based on the relative difficulty of a concept, different teachers took one or two days to successfully complete this progression.

While the Position paper for the teaching of Maths articulates a much more complex dynamic regarding the pedagogical progression from 'concrete' to 'abstract' in the primary grades highlighting modes of teaching and pacing comprehension for different mathematical concepts (pages 15-16), for Fellows this progression from 'concrete' to 'abstract' was often understood very literally.

The underlying focus of Naina and most Fellows' teaching practices regarding Maths was the need to shift children's conceptual trajectory as early as possible to the realm of the 'abstract'. This meant getting children to be conversant with mathematical symbols and notations which would foster quick problem solving techniques for assessment purposes.

In this teaching of Maths which centred on assessment, questions of language or medium of instruction and comprehension also posed important concerns. English or the Literacy modules which were described in the earlier section cast an overarching shadow on the teaching of Maths. This in some ways contradicted the NCF Position Paper's discussion on the need to teach Maths through the mother tongue(s) and use more diverse modes of assessment to judge children's comprehension.

The Maths assessment modules prepared by the private agency had a heavy English language content and unlike the Literacy components that had several differentiated levels of teaching and assessment, Maths was taught and assessed at the grade level. This created a lot of

challenges for most Fellows as they confronted difficult contradictions regarding language and comprehension.

Most Fellows used English and Hindi in teaching Maths concepts. Dhara explained her choice of using both languages in the teaching of Maths:

> "So yes in Maths I do bring in Hindi, I'm completely bilingual in Maths, completely and very intentionally so. Because in Maths I'm not looking to push English, or the language, though I think that's a part of it, but I'm also looking to push a lot of concepts so I start off bilingual. And then I move to monolingual in the same concept. So let's say I'm starting a new concept, I'll start of bilingual. Just because, Maths is like your everyday life, you understand it best in your own context".

While Dhara emphasised the need to use both Hindi and English in the teaching of Maths, she also hinted at the necessity to move from the 'bilingual' to the 'monolingual'. This steering towards English was linked to building a certain 'academic' proficiency which would help children in cracking examinations.

Fellows observed an important dichotomy regarding comprehension and articulation. When children were explained concepts orally in Hindi they exhibited comprehension easily. Payal spoke about explaining Maths word problems to her second grade class children:

> "Like word problems, if I am telling them that I have this much money, I am going and buying all this, how much I have to pay, how much I save, how much I like, what is the money left with, they will not be able to tell me in English. But agar main unko wahi Hindi mein bol rahi hoon, ki mere pass 100 rs thhey, maine itne ke fruit khareed liye, mere paas kitne bache they will tell me very quickly".

However, when the same comprehension was expected to be articulated in writing as part of the assessment module, Fellows noted that differing English language competencies posed strong hindrances for the child in attempting the test. Payal explained this dilemma regarding teaching and testing:

> "I understand that especially Maths is all about application, but that doesn't mean, if my kid can't read the question in English and tell you what needs to be added together, he can do the same thing in Hindi. So he understood addition. But just because he has not understood English as a language, so the test paper becomes very different, or difficult for him. So therefore my lower order kids or some middle orders also struggle with the Math test especially. Because English I can give them a zero or a 0.2 or a lower worksheet. But in Math only I have one test to give to everybody. And the option is either you read every question, translate in Hindi, and then tell them. But I think that dilutes the purpose of testing altogether".

Fellows realised that the organisation's framework of assessment for Maths was inevitably biased towards a certain Literacy competence which excluded many children who exhibited comprehension of concepts when explained orally in Hindi. This comprehension of mathematical concepts was also not just directly correlated to concerns of medium of

instruction. Apart from language, Fellows observed differing knowledges of number sense and related arithmetic operations among the children in their class. Dhara spoke of the hierarchy in the knowledge of mathematical concepts among her class children:

> "For a teacher to be able to understand the different levels, I mean it's easy for me to say this one just about knows how to count and it is easy to say that this one is very strong in 20 topics, but the in-between there is such a range. It's difficult to work with that range. Unless you have something that breaks it down for you. And as a Fellow it becomes too much to really break it down. And again I feel that it's a waste of time for every Fellow to be doing it. So that's one huge part which I think is lacking".

Most Fellows echoed Dhara's difficulties of teaching Maths in a class with such varied knowledges of numeracy and arithmetic operations which was further compounded with problems of medium of instruction that linked with basic comprehension. Like Dhara, they hoped the organisation would develop a levelled framework for Maths similar to the framework for the Literacy components.

In this demand for a clearly articulated and hierarchised framework for the teaching of Maths concepts across grades, the shift to the NCERT textbooks from the American Common Core framework also presented new difficulties for the Fellows. Most Fellows found it difficult to use the narrative format of lessons in the NCERT textbook, which interweaved mathematical concepts in the garb of stories. Naina described her difficult transition:

> "I had a really difficult Maths transition. Like the NCERT textbook, some people love it, I personally hate it…It's very story based and it's very conducive for teachers who teach a method of teaching called enquiry-based teaching, which is amazing, it's an amazing method that I personally wish that I had more time to try out. But it's kind of you know, kids are allowed to do their own exploration, it's slow but it really puts you to critical thinking. So everything is a story. It's not my teaching style, so I had a really hard, a lot of the chapters don't even tell you what the Maths concept is, all these stories about like fishes and stuff. You are like it's the angles chapter or what? Where is the angle?! You know like, I had a really hard time".

Maths lessons also involved project based activities and few direct questions at the end of the lesson on the particular concept discussed in order to emphasise rituals of practice that were important in the context of written tests. As assessment was a central concern for most Fellows, they began to organise their Maths teaching practices on a similar plane to the teaching of RC. They divided their children based on an ascending plane of mathematical comprehension in every grade. For example in a grade V classroom, children having a basic number sense were assigned as the 'lower order', children with a sense of some number operations such as addition or subtraction were assigned as the 'middle order' and those with a greater proficiency in higher arithmetic operations such as multiplication, division, fractions

and other 'grade level' concepts were assigned as the 'higher order'. Fellows began to develop specific worksheets for different groups of children in order to inculcate practice based efficiency for attempting Maths problems. Neeraj, a grade VI Fellow described his process in the classroom:

> "During Maths, we came up with these worksheets, every child belonged to a group and then there would be stacked worksheets based on increasing skills, ready for them. The moment you finish it the next worksheet is waiting for you and separate learning tracks opened up. So time to time we would take children on the same level, then introduce the new material to them then and there in 2 minutes… And then there was a lot of fluidity, self-pacedness in learning, a lot of practice came in, so the amount of practice which 10 classes of conventional lesson planning in Teach for India could have given, we could feel it in 2 days, and the kids would say bhaiyya itna Maths kabhi zindagi mein nahi kiya…and they would also enjoy and so on".

In order to develop these worksheets, Fellows relied on not just the respective grade level NCERT textbook but other workbooks as well. Apart from the Literacy and Maths components, Fellows were also responsible for the teaching of Environmental Studies (grades III to V), Social Studies (grade VI and above) and Science (grade VI and above). They were to teach these subjects in the medium of English as well.

D. Teaching EVS, Social Studies and Science

The teaching of EVS, Social Studies and Science followed a mixed pattern across Fellows' classrooms. One important reason for this was that unlike the Literacy and Maths components which had a structured system of standardised assessments, modules of a similar manner had not been developed by the organisation for these subjects. There were two dominant modes to engaging with these subjects: either Fellows taught these subjects casually using individual methods that suited them or they adapted the lessons in these particular subjects to the Literacy framework in order to teach the Literacy components. The neglect of these subjects also had other drastic implications for the children in TFI classrooms as will be discussed in this section.

Due to the overarching emphasis on the Literacy and Maths modules, most Fellows found it difficult to assign enough time for the teaching of EVS (in grades III, IV and V), Social Studies (grade VI and above) and Science (grades VI and above). Ravi who taught in a grade VI classroom spoke of his teaching experience:

> "So what we have been doing is when it comes to literacy and Maths, we are very strict that we are not hurrying up and we are following all differentiation in each and every method, and what TFI recommends. But when it comes to Social Science and Science we largely try to follow our own rules

142

[…] So when it comes to Science and Social Science, even though they are not able to articulate it very well and we know that they won't be able to write the answers in the unit test [given by the school] because they don't know how to write. But our discussions are so enquiry-based and curiosity-based that when it comes to Science and Social Science we mostly talk in Hindi, we play around with ideas and questions so that the curiosity builds in and the scientific temper builds in, in the students".

He noted that while he was strict about focusing on the Literacy and Maths components, when it came to the Science and Social Studies subjects, he largely taught them in the medium of Hindi within a general discussion oriented approach which he referred to as 'enquiry' mode of teaching. Ravi also observed that the children had poor literacy skills and hence could not articulate their comprehension within the format of the unit test administered as part of the 'government cycle' of tests.

The dichotomy of comprehension and articulation which was explored in the teaching of Maths in the earlier section continued in the Fellows' observations on the teaching of EVS, Social Studies and Science subjects as well. Fellows constantly reiterated that without basic literacy skills, these subjects could not be properly taught. Hence some Fellows like Girish assigned the subjects a low priority in their classroom schedule:

"The only thing we've kept in mind is that English and Maths will not be compromised. If we see that Science and S.St is compromised we are fine. That decision we took in like October last year, before that we were doing all 4 subjects. Because we realized that the RC levels are so poor in my class that it's pointless spending a lot of time otherwise where they can't even read well. So that is what we did. And eventually what happened was we hardly took S.St and Science classes."

'Learning' was circumscribed within a framework of literacy skills which required children to first be conversant in a regime of 'reading' and 'writing'. Thus Fellows often used lessons in the EVS/Social Studies/Science textbooks to teach the Literacy components. Sanjay, who taught a grade II classroom, described his processes of integrating EVS with the teaching of English (or the Literacy components):

"Like currently I am integrating EVS ka 1st chapter which is on jungle, wild animals, domestic animals, with English Chapter 1 which is magic garden. So my children are speaking on gardens, speaking on trees, speaking on animals, speaking on domestic animals, in their writing pieces they are writing if I had a garden, what would it look like. So they are speaking about trees, they are speaking about apples, they are speaking about oranges. So I don't have to teach EVS separately or an English separately, I can take up English book and teach domestic animals, wild animals, within that space".

This integration saw Sanjay valourising the teaching of certain S &L and writing skills over an in-depth discussion on the social thematic of the EVS lesson which was to also initiate

children into thinking about concepts of domestication and interactions between humans and animals.

The pedagogical decision to develop literacy skills with a limited focus on conceptual understanding was an easy option for most Fellows who were largely convinced with the organisation's model of teaching practices which centred on a structure of assessment that biased English language competencies. Fellows were mostly concerned with how their class children performed in the standardised assessments for Literacy and Maths prepared by the private company 'Indus Learning'.

The inadequate teaching of Social Studies and Science subjects in higher grades had serious consequences for children from TFI classrooms. Neeraj spoke of how his teaching practices for these subjects had compromised his class children's chances in the DoE administered exams:

> "Our learning trajectory at a certain level needs to be answerable to the demands of the DoE. And we have failed brutally on this front. So the SA 1[59] and SA 2 [exams] we would, we really need to slog [to complete the syllabus]. It was unrealistic so we confessed before our kids, look dekho NCERT ka syllabus hum log ka complete nahi hua, tumhara SA main kharaab marks aaega…"

His indifference to the teaching of these subjects was also in turn linked to the no-detention policy of the RTE. The no-detention policy in consonance with the Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) mode of evaluation was intended to be a progressive measure to reduce the learning stress among students. However, in the municipal school ecosystem the no-detention policy had been transformed into an ineffective measure. There were no efforts to change government teachers' teaching or evaluation processes and it was largely used mechanically to promote children to adhere to mandated RTE guidelines. For TFI Fellows, the no-detention policy in the context of the teaching of the subjects of Social Studies and Science also acted as a protective measure. Some Fellows observed that irrespective of their class children's' performance in the DoE administered exams for these subjects, they would be promoted up to Class VIII due to this guideline[60].

As has been noted above, in Fellows' teaching practices, there was an overarching emphasis on building English language competency among students. In turn, this was geared towards

---

59 Summative Assessment exams which are prepared centrally by the education officials at the DoE and administered across DoE schools as part of the 'government cycle' of tests.

60 As of 2015, TFI teaches up to grade VII in DoE schools.

improving their performance in standardised assessments. Among the sample of Fellows interviewed, there were two Fellows whospoke of engaging with alternative teaching practices in their classrooms. In the following section these outlier narratives of Chandni and Amit and their experiences of using pedagogical methods that were different from what TFI mandated will be explored.

6.3 Negotiating TFI teaching practices

While most Fellows in this research study oriented their teaching practices in the classroom to cater to goals of assessment, Chandni and Amit interspersed their regular assessment-centred teaching practices with alternative methods. Their reasons for exploring alternative methods outside the organisation's mandated approach was influenced by their engagements with individuals and educational institutions outside TFI which prescribed more constructivist methods of teaching.

A. Chandni's attempts at using project-based teaching methods

Chandni's encounter with alternative teaching methods was mediated through her circle of friends, who had children studying at 'Mirambika', an alternative school in South Delhi which catered to children between four and 15 years and is associated with the Shri Aurobindo Society. The school largely drew students from upper middle class families keen to have their children experience a 'progressive' teaching-learning environment. Such teaching contrasted with the strict regimen of discipline and regular testing popular in several other elite private schools in Delhi.

Chandni found that certain ideas of 'progressive' teaching which 'Mirambika' employed were resonant in the curricular objectives outlined in the NCERT textbooks for English, Maths and Social Studies. She did not dramatically alter her general teaching regimen but decided to experiment which short spurts of project-based teaching for certain themes. She made individual attempts to understand project-based teaching by engaging with teachers at Mirambika and referring literature on the internet. . Chandni concluded that good project-based teaching could integrate concepts across traditional subject domains.

She described an interactive process of teaching her grade V children concepts of time:

> "So I would take them out and mark points. The football post in the school is the West, and which city is in the West? So the football post is…Gujarat, side wall, front gate is North and something like that.

So a person is walking from this point to this point, so Ujma is walking and also time I was able to integrate…so say Ujma is running from Calcutta to Gujarat how much time does she take, they are trying to figure out how seconds work, so they have to count in the mind 1,2,3, 4…and I am looking at the watch so if someone said she took one minute…if I say 60 seconds the answer is 60 seconds…their answer should be between 50 to 70 seconds so I know they have an understanding of how long a minute is, or how long five minutes is so time I could teach, I could teach direction as well".

Chandni was trying to integrate aspects of geography within the project of teaching children concepts of time and distance. She observed that project based modes of teaching required a lot of planning and effort on the part of the teacher. Her engagements with the method were however short lived. She felt that while this mode of teaching was fruitful, it did not interface well with the organisation's model of teaching and assessment. Thus when the yearly assessment cycles such as the MoY or the EoY drew close, Chandni switched back to structured teaching practices:

"So initially, why I said my project-based learning stopped like one and a half months back was because I was like flexible, I was letting the kids open up their minds, take their own time. And then I suddenly saw their MoY level and I was like oh my god, you know I need to buck up with these set of kids who are… so I did not enjoy that one and a half month in class. I enjoyed their growth, but I am not for that kind of teaching. It was literally like corporate mein when you are chasing a target na, so it was like in every class they were doing the tests. I was giving them more tests and they were doing it. And I was telling them how to answer questions smartly… like I only did it to achieve a certain level of achievement in my class…"

At one level, she recognized the need to broaden children's processes of learning by engaging them through different pedagogical methods, however at another level she also accepted the need to train children in the act of attempting tests 'smartly' as well. Here Chandni reiterated most Fellows' ideas that a prominent aim of education was to train children to proficiently crack examinations and help them gain academic mobility.

B. Amit's attempts at using the enquiry mode of teaching

Like most Fellows, Amit too focused on Literacy and Maths components in his classroom. However, in the second year of his TFI fellowship, as he began to teach grade III, he decided to expand his learning experience by applying for a Summer Teacher fellowship organised by the Central Institute of Education (CIE), Delhi University. This was a rare experience for a Fellow as he was exposed to very different ideas of pedagogy from what was commonly circulated within the confines of TFI, its training programme at Pune, and the various interactive sessions between Program Managers and Fellows. His attempts at changing his

teaching practices as a result of the Summer Teacher fellowship also caused some friction between him and his Program Manager which will also be discussed.

The programmes at the CIE espouse a broader interdisciplinary perspective beyond technical and professional aspects of teacher training. This is unlike in traditional government run institutes such as the District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET) which generally dominate the teacher education landscape. Courses engaged with discourses from the realms of sociology, history and philosophy of education. The department regularly organised short term programmes for practicing teachers to reflect and discuss their classroom experiences.

'Teach for India' encouraged its Fellows to expand their networks and opportunities through associations and internships with different NGOs of their interest. This has been discussed in the earlier chapter. Amit came across details on the Summer Teacher fellowship through information exchanges within the organisation's internal web portal and decided to apply for the programme. He explained the various reasons he was drawn to the programme:

> "So there were some really burning questions that I was sort of bogged down with. So because of that I thought that the Summer Teacher Fellowship would be interesting, not because ke government ka hai, not because I thought they would have a different point of view. But because their themes were very interesting, ek childhood ki theme thi […]I think that I was talking to everybody but I was talking to a lot of people in my own circle and I was trying to say ke yaar humein bacho ke baare mein pata hi kya hai, humein biases pata hi kya hai. Also because I had also been reading, from books you get lots of different-different ideas, class conflict hai, ye conflict hai, castes hai…"

Amit's teaching experiences through the first year of his fellowship exposed him to a range of social and pedagogical issues in the classroom which he felt were not being adequately addressed through support structures within TFI. He made individual efforts to understand the social dynamics of the classroom by reading independently and decided to enrol in the Summer Teacher fellowship as he felt it would help him explore different ideas of pedagogy.

The Summer Teacher fellowship helped Amit understand the pedagogical method of enquiry based teaching. Within the domain of the Summer Teacher fellowship, Amit discussed his understanding of the 'enquiry' approach:

> "Now the Summer Teacher Fellowship where it came in was this enquiry approach in their form of delivering the sessions[…] Okay so you have read something, now what are your thoughts, lets discuss, lets write down what we are thinking, okay what is right. So they never said ke yeh sahi hai ya yeh galat hai. To TFI's credit even they don't say that, but the difference in [TFI] pedagogy is that they talk about how ki points, ki yeh cheez karne kaise hai, ya yeh Maths ka sum hai, isko solve kaise karna hai, ya ke yeh objective hai yahan tak pahauchna kaise hai, iski yeh steps hai. But in this approach, is fundamentally different, radical shift hai, in my opinion, because there are no procedural steps, but there are thoughts, experiences, and then there is consensus meeting. Or not, I mean […] We were

introduced to a lot of authors, lot of literature in education that there was no institutional access to at Teach for India […] So this I felt was phenomenally different and radically different and a approach that was very refreshing for me because it talked about issues that were bothering me. It talked about conflict, it talked about bias…"

One of the significant aspects of this experience for Amit was the decision to make Environmental Studies (EVS) a focal point of discussion in the classroom. Unlike other Fellows who mentioned the enquiry mode of teaching and described it casually as one where they had a relaxed open-ended discussion with the children in their class, Amit's use of the method in the classroom was a much more in-depth engagement. He was not only exposed to educational literature on the subject through the Summer Teacher fellowship, he also read the NCF position papers on the teaching of the subject and found the necessary NCERT subject source books to reorient both his teaching and assessment practices. Amit described his process:

> "I introduced something known as the Freedom Time, because in that summer teacher fellowship also we read about John Holt and his theories and his whatever examples, ke bache read toh tabhi karte hain when they want to read […]So beautiful examples uski stories ke hain, really cool examples of how when he wasn't trying to test the reading, it gave him phenomenal results. And for me I was very enamoured with that thought. That now I am not going to test, I want to move to a structure where I'm not testing every single thing"

Out of his daily teaching regimen which largely adhered to the TFI method, he allotted one hour to what he referred to as 'Freedom Time'. For this one hour, he was lenient regarding classroom management and codes of conduct. Children were allowed to converse in Hindi and he used this time to initiate teaching practices that were more unstructured. Amit got children to speak about themselves and using their anecdotes and experiences, he began to connect them with certain themes in the EVS textbook to have larger, more focused discussions on social issues and the world. He made the effort to keep a detailed diary of his reflections and observations and introduced oral forms of assessment as suggested in the NCERT source book for the subject. During this process of engagement, he also consciously decided to not force children who were uninterested into participating in the classroom discussion. Children who did not participate in the larger discussion could read other books from the classroom library or choose not to do anything at all.

Amit expressed mixed observations on his experiences with the use of this method:

> "It worked wonders for majority of the kids. But there was always a segment which didn't do anything. So I started taking notes on, like my whole thing was either help, if somebody needs some help in what they are doing, so they can come to me or I can go to them […] I was always grappling with whether

I'm trying to control them or what I'm trying to do. So from all of this now in hindsight what I can say is that an element of freedom works a lot, but with some people it will still not work".

Unlike the more structured processes of teaching Literacy or Maths, Amit found that children of varied 'competencies', irrespective of being assigned as a 'lower order' child or a 'higher order' child, could engage in the classroom discussion. However, he also faced issues of discipline as he was more lenient with 'classroom order' and did not know what he could do constructively for those children who chose to remain outside the ambit of this teaching-learning process. He believed the method was most conducive when the class strength was less than 30 students.

Amit also had difficulties in interpreting the pedagogical goals outlined in the NCERT source book for EVS. In his understanding, while the book did mention the need to integrate 'critical independent thinking' and 'skills', he found the articulation biased towards a more abstract reference of 'critical independent thinking' without defining enough examples of how 'skills' could be integrated within this process. He also expressed some ambivalence with having only oral forms of assessment and not introducing children to structures of English language learning and modes of written assessments:

> "We can think about teachers as going in with a saviour mentality and say ke nahi English is the language of power, English has to be taught […] Or we can take the other stance and say nahi we'll only teach in Hindi because that is our mother tongue […] And I've discussed ke both mein problems hai. And the approach is ke you have to follow a middle path, which is that, that is what I'm saying, ke English period mein English immersion is necessary. Hindi period mein Hindi padhani zaruri hai. Agar dono saath mein chal rahein hain toh theek hai, varna jo bhi hum kar rahey hain, that will not work, according to me. Because again, my higher order kid will crack the Board, my middle order kid will crack the Board, my lower order kid he will not be able access English still, no matter how hard I try, there will be a group of children who will not be able to access English […] And I mean maybe I'm taking a myopic view but that's the reality ke test dena hai. Toh from that respect also it's very important, according to me. So it has to go hand-in-hand".

Amit described a broad 'pedagogical binary' that existed with regard to Fellows' teaching practices[61]. Here structured modes of teaching came to be associated with training for an English language competency and written assessments as against the enquiry mode of teaching which was linked with teaching in the mother-tongue and devising oral forms of assessment. However, he called for a more difficult but nuanced approach to understanding

---

61 Due to the limitations of field work in this research study, it is difficult to explore the complexities of 'structured' and 'enquiry' based pedagogies as described by Amit here. What his observations hint at is that within the space of the classroom, at an individual level, a teacher may use multiple methods to further her teaching process. Within this space boundaries of 'structured' and 'enquiry' methods rarely operate in watertight compartments. Both approaches hold different values and are important in the teaching-learning process.

these choices. Based on his individual experience of alternating between both forms of teaching he realised that both were important. While the enquiry mode helped children express their insights with confidence, it was also important to expose children to the required rigours of attempting examinations because without that 'skill' children would be denied an academic recognition.

Amit's observations on the necessity to teach children English and the required codes to crack examinations echoed Mathew's (2016) study on Dalit aspirations for English medium education in Kerala. In her study, she shows that the state's curricular emphasis on a child-centred mode of education in the mother tongue relegated Dalit aspirations for English medium education to the margins. The choice for some Dalit families to enrol their children in English medium low-cost private schools as against Malayalam medium government schools was in part tied to the regimented pedagogical practices that teachers in English medium low-cost private schools employed to get children to pick up English language 'skills'. Mathew (2016) is cautious not to romanticise the regimen of teaching-learning in these schools or the emotional and intellectual labour invested by Dalit families in this enterprise to learn English. However, she suggests that structured pedagogical approaches often derided as being rote-based by progressive educationists did hold some value in building English language 'skills' among the Dalit children. Another older but prominent study that highlighted similar concerns of English language teaching was Delpit's (1995) study which explored how 'process writing' and 'whole language' pedagogies did not prepare children of colour to read and write effectively. These 'child-centred' methods of instruction, according to her, denied children of colour the necessary 'codes of power' which would enable them to achieve academic success. For her, traditional teacher-centred methods were important in instilling 'skills' of reading and writing among minority children.

'Teach for India' sought to address similar aspirations of poor families for English language education for their children. However, Amit's observations suggested that the organisation hadn't engaged with pedagogical questions of language in depth despite its good intentions. His personal experiences with both the organisation's structured approach and his own experiments with alternative approaches made him realise that there were formal bodies of teacher education, literacy and linguistics that in itself were immensely diverse and advocated differing perspectives of pedagogical reform.

At the level of educational policy, there is a growing push towards certain kinds of structured teacher-centred approaches by a host of social entrepreneurs and philanthropic foundations working in education. These entities do not engage with questions of pedagogy or language learning in the same way as professional bodies of education but emphasise methods that showcase results. With the rise of these structured teacher-centred approaches, alternative pedagogical practices and educational visions that cannot be measured within this calculus of 'effectiveness' are increasingly silenced (Hall 2005, Sarangapani 2011).

Amit's engagements with alternative approaches were not viewed optimistically by higher-ups in the organisation. He spoke of the conflicts he had with his immediate senior, his Program Manager Sameera:

> "So somebody like Sameera, I had to struggle with her, like right after my second year, I really had to sort of, it was almost like a confrontation […] because I took on everything and I sort of challenged everything […] So what I'm trying to say is that the PMs because that is the way they are going to assess a Fellow's performance, so for them that is the benchmark, that one single approach. And then it becomes a matter of, it becomes a sort of a quarrel, a squabble because we don't know the other method that is going to be used, how you are going to assess that. So then there's a struggle between the Fellow and the PM. I mean it's contested. I won't say that everybody is allowed to follow, there are some people who will let you do what you want to do. But only if they have the confidence that, see I think because there is this whole angle of leadership also. Because it's marketed as a leadership program […] So then its also the Program Manager's job to let you find your own way in a sense".

One of the reasons that Sameera was uncomfortable with Amit's new approaches in the classroom was due to its incompatibility with the organisation's standard method of teaching and assessment. Also, Amit's own 'performance' as a Fellow was in turn linked to his children's performance in the assessments. He noted that at some level as the TFI fellowship was marketed as a 'leadership' programme there were some Program Managers who would allow certain Fellows to innovate within the classroom. However, these individual Fellows, like Amit, were not exempt from the larger pressures of competition and conforming to the organisation's ideals of emphasising English language proficiency:

> "I mean, see there was definite amount of competition, I feel, pertaining to grade levels and pertaining to where the class is, whether the kids can speak English. It's a matter of pride if the kids are able to present. I mean I guess that's there in every field to some extent, you cant do away with it completely. But I think it has a negative impact of sorts. Because it takes you away from what you are trying to achieve and you are at odds, you are completely, always fighting that. So I was trying to fight that impulse but I wasn't able to. I had to test once every week […]For a month or 2 months I would do that. And then for again 2-3 months I would just let them [the children] chill".

Thus, while he did make small but significant attempts to introduce alternative modes of teaching and assessment in the classroom, he could not extricate himself completely from the

matrix of demands imposed on him through the organisation. Amit and Chandni's narratives highlighted certain niches of pedagogical exchanges and negotiations where they were able to exercise some agency in facilitating a teaching process which was more respectful of children's lived experiences. It was important to note that their small experiments with alternative modes of teaching were influenced by their engagement with certain institutions which espoused very different visions of education. For Chandni, it was the interaction with the Mirambika school while for Amit it was the Summer Teacher fellowship at CIE. These narratives of Amit and Chandni also spoke of certain interesting contradictions. Fellows were encouraged by the organisation to explore all kinds of opportunities to further their individual interests. Here Amit and Chandni through their respective engagements with CIE and Mirambika sought to explore alternative pedagogical practices with the aim of enriching their classroom teaching processes. However, their attempts were surveilled by Program Managers as their approaches were at odds with the organisation's vision of teaching which was heavily aligned to standardised assessments. This indicated the strong 'pedagogic boundaries' that regulated the Fellow's teaching practices and emphasised the limited autonomy within which Fellows functioned within their classrooms.

Apart from the focus on the teaching of subjects, an important aspect of the 'academic process' in Fellows' classrooms was to also introduce children to extracurricular activities, be it art, music, theatre or sports. In the following section, the theme of extracurricular activities, or what Fellows referred to as the 'Access and Exposure' strand in their Student Vision Scale (SVS) will be discussed.

6.4 'Access and Exposure': Introducing extracurricular activities

Unlike the teaching of Literacy and Maths components the organisation did not have any guiding framework or curriculum regarding extracurricular activities. The broad realm of extracurricular activities in Fellows' classrooms included a mix of different media such as art, music, theatre, public speaking and sports. There was a common pattern across the Fellows regarding the conducting of extracurricular activities in the classroom. Most Fellows scheduled the last half hour of their daily school day for conducting extracurricular activities with their class children. Some Fellows assigned Saturdays exclusively for the conducting of sports related activities. The domain of extracurricular activities also included field trips and a range of informative videos that were shown as a regular part of classroom engagements.

152

According to the MoU discussed in the earlier chapter, Fellows could raise funds through various means for these activities as well as enrol volunteers from outside the organisation to assist them.

Fellows often introduced children to various media guided by their own personal interests and in an unstructured manner. Chandni described her activities within her classroom:

> "I have a theatre background. I have been doing a lot of theatre with them. I have done a lot of music with them. So sometimes when these Seasons come up, or something like that, then sometimes instead of taking a class I take like two classes and then the rest is music and. So depending on what's coming up. That has been the practice for so long. I do plan to change it a little bit. I'll say we have music classes once a week. Like we have football or games, or we have Games once a week, you have music classes once a week, we have Art and Craft once a week."

She introduced her class children to theatre as she had some experience in the medium. Apart from this, Chandni also alternated between other media such as art, music and sports in her classroom based on what was convenient and what linked to 'seasons' that were coming up. This mention of 'seasons' alluded to 'Hulchul', the organisation's in-house city level arts and culture event that was organised regularly by a network of TFI Fellows working in different schools in Delhi. Senior organisation members as well as alumni members also helped Fellows in organising these events where children from TFI classrooms across Delhi participated and competed against each other.

Another Fellow, Dhara, discussed the range of activities she introduced in her classroom space:

> "I've really tried to expose them to a lot of music. So last year I was very consistent with it, this year not so much. I would bring a piece of music, and we would play it for 5 minutes and use that for meditation, every day […] So a lot of instrumental music we have been playing in class. There are a lot of songs, a lot of shlok, Sanskrit shlokas, that's on the music side. Then we have been doing a lot of work on art, like huge amounts of work on art. Again last year we did some of it, this year we've been very consistent. We've done like pieces of artwork. So we did quite a, so we've experimented with different art forms. We've done some paintings, we've done some model-making, we've done thumb-painting, like different kinds, warli, so different kind of art forms".

Her focus on music and art, like Chandni, was driven by her personal interests. There was no particular method to her classroom processes. For art, Dhara often relied on art and craft kits that were readily available in children's stationery stores. She distributed these kits among children and guided them as they followed the given instructions to draw and paint accordingly.

153

'Teach for India' encouraged Fellows to develop projects in extracurricular activities based on their personal interests which could extend beyond their own classroom and involve more schools thus deepening the organisation's 'impact' in the school system. Collaborative endeavours with other NGOs outside the organisation working on similar areas were also encouraged. Amit spoke of such efforts within his classroom:

> "I mean I would normally associate it with extracurricular activities, so arts and sports essentially. And then bringing a lot of people in. That's my understanding of access and exposure. Also for me like Saturday is a day where we would usually not study, not do any curricular work but do extracurricular work. So some of my friends would, there are many side projects that are running like Khel Khel Mein is a Fellow initiative that are there. There is something known as Becoming I, which places volunteers in schools. So I had applied for that in the first year and so I got 3-4 volunteers for art. And they used to come in every Saturday for about 8-9 weeks I think, they have like a 10 session thing. So they would do art activities, drawing, do some activities outside then help kids draw inside or whatever".

In Amit's description he mentioned his interactions with two initiatives: 'Khel Khel Mein' and 'Becoming I Foundation'. 'Khel Khel Mein' was started by a group of TFI Fellows interested in introducing sports to children. They saw that while government schools had good infrastructure in terms of large playgrounds, there was little investment in encouraging children in sports activities. They raised funding through corporate sponsors and purchased sports equipment and uniforms for children in TFI classrooms. Children from different grades in TFI classrooms were trained every Saturday in either football, athletics or Kho-Kho by Fellows[62] and sports teams were organised who then competed in grade level inter-school competitions. These grade level inter-school competitions, which were organised after securing requisite permissions from the municipal school authorities, largely involved only TFI classrooms across municipal schools in Delhi.

The other organisation, which Amit mentioned, was the 'Becoming I Foundation'. It was a youth based organisation which sent volunteers to interested schools in order to initiate children in different spheres of art, music, theatre or public speaking[63]. The volunteers from the organisation, according to him, were young students or professionals who were not trained in art but had a general interest in the medium.

---

62 Fellows who trained children in sports activities often relied on information available online and did not have any particular expertise in sports. Many of them had played sports at the school level and coached children based on what they had learnt or experienced.

63 Information from the organisation's web page: www.becomingifoundation.org. The foundation was involved in different community projects focusing on gender empowerment, leadership training and life skills development.

Apart from 'Khel Khel Main' and 'Becoming I Foundation', which were popular options among many Fellows in the study, other NGOs such as 'Bol', 'Project Aawaaz' and 'Design for Change' were also involved in initiating different activities in Fellows' classrooms. Table 6.5 provides an overview of some of the NGOs involved in TFI classrooms and their focus areas.

Table 6.1: NGOs in TFI classrooms

Focus Area	Organisation	Some details	Connections
Art	Becoming I	Art projects. Community development projects such as gender empowerment, leadership training and life skills development	
	Bol	Arts integrated learning. Uses various performing arts media like dance, drama, music, literature, poetry, photography etc. Stresses on experiential and intuitive methods.	
Sports	Khel Khel Main	Focuses on football, athletics and Kho-Kho. Training and competing in inter-school competitions.	Founded by TFI Fellows in 2013
Public Speaking/Social Change	Project Aawaaz	Public speaking, English speaking, debating and activity based learning	Founded by a TFI Fellow
	Design for Change	Inculcate solution oriented independent thinking among children for a range of social issues. Allows use of different media and processes by children.	Founded by Kiran Sethi of Riverside school, Ahmedabad.

(Source: Compiled through interviews with Fellows. Information on organisations from the Internet)

In many ways, due to the specific nature of the TFI intervention which allowed Fellows to raise funds and explore innovative collaborations with other NGOs, children in English medium sections were exposed to some opportunities to develop their interests in art, music, theatre, public speaking and sports.

While appreciative of Fellows' efforts in introducing a range of extracurricular opportunities for children of English medium sections, Amit also reflected on what these endeavours meant in the context of the municipal school system. He noted that in most municipal schools in the city there were very few qualified government teachers for arts and sports. It was only in select DoE schools that catered to higher grades that specialist teachers for arts and sports were appointed.

Extracurricular activities were rarely considered by the government staff in municipal schools as an integral part of holistic education for the child. In this context, Amit discussed TFI's emphasis on 'Access and Exposure' activities:

> "It's a self assessment kind of a tool. Now how it could be better or where I think we are sort of missing the boat is that we haven't been able to, there is no progression, say for arts, there could be an arts curriculum. There should be an arts curriculum. So theatre, there should be a theatre curriculum. […]So the whole idea again, like I was there in one of the meetings and this is a suggestion that I made that why not think about it in terms of the whole year or what the whole year looks like for a kid, rather than just do like one ad-hoc workshop and then have an event after that where kids are themselves practicing".

His observations evoked several significant concerns. Amit spoke of how these efforts were often conducted in an individualised ad-hoc manner without much reflection on the aims of these extracurricular activities. He spoke of the need to engage with arts and theatre curriculum in order to develop long term objectives for these activities.

The relative freedoms exercised by Fellows in their teaching practices and extracurricular engagements also led to the English medium section being transformed into select islands of privilege within the municipal school system. These developments also created some tension between the government staff in the school and TFI Fellows. The following chapter examines Fellows' engagements with government staff and reflections on the TFI model of teaching and leadership.

Concluding Observations

This chapter examined the regime of teaching and assessment practices in Fellows' classrooms across a select segment of government schools in Delhi. The first two sections elaborated on how the pedagogical focus in Fellows' classrooms was to build a particular culture of learning that privileged English language skills. This involved the institutionalising of a whole set of classroom management procedures that incentivised learning among children, encouraging them to focus on raising their scores through competing with each

other. The teaching of English followed a highly micromanaged process with the subject being divided into different components and each component being structured along a hierarchy of 'learning levels'. These elements of segmenting teaching into a hierarchy of levels echoed key aspects of 'managerialism' where the complex labour of teaching was stripped down to a series of linear tasks that had to be completed within an assigned frame of time (Boyles 1998). Standardised assessments guided the processes of teaching ensuring that children learnt to meet certain 'outcomes'.

Where in the Literacy or the English subject component, there appeared to be a much more defined framework of segregating and teaching children to their 'learning level' as determined through regular standardised assessments, the same did not operate in the teaching of Maths. There was much conflict among the Fellows in how Maths should be taught especially since the subject did not conform easily to a set of skills as English. There were two significant concerns here. One related to the medium of instruction for teaching Maths which was connected to the system of assessment. The pressure to teach the subject in English created several problems of comprehension in the classroom. The second concern related to the epistemology of learning underpinning the teaching of Maths as defined in the NCERT textbooks. This epistemic form of constructivism as embodied in the NCERT Maths textbooks was incompatible with the larger framework of learning and assessment that 'Teach for India' endorsed.

There was also a conscious ignoring of the teaching of other important subjects such as EVS, Social Studies and Science. This was largely due to the fact that these subjects were not assessed by the organisation and hence deemed less important by the Fellows. There also largely existed a lack of engagement with the conceptual and social relevance of these subjects as some Fellows saw these subjects as channels to teach Literacy skills diluting the possibility of other forms of discussions that these subjects could afford to children in understanding and relating to their social worlds.

There were two Fellows, amongst this group of Fellows, who interspersed their teaching practices with alternative pedagogical practices. Their interest in these approaches, it is important to note, stemmed from an engagement with education spaces that had very different visions of education in comparison to 'Teach for India'. While they made small attempts within the space of their classrooms, their larger approach inevitably catered to the

demands of the organisation. This suggested the strong 'pedagogic boundaries' within Fellows' classrooms that were built around standardised assessments. Any form of learning that did not cater to this larger frame of measurement was seen as 'inefficient'. This again, reiterated the 'managerialistic' focus of teaching where only pedagogic methods that delivered 'results' were seen as 'useful', while alternative forms were discouraged.

Apart from the teaching of subjects, Fellows were also instrumental in organising extra-curricular activities for the children in their classrooms. Here it was seen that these activities were largely developed around the personalised interests of Fellows. These engagements also opened up opportunities for bringing in other similar minded NGOs working in education into the classroom.

The relative autonomy of Fellows with regard to their working within municipal schools also saw these Fellows as being much more than 'teachers' as they were encouraged to build resources of multiple kinds for their select English medium classrooms. These resources included libraries, teaching aids, arts, sports and cultural opportunities, thus separating the English medium section both culturally and materially from Hindi medium sections and subtly instituting mechanisms of 'choice'. Elements of 'entrepreneurialism' were evident in the modes through which Fellows independently raised funds for their classrooms through philanthropic portals and had special privileges as per the MoU to take their class children for frequent class excursions.

These practices of Fellows – both pedagogic and otherwise – emphasised the subtle creation of 'quasi-markets' within municipal schools founded on linguistic distinctions of English and Hindi medium sections (Whitty and Power 2000). Within the exclusive spaces of the English medium sections, Fellows instituted 'managerialistic' pedagogies which segregated children, infused principles of competition and stressed standardised assessments as benchmarks to guide teaching.

The practices and engagements of Fellows within the school sites did not exist in isolation to the government staff. Much of their working was driven by how they were accommodated within the municipal school site. The following chapter draws on the narratives of Fellows to understand how they were perceived by the school principal and government teachers. It will discuss the nature of their interaction with government counterparts, Fellows' observations on the TFI model and aspirations post the fellowship.

7. Engaging with government schools:
On partnership and ideas of leadership

This chapter begins with examining the nature of professional relationships between the school principal, school teachers and the Fellows. While a systemic overview of the government school system and some aspects of the responsibilities of government teachers vis a vis Fellows has been outlined in Chapter 5, this discussion draws on Fellows' narratives to situate how the government staff perceived them and engaged with them. It then moves on to understand how Fellows related their two-year teaching experience within municipal schools with the discourse of 'leadership' which is central to the TFI model. Finally, the chapter explores the professional aspirations of Fellows on completing the two-year fellowship.

7.1. Fellows and government school staff

A. Fellows' social backgrounds and English medium sections as new sites of privilege

The engagements between Fellows and the government school staff were mediated by several factors. One significant theme which emerged in the narratives of the Fellows regarding their interactions concerned their relative 'class position' vis a vis members of the government school staff. Amit reflected on how the government staff perceived him:

> "I think it's a big factor. It is wahi ke they think that we come from posh backgrounds, they think that we've come here to achieve, use this as a stepping-stone and then go to greater heights and they feel aggrieved that they never had this option […] And there is a certain amount of envy that exists there. Having said that itna class farak hai bhi nahi, with a lot of teachers. So a lot of Fellows come from humble backgrounds also. So I mean, for me maybe, because I used to go in a car, and I would always bring in a lot of things. Like I bought the whole football ka kit for the school and I did the Bol Project, which cost a lot of money. So they knew that I am doing and raising and spending my own money and doing a lot of things. With me also maybe there was certain amount of class angle, but I mean they did try to befriend me also".

His observations emphasised how the school largely viewed Fellows as privileged individuals who were teaching temporarily and would then use this experience to gain a foothold in other opportunities outside the municipal school system. This aspect which allowed Fellows to

enter and teach within the school system temporarily also evoked a sense of 'envy' from the government school staff who according to Amit "never had this option".

Within this observation was embedded a larger point of discussion which alluded to tensions between an older bureaucratised school system vis a vis a more flexible 'managerialistic' intervention. In the older, bureaucratised system, individuals who entered the vocation of teaching were to expect a certain stable income and fixed professional trajectory till retirement[64]. The newer counterpart to this system was the 'Teach for India' intervention, where individuals entered teaching to build 'leadership' skills, learn about the school system and use these experiences in their own individualised ways to either enter the social sector or pursue other professional and educational trajectories. Teaching as a vocation was not at the centre of TFI's project of educational reform.

Amit's observation also indicated how he embodied certain overt markers of 'class' vis a vis the government school staff. These markers were primarily material, referring to how he drove to school using his own car and also raised funds for a range of extracurricular projects for his individual English medium classroom. Amit's statements also suggested that he contributed from his own personal finances for various activities in his classroom as well.

In a study on understanding the moralities of consumption among a section of the middle classes in Baroda, Wessel (2004) discusses how the consumption and exhibiting of material goods created a sense of 'status competition' between fractions of a largely similar middle class marking an 'older' middle class from the 'newer' middle class.

Her observations of how 'status competition' creates boundaries between fractions of a middle class are resonant in Amit's statements of 'difference' between himself and the government school staff. The intervention created two teacher figures within the municipal school system: the 'new entrepreneurial' Fellow and the 'older bureaucratic' government school teacher. The freedoms that Fellows exercised in their respective English medium classrooms were also validated through the MoU between TFI and the Delhi government. Significant aspects concerning the MoU which accorded Fellows more autonomy in their classrooms vis a vis government school teachers have been discussed in Chapter 5. What this

---

64 For a discussion on the teaching profession see Ingersoll and Merrill 2011; Khora 2011; Lortie 2002 and Ginsburg et al. 1988.

entailed in terms of the professional relationship between the Fellows and the government staff within the school site will be discussed in later sections in this chapter.

Most Fellows in the sample echoed Amit's observations of how they were perceived through a certain 'class' lens by the government staff. This also led to a certain special treatment of Fellows by some school principals in some municipal schools. Sanjay described his experience:

> "In our school, because our Principal was, I don't want to use this word, but the word that is coming to my mind is smitten. She valued what the Fellows were trying to do, or at least like she saw that some of us, I wont say all of us in the school, but some of us were really trying, working really hard with the kids. She saw that. In fact I would say that she went as far as to give us some preferential treatment also. For her it was always Hindi-medium, English-medium. Toh she herself inadvertently I think introduced competition which I don't think was what she wanted to do, but she managed to do that".

This "preferential treatment", according to him, was linked to how school principals valued the Fellows' work and enthusiasm in their respective English medium classrooms. It also pointed to new dynamics of 'competition' being introduced between English and Hindi medium sections within the municipal schools.

Sanjay's observations highlighted how some school principals saw Fellows as important agents who could raise funds and bring in a variety of resources into financially starved municipal school systems. However, these resources were chanellised selectively to benefit children in English medium sections.

In 2013, school principals from more than 30 schools in South Delhi submitted testimonials to the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC) evaluating the work of TFI Fellows in their respective schools[65]. Most school principals expressed a general sense of satisfaction with certain aims of the intervention and the conduct of the Fellows.

In particular, most school principals spoke highly of the programme's thrust on English language teaching, the use of teaching aids, engagement in extracurricular activities and the increased provision of books and learning resources to children studying in 'Teach for India' classrooms. However, there were also a few school principals who cautioned against certain emerging trends:

> The partnership with TFI if one were to keep in mind education is not a bad idea. However there are some concerns that one cannot ignore. One section is English medium and one notices that the children from this section are being conditioned in ways that are worrying. They are culturally moving away

---

65 Testimonials by school principals have been retrieved through RTI applications filed at the Education Department in SDMC in March 2015.

(Ek kaksha English medium ke bacche maansik roop se vikriti ki aur ja rahe hain). Apart from the Fellows, these children remain apart from children of other sections as well as other school teachers. The Fellows involve these children in intensive studies and activities for five hours, which keeps these children away from outdoor play and they also consider themselves as 'different' from the other children in the school. They don't play with the other children. TFI fellows emphasise only English due to which Hindi is not taught. The time allotted for teaching Hindi is not used in this. TFI Fellows are not trained because of which they are unable to understand the psychology of children. They work only keeping their objectives in mind and are focused only on fulfilling them. Even if the child is struggling (TFI trained nahin hain jissee vo bacchon ki psychology ko nahin samajthey keval unka uddheshyay apne karya ko anjaam dena hain. Chaahe iske liye bacchaa kitne bhi takleef main ho). We have encountered many cases regarding this. If the TFI Fellows understood these concerns and worked accordingly, one can definitely see positive change (Testimonial by a School Principal of a Nigam Pratibha Vidyalaya in South Delhi. The testimonial has been translated from Hindi to English).

The above testimonial by a school principal elucidates some important concerns regarding the intervention. This included the spatial and cultural demarcation being constructed between English and Hindi medium sections and the inadequate pedagogical practices of Fellows which gave more importance to English. His testimonial expressed a sense of worry regarding how children in English medium sections were kept separate from children in Hindi medium sections and were involved only in TFI specific modes of intensive study and extracurricular activities. In another testimonial, a school principal while appreciative of the intervention in general also mentions how the intervention had created discontentment between English and Hindi medium sections:

Fellows of Teach for India have made significant improvement in the reading, writing and speaking skill of English language. Fellows call parents regularly and discuss about the children progress in their academic front. The projects like multimedia etc. is limited to the selective students which led to dissatisfaction among other students. I, as principal is not entitle [sic] to comment on the partnership with Teach for India in future. We have to obey the orders of our higher authorities (Testimonial by a School Principal of a MCD school in South Delhi).

This sense of discontentment largely related to how multimedia resources remained concentrated within English medium sections. In this testimonial, the school principal also alluded to the top-down approach of the intervention. This is evident in how he framed his comments on the intervention, suggesting that he has to "obey the orders of our higher authorities".

The larger bureaucratic school regime within which the intervention functioned has been described in Chapter 5. The parallel administrative regime of TFI vis a vis the government institutional regime and a structural overview of how the programme has reoriented teaching and administrative arrangements within the municipal school site has also been explained. How these larger systemic arrangements influenced the professional space within the school

site will be examined in the following two sub-sections. These two sub-sections will explore the nature of professional relationships between Fellows and the government school staff, most notably the school principal and the government school teachers.

Fellows' freedom to institute TFI's specified teaching practices within their respective English medium classrooms was largely dependent on their relationships with the school principal of the respective school they were teaching at. This relationship with the school principal in turn influenced how government school teachers chose to engage with the Fellows regarding the sharing of teaching and administrative responsibilities.

B. Engagements with the school principal

I. Keeping track of school syllabus

In most schools, the school principals were primarily concerned with the supervision of government school teachers' classrooms. They ensured that administrative tasks and syllabus requirements for various subjects were completed at regular intervals.

With regard to the classroom responsibilities of TFI Fellows, most school principals adopted mixed approaches. Fellows noted that those of them who taught higher grades such as Class IV onwards were subjected to some pressure from the school principal to adhere to teaching from the NCERT textbooks and completing the syllabus on time. However those Fellows who taught younger grades such as classes II and III had a lot more freedom to improvise in their classrooms. Chandni, who taught a grade IV classroom, discussed her experience:

> "So initially when I came to the school, I was told clearly by the Principal, I don't mind anything about class 2, but class 4 you have to complete the syllabus. So I had to complete syllabus. So a lot of the NCERT English books, or Looking Around, a lot of things, especially Looking Around, a lot of values I want to teach for TFI, the way they tell you to integrate, it is there. It is there okay. And so I integrated completely, I complete the government syllabus. […] So only the thing I have done is, I have not gone formally yet taking Chapter 1 and start reading. I would have picked up okay, yeh padhana chahta hai, they want to teach this, they want to teach this, and I am teaching it however I want it".

Her description illustrated that while she met the school principal's demands of completing the syllabus for the subjects she was teaching in grade IV, she did not change her pedagogical practices. She merely ensured that all the chapters that were required to be taught were taught within the TFI pedagogical framework. The previous chapter has discussed at length on how Fellows used NCERT textbooks for English, Maths and Social Studies/Science to teach TFI specified objectives for Literacy and Maths. This is an important observation as it highlighted

that most school principals were not concerned with the pedagogical dynamics of 'how' subjects were taught in TFI classrooms. Most school principals were content as long as Fellows kept up with administrative requirements of completing the syllabus for various subjects within specified periods of time.

II. Classroom and school inspection duties

Most of the school principals, according to the Fellows, rarely inspected their classrooms. This is despite the fact that the MoU between TFI and the Delhi government accorded school principals with the formal authority to supervise TFI classrooms regularly.

Only one Fellow Anita mentioned the individual initiative of her school principal in observing her classroom and giving feedback:

> "So Principal is supposed to do class observations of generally 4th, 5th [grades] more [often] because they are going to go to next school [DoE school]. So he has done a lot of [observations of] my class".

Anita connected the frequency of observations of her classroom to the fact that she was teaching Class V in the MCD school and that her class children were due to enter Class VI in a DoE school. Thus her school principal was inspecting her classroom to ensure that the children were at grade level and that the teaching of the required syllabus was complete.

While there were other Fellows in this sample who were also teaching senior grades in MCD schools and DoE schools, Anita was the only Fellow in the sample who mentioned that her school principal regularly inspected her classroom.

With regard to school inspections by officials from the MCD, Fellows observed that these were often brief visits where both government teachers' classrooms and TFI classrooms were inspected. Amit, recollected one such experience:

> "Ya there were some officers who would come in who would sometimes comment. Most of the times they would be happy because kids would either speak in English, some form of English would be happening, that's what they were looking for. One thing that I find strange is that the inspection officers come, they don't necessarily talk to the kids, they'll comment on the way the benches are placed and stuff like that, and they would hardly spend like 30 seconds on, they'll just look at the cleanliness aspect and then leave".

His observation indicated that regular school inspections by MCD officials were often a superficial affair. Amit noted how the officials seemed to be happy as the children in his classroom could converse in some form of English. However, these officials rarely engaged

with the students and merely focused on peripheral aspects of how his classroom was maintained.

These engagements of inspection by school principals and MCD officials showcase the shallow nature of how teaching-learning transactions were monitored within the bureaucratic government school system.

III. Permissions for PTMs and other activities

School principals were also responsible for sanctioning permission to Fellows to conduct Parent-Teacher Meetings (PTMs) in their classrooms. While the MoU allowed Fellows to conduct PTMs at least once a month in their classrooms under the supervision of the school principal, Fellows noted mixed experiences regarding this.

In most schools in this study, Fellows shared a cordial relationship with the school principal. Here Fellows could hold PTMs for their respective English medium sections after gaining the requisite permission from the school principal. There were a few schools, however, where Fellows shared an ambivalent relationship with the school principal. Here Fellows were denied permission to conduct PTMs. Dhara's school was one such example. She recounted:

> "PTMs have been a fiasco. Even when we've tried to hold one, very few people turn up. And I think it's not like they [parents] are not interested, even the ones who are interested I think they don't turn up because the time doesn't work very well for them. […] It's also not worked very well from the school's angle. The school is not very pro-PTM".

Dhara had a difficult time coordinating with the parents of the children from her class as well as securing permission from her school principal to hold PTMs. She realised that as most parents were working odd hours, it was not easy to schedule a common time for a majority of parents. This process was further hindered as the school was not encouraging of Fellows holding PTMs as well.

In the previous chapter, there was some discussion on how Fellows involved children in English medium sections in a range of extracurricular activities. They could also independently raise funds through a number of philanthropic online portals for these causes and could also collaborate with members from other NGOs for these purposes.

The freedom to introduce extracurricular activities within the classroom, enrol volunteers or take children outside the school for field trips was entirely dependent on the school principals of the respective municipal schools where these Fellows were working. While the MoU

arrangement allowed Fellows these specific liberties to build 'access and exposure' among the school children, on most occasions these permissions had to be negotiated by the Fellows at the level of the school. Thus, in a few schools where the school principals were not very supportive of the intervention, Fellows struggled to get permission to take children out of the school for field trips or sports activities and often had to resign themselves to activities that they could manage within the space of their classroom.

C. Engagements with government school teachers

The entry of TFI into a select segment of municipal schools in Delhi significantly altered the teaching and administrative work profile of government school teachers. Aspects concerning the teaching of subjects, the conducting of cycles of assessments and responsibilities of administrative work in English and Hindi medium sections have been discussed in Chapter 5. This section focuses on how these structural changes in the work profile of government school teachers influenced their engagements with Fellows.

The earlier chapters have examined how Fellows were accorded a certain autonomy vis a vis government teachers with regard to their teaching practices in English medium classrooms. This autonomy coupled with the privileged social backgrounds of the Fellows also saw many school principals treating them with a special status.

Government school teachers engaged with Fellows within the framework of these complex dynamics. The government school teachers had to adhere to the hierarchy of the government school system where the school principal was their head but at the same time they had to make space for these new 'teacher Fellows' who operated autonomously in some ways outside the bureaucratic government school system. Most Fellows observed that they had a singular control over their English medium classrooms. The government school teachers of the Hindi medium sections had very infrequent interactions with them especially with regard to the teaching of Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' in English medium sections. Anita described the divisions that existed between the Fellows and the government school teachers in her school:

> "Some MCD teachers feel that Sir [school principal] is a little more partial and supports Teach for India Fellows more, rather than them, and they have a separate group sort of a thing".

166

Her comment articulated a sense of tension that existed between government school teachers and Fellows, and how there were two separate groups within the school. The easiest division that played out between these two groups was on the basis of language: where the government school teachers largely handled the Hindi medium sections while the Fellows handled the English medium sections.

In a few schools however, Fellows mentioned that the MCD had appointed extra government teachers for English medium sections as well. This created a much more complex teaching arrangement, where the Hindi medium section of a grade had one government teacher and the English medium section of the same grade had two teachers: a TFI Fellow and a government teacher[66]. Here the tensions were much more overt. Vineet recounted his teaching arrangement:

> "Basically she [government teacher in English medium section] feels like that she should be teaching there alone, that someone else coming in, because like even if I am teaching for half an hour, like after the break, for that time she is free. The Principal can tell her to go to some other class and teach there, which is something she is not comfortable with. Because for her this is my class and I am the boss here, I am supposed to teach here, why should I go to some other class. So me being there makes her vulnerable that she has to go to some other class, teach some other kids, the Principal can tell her to do admin work also".

His comment expressed the insecurity of his government co-teacher vis a vis him. In the government school system, the school teacher lay at the bottom of the administrative hierarchy. The coming of TFI Fellows further complicated these power dimensions and interpersonal relationships within the municipal school. Here, the government school teacher could not exercise complete control over 'her' classroom. She was not supported by her school principal either and could easily be shifted to doing other tasks, mostly administrative work.

This 'dominant control' over English medium sections led to erratic engagements between government teachers and Fellows, which in turn led to Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' being taught inconsistently in these sections. In the previous chapter on teaching practices in Fellows' classrooms it was shown that Fellows focused largely on TFI specified Literacy and Maths objectives and largely ignored the teaching of EVS, Social Studies and Science. Due to

---

66 These appointments of extra government teachers in English medium sections were only for primary grades (classes II to V) in a few MCD schools. In most MCD schools where TFI worked, TFI Fellows were given singular control of English medium sections. In upper primary grades in DoE schools, English medium sections were often assigned two Fellows to maintain a teacher: pupil ratio of 1:40. These details have been mentioned in Chapter 5.

these tenuous relationships with government school teachers, the teaching of Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' were also compromised.

Some Fellows spoke with concern on this issue. Chandni described the fractured linguistic acquisition among her grade IV class children:

> "Language is very important, and when I say language is important I mean Hindi too. So I am of this opinion… the sad thing is that actually I sometimes feel that our kids are in this spot when neither their English is perfect, nor their Hindi is good. So recently I had taken them for this news debate thing, with kid reporters, and they had prepared in English, and suddenly they said ki Hindi mein baat karni hain, and they were like really scared and I was like, you should be calm right Hindi mein baat karni hai? And they were like no Didi, pollution ko Hindi mein, what is pollution called in Hindi? I said relax you can use pollution. And they got really scared. So I realized, this is such a sad state of affairs. But I cant blame them, because the Hindi teacher is not perfect".

There was a sense of ambiguity in her comment. Her class children who had been in a 'Teach for India' classroom for more than three years had been taught Hindi very inconsistently and were very under confident of conversing, reading and writing in the language. Most Fellows believed in the organisation's emphasis on English language instruction and while they used a mix of Hindi and English in certain teaching processes, it was largely accepted that English was the language of power and social mobility. Here Chandni remained unsure of what the organisation's pedagogical practices meant for the children of her class. She felt they were not picking up English 'perfectly' but at the same time their links with Hindi were growing weaker. According to her, this poor grasp of Hindi was due to the poor teaching by the government teacher.

A few Fellows like Payal reflected on the pedagogical underpinnings of language and learning with a little more depth:

> "Initially when I never used to teach them Hindi or I haven't seen them learning Hindi, my problem was they don't understand ABC so they don't know ABC. But I was very sure like somewhere I thought ka-kha-ga toh aata hi hoga, so I thought okay let me use A-ey, B-ba toh unko ey-ba-ka toh pata hi hai. So agar Hindi aati hai toh dusri language I can really relate to Hindi and then I can tell them. But when I saw them learning Hindi is what i'm realizing that they don't know ka-kha-ga also. So that's what I'm saying, both the languages are like second language. So they are like first time learners to both the language".

Her observation suggested that she had hoped that the young children in her second grade classroom would have a basic understanding of the Hindi alphabet. It was only when she made the attempt to see whether they could relate to sounds and words in Hindi did she realise that her children had not been exposed to any language formally and were first generation learners. This was a difficult revelation for Payal to engage with because the

organisation did not adequately understand these complexities and Fellows largely adhered to organisation's modes of teaching and testing which has been discussed in the earlier chapter.

While the larger narrative of Fellows' engagements with government teachers was one of indifference marked by linguistic and 'class' boundaries, there was an exception in the sample of Fellows interviewed. One Fellow Anita spoke of a warm and respectful professional relationship with her government co-teacher, Smita. She was an older, committed teacher at Anita's school who had been teaching for more than a decade. Anita described their collaboration:

> "She [Smita, government co-teacher] wants kids to learn, like at the end of the day I think why we collaborated more [was] because our vision for kids was same, that we wanted them to learn, we want them to have a certain set of values and mindsets and at the end of the day be respectful to each other and that helped a lot in our collaboration"

Smita not only taught the subjects required of her consistently – Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan' – but often took initiative to guide Anita's teaching processes as well. While both Anita and her government co-teacher Smita had clear demarcations between themselves regarding the teaching of subjects, there were occasions where Anita struggled in communicating concepts clearly to the children in the classroom. Smita often stepped in to guide Anita during these moments:

> "So sometimes what happens is that children ask that 'Didi what is this called in Hindi' because, and if I don't know it, and Ma'am [government co-teacher] is sitting over there then she would pitch in and say ki this is how it works […]Or sometimes, just general, ki isko yeh kehte hai Hindi mein, or maybe some more information, she adds to it".

This was a rare collaboration because unlike most government teachers who Fellows observed in their schools, Smita was not intimidated by the Fellow in her classroom. According to Anita, she was a permanent staff member with a long teaching experience. When Smita saw that children in the classroom were struggling to understand concepts in English, she intervened to guide Anita's teaching and in turn help children access the same concepts in Hindi, a language they were more familiar with.

These complex engagements with government school teachers and school principals not only shaped Fellows' teaching experiences but were also influential in how they understood the problems that plagued the government school system. One of the central tenets in TFI's vision of educational reform is the discourse of 'leadership'. The following section explores how Fellows related to TFI's model of teaching that was linked to 'leadership'. It will also

trace the professional trajectories that Fellows aspired for after the completion of the fellowship.

7.2. New conceptions of teaching: On 'leadership', 'change' and the future

None of the Fellows interviewed, viewed the fellowship as an opportunity to enter teaching as a vocation. All Fellows noted that "two years were not enough to be a 'good teacher'". They clearly distinguished their profile of work within the two-year fellowship from the long-term vocation of teaching associated with government school teachers[67].

Fellows understood their engagement with practices of teaching, building relationships with government school staff, children and their families within the framework of 'leadership'. Vineet described what he understood of the programme's thrust of relating teaching with 'leadership':

> "I don't think there are any rules in Teach for India [...] And that's the beauty and the sad part about it is that you get to define what is leadership and what is teacher for you, you have to define everything, no body can force you to do anything. There is no way that anyone can make you do anything here. And that is the system that you are given a support system, the process of getting into it is such that at least you are mildly passionate about it [...] and then they expect you to create your own definition [...] you are just taking in, what is happening in the world, and you are trying to form definition of what exactly a leader is [...] but its such an abstract concept that you know Teach and Lead if you take the normal definitions, they'll be like ya teachers se ye leaders ki ye quality nikalti hai, teacher mein quality, leader mein same quality. So both have same qualities so you'll develop as a leader, but its not exactly that. The amount of space that they give you is also important in how you see, what you see as a leader, or what you see as a teacher [...] The freedom that Teach for India gives is what essentially is helping people define their own meaning of teacher and leader. Because everyone's doing, there's 4 people in this house, who are Fellows and doing completely different stuff, all of which is working and not working at the same time, so you actually cannot define".

His observation highlighted the ambiguity within the programme in linking teaching with 'leadership'. The organisation provided Fellows with a broad support system. However, it was up to the Fellows to explore and define the process in their own individual way. Vineet mentions how most Fellows would directly associate general aspects of 'good teaching' with qualities of 'leadership'. In his understanding, these associations could not be mapped onto each other in such a direct manner.

The 'Leadership Development Journey' (LDJ), the rubric which was central to the guiding and assessment of Fellows has been examined in Chapter 4. The rubric outlined three concentric circles: the classroom, the school and the community. The work of the Fellow

---

67 The MoU clearly restricted Fellows from applying for teaching positions within the municipal school system. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, Fellows also did not have the requisite qualifications as per the NCTE guidelines as well.

which began in the classroom was expected to expand gradually and encompass more responsibilities within the school system and ultimately the community.

The pedagogical work of the Fellow within the space of the classroom was mapped through the Student Vision Scale (SVS). A part of the LDJ rubric, the SVS provided a general frame to judge strands of academics, classroom management and 'access and exposure' activities in Fellows' classrooms. The rubric did not define any specific criteria but Fellows' practices in the classroom suggested that the organisation valued structures of classroom management, codes of discipline and English language reading and writing skills. Teaching processes were heavily biased towards the TFI framework of literacy and numeracy which was in turn linked to standardised testing. These dimensions have been explored in the previous chapter.

However, the space of the classroom was largely seen as a beginning, an engagement which had limited 'impact'. Ravi discusses the limitations of just focusing on the classroom:

> "I think most of the Fellows, when they think about their future, they don't want to restrict themselves to 40 kids or 50 kids. Because for me, like I know that if I want to do something more, why not create a system or a structure where through me more and more students and I just don't become the foot soldier of an army like Teach for India, and why not I just build my own movement where I am impacting more classroom, more community, more lives".

For him, the classroom was a finite space and he aspired for more. He hoped to build a system where he could work with a greater number of people, 'impacting' more classrooms and more communities.

The SVS was in turn linked to the Fellow Commitments Scale (FCS), the second half of the LDJ rubric. This scale sought to assess Fellows' across strands of personal transformation, collective action and education equity. Again like the SVS, the scale did not articulate any clear criteria but the underlying emphasis of the scale was that the Fellow was to extend his influence beyond the classroom. This meant building relationships with different stakeholders in the school system and the community and to work towards 'education equity'. Again, like 'leadership', 'education equity' was not clearly defined. It was left to Fellows to interpret this construct in their own individualised ways and do what they could to achieve 'education equity' within the school site they worked in.

To achieve 'education equity', Fellows implemented diverse projects within their classrooms, schools and communities. They raised funds through various means, including their personal and previous professional networks and through collaborations with other NGOs. Some

171

examples of these projects as mentioned by Fellows included 'Khel Khel Main', a sports organisation founded by few TFI Fellows, awareness drives on domestic abuse in some of the residential areas where students lived and raising funds to set up libraries in their schools.

The initiatives that Fellows undertook were connected to how they were evaluated by their Program Managers on the FCS. The process of gathering 'evidence' in the classroom and through other activities suggested certain complex concerns. Neeraj discussed the negotiations involved in the process of gathering and substantiating 'evidences':

> "The problem is elsewhere, which is the evidences if you admit the wide range, the anecdotes, something which the child wrote, something which happened, is easy to, there are Fellows who go with all these evidences also, and at the same time their classroom may not be what their evidences claim. Just because a child one day wrote this doesn't mean this value is instilled in him. And these are very rough evidences, they have no credibility at all, you may just pile up such evidences which are available very cheaply if you are only out looking for them. And of course you only choose to report the positive things which you saw, because they are the ones the PM is interested in".

His observation pointed to a certain lack of criticality in how Fellows understood 'evidences' and why they collected it. Neeraj's comment also alluded to how Fellows involved themselves in numerous activities to showcase 'evidences' in order to secure a positive evaluation from the Program Manager on the FCS. There was a lack of effort in engaging with substantial dimensions of what constructs like 'leadership' or 'education equity' meant in the context of the government school system.

The need to engage and build relationships across multiple stakeholders within the school system and the community also sought to familiarise Fellows with 'management' aspects of the school system. Girish associated 'problem-solving' as an important dimension of 'leadership':

> "Problems are coming almost on a daily basis, small problems, big problems. And the ability or the habit, two years of experience of actually dealing with those problems and working towards it, dealing with a lot of people within the system, different kinds of people in the system, does bring out some amount of leadership qualities. The ideas of negotiation, just influencing people, without having the position of authority. So all these, a lot of features of a leader do come up. It is not necessary that all teachers will become leaders, and neither all leaders are needed to be a teacher, but the circumstance we are put into within the Fellowship program does give us a lot of environment and challenges to develop ourselves as leaders, if we intend to do that. Because in the end we are solving problems on a daily basis and we are not solving it alone, we are solving it with a lot of people together, you are influencing people, you are motivating them, and all that, you are negotiating with people, you are building your reputation, credibility, lot of things go with it.".

His description again like Vineet's comment earlier was of a generalistic nature. He spoke of negotiating with different kinds of people within the school system and learning to resolve

'problems' on a day to day basis. Like Vineet, Girish too emphasised that the fellowship thrust individuals into challenging circumstances, allowing them to develop as 'leaders'.

The school system: its bureaucratic structure, the administrative hierarchies, the modes of teaching-learning within school sites and the myriad complex engagements and relationships between various stakeholders were imagined as mechanical parts of a whole. Each Fellow could engage with different facets of this system in their own ways to bring about 'change'.

These templates of 'leadership' were driven by a sense of 'individual entrepreneurialism' (Gooptu 2009: 45). Gooptu's (2009) study on deciphering the new 'enterprising' self-identity among retail sector workers in urban Calcutta is of significance here in situating Fellows narratives of 'leadership'. She notes that with the transition of the State from an interventionist to a regulatory State encouraging of market and business friendly policies, "new workplaces like organised retail shopping malls are playing a decisive part in crafting suitable workers and citizens, and in re-shaping individual subjectivity, consonant with the needs of the market and neoliberal governmentality for self-governing citizens and self-driven, pliant workers" (Ibid: 54).

Workers are not only socialised into values of 'personal initiative', 'enterprise', 'hard work', 'individual responsibility' and 'self-discipline' but also learn to seek "personal solutions to structurally or systematically generated problems in the economy and at the workplace" (Ibid).

It was in this similar vein of 'enterprise culture', that Fellows began to view themselves as individual 'change agents' developing 'personal solutions' to reform the education system. The initiatives and ideas that Fellows undertook in their personal capacities were also supported through the organisation in multiple ways. Naina pointed to the larger role of the intervention in the education policy landscape:

> "I think TFI's aim was that yes, to kind of provide this band-aid solution, but the real aim was that create this network of people who are really enthusiastic about education, really passionate about fixing the system, and after two years of this training, but also along with the training there should be a lot of dialogue about policy in education. These Fellows will all move on into the education sphere in different roles, whether it's through education policy, whether it's join the government, whether it's staying on as teacher, whether its joining even banking but then having an education role in that, like whatever way. I think the overall aim was to create a huge network across the country of alumni who are involved in the education space and have the contacts to influence and change education with the shared TFI experience".

173

She explained that while at one level the programme was operating as a temporary fix to the education system, at another level there was a certain long term aim as well. This long term aim was linked with creating and connecting a wide network of individuals working in different roles in the education sector. 'Teach for India' has a vast network connecting corporates, banking sector companies, CSR foundations, NGOs and research consultancy organisations, which has been examined in Chapter 3.

The larger idea of this intervention was to support individuals in discovering their own narratives of 'change' but at the same time remain connected with the TFI vision of education reform.

Amongst the Fellows interviewed for this research study, those who were in the second year of the fellowship had shortlisted a range of professional choices to pursue after the completion of the programme. These professional choices were largely influenced by their experience with the TFI programme. All of them hoped to remain within the education sector either through working with NGOs, research consultancies, joining senior staff positions in TFI or applying for CSR wings of corporate organisations that had a strong focus on education (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Professional choices of Fellows in second year of TFI fellowship

Returned to previous job	CSR wing of company	NGOs	TFI	Global research consultancy	Academics
2	1	1	2	1	1

Apart from Fellows who were keen on remaining within TFI and others who were returning to their previous jobs (as they had joined the TFI fellowship through sabbatical options), the other professional choices of Fellows were all organisations that had strong connections with TFI. Dhara was joining the NGO 'Indus Action', which was started by a former TFI Fellow and former City Director of the Delhi TFI team, Tarun Cherukuri; Anita was joining the CSR division of Ernst and Young which was one of the corporate funders of TFI in Delhi and Naina was joining as a research associate with JPAL (The Abdul Lateef Jameel Poverty Action Lab), a well-known policy think tank with local and global connections to TFI and TFA.

Only one Fellow, Amit, was looking at pursuing a Masters in Sociology at Delhi University[68]. His choice was considered 'radical' among his peers but Amit's choice was driven by a range of reasons:

> "I would say that the Fellowship has given me a path and sort of a vague definition of where do I fit in, in trying to fulfil what needs to be done. Having said that, is education that path, I'm not necessarily sure. Because I am, after coming into the Fellowship I've realized, that even the government has certain handicaps, like they are also thinking at some level, they are also thinking of learning outcomes, they are also thinking of education in terms of learning outcomes. So they are coming with certain assumptions. They are putting a certain kind of life upon us. Now whether I am even comfortable with that sort of life, I'm not sure with that idea. […]And that is why I want to get into Sociology to kind of think through what others have thought through".

He believed that while the fellowship provided him with the opportunity to engage with the education system, he was not completely sure if the organisation's path of 'education reform' was something he subscribed to. Amit realised that while TFI was influential in pushing for certain kinds of teaching and testing practices within school sites, he also saw that these measures were not operating within a vacuum. The government too, according to him, was supporting and encouraging of these measures. That the government too advocated 'learning outcomes'. In order to make better sense of these complexities, he wanted to pursue a programme in Sociology which he believed would help him in "thinking through what others have thought through".

Amit's observation was pertinent because it articulated a sense of scepticism and need to engage with larger systems of knowledge to understand these complexities. This was a contrast to most Fellows who believed that their two-year experience had equipped them with enough knowledge on the education system and the pathways to institute 'change'.

His comment on the government also focusing on 'learning outcomes' was significant as well because it pointed to the internal tensions between various levels of the education system. At the level of policy, guidelines of the National Curricular Framework (2005), Right To Education (2009) and the National Curricular Framework of Teacher Education (2009) sought to reform several dimensions of teaching-learning within the school. This included curricular reforms to focus on a more child-centred approach to teaching, bringing more autonomy to the school teacher and changing the examination system to a process of continuous evaluation through multiple modes.

---

68 At the time of the interview with Amit for this study, he was preparing for the MA entrance exams for Sociology at Delhi University.

However, at the level of the school, it was seen that policy prescriptions towards reforming the system were contradicted by the practices of local education departments. Even before the entry of TFI into select municipal schools, the Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) process had been transformed into a series of unit tests which increased the workload of school teachers and there were no measures to reform pedagogical practices to reflect the new curricular aims.

Government school teachers continued to function within a rigid bureaucratic system with high pupil-teacher ratios and driven by administrative demands to teach for school based examinations. Efforts to introduce institutional support and mentorship for school teachers to facilitate these progressive policy reforms were inadequate (Sriprakash 2012). It was thus within this larger context of government schooling that interventions such as 'Teach for India' were encouraged through PPPs to improve school teaching.

Concluding Observations

This chapter situated the interpersonal dynamics between Fellows, government teachers and the school principals. It began with discussing how Fellows were perceived by the government staff. One of the most overt indicators that distinguished Fellows from the government staff were the modes through which they exhibited their 'class'. This was most evident in how Fellows had the freedom to raise funds for their English medium sections and cultivate a certain culture of learning in their classrooms. The government staff largely saw Fellows as temporary 'do-gooders' who would use this experience at the municipal school to further their own individual careers. What was interesting to note was that the special privileges and status accorded to the Fellows through the MoU and the TFI programme gave them an esteemed position in the eyes of some school principals. Some school principals saw Fellows as important agents who could bring in additional resources into their schools by the virtue of their independent social networks and in turn help raise the standing of the school in the community.

With regard to classroom responsibilities, it was noted that most school principals had a hands-off approach and were primarily concerned with meeting administrative requirements in a mechanical manner. Thus the pedagogical regimes that Fellows instituted in their respective classrooms remained largely untouched by the government regime. Fellows largely

needed to ensure that the syllabus was being completed and classroom decorum was maintained.

Fellows' observations on their engagements with government school teachers suggested that there existed a tense and mostly distant relationship between both groups. Government teachers felt insecure with Fellows' presence in classrooms that were previously under their control. The privileges that Fellows enjoyed within the space of the classroom deepened divisions between these two parties.

This had a distinct impact on the teaching of the subjects Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan'. Both subjects were also meant to be taught by government teachers to children in the English medium sections but were taught inconsistently. While some Fellows were reflective of the troubling pedagogical consequences of ignoring these subjects, they found themselves ill-equipped to change or even question the larger structure and pedagogical vision of the 'Teach for India' intervention which focused only on English and Maths skills. The reflections by Fellows on these pedagogical inadequacies also pointed to the highly technical imagination of education by the organisation without any critical engagement with the social context of the children in these schools.

The functioning of 'Teach for India' within the municipal school site subtly institutionalised 'parallel regimes', one operating for English medium sections and another for Hindi medium sections. These boundaries reinforced the English medium section as an exclusive site marked by better material amenities, smaller teacher to pupil ratios and a learning environment that privileged English instruction. The Hindi medium section and by extension the government school teacher largely came to be conceived as the 'ineffective' other within the school site.

The final section in this chapter discussed Fellows' reflections on their pedagogical role in the classroom, its connections with the organisation's vision of 'leadership' and their trajectories post the completion of the fellowship. None of the Fellows related their role as school teachers for two years with the life-long vocation of school teaching. They saw their choice to teach for two years as an opportunity to learn about the intricacies of the school system. The vocabularies of education reform through 'leadership' emphasised an individualised entrepreneurialism that did not see problems in the school system as products of larger structural issues.

The post-fellowship trajectory of most Fellows interfaced with a matrix of corporate NGOs, private research consultancies and managerial opportunities within 'Teach for India', allowing them to remain within a sphere of the social sector that is fast becoming influential within the education policy landscape. This segment of the social sector is increasingly dominated by corporates from India and abroad, diverse philanthropic foundations and venture capitalists that advocate 'markets' and 'choice' as important means towards reforming education.

The concluding chapter in this research study threads together observations from the ethnographic chapters on 'Teach for India' to situate the programme within the larger constellation of global discourses on teacher education reform, managerialism and PPPs.

8. Summary and Conclusions

This research study began with a discussion on the broader global transitions in the realm of the social sector beginning from the US and UK. Reforms in the public sector over the past three decades, be it health, housing, or education, have increasingly sought to import principles of New Public Management (NPM) common within the private industrial sector to revamp bureaucratic systems and align them more effectively to targets and outcomes.

The complex domain of school education has gained particular significance as scholars have highlighted the range of private actors entering the space to alter systems of school management, curriculum and infuse ideas of 'performance management' among the school staff, especially school teachers (Ball 2003). These private actors were a wide mixture of actors and entities such as non-governmental organisations (NGO), philanthropic arms of corporate firms and investment agencies. Linked through wide circulating networks of exchanges and collaborations, these entities were facilitating similar ideas of reform within different countries across the globe.

One prominent intervention which has been influential in addressing quality concerns in school teaching was the 'Teach for America' programme. Through the 'Teach for All' network established in 2007, the programme has off-shoots in close to 40 countries across the world. The focus of this research study was the Indian off-shoot: 'Teach for India'. Through a case study of this programme, this research study attempted to understand the micro-processes through which certain kinds of PPPs were instrumental in infusing new discourses of managerialism and marketisation into government schools.

The second chapter discussed the transition in education policy discourses in the Indian context post-independence and the watershed 1990 economic reforms, emphasising PPP arrangements and NGOs as significant stakeholders in reforming the public sector. In analysing this broad private sector, the chapter made distinctions between various kinds of NGOs, their perspectives on teacher training and the organisational models that they draw from.

The third chapter traced the origins of the TFI programme, its management structure and vision for education reform. The chapter also used Social Network Analysis (SNA) to construct a matrix of interactions and collaborations between a range of private organisations,

government bodies and select NGOs in order to showcase the travelling of discourses and ideas that informed the educational perspectives of TFI. The organisation was emerging as an important entity in the landscape of elementary education policy formulation in urban metros such as Mumbai and Delhi.

Individuals who entered the education space through TFI had varying ideas and expectations of the programme and their role as Fellows teaching poor children in government schools. The fourth chapter examined the background narratives of a select number of Fellows and Alumni members to understand their reasons for joining the fellowship. An important part of this chapter was the discussion on the five-week training module that Fellows underwent at the Summer Institute in Pune before being placed to teach in government schools in different cities across India.

The fifth chapter discussed the particularities through which the TFI programme worked within a select segment of municipal schools and DoE schools in Delhi. It explored important dimensions of the MoU between TFI and the Delhi government and the modes through which the programme was reorienting administrative and teaching regimes within the municipal school site.

In the sixth chapter, the teaching practices of the Fellows for the subjects of English, Maths, EVS, Social Studies and Science were examined. It presented the dominant narrative of teaching in Fellows' English medium classrooms and the dilemmas of language and comprehension articulated by some Fellows. Within this larger narrative there were also two Fellows who used alternative pedagogical methods in their classrooms and faced much resistance from the organisation for these choices. Apart from academics Fellows also collaborated between themselves and with diverse NGOs in conducting extracurricular activities in their classrooms.

The seventh chapter began with situating the interactions between Fellows and government staff members – the school principal and the government teachers. An important dimension of this theme was discussing the angle of class and how it played out in the professional relationships between Fellows, the school principal and the school teachers. The relative autonomy and opportunities that were accorded to Fellows not only through the formal MoU arrangement but also reinforced through their privileged dynamics of interaction with

government staff members within the municipal schools led to a spatial and cultural demarcation between English and Hindi medium sections.

The discourse of leadership was central to the programme's vision for education reform. The chapter dissected the programme's emphasis on leadership through teaching. Fellows clearly distinguished their profile and focus of school teaching from the long term vocation. Their individual experiences in the programme coupled with the largescale networks and informational channels available to them through the organisation helped chart their professional trajectories post the fellowship.

The discussion that follows seeks to connect the micro-processes of education reform that TFI was instituting within select sites of the government school system in Delhi with larger global policy discourses that were increasingly emphasising the role of the private sector and principles of New Public Management as suitable measures to bring efficiency and accountability in the public education system.

8.1. PPPs, managerialism and school teaching

There has been a significant shift in the nature and form of the PPP within the sphere of elementary education in India over the past decade. As discussed in Chapter 2, it was seen that NGOs the key nodes through which PPPs were implemented within schools began actively subscribing to ideas of efficiency and management. Most of them began streamlining their processes of work to adhere to templates of measurement formulated by a range of private research consultancies that were setting the terms of reform in the social sector.

The growing interest of corporates in skills based education alongside important changes in the Companies Act in 2013 which increased the involvement of corporates in the domain of the social sector also influenced these set of events seeking to reform primary education. Hardy (2015) relates the increasing reliance on private enterprise to chart out suitable models in the public education sector to the construction of an 'audit culture'. He notes:

> This '"enterprising up" of public organizations' involves the contracting out of services and other processes more typically associated with private enterprise (Ball 2012, 15). The result is an autonomous individual and organisation created via various performative technologies including 'audits, inspections, appraisals, self-reviews, quality assurance, output indicators and so on' (2012, 31–32). Furthermore, private enterprise can enter educational practices through 'the selling of CPD [continuing professional development], consultancy, training, support and 'improvement' and management services, as well as a whole variety of technical, support and back-office services' (2012, 95) (pages 378-379).

Amongst the wide range of services, teacher training was seen as the most efficacious in improving schooling. It also came to be imagined as a service that could be scaled up cost-effectively across the education sector and bring adequate rates of return with regard to the building of human capital. Thus, a number of NGOs consciously shifted their interventions to emphasise teacher training. In the process a number of programmes emerged that reoriented complex aspects of teaching into a distinct set of managerial practices where learning was ascertained through performance in standardised tests. Some of these NGOs also came to be supported financially in their programmes by corporates.

One NGO that grew in stature within the realm of NGOs in teacher training was the Akanksha Foundation in Mumbai. The organisation began as a remedial education intervention in slum communities for underprivileged children. Largely driven by motivated young college students in Mumbai, the focus of the programme was on building basic English language skills and numeracy among primary school children. Over the years, the organisation transcended from an after-school supportive programme to one that has entered PPPs with municipal governments in Mumbai and Pune to provide specialised English medium education in a select segment of schools in both cities.

It emphasised a skills based education with regular testing and also developed short term teacher training programmes for members in local communities in order to absorb them into their programme. The NGO has garnered funds from a number of corporates since its inception in the early 1990s. In 2008, the founder of Akanksha, Shaheen Mistri, entered into talks with the 'Teach for All' network and in 2009 through collaborations with select Indian and global corporate and philanthropic organisations the Indian off-shoot 'Teach for India' was initiated in Mumbai and Pune.

These concerted transnational collaborations in the realm of elementary education offer an interesting insight into an interface between certain national and international moments. An environment where NGOs were playing important roles in diverse capacities in the field of primary education had already been set when individuals such as Shaheen Mistri entered into discussions with global actors and organisations to bring in an intervention that had a much larger scale and background in education reform.

It led to an important intermingling of managerial discourses concerning school teaching and possibilities of reform across geographies. Both 'Teach for America' and the 'Teach for All'

network have significant policy actors and organisations whose paths intersect prominently with networks that advocate privatisation and school choice as suitable means to reform public education systems. They seek to increasingly align the complex role and work of the school teacher towards producing standard measurable results across diverse groups of students through large scale standardised testing (Kretchmar et al. 2014, Ball 2012, Maguire 2010, Ravitch 1995). In delineating this 'new teacher', Olmedo et al. (2013) observes, "The Teach for All teacher is, in ideal-typical form at least, forged and produced in the image of performativity. They are, as Foucault puts it, the new 'technicians of behaviour' (1997, p. 294) for the post-welfare education state, that is, they are hyper-performative teaching subjects" (page 497).

The cross-exchange and in turn crystallising of new channels of reform into the public education system are categorised by Ball (2016) as 'policy rachets', i.e. "small moves, experiments and initiatives that may be scaled up and contribute over time to a more profound system of re-engineering" (page 12). It is to "bring into existence a new governing apparatus or dispositif within which a new narrative about what counts as a 'good' policy are articulated and validated" (page 13).

The imagination of the State as a uniform entity was also disrupted in this narrative. Ball (2016) observes that there are certain sites or individuals within the State apparatus that facilitate these reforms. He notes how certain civil servants or Indian Administrative Officers within certain government departments collaborated with NGOs and other private actors to bring in new ideas of public management. Thus, how these interventions enter and sustain themselves within the larger governmental sphere was dependent on these influential relationships.

'Teach for India' within this larger scenario operated as an interesting node within the domain of PPPs in school education in Mumbai before expanding its reach to other cities in the country. It had indigenous roots through its links with the Akanksha Foundation that was instrumental in shaping its vision and project of reform to meld into the Indian context. At the same time it had an entire global network of corporate, philanthropic and intellectual support on best teaching and management practices to draw from and direct its functions within the school and policy terrain.

This research study has focused exclusively on 'Teach for India'. However, it is also important to acknowledge that alongside this intervention, there were other NGOs, some of them with similar global connections, which were also entering the landscape of elementary education. As examined in Chapter 3, there was an increasing intermeshing of networks and in the process ideas and processes of reform across this constellation of global, national and local actors and organisations.

The modalities through which programmes such as 'Teach for India' reconfigured their global frameworks for local contingencies highlighted aspects of 'translation' that emphasised the "displacement and transformations that are inevitable in the movement of policy across contexts" (Sriprakash and Mukhopadhyay 2011: 312).

While both programmes, 'Teach for America' and 'Teach for India' advocated school teaching as the most crucial variable towards improving schooling outcomes and had a similar format of a two-year fellowship, there were important divergences in how the Indian off-shoot was posited within the education reform landscape.

Unlike its American counterpart the programme had no association with the existing formal structure of teacher education in the country. In the context of the US, 'Teach for America' was categorised as an Alternative Teaching Certification (ATC) programme. This meant that TFA Fellows were mandated to take up some courses in formal teacher education institutes during the course of their fellowship. In the Indian context, no such requirements existed.

Alternative Teaching Certification programmes have been criticised by scholars of education as being inadequate in terms of teacher preparation and geared towards a more practice oriented approach (Snell 2009; Maloney 2012). However, the fact that alternative programmes still needed to be regulated indicated that there were certain standards of professional regulation in the US.

The complete lack of engagement with formal teacher education institutes in the Indian context highlighted the poor framework of teacher professionalisation and low status of school teaching. This allowed for a proliferation of teacher training programmes of low quality. Batra (2012) has observed how poor State investment in teacher education over the years has led to a burgeoning number of low quality teacher education institutes within the private sector in India. Even the few State supported institutes of teacher education have varying standards of quality with many subscribing to outdated curriculum.

Programmes such as 'Teach for India' also drew on aspirational ideas of English medium education. This was especially noteworthy in the Indian context where the English language with its complex colonial history has always been associated with upward social mobility. Fellows taught exclusively in English medium sections in municipal schools and were exempted from engaging with regional languages.

It was interesting to note the differences with which the programme was pitched as a 'high impact' intervention to the municipal government and on the other hand publicised as a 'leadership' programme to potential applicants (Dasra Report 2014; Teach for India website: www.teachforindia.org). For the municipal government, the programme with its global connections and high-achieving profile of candidates would be a cost-effective endeavour to introduce English medium education for children from underprivileged communities. As the programme was entirely funded through corporate donations, the municipal government had a minimal role in defining teaching-learning transactions in Fellows' classrooms. It was only important that children met the required learning outcomes for grade levels based on performance in standardised assessments as administered by private research organisations. Children's performance in government administered school examinations were also seen as an important criteria of adjudging the impact of the intervention.

In order to attract individuals to the TFI fellowship, the programme was presented as one that would help candidates build leadership skills. There was little emphasis on what the pedagogical process of school teaching would entail. Instead the opportunity to teach was showcased as a challenge that would allow individuals to understand the school system from within. The experience would help individuals think on their feet and build innovative solutions for educational problems.

Within the space of the school, the programme brought about a number of changes regarding structures of administration and teaching.

8.2. The NGO and school interface: Reorienting structures from within

The profession of school teaching as has been discussed in Chapter 2 has largely remained neglected by the government. Teacher training and mentorship within the Indian education system has been poor and even before the coming of interventions such as Teach for India,

school teaching was not much sought after as a lucrative profession among the middle classes (Batra 2012; Majumdar and Mooij 2011).

Policy prescriptions for the school teacher within the Right to Education Act sought to instil more autonomy and respect for school teaching and reduce other mandatory clerical obligations that have always been a part of the school teacher's professional responsibilities. However, in practice, the translation of these recommendations have been uneven and school teachers continue to bear the brunt of much of the administrative work and exercise little autonomy regarding teaching processes, especially within a highly bureaucratised mass schooling system.

Interventions such as 'Teach for India' reoriented the government's vision for school teaching and training. Instead of investing resources in strengthening traditional government teacher training and mentorship structures, the government was now relying on a range of NGOs to fill in this crucial void. While NGOs have played an important role in bringing innovation and alternative pedagogies into mainstream education systems, there was a distinct difference in the perspective of new NGOs such as 'Teach for India', which had strong links to corporate organisations and advocated managerialist modes of reform. Unlike older partnerships where NGOs played a supportive role to the government system, new NGOs like TFI were integrated within the school system. Their functioning within the school site led to a process of internal partitioning, where certain parts of the school such as the English medium sections were entirely managed by these new NGOs. This apportioning was indicative of the State's failure in being able to provide a certain standard of quality education to *all* the students enrolled in the government school. Through mechanics of language and choice, certain sections of students were to experience education differently from other children in the same school.

This research study elaborated on the intricate ways through which TFI was instituting new pedagogical regimes and mechanics of choice within a segment of municipal schools in Delhi. In 2011, the Municipal Corporation opened separate English medium sections in select municipal schools to cater to the growing aspirations of underprivileged families whose children studied in these schools. The families of these children connected English with new avenues of social and economic mobility. It was during this transition within municipal schools that Teach for India pitched its programme as one that could fill in this void of quality

teaching especially in the medium of English in municipal schools. The vision of the programme converged suitably with the Municipal Corporation's own project of reform as Fellows entered schools to teach English, Maths, EVS, Social Studies and Science in order to build English language skills and improve rates of academic achievement.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the organisation and the Delhi government emphasised how Teach for India Fellows who had completed their undergraduate education in prestigious institutions across the country would be well equipped in training students towards successfully completing school education and pursue higher education. The simultaneous creation of the English medium section and the entry of Teach for India led to a subtle but significant transition towards what Whitty and Power (2000) referred to as the formation of 'quasi-markets' within the government education system. In the context of the municipal school system in Delhi, it was important to note that while the government was not funding Teach for India, it allowed for the creation of an exclusionary space where the foundation of quality teaching was connected to English. It authorized a group of individuals who had no formal school teaching experience to teach in the medium of English. The primary aim of teaching was to build academic competitiveness by training children to tackle standardised tests.

The discussion in Chapter 6 specifically highlighted the teaching practices within Fellows' classrooms which were directed towards an assessment centred model which privileged a certain English language competency. As the standardised tests focused on literacy and Maths skills, there was a conscious ignoring of subjects such as EVS, Social Studies and Science by most Fellows. Within this dominant narrative of teaching in Fellows' classrooms, there were attempts by two Fellows to teach through alternative methods. The reasons that drew these two Fellows to exploring alternative methods highlighted some important points. It indicated the discomfort among some Fellows regarding the pedagogical vision of the organisation. Through their own individual initiatives, these two Fellows made efforts to engage with pedagogical methods that were at odds with the organisation's dominant teaching practices. Their engagements also highlighted the inadequate engagement of TFI with the formal disciplinary arena of teacher education, most notably pedagogy, curriculum and teaching of English to first-generation learners.

The alternative methods that these two Fellows used in their classrooms were seen as risky by the organisation. This was because their approaches were incompatible with the organisation's framework of teaching to standardised testing. On most occasions these Fellows were covertly pressurised to follow the organisation's model of teaching. There were strong pedagogical boundaries that determined how Fellows could teach in their classrooms. Pedagogical practices came to being defined within a 'technology of scientific procedures' that sought to fix what 'learning' was 'useful' or 'relevant' (Hall 2005). In the context of 'Teach for India', with standardised testing being the norm, practices of teaching that focused on learning outcomes were privileged. This production of knowledge within these set parameters also relegated entire bodies of alternative learning and educational visions as being 'irrelevant' and lacking 'rigour' because they did not embody similar techniques of measurement (Ibid). It also posed interesting but unresolved questions by Fellows on the organisation's pedagogical strategies that were adapted from structured teacher-centred methods that originated in the 1960s in the formal teacher education domain in the US. Most Fellows were unaware of the genealogies of Bloom's taxonomical approach that they constantly referred to in the course of their discussions with me. They believed the strategies they used in the classrooms were developed specifically by TFI.

This observation by Fellows is interesting in itself because it highlights the entrepreneurial motives of TFI that market these pedagogical practices as exclusive intellectual packages developed by the organisation rather than an amalgamation of techniques that have a long history in the domain of traditional teacher education. This corroborates aspects of Schneider's 2014 study which traced the history of 'Teach for America's' pre-service training programme. He found pertinent contradictions. Over the years 'Teach for America's' training module had increasingly aligned itself with ideas and practices prevalent in the traditional teacher education domain. However, the organisation publicly denounced professional training as necessary for teaching in classrooms in order to appeal to corporate funders who were looking for cost-effective teaching solutions. It was this lack of critical engagement with the formal terrain of teacher education to make sense of different pedagogical perspectives and their respective values in the practice of teaching that left Fellows like Amit conflicted about the educational vision of TFI.

Apart from the institutionalising of these new structures of teaching and testing, the English medium section also came to be marked differently from the Hindi medium section in other

significant ways as well. The MoU allowed Fellows to raise funds and resources specifically for English medium sections through online portals such as Give India, social media platforms like Facebook and through their personal or professional friend circles. Through these provisions, Fellows set up libraries for their classrooms, brought in multimedia for the teaching of lessons and also had special permissions to take children from English medium sections for regular class trips, sports events and excursions. There were also collaborations with Fellows across schools and other NGOs as well for these activities.

At a certain level these attempts by Fellows to bring in more resources to facilitate a better learning experience for children in their classrooms could be understood as small acts of change. However, while one could be appreciative of Fellows' sincere attempts and investment in the lives of the children in their classrooms, these small processes became important precedents of marking sites of material privilege within the space of the municipal school. This set up new parameters of comparison between the English and the Hindi medium sections. This is not to suggest that such comparisons between Hindi and English medium sections were new or that they did not exist in other schools managed by the government or elite schools within the private sector. Vaish's (2008) study on the pedagogical practices in English medium sections in two Sarvodaya schools in Delhi provides an insight into the nature of such divisions and the respective learning experiences of children in government schools as well. However, in the context of interventions such as TFI where external organisations take over the labour and management of teaching, these separations operate more starkly. This was most evident in how material resources came to be acquired through individual efforts for English medium sections and the special privileges that children in these sections enjoyed vis a vis children in Hindi medium sections.

Fellows came to be conceived not just as teachers but enterprising agents of reform within the school system. This was most evident in the ways some school principals gave preferential treatment to Fellows. For these school principals, Fellows were important agents who could procure material resources independently and enhance some sections of the school through their independent efforts. These instances of comparison again positioned the English medium section as better than the Hindi medium section and government school teachers as ineffective. However, there were other school principals who were wary of such interventions as well. These school principals, in the context of this study, were few compared to those who were vocally supportive of the intervention. They made important comments on the selective

pedagogical engagements of the Fellows and the new structures of material inequality being institutionalised within the school through TFI.

The programme also pitted government teachers against Fellows in complex ways. Fellows were seen to embody their class position more overtly than government teachers. Their physical presence and engagements within English medium sections were seen to exemplify privilege and pedagogical autonomy that government teachers did not possess within the school system. These subtle conflicts of class positions played out in different ways within the schools. Some government teachers expressed a sense of indifference to the Fellows and their work. They kept to themselves and focused only on the Hindi medium sections. Other government teachers expressed some insecurity and resentment towards Fellows as they believed the Fellows were encroaching upon their responsibilities. These strained relationships, in turn, had a dire impact on teaching-learning processes within English medium sections. Hindi and 'Samajhik Vigyaan', a Social Studies subject that was meant to be taught in Hindi, were largely not taught in English medium sections. As has been mentioned earlier, even the teaching of subjects such as EVS, Social Studies and Science were compromised in the English medium sections as the organisation had no framework of assessment for these subjects. These subjects which were meant to be taught in the medium of English in Fellows' classrooms were used instead to teach literacy components or completely ignored on the whole.

Some Fellows expressed serious concerns with how learning was coming to be constructed within English medium sections as a result of these haphazard administrative arrangements and tense relationships with government teachers. They believed that children in their classrooms had a poor grasp of Hindi and a shaky foundation in English. These linguistic separations affected how children understood concepts especially in Maths, as most Fellows have noted in Chapter 6. Through their experiences of teaching through the course of the fellowship, most Fellows believed that children in their classrooms deserved an equitable access to both languages to grow as better individuals and students. How this could be achieved in the context of the TFI intervention within these school spaces largely remained unresolved.

These micro-engagements between Fellows and government teachers concerning teaching processes highlighted the larger structural turn in the realm of pedagogy where teaching was

being divorced from its complexity and social context. School teaching was increasingly being conceptualised as a hierarchy of decontextualised skills that were to be imparted by teachers who were seen as technicians who need not have any professional expertise or engagements with the formal terrain of teacher education (Boyles 1998). Interventions such as 'Teach for India' sought to validate that individuals did not need in-depth professional training to be a teacher. However, the experiences of Fellows illustrated the difficulties of teaching first generation learners without any formal training or critical insight into the social lives of underprivileged children.

Unlike the nature of reforms in US and Britain, where governments are increasingly moving towards channelling their funding into short term teacher based interventions as effective alternatives, 'Teach for India' in Delhi did not displace government teachers. However, as observations in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 note, government school teachers were increasingly being relegated to performing more administrative tasks not just for their classrooms but for the Fellows' classrooms as well.

This is an important concern to consider because the environments within which government school teachers were functioning even before the coming of interventions such as TFI were already marred by several difficulties. These government school teachers functioning within municipal schools which were at the lowest end of the government school system hierarchy had poor institutional support and had to adhere to working towards the administrative demands in the school system (Ramachandran 2006, Banerji 2000). This research study has been unable to examine the routine and modes of teaching within government teachers' classrooms. It has largely relied on Fellows' narratives of their engagements with the government staff to piece together the government's perspective on TFI. While the larger narrative by most Fellows suggested that government teachers' largely focused on administrative work and not on tasks of teaching, there were few positive narratives on motivated and committed government teachers who went out of their way to teach diligently in the classrooms as well.

For some Fellows, the experience of teaching in government schools made them more empathetic to the profession of school teaching. They were severely critical of many government teachers they had encountered who to them were failing in their duty towards the underprivileged children in their classrooms. However, some Fellows also realised that the

system within which government school teachers taught was bogged down with several bureaucratic responsibilities. In this matrix of tasks, school teaching was just one of the tasks, not the *only* task. These reflections by Fellows echoed Kumar's (1991) observations on how school teaching attained several clerical accoutrements through its integration into the colonial State apparatus. In many ways, the profile of work of the government school teacher continued to be dictated by the demands of officials at the top of the school system hierarchy.

The larger economy of government school teachers also needed to be considered in connection with interventions such as TFI. Contractualisation of teachers was already in progress before the coming of TFI. There was a cadre of permanent school teachers alongside a large number of para-teachers working in government schools in Delhi. Interventions such as TFI where Fellows did not have adequate teaching qualifications existed in a complex tension within this larger economy. The MoU between TFI and the Delhi government debarred TFI Fellows from applying for positions within the municipal school system. This clause was in part linked to the lack of formal teaching qualifications among Fellows but it also sought to account for the precarious population of para-teachers who would get affected if teaching positions were open to TFI applicants.

However, as Chapter 7 has shown, Fellows did not think of the TFI fellowship as a stepping stone to a career in school teaching. The lack of interest in school teaching as a fulfilling long-term vocation was also connected to the class, educational profile and aspirations of the Fellows in this research study. Most of them aspired to be in management positions in the private sector, preferably working in CSR wings of corporate companies or heading their own NGOs. The few who may have considered school teaching found the government sector unappealing due to its bureaucratic rigidities, lack of autonomy and few opportunities for professional growth. The TFI Phase 3 Report 2015 pointed out that only 6.7 per cent of TFI Alumni members considered school teaching as a possibility post the completion of the fellowship. This is in stark contrast to the 'Teach for America' programme where there was a greater intersection between the private and public sectors. The TFI Phase 3 Report 2015 noted that of the 11,000 'Teach for America' Alumni members, close to 48 per cent worked in district public schools as teachers.

Unlike TFA Alumni members, none of the TFI Alumni members who chose to enter school teaching worked in government schools. All of them worked either in elite private schools or

schools run by non-profit organisations where formal teaching qualifications such as Bachelor's or Master's in Education were not mandatory (TFI Phase 3 Report 2015). They believed these private school environments had better material facilities, smaller classroom sizes, more autonomy and none of the bureaucratic responsibilities that plagued government schools. In elite private schools, TFI Alumni members were paid on par with permanent government school teachers or even more based on their individual negotiations with private school management. All the Fellows in this research study saw the fellowship mainly as a platform to build leadership skills.

8.3. Leadership and new trajectories of education reform

School teaching as building leadership skills was the USP of the 'Teach for India' programme. Through Fellows' reflections on how they linked their teaching experiences with building leadership skills, it was noted that there was no singular definition. It was entirely dependent on Fellows' own individual aspirations and how they sought to explore their diverse interests through the course of the fellowship. The programme constantly reiterated the power of individuals to make change. In several discussions, Fellows mentioned how it was necessary to not complain but instead work independently to find solutions to educational problems. These observations were important because they shifted the gaze away from the larger structural and material conditions under which the government school system was functioning and instead conceptualised change as an aggregation of dispersed well-meaning efforts of individuals (Gewirtz 2002, Gooptu 2016).

Gooptu's (2016) study on the new politics of self-empowerment in the context of new spirituality programmes by Sri Sri Ravi Shankar and Baba Ramdev provided useful insights to understand TFI's ideas of reforming education through individual efforts. She writes:

> Individual-oriented politics does not necessarily entail solitary and solipsistic practices in the private domain; collective or congregational practices can be important. However, instead of individuals deriving their identity or sense of belonging from the collective, they relate to it in terms of their own preoccupations and imperatives of self-making as individuals. This is perhaps best captured by Zygmunt Bauman's coinage, 'Individually, Together' which indicates that the animating force behind group action is the construction of individual biography, not collective identity or a sense of political unity (pages 941-942).

This observation of cultivating an 'individual biography' and not strictly a 'collective identity or a sense of political unity' was most pertinent in how Fellows reflected on their journey through the TFI fellowship. It was mostly about finding themselves and their respective

calling within the social sector. School teaching in this larger dynamic was just a point of entry and Fellows were expected to engage in arenas beyond the classroom. They needed to conceive individual projects and ideas of reform in the school system and the local communities where underprivileged children resided.

Thus the complex domain of school teaching hardly got the attention or investment it deserved within the TFI programme. It was only visualised as a set of techniques that Fellows needed to control students and ensure these students had the skills to ace standardised tests. If Fellows did make efforts to engage more critically with this domain, they were largely discouraged. It was outside the space of the classroom that Fellows had the freedom to innovate and develop projects of their personal interest. In the context of this research study, it was seen how some Fellows decided to come together to engage children in sports activities. There was another Fellow who collaborated with an NGO outside the school to develop a skit on domestic abuse and perform it within the local community where children from her school resided. This was her own project towards building awareness on an issue that she was passionate about. All these individualised efforts counted within the 'Leadership Development Journey' rubric through which Fellows were evaluated on their performance through the course of the fellowship. These examples also illustrated how Fellows connected their personal interests to the project of education reform.

The dispersed efforts by individuals within the framework of leadership in the TFI programme resonated Sarangapani's (2011) observations on how increasingly projects of reform in education derived validation from individuals' personal experiences and personal theories of education rather than any critical engagement with the formal 'disciplinary domain of education'. This indifference towards thinking of education as a complex interdisciplinary field was not just shared by entrepreneurial organisations such as TFI but also scientists and social scientists from other academic disciplines as well. She connects these general perceptions to the 'conjunctive' character of education and its dependence on 'multiple foundational disciplines'.

The porous framework of education as a discipline where it borrows its theories from other academic disciplines and its strong alignment towards a practice oriented approach makes it a 'soft discipline'. This categorisation also allows other academic disciplines to readily intervene without considering it necessary to engage with the diverse contours of education

as a discipline or the difficulties of practice (Ibid).In the space of education policy especially where 'action' is valued, researchers in education are increasingly pitted against management experts, NGO personnel, other scientists and social scientists. Sarangapani (2011) notes:

> The management expert seems to know the language of public administration better, in contrast to the education researchers who likely find it difficult to sound immediately relevant and significant in the analysis of what is happening and how to set it right. The NGO personnel are often concerned with trying to immediately change the experience of children in classrooms, and they come across as genuine and motivated, while the education academic often has little to suggest for bringing about direct results in the classroom. The reform framework that invokes the larger system or the content of teacher preparation or school supervision requires long gestation, complex efforts and considerable funding. A perception of irrelevance or marginal relevance of educationists seems to be one that extends into the space of academia, and is shared by fellow academics. Thus, as education researchers, we find our claims to having some specific expertise to contribute to research and public policy and action contested and challenged by members of the public, from within the government and also from within academia (pages 80-81).

These observations also highlight the new knowledge economy where 'disciplines and disciplinary groups' have to increasingly prove their 'usefulness' "to operate in a more 'entrepreneurial' manner and to deal with competition from new sites of expertise, research and knowledge production that are outside the university" (Ibid: 81). Debates surrounding education no longer remained confined to professionalised communities of academics and practitioners but now needed to engage with collectives of entrepreneurial social actors who needed to see 'action' produce certain kinds of 'effective results'. In the process, complex aims of education were diluted for the pursuit of 'measurable learning outcomes' (Hall 2005).

One could see these shifts playing out in the education policy landscape in Delhi where a number of NGOs, including TFI, were important agents of school reform. What was important to note was that a number of these NGOs that were significant partners with the Delhi government had former TFI Fellows on their staff. Organisations such as ARK, Centre for Civil Society, STIR, Pratham, ISLI, Indus Action, Create Net and Central Square Foundation were involved in different aspects of government school reforms in Delhi. As the Social Network Analysis matrix in Chapter 3 illustrated, the critical mass of 'experts' guiding the Delhi government's decisions regarding school reform were drawn largely from this pool of managerialist NGOs rather than the education academic fraternity. Thus, these transitions cemented not just the changing nature of the State in the arena of public education but also pointed to a pertinent ideological shift where the market and associated forms of managerialism would institute mechanics of social redistribution.

Public-Private partnerships in this new arrangement did not entail a radical absolving of State responsibility. Instead it embodied a slow but calculated move by the State towards authorising a new extensively linked apparatus of corporate supported non-state entities that would fill in the void of poor public provisioning and delivery of services. This process of devolving State responsibilities onto NGOs which was initiated in small haphazard measures through the 1990s has gained much focused direction today with new managerialistic NGOs increasingly calling the shots and determining the templates of educational reform.

References

Apple, Michael. (2001). 'Markets, Standards, Teaching, and Teacher Education', *Journal of Teacher Education,* May/June, 52 (3): 182-196.

Akanksha Foundation. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.akanksha.org

Ardinger, Eric. (2012). *"Unlikely Triumph?": A Critical Discourse Analysis of Press Coverage of Teach for America.* (Doctoral thesis). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No: 3542739).

Ark Academies. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.arkonline.org

Au, Wayne and Joseph J. Ferrare. (2014, February 12). 'Sponsors of Policy: A Network Analysis of Wealthy Elites, their Affiliated Philanthropies and Charter School Reform in Washington State', Teachers College Record, 1-13, Retrieved from http://www.tcrecord.org/PrintContent.asp?ContentID=17387.

ASER website. (2017, March 12). Retrieved from www.asercentre.org

Banerji, Rukmini. (2000). 'Poverty and Primary Schooling: Field Studies from Mumbai and Delhi', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (10), 795-802.

Ball, Stephen. (2016). 'Following policy: networks, network ethnography and education policy mobilities', *Journal of Education Policy*, DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2015.1122232, pp. 1-18.

Ball, Stephen. (2012). *Global Education Inc: New Policy Networks and the Neoliberal Imaginary*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ball, Stephen and Carolina Junemann. (2012). *Networks, New Governance and Education*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Ball, Stephen. (2007). *Education PLC: Understanding Private Sector Participation in Public Sector Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ball, Stephen. (2003). 'The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity', *Journal of Education Policy*, 18:2, 215-228.

Bartlett, L. (2004). 'Expanding teacher work roles: a resource for retention or a recipe for overwork?', *Journal of Education Policy*, 18 (5): 565-582.

Batra, Poonam. (2012). 'Positioning Teachers in the Emerging Education Landscape of Contemporary India', *India Infrastructure Report 2012: Private Sector in Education*. New Delhi: Routledge. pp. 219-231.

Batra, Poonam. (2006). 'Building on the National Curriculum Framework to Enable the Agency of Teachers', *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, Monsoon, 4 (1): 88-118.

Bezbora, Arhan. (2015, July 7). *Teach for India Phase 3 Report: How might Teach for India make significant progress towards its Vision while staying true to the Core of its mission?*.

Bhandari, Laveesh. (2006). 'Social Infrastructure: Urban Health and Education', *India Infrastructure Report 2006: Urban Infrastructure*. New Delhi: Routledge. pp. 232-257.

Blandford, Sonia. (2014). 'Leading through Partnership: Enhancing the Teach First Leadership Programme', *Teacher Development: An international journal of teachers' professional development*, 18 (1), 1-14.

Bloom, Benjamin and David R. Krathwohl. (1984). *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*, Second Edition, Addison Wesley Publishing Company.

Blumenreich, Megan and Amita Gupta. (2015). 'The globalization of Teach for America: An analysis of the institutional discourses of Teach for America and Teach for India within local contexts', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, Volume 48, pp. 87-96.

Boyles, Deron. (1998). *American Education and Corporations: The Free Market Goes to School*. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc.

Brantlinger, Andrew; Laurel Cooley and Ellen Brantlinger. (2010). 'Families, values and class relations: The politics of alternative certification', Chapter 16 In *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 179-189.

Brewer, T. Jameson and Kathleen deMarrais (eds.). (2015). *Teach for America Counter Narratives: Alumni Speak Up and Speak Out*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Central Square Foundation. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.centralsquarefoundation.org

Chakravarti, Paromita. (2013). 'Fantasies of Transformation: education, neoliberal self-making and Bollywood', Chapter 2 in Nandini Gooptu (ed.) *Enterprise Culture in Neoliberal India: Studies in Youth, Class, Work and Media*, Oxford and New York: Routledge, pp. 42-56.

Clarke, John; Sharon Gewirtz and Eugene McLaughlin (eds.). (2000). *New Managerialism, New Welfare?* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: The Open University in association with Sage Publications.

Cody, Francis. (2013). *The Light of Knowledge: Literacy Activism and the Politics of Writing in South India*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Commissioner's letter No. F. 33/P.Edu./634/C&C dated 5-7-2010

Common Core Standards. (2017, January 7). Retrieved from the www.corestandards.org

Connell, Raewyn (2009). 'Good teachers on dangerous ground: towards a new view of teacher quality and professionalism', *Critical Studies in Education*, 50 (3): 213-229.

Connell, R. W. (1994). 'Poverty and Education', *Harvard Educational Review*, Summer, 64 (2): 1-21.

Cumsille R, B. and Ariel Fizbein. (2015). 'Crème de la crème: The Teach for All experience and its lessons for policy making in Latin America', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23 (46), 1-26.

Dale, Roger. (1997). 'The State and the Governance of Education: An Analysis of the Restructuring of the State-Education Relationship', Chapter 17 In A. H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown and Amy Stuart Wells (eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 273-282.

Dasra Report. (2014, April 26). 'Making the Grade: Improving Mumbai's Public Schools', Retrieved from http://www.dasra.org

Delhi Directorate of Education. (2016, September 3). Retrieved from www.edudel.nic.in

Delpit, Lisa. (1995). *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. New York: The New Press.

Draft Framework for Public Private Partnership for SDMC Schools, published on August 2013.

Ellis, Viv; Meg Maguire; Tom Are Trippestad et al. 2015. 'Teaching other people's children, elsewhere, for a while: the rhetoric of a travelling education reform', *Journal of Education Policy*, 1 – 21, Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1066871

Gewirtz, Sharon. 2002. *The Managerial School: Post-Welfarism and Social Justice in Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Glazerman, Steven; Daniel Mayer and Paul Decker. (2006). 'Alternative Routes to Teaching: The Impacts of Teach for America on Student Achievement and Other Outcomes', *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Winter, 25 (1): 75-96.

Ginsburg, Mark B; Vipula Chaturvedi; Mamta Agrawal and Amaury Nora. (1988). 'Teachers and the Ideology of Professionalism in India and England: A Comparison of Cases in Colonial/Peripheral and Metropolitan/Central Societies', *Comparative Education Review*, November, 32 (4): 465-477.

Gooptu, Nandini. (2016). 'New Spirituality, Politics of Self-empowerment, Citizenship, and Democracy in Contemporary India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 50, pp. 934-974.

Gooptu, Nandini. (2009). 'Neoliberal Subjectivity, Enterprise Culture and New Workplaces: Organised Retail and Shopping Malls in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44 (22): 45-54.

Goswami, Debika and Rajesh Tandon. (2013). 'Civil Society in changing India: emerging roles, relationships and strategies', *Development in Practice*, 23 (5-6): 653-664.

Government of India (GoI). (2009). 'The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009'. Gazette of India, 27 August.

Government of India (GoI). (2011). 'Report of the Working Group on Private Sector participation including PPP in School Education for the 12th Five Year Plan', October. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India (GoI). (2012). 'Vision of Teacher Education in India: Quality and Regulatory Perspective – Report of the High Powered Commission on Teacher Education Constituted by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India', Vol. 2, August. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Govinda, R. and Y. Josephine. (2005). 'Para-teachers in India: A Review', *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, Spring, 2 (2): 193-224.

Govinda, R. (eds.). (2002). *India Education Report*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Gupta, Kovid and Shaheen Mistri. (2014). *Redrawing India: The Teach for India Story*. Gurgaon: Random House Publishers India Pvt. Ltd.

Hall, Kathleen. (2005). 'Science, Globalization and Educational Governance: The Political Rationalities of the New Managerialism', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Winter, 12 (1): 153-182.

Hardy, Ian. (2015). 'Education as a 'risky business': Theorising student and teacher learning in complex times', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36 (3): 375-394.

Helsby, Gill. (1999). *Changing Teachers' Work: The 'reform' of secondary schooling*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Hill, Elizabeth; Meera Samson and Shyamasree Dasgupta. (2011). 'Expanding the School Market in India: Parental Choice and the Reproduction of Social Inequality', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 27, Vol. XLVI (35): 98-105.

Hohnstein, Scott. (2008). *The Rise of Alternative Teaching Certification in Relation to Students who are Impoverished, Ethnic Minorities and Change in Teacher Salary in United States Public Schools* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3307336).

Indus Action. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.indusaction.org

Ingersoll, R.M. and Merrill, E. (2011). The Status of Teaching as a Profession. In J. Ballantine and J. Spade (Eds.) *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*. CA: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications, 4th Ed., pp. 185-189.

Jain, Manish (Forthcoming). 'Public, Private and Education in India: A Historical Overview', in Manish Jain, Rahul Mukhopadhyay, Archana Mehandale, Christopher Winch and Padma Sarangapani (eds.), *School Education in India: Market, State and Quality,* Delhi: Routledge.

Jagannathan, Shanti. (1999). *The Role of Non Governmental Organisations in Primary Education: A Study of Six NGOs in India*. November. World Bank.

Kamat, Sangeeta. (2004). 'The privatization of public interest: theorising NGO discourse in a neoliberal era', *Review of International Political Economy*, 11 (1): 155-176.

Kamat, Sangeeta. (2002). *Development Hegemony: NGOs and the State in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kaviraj, Sudipta and Sunil Khilnani (eds.). (2001). *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kavanagh, M. Kara and Alyssa Hadley Dunn. (2013). 'The political spectacle of recruiting the "best and the brightest"', *Critical Education*, 4 (11), 48-66.

Khora, Sthabir. (2011). *Education and Teacher Professionalism: Study of Teachers and Classroom Processes*. Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Kremer, Michael; Nazmul Chaudhury; F. Halsey Rogers; Karthik Muralidharan and Jeffrey Hammer. (2005). 'Teacher Absence in India: A Snapshot', *Journal of the European Economic Association*, April-May, 3(2/3): 658-667.

Kretchmar, Kerry; Beth Sondel and Joseph J. Ferrare. (2014). 'Mapping the terrain: Teach for America, charter school reform and corporate sponsorship', *Journal of Education Policy*, DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2014.880812, pp. 1-18.

Kumar, Krishna. (2008). 'Partners in Education?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 19, XLIII (3): 8-11.

Kumar, Krishna; Manisha Priyam and Sadhna Saxena. (2001). 'Looking Beyond the Smokescreen: DPEP and Primary Education in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 17, XXXVI (7): 560-568.

Kumar, Krishna. (1991). 'Meek Dictator: The Paradox of Teacher's Personality', Chapter 4 In *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. pp. 71-93.

Kumar, Mithilesh. (2014, November). 'Law, Statistics, Public-Private Partnership and Emergence of a New Subject', *Accumulation under Post-colonial Capitalism IV: Mobile Labour and the New Urban*, Policies and Practices 67, pp. 1-17.

Labaree, David. (2010). 'Teach for America and Teacher Ed: Heads They Win, Tails We Lose', *Journal of Teacher Education*, 61 (1-2), 48-55.

Labaree, David. (1992). 'Power, Knowledge and the Rationalization of Teaching: A Genealogy of the Movement to Professionalize Teaching', *Harvard Educational Review*, Summer, 62 (2): 123-154.

Larsen, Marianne. (2005). 'A critical analysis of teacher evaluation policy trends', *Australian Journal of Education*, 49 (3): 292-305.

Lortie, Dan. (2002). *School Teacher: A Sociological Study*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lortie, Dan. (1969). 'The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching', In Amitai Etzioni (eds.) *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers*. New York: The Free Press. pp. 1-53.

Maguire, Meg. 2010. 'Towards a sociology of the global teacher', Chapter 5 in Michael W. Apple, Stephen J. Ball and Luis Armando Gandin (eds.) *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. New York: Taylor and Francis Group. pp. 58-68.

Mahony, Pat and Ian Hextall. (2000). *Reconstructing Teaching: Standards, performance and accountability*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer.

Majumdar, Manabi and Jos Mooij. (2011). *Education and Inequality in India: A classroom view*. London and New York: Routledge.

Maloney, Patricia A. (2012). Schools Make Teachers: The Case of Teach for America and Teacher Training (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3525331).

Mathew, Leya. (2016). *Aspiring India: The Politics of Mothering, Education Reforms and English*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA.

Mehrotra, Santosh and Parthasarthi R. Panchamukhi. (2006). 'Private provision of elementary education in India: findings of a survey in eight states', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 36 (4): 421-442.

Menon, Radhika. (2013). 'Caught between 'neglect' and a private 'makeover': Government schools in Delhi', Paper presented at the 'Educational Transformation and Transformative Education: Possibilities and Alternatives to the Educational Crisis' conference on March 22, at South Asian University. (Recently published as a chapter in R. Kumar (eds.), *Education, State and Market: Anatomy of Neoliberal Impact*. New Delhi: Aakar Books).

Mukhopadhyay, Rahul. (2011). *Anthropology of the Education Bureaucracy*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore.

Nambissan, Geetha and Srinivasa Rao. (2013). 'Introduction: Sociology of Education in India – Trajectory, Location and Concerns', Chapter 1 In *Sociology of Education in India: Changing Contours and Emerging Concerns*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-23.

Nambissan, Geetha. (2012). 'Private Schools for the Poor: Business as Usual?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (41): 51-58.

Nambissan, Geetha and Stephen J. Ball. (2010). 'Advocacy Networks, Choice and Private Schooling of the Poor in India', *Global Networks*, 10 (3): 324-343.

Nambissan, Geetha. (2010). 'The global economic crisis, poverty and education: A perspective from India', *Journal of Education Policy*, November, 25 (6): 729-737.

Nambissan, Geetha. (2010). 'The Indian Middle Classes and Educational Advantage: family strategies and practices', In M.W. Apple, S.J. Ball, L.A. Gandin (eds.) *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, London: Routledge & Francis Group, pp 285-295.

Nawani, Disha. (2013). 'Continuously and Comprehensively Evaluating Children', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48 (2): 33-40.

Nawani, Disha. (2002). 'Role and Contribution of Non-Governmental Organizations in Basic Education', Chapter 10 In R. Govinda (eds.) *India Education Report*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 121-130.

Olmedo, Antonio, Patrick L.J. Bailey and Stephen J. Ball. (2013). 'To Infinity and Beyond…: heterarchical governance, the Teach for All network in Europe and the making of profits and minds', *European Educational Research Journal*, 12 (4): 492-512.

Omidyar. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.omidyar.com

Paine, Lynn and Kenneth Zeichner. (2012). 'The Local and the Global in Reforming Teaching and Teacher Education', *Comparative Education Review*, November, 56 (4): 569-583.

Position paper: National Focus Group for the Teaching of Mathematics. (2006). *National Council of Educational Research and Training*. Pp. 1-21.

Ramachandran, Vimala. (2006). 'Urban Schooling: Mired in Apathy and Prejudice', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (5): 383-384.

Ramachandran, Vimala; Madhumita Pal, Sharada Jain, Sunil Shekar and Jitendra Sharma (2005). *Teacher Motivation in India*. New Delhi: Education Resource Unit. pp. 1-38.

Rao, Parimala (eds.). (2014). *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Ravitch, Diane. (1995). *National Standards in American Education: A Citizen's Guide*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Rizvi, Fazal and Bob Lingard. (2010). *Globalizing Education Policy*. London and New York: Routledge.

Rudolph, Lloyd and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph. (2004). 'Redoing the constitutional design: from an interventionist to a regulatory state,' in Atul Kohli (ed.) *The Success of India's Democracy*, New Delhi: Foundation Books Pvt. Ltd. pp. 127-162.

Sarangapani, Padma, Manish Jain, Rahul Mukhopadhyay and Christopher Winch. (2013, February 20). *Baseline Survey of the School Scenario in Some States in the context of RTE: Study of Educational Quality, School Management and Teachers in Andhra*

Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal, Report submitted to Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan MHRD New Delhi.

Sarangapani, Padma. (2011). 'Soft Disciplines and Hard Battles', *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 8 (1): 67-84.

Sarangapani, Padma. (2010). 'Quality Concerns: National and Extra-national Dimensions', *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, January, 7 (1), pp. 41-57.

Sarangapani, Padma. (2003). *Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian village*. New Delhi and London: Sage Publications.

Scott, J., T. Trujillo and M.D. Rivera. (2016). 'Reframing Teach for America: A conceptual framework for the next generation of scholarship', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24 (12): 1-28.

Schneider, Jack. (2014). 'Rhetoric and practice in pre-service teacher education: the case of Teach for America', *Journal of Education Policy*, 29 (4): 425-442.

Skourdoumbis, Andrew. (2012). 'Teach for Australia (TFA): Can it overcome educational disadvantage?', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 32 (3), 305-315.

Sharma, Aradhana. (2008). *Logics of Empowerment: Development, Gender and Governance in Neoliberal India*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Sharma, Aradhana and Akhil Gupta (eds.). (2006). *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Singh, Renu and Sudipa Sarkar. (2012). 'Teaching Quality Counts: How Student Outcomes Relate to Quality of Teaching in Private and Public Schools in India', *Young Lives: An International Study of Childhood Poverty*, December, Oxford Department of International Development, pp. 1-48.

Smyth, John; Alastair Dow, Robert Hattam et al. (2000). *Teachers' Work in a Globalizing Economy*. London: Routledge Falmer Press.

Snell, Erin B. (2009). *Examining the Career Choices and Civic Engagement Activities of Teach for America Alumni* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3378381).

Sriprakash, Arathi. (2012). *Pedagogies for Development: The Politics and Practice of Child-Centred Education in India*. London and New York: Springer.

Srivastava, Prachi. (2010). 'Public-private partnerships or privatisation? Questioning the state's role in education in India', *Development in Practice*, 20 (4): 540-553.

STIR Education. (2016, February 1). Retrieved from www.stireducation.org

Stolz, Steven. (2015). 'Can Educationally Significant Learning be Assessed?', *Educational Philosophy and Theory: Incorporating ACCESS*, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2015.1048664, pp. 1-11.

Straubhaar, Rolf and Daniel Friedrich. (2015). 'Theorising and Documenting the Spread of Teach for All and its Impact on Global Education Reform', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*. 23 (44): 1-11.

Strauss, Valerie. (2014, January 18). 'Everything you need to know about Common Core – Ravitch', *The Washington Post* news website.

Subramanian, Vidya and Padma M. Sarangapani. (2011). 'Is Education News?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVI (42), 69-76.

Sundar, Pushpa. (2013). *Business and Community: The Story of Corporate Social Responsibility in India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Teach for All. (2015, November 2). Retrieved from www.teachforall.org

Teach for America. (2015, November 2). Retrieved from www.teachforamerica.org

Teach to Lead Annual Report 2014-2015, pp. 1-53.

Teach for India. (2015, November 2). Retrieved from www.teachforindia.org

Teach for India. (2015, August 8-9). *Learning and Reflections: Phase 3 Retreat*.

Teltumbde, Anand. (2013). 'Keep Off Education', *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVIII (23): 10-11.

Thapan, Meenakshi (ed.). (2014). *Ethnographies of Schooling in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Thapan, Meenakshi. (2006). *Life At School: An Ethnographic Study*, Second Edition, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tschurenev, Jana. (2008). 'Diffusing useful knowledge: the monitorial system of education in Madras, London and Bengal', *Paedagogica Historica*, 44 (3): 245-264.

Vaish, Viniti. (2008). *Biliteracy and Globalization: English Language Education in India*. Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Vellanki, Vivek. (2016). 'Networks and new governance: The enactment of Public-private partnership policy in Mumbai schools', (Unpublished paper), Michigan State University, USA.

Vellanki, Vivek. (2014). 'Teach for India and Education Reform: Some Preliminary Reflections', *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, January, 11 (1): 137-147.

Wessel, Margit Van. (2004). 'Talking About Consumption: How an Indian Middle-Class dissociates from Middle-Class Life', *Cultural Dynamics*, 16 (1): 93-116.

Whitty, Geoff and Sally Power. (2007). 'Marketization and Privatization in Mass Education Systems', Chapter 13 In Alan R. Sadovnik (ed.) *Sociology of Education: A Critical Reader*. New York: Routledge. pp. 219-232.

Whitty, Geoff. (1997). 'Marketization, the State and the Re-formation of the Teaching Profession', Chapter 19 In A. H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown and Amy Stuart Wells (eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 299-309.

Willis, Deborah. (1993). 'Learning and Assessment: Exposing the Inconsistencies of Theory and Practice', *Oxford Review of Education*, 19 (3): 383-402.

Woods, Peter and Bob Jeffrey. (2004). 'The Reconstruction of Primary Teachers' Identities', In Stephen J. Ball (eds.) *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Sociology of Education*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer. pp. 221-239.

World Education Report. (1998). *Teachers and teaching in a changing world*. Paris: UNESCO.

Appendix A. A Note on the Process of Ethnographic Research

I had initially planned to conduct a year-long ethnography of one school site where the intervention was functioning. The aim was to study processes of engagement between the government staff and the Fellows – the two parties of 'public' and 'private' – and then move on to understand the contours of teaching-learning that take place within the school. Where the school staff was circumscribed within a larger bureaucratic order that regimented their school life and decisions, the Fellows were under the supervision of the respective administrative order of their organisation. The purpose was not to compare the Fellow with the government teacher, but to understand how different regimes were being constructed and enacted within one school site. How was 'learning' being envisioned within this space and what were the larger aims driving these two distinct groups? Were there spaces where these aims coincided? Were there possibilities where school staff and Fellows could engage beyond the parameters of formal obligation?

In trying to unravel the complexity of these new interventions within government schools, in no way was I naïve to either the politics of the school site that has been studied by several scholars of education (Sarangapani 2003; Thapan 2006; Thapan 2014) nor was I unaware of the underlying implications of these new PPPs that were situated within discourses of 'New Public Management' (NPM) (Ball 2007; Clarke et. al 2000). Ball (2007) characterises two forms of privatisations in the context of educational reforms in Britain: 'exogenous' and 'endogenous':

> Where the former involves private companies entering education to take over directly responsibilities, services or programmes, the latter refers to changes in the behaviour of public sector organisations themselves, where they act as though they were businesses, both in relation to clients and workers, and in dealings with other public sector organisations (page 14).

These categories of 'endogenous' and 'exogenous' in the ways Ball (2007) uses them are instructive and provide an important framework to locate trajectories of change in other parts of the world. However, key differences with regard to the political structures and systems pertaining to the administering of education suggest that these categories cannot be used in an overarching manner.

The PPP document for SDMC schools in Delhi modelled on the partnership programme for municipal corporation schools in Mumbai, remains within a draft stage and has not been passed to become an Act of law. Organisations such as 'Teach for India' continue to function within the capacity of nongovernmental entities that work with government bodies through renewable MoU arrangements. There is at present, in Delhi, no financial transactions between the government[69] and private organisations with regard to school education[70].

In the past few years, discourses of 'accountability' have come into force within school systems and particularly with regard to school teachers' work. This is evident in the ways in which biometric systems have been instituted to track teacher attendance. The DoE has also mandated that school teachers upload their class plans on the government website on a monthly basis to ensure uniform teaching of syllabi across their schools. With regard to this task, the website notes:

> It also helps in objective inspections on the basis of the syllabus covered in a particular class within a particular time frame. This attempt also reduces the workload on the teachers while devising and forecasting their lesson plans for the forth coming month in advance as it is already available online. It also ensures uniformity in teaching process at all places at all times. (from the DoE website)

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) which heads the Delhi government and controls the DoE has also taken a special interest in education. They have doubled the budget assigned for education and are pushing policy measures to bring in accountability at the local level through Gram Sabhas or Mohalla Sabhas. School teaching has also gained much focus through a stress on teacher training for 'learning outcomes'. In order to actualise these measures, the AAP government is steadily turning to NGOs to provide the guiding framework for 'school improvement'[71].

The MCD schools which do not operate under the DoE haven't been as exposed to these new rhythms of 'New Public Management'. The internal processes of regulating the responsibilities of school staff in these schools largely adhere to an older bureaucratic order. Teacher attendance is monitored through biometric systems in these schools, but 'teacher

---

69   Government here refers to the MCDs (SDMC, NDMC, EDMC) and the Directorate of Education (DoE).

70   This is based on a discussion with the South Delhi Municipal Corporation Director of Education.

71   See news articles: 'Soon teachers to train colleagues' (The Hindu, dated April 8, 2016); 'To improve schools: Delhi government seeks 'life thinking, creativity' turns to NGOs' (Indian Express, dated October 4, 2015); 'Delhi government plans to club school panels with mohalla sabhas' (Times of India, dated September 29, 2015); 'Govt ropes in NGOs for school transformation programme' (Times of India, dated August 29, 2015).

performance' in the ways in which it is defined by discourses of 'New Public Management' have not percolated into these realms as yet.

'Teach for India' can be characterised as an 'exogenous' programme within Ball's (2007) framework. However, at present, based on the terms and conditions of the MoU it does not displace school teachers from MCD schools based on parameters of 'performance'. Nevertheless it has put into momentum a set of practices that permit more pedagogic and administrative freedoms to Fellows vis a vis regular government teachers within discourses of better 'quality' education.

In order to access a school site where 'Teach for India' was working, I approached the City Director of the organisation in August 2013. I explained the broad objectives of my study and hoped to gain access into a school where the intervention was accepted on good terms by the government staff. The City Director expressed much apprehension regarding my project and suggested that I send in my proposal to the National Team in Mumbai which would decide whether this project was suitable or not. I sensed that the apprehensions were on account of the fact that the organisation was new in Delhi and wary of any studies that did not support a framework that they were comfortable with. I was told that the organisation had recently commissioned a study in collaboration with the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, and my proposal would interfere with this project. The aim of the Columbia University study was to compare performances of government teachers and 'Teach for India' Fellows.

I decided to approach the SDMC directly to seek their permission to access a school where the intervention was working. Here, my application was rejected on the grounds that there was no formal PPP arrangement with 'Teach for India'. I was told that the organisation was not funded by the MCD and was operating in the capacity of an NGO that renewed its contracts annually with respective MCDs. The Director of Education informed me that I needed to get official permission from 'Teach for India' and route that permission through the MCD Department.

Around this period, a friend of mine who was a former 'Teach for India' Fellow, told me about the volunteer programme. He suggested that I could apply to be a volunteer to assist a Fellow with classroom work. This route allowed an easy entry even though I could not choose the school or Fellow I wished to work with as a volunteer. A volunteer was not paid

for her work but could request for a certificate from the organisation stating that he or she had been associated with 'Teach for India'. As the role did not have any monetary compensation, the organisation struggled to get volunteers through the year. Most volunteers were undergraduate students from Delhi University looking for options to gain exposure and build networks.

The choice of the school is a parameter that is important to note because it provides some frame of reference with regard to how or why a particular school has been chosen. I had initially hoped that I would be given access into a school site where the intervention was working in a 'collaborative' mode, as defined by 'Teach for India'. It would have helped narrow down and explain the particular perceptions of choice of school and modalities of 'good partnership' within the standards defined by 'Teach for India'.

As a volunteer, I would be assigned a school in a random manner. I had put out word through my networks of friends and colleagues to put me in touch with anyone they knew who worked with the organisation in Delhi. It is through these circuits of correspondence that a colleague told me about Dhara, a 'Teach for India' Fellow.

Dhara was working in an MCD school very close to my residence at Jawaharlal Nehru University in South Delhi. She was looking for a volunteer to help her with teaching 'weaker' students in her class. I met Dhara in late July 2014 at a restaurant where we had a freewheeling conversation on her work as a Fellow and my PhD project. Dhara had worked as a corporate professional in international business for more than ten years before she decided to change career tracks. She discussed her foray into the education sector:

> "Where education is concerned because what you have got to realize is beyond a point even if you yourself are not in the education business or the field you will have either your children going through education, you know you will have in some shape or form, have touched the sector. So you will have experiences, you will have ideas, you will have worked with it, which when you are younger, you are only a consumer".

Dhara recollected experiences of informally tutoring children from marginalised backgrounds during her school and college years and saw the Fellowship as a suitable opportunity to explore the social sector. When I met her she had completed the first year of her Fellowship and had recently entered the second year.

I informed Dhara about the broad objectives of my PhD study and my hope to study the school site for a year. She was happy to have me assist her for a whole year but told me to

start with a period of three months. If I wanted to continue, she would renew my volunteer application. I told her that I had no experience of teaching children and did not want to be in any capacity of authority or control. She explained to me the role she had in mind for me, where I was to take a group of students from her class - the 'weaker' students – and keep them engaged in productive work. She would guide me regarding these teaching processes and I would be engaging with these children in a separate room in the school.

When I asked her about how the intervention was perceived by the government staff in her school, she told me that the staff was not particularly happy with the intervention. They were the second batch of Fellows in the school - the 2013 to 2015 cohort. Before them, three Fellows from the 2011 to 2013 cohort were the first batch to teach in the school. Dhara mentioned that the school principal was very untrusting of NGOs and outsiders in general. She advised me to not mention my PhD project to the school staff as it would lead to unnecessary complications which could lead to me not being allowed into the school. As I had struggled to gain access into the school site, I decided to keep a low profile and enter the school site on the terms advised by Dhara.

I entered the school in end July, 2014 but could not complete my term of three months. The first two weeks were extremely overwhelming for me as I had never entered a municipal school. I had imagined that the Fellows would have some control over their work within the school site but was mistaken. Despite being formally associated with 'Teach for India' as a volunteer, I was not allowed to assist Dhara or other Fellows in the school without the school principal's permission. Dhara and the other Fellows were extremely cautious of the school principal and thought it better that I worked according to her demands.

In the two months that I was there at the school, some of the government teachers were either on leave or extremely busy with administrative work. This meant that their classes were largely unsupervised and I was often called upon to 'mind' these classes. I had to ensure that the children did not leave the classroom and remained seated till the end of the school day. There were two other volunteers – Amrita and Suparna - as well in the school along with me. These volunteers, who were undergraduate students from Delhi University, had joined the school in early July. They left in end July, about a week after I joined the school.

It was only on the days that all the school teachers were present and not unduly busy with administrative work that I was allowed to assist Dhara in her classroom. Through Dhara, I

213

also got to interact with the other Fellows in the school: Kartik, Manav and Payal. On the days I assisted Dhara, I helped her with classroom tasks and I also took the 'weaker' students from her class and Kartik's class to a separate room in the school to keep them occupied in 'productive' work. This largely involved informal sessions where I tried to teach the 'weaker' students phrases, words and sentences in English through teaching strategies defined by Dhara.

I remained in the school till late September 2014, until an incident in Dhara's class led to me being asked to discontinue as a volunteer in the school. Dhara had wanted me to substitute for her on a Saturday, when she was to take the day off to attend a part-time course in leadership development. She had the requisite permission for attending this course as well.

I had told her that I was unsure if I could control the class as they did not see me as a teacher, but as a friendly 'Didi' who chatted with them and helped them solve Maths questions. She assured me that she had planned a series of assessments for the whole day and all I needed to do was to administer them and collect the relevant data. There would be no teaching involved. That day, however, did not go as planned. The children in Dhara's class refused to listen to me. I had a very hard time maintaining discipline, especially among the ten year old boys. As the discipline levels got out of control, a government teacher had to intervene. She stepped into the class and slapped three boys. The fear invoked led to quick disciplinary control. However, as the students were slapped in my presence, I was told by senior members in 'Teach for India' that I could not continue as a volunteer because the organisation had a very strict no tolerance policy for corporal punishment.

Detailed Interviews with TFI Fellows and other members from the organisation

After I left the school due to the incident, I conducted detailed interviews with a sample of Fellows working in different government schools in South Delhi, including the four from the school site where I had volunteered. I also conducted some interviews with former Fellows who were now working in different capacities either within the organisation in Delhi or at other non-governmental organisations that worked within the education sector in Delhi and Mumbai. I selected these individuals through a snow-ball sampling technique where Fellows I interacted with referred me in turn to other Fellows and Alumni members in their circles. These interviews were conducted between September 2014 and October 2015.

214

I developed different detailed questionnaire schedules to interview Fellows, members working within the organisation and Alumni members. Some of the themes overlapped across schedules. The aim of these questionnaires was to guide me during the course of the interview and most of the questions were open ended organised along different themes examining processes of teaching, engaging with school staff, work profiles, professional aspirations etc. (See Appendix B). When I conducted interviews, while I largely stuck to the themes outlined in my questionnaire schedules, I also encouraged respondents to speak on other themes or topics that emerged during the course of the interview. I kept the interview conversational, often allowing respondents to ask me questions on my perceptions of the programme and its work within schools. If an interview provided me with new questions or points to consider, I incorporated these within the framework of my questionnaire schedule as well.

Most respondents were interviewed over the course of two sessions, where each session lasted up to two hours. I then transcribed these interviews and organised them along relevant themes. I also took professional assistance to transcribe these interviews as they were very long and extremely tedious to work on individually. When I used excerpts from these interviews to elucidate illustrative and analytical themes in the chapters based on ethnographic research, I have not always quoted the respondent in full. On some occasions, I have made selections from lengthy responses to highlight pertinent observations within larger conversations.

Interviews with the government school staff

As explained earlier, I was denied official permission from the SDMC to study the intervention within a government school site. My entry was facilitated through the volunteer option (as discussed earlier) and keeping in mind the tensions at the school site in Samarpur[72], I could not build a rapport with the government school staff. Government staff – school teachers and the school principal – are governed by strict rules of conduct that forbid them from talking to researchers or outsiders on school related issues without official permission.

I tried to contact school teachers outside the school premises and conduct interviews in an informal manner but was not successful. I conducted informal interviews with two school teachers who taught in municipal corporation schools under the NDMC. A majority of the

---

72 All names of localities and individuals have been kept anonymous in this study.

Fellows in my sample taught in schools under the SDMC, except for one Fellow who taught in a school under the NDMC. The NDMC thus is not the prominent site of my research study. However, the interviews with these two teachers helped me understand the work conditions and responsibilities of a government school teacher in a municipal school. The school teachers were aware of the increasing presence of NGOs within school sites and one of them had engaged with 'Teach for India' Fellows as the intervention was working within his school.

Through a series of 'Right to Information' (RTI) applications filed at the SDMC, I was given access to some correspondence between some school principals and the SDMC regarding 'Teach for India'. In this correspondence, some school principals provided an evaluation of the intervention and its work within their schools. They discussed the merits of the intervention, the work ethic and responsibilities of the Fellows and certain concerns with the programme that needed to be addressed if the 'partnership' was to be successful. I use some of this correspondence to situate the larger impressions of the government staff within my ethnographic chapters.

The study was unable to explore in depth the perspectives of members of the government – school principals, school teachers, members of the District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs), MCD and DoE officials – on the role of NGOs in changing the landscape of elementary education in the city of Delhi. It was also unable to examine the perspectives of underprivileged children and their families on how they understand and view the work of the Fellows and the intervention within government schools. These are important areas that need to be explored in order to add greater complexity to the discourses of reform shaping schools and education policy in the present context.

Appendix B1. Questionnaire for 'Teach for India' Fellows

I. Profile of the Fellows

- Name

- Age

- TFI Batch

- First year or Second year Fellow

- Parental background

- Education (Schooling, College etc.)

- Volunteering experience

- Social background

- Work profile

II. School Details

- School name

- School type (MCD/DoE)

- Which class are they teaching?

- Which subjects are they teaching? (English, Maths, Environmental Studies, Science (for classes VI and VII))

- Class Strength

III. Joining 'Teach for India' (TFI)

- How did they come to know of the programme?

- Why did they join the programme?

IV. TFI teacher training at the Pune Institute

- What is the process of selection for TFI?

- When does the training take place?

- Could you describe the processes of training?

- How long is the training programme and what are its key features?

- What are the subjects or modules that the Fellow is taught as a part of the programme?

- Who carries out these training processes?

- Who are the various organisations or individuals that the TFI brings into the training processes? Can you name anyone significant who you remember from the TFI or outside the organisation?

- Do Fellows get opportunities to teach and learn in the classroom at the training institute?

V. TFI on processes of teaching

The Student Vision Plan: The 'Student Vision' Plan concerns the various teaching and learning processes planned and transacted by the Fellow in the classroom. There are three sections to the 'Student Vision' plan. These include 'Values and Mindsets' plan, 'Academic' plan and 'Access and Exposure' plan. 'Values and mindsets' refers to a set of moral or life values that the Fellow seeks to instil in the students during the course of his/her fellowship. 'Academic' focuses on the classroom teaching aspects. 'Access and Exposure' encompasses the various extracurricular activities that the Fellow introduces the students to inside and outside the classroom.

A. Values and Mindsets (V & M) Plan

- Does TFI have an organisational mandate regarding 'Values and Mindsets'?

- Do you draw from the organisational mandate while planning for 'V & M'?

- What are the 'values' and 'mindsets' that you think are important for students?

- How do you integrate 'V & M' with your daily class plans for the various subjects? (RC, RF, S & L, Writing, Grammar, EVS)

- Is 'behaviour management' a part of 'V & M'?

- How is it envisioned by you in the classroom?

- Is there any daily routine that is followed?

- Are there any techniques or seating arrangements that are followed?

- Is the seating arrangement consistent all the time (even when the government teacher is teaching) or only when the Fellow is in the classroom?

- What sort of 'rewards' and 'punishments' do you use in the classroom?

B. Subjects taught:

'Literacy' is divided into four components – Reading Comprehension (RC), Reading Fluency (RF), Speaking and Listening (S & L), Writing and Grammar.

Reading Comprehension (RC)

- Does TFI have a set of objectives for differentiated teaching for RC for every grade level?

- How do you determine teaching objectives for your RC class?

- Can you describe some key teaching objectives for your RC class?

- What texts and resources/teaching aids do you use to plan for your RC class?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook?

- Could you give an example of how you transact an RC class?

- Do you manage to teach differentiated lessons in your classroom?

- Do you teach at the grade level and address differentiated questions to your students based on their learning levels?

- Are you aware of the NCF 2005 curricular objectives for English?

- Have you engaged with the NCF 2005 curricular objectives?

- How do the NCF curricular objectives compare with TFI's objectives?

- Do you believe there is any core area knowledge essential for teaching English at the primary level?

Reading Fluency (RF)

- Does TFI have a set of objectives for teaching Reading Fluency (RF)?

- For which classes is RF important?

- Is it taught only till a certain grade level?

- How do you plan and teach RF in your classroom?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook or other resources for this component?

- Can you give an example of how you transact an RF class?

- Does RF have differentiated teaching tracks?

Speaking and Listening (S & L)

- Does TFI have a set of objectives for teaching S & L?

- For which classes is S & L important?

- Is it taught only till a certain grade level?

- How do you plan and teach S & L in your classroom?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook or other resources for this component?

- Can you give an example of how you transact an S & L class?

- Does S & L have differentiated teaching tracks?

Writing

- Does TFI have a set of objectives for teaching 'Writing' for every grade level?

- How do you plan and teach the 'Writing' component in your class?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook or other resources for this component?

- Can you give an example of how you transact a Writing class?

- Does 'Writing' have differentiated teaching tracks?

Grammar

- Does TFI have a set of objectives for teaching 'Grammar' for every grade level?

- For which classes is the 'Grammar' component important?

- Is it taught only till a certain grade level?

- How do you plan and teach 'Grammar' component in your class?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook or other resources for this component?

- Can you give an example of how you transact a Grammar class?

- Does 'Grammar' have differentiated teaching tracks?

Maths

- Does TFI have a pedagogical process for teaching Maths?

- Do you set certain objectives for teaching Maths?

- How do you plan and teach Maths in your class?

- Do you use the NCERT textbook or other resources/teaching aids for Maths?

- Can you give an example of how you transact a Maths class?

- Do you follow differentiated tracks for teaching Maths?

- Are you aware of the NCF 2005 curricular objectives for Maths?

- Have you engaged with the NCF 2005 curricular objectives?

- How do the NCF curricular objectives compare with TFI's objectives?

- Do you believe there is any core area knowledge essential for teaching Maths at the primary level?

C. Homework

- How often do you give homework for the various subjects that you teach in class?

- Is there a certain format to giving homework for the various subjects?

- Do you give more homework in some subjects vis a vis others?

- Do you manage to check the homework daily?

D. Reflections on the teaching-planning processes

- Is there a correspondence between your class plans and transaction processes in the classroom?

- Are you able to successfully complete all the objectives you set out to do for a particular week?

- What do you understand with regard to 'rigour' of teaching?

- What are the difficulties you have faced with regard to the teaching-planning processes?

E. Assessment processes for the subjects taught

- What are the kinds of assessment modules for various subjects?

- Which organisation prepares the content for the BoY, MoY and EoY assessment modules?

- Does TFI assess different students in one grade level or class through different assessment tests?

- How are these distinctions of assessments for different children made?

- Apart from organisational level assessments carried out at regular intervals in a year, do you conduct other assessments based on what you teach in the class as well?

- How regularly do you conduct these assessments to gauge the learning of the children?

- Do you set different assessment modules for different students in the class or a uniform assessment module in these cases?

- On what content do you base these regular assessment modules?

- What are you looking for in terms of assessment?

- Can oral forms of testing qualify as a mode of determining a student's understanding of a concept or topic?

- Do these regular assessments aim to prepare the children for the more important assessments conducted by the TFI (BoY, MoY and EoY)?

- How do you collect and record data with regard to these various assessments? (Regular unit assessment, BoY, MoY, EoY)

- How much time is spent in these assessment processes?

- Do you need to send data to higher levels of the TFI management for research purposes?

- How is the 'quality' of this data collected on a regular basis validated? Is it validated by program managers or other higher ups?

- Do you find differences in students' performances in these two types of assessments?

- What problems do you feel exist with these forms of assessment?

F. Access and Exposure

- What are the various kinds of 'access and exposure' activities that the Fellows engage children in?

- Are they supported by the school in these endeavours?

- How do these activities get scheduled in the school time table?

- Are they supported by the TFI organisation in these endeavours?

- Are there other organisations or individuals that support the Fellows in these endeavours?

- What is the nature of funding or sponsorship for these activities?

- How are these received by the children and parents?

G. Leadership Development

The TFI fellowship has a strong focus on personal growth and leadership aspects. The TFI Fellow Commitments includes three aspects: 'Commitment to Personal Transformation', 'Collective Action' and 'Education and Equity'.

- What is the nature of the 'Leadership Development Conversation that a Fellow has with his/her Program Manager?

- Is there a link between the 'Fellow Commitments' plan and the 'Student Vision' plan?

- Do they build on each other?

- How has your LDC progressed with your Program Manager?

- Could you describe the process and experience?

- Was it a useful method of understanding where you stood as a TFI Fellow with regard to your work – both within the classroom and outside?

H. TFI Support Structures within and outside the school

- What are the various kinds of support structures available to the Fellow during the teaching fellowship?

TFI Volunteers

- What is the process of recruiting volunteers to assist Fellows in the classroom?

- What is the nature of work that TFI volunteers engage in?

- Do other government staff and members support such endeavours?

Program Manager and TFI Fellows

- What is the nature of the relationship between you and the Program Manager?

- How does the Program Manager assist you in the classroom and in the school?

- How often does the Program Manager come for classroom observations?

- What is the process of classroom planning and transaction when the Program Manager visits for observations?

Feedback and Interactive Sessions

- What are the various kinds of feedback mechanisms existing for the Fellow?

- Are you assessed for your teaching performance by your Program Manager?

- Do you interact with other Fellows working in other schools?

- How often do you meet and what is the nature of these interactions?

- What are the various kinds of informative sessions organised by the TFI for the Fellows?

- How often are these informative sessions organised?

- How have they been useful?

I. Questions of teacher identity

- What are the attributes of a 'good teacher'?

- How has your teaching experience helped you in understanding the work of the teacher and the role of the school in shaping childrens' lives?

- Do you believe two years are enough to understand this work and role of the teacher?

- What were the kinds of problems you faced during the fellowship?

- Are there any reflections or observations with regard to the TFI's vision of teaching in the classroom?

- What do you understand is the role of the TFI in a government school?

- What do you imagine will be the academic trajectory of your childrenn?

J. Perspectives on children, family and community

On Children and learning

- What has been your nature of experience in engaging with children from low-income communities?

- What do you believe are their hindrances in effective learning?

- Why do you believe there are differences in the learning levels of the children in the class?

- Do you find the assigning of learning levels to children a useful process?

- Doesn't this cause children to see themselves negatively especially if they are consistently assigned lower learning levels?

Language

- How important is the medium of instruction in your teaching processes?

- Do you think teaching children from low income communities in the medium of English has problems?

- Does this impact the child's learning abilities and concept formation?

- Does this influence the child's self identity?

Private tuitions

- Do children go for private tuitions outside school?

- Why do you think children go for private tuitions?

- Your take on private tuitions?

- Suppose you find contradictions between what the child is learning at the private tuitions and what you are teaching – how do you respond or handle this?

On Family and Community

- What is the role of the family in the child's education?

- How do Fellows build and sustain relations with family members to help their children in the school?

- What are the kinds of problems that you have faced with family members?

- Are Parent-Teacher Meetings conducted in the school?

- Are parents responsive to suggestions given by the Fellows?

- How important is the role of the local community in influencing families and children with regard to education?

- Are there members in the local community who are active in furthering the cause of education?

- Suppose you get to know that a child has a problem at home - abusive father, alcoholism/any other - and that is affecting the child's emotional well-being and academic performance. How do you handle it?

K. TFI and the government section (school processes, teachers and Principal)

School Principal

- What is the nature of relationship between the Fellows and the school principal?

- Is the school principal encouraging of the work of the TFI Fellows in the school?

- In what ways does he or she encourage or exercise control over the work of the Fellows?

- Does he or she encourage measures of collaboration between the Fellows and government school teachers?

- Is there any sense of collaboration between the school principal and other senior members of the TFI, such as the Program Managers?

School teachers

- What is the nature of interaction between the government teachers and the Fellows?

- Are there any measures of collaboration between the Fellows and the government teachers?

- What is your opinion of the government teachers working in your respective school?

- What do you believe are the reasons for their being 'good' or 'bad' in their profession as teachers in the school?

School Processes

- Do Fellows assist or involve themselves in administrative work assigned to government teachers in the school?

- Are they aware of the kinds of administrative work that the government teachers are involved in?

- Do Fellows have responsibilities other than their TFI teaching responsibilities in the school?

- Are Fellows requested to align their teaching processes to the NCERT syllabus by the school principal or the other teachers?

- Are Fellows aware of the MCD regulated examinations?

- What is their nature of involvement in this?

- What is their opinion on the MCD regulated examinations and the childrens' performance in these exams?

- Do they believe their teaching processes help children in these examinations as well

L. Resources available to the Fellow

- How much are Fellows paid as a stipend?

- How is the amount for the stipend determined?

- Apart from the stipend, are Fellows given any other monetary resources by the TFI?

- Does the TFI fund specific Fellows based on their teaching performance or leadership potential?

- What are the various modes through which Fellows can raise funds for the teaching processes in the class?

- Are there any regulations regarding sponsorship?

- Do sponsors sponsor individual students in the Fellow's classroom?

- What are the kinds of expenses incurred by the Fellow? (Stationery, Art supplies, books, teaching aids, other kinds of learning material, costs for trips or outings if any)

- What happens to the funds raised by Fellows for their individual classroom activities once they complete their Fellowship?

M. Future aspirations

- What are your plans post the Fellowship?

- Would you consider continuing or coming back to school teaching in the future?

- What are the various pathways and opportunities open to Fellows after the Fellowship? (Within TFI and outside TFI)

Appendix B2. TFI Program Managers

I. Profile of the Program Manager

- Name

- Age

- Educational Profile

- Work Profile

II. Stint with 'Teach for India'

- Why did you join 'Teach for India'?

- How was your experience with the programme?

- Did you consider opportunities with TFI post the programme?

- Did you go consider going back to your previous job?

- What motivated you to make the change in your career trajectory by moving into the education sector?

III. On choosing to become a program manager

- How did you decide to become a Program Manager?

- What is the process of selection to become a Program manager?

- What are the kinds of attributes that one is looking for in a Program Manager?

- Was there any specific training or sessions that you had to go through?

- Do see a significant difference in perspective with regard to teaching-learning processes after becoming a Program Manager?

IV. Program Manager tasks

- What is the nature of work for the Program Manager in the TFI organisation?

A. Class Planning

- What is the focus of class planning?

- How do you guide Fellows in making class plans? (MIC, weekly and Unit Plans)

B. Learning Circle sessions

- How often do you hold learning circle sessions for your Fellow group?

- What are the kinds of discussions that take place in these Learning Circle meetings?

C. Content and Curriculum training

- Do you also have specific sessions on curriculum and training for your Fellow group?

- What is the focus of these sessions?

- How often do you have these sessions?

D. Classroom Observations and Feedback

- How do you observe a Fellow?

- What are you guiding the Fellow towards achieving in a classroom?

- Do you ask for a class plan in advance while going for an observation?

- How often do you do classroom observations?

- Do you do classroom observations for all subjects – RC, RF, Writing, Grammar and Maths?

- Do you make surprise visits?

- If a Fellow is conducting his or her class in a manner that is completely different from what TFI has in mind, how do you respond to the situation?

- What is the process of classroom debriefing?

- How do you give feedback – is it specific to the class plan or what you've observed in the classroom?

- How is this important?

E. Interaction with school staff/members

- What is the nature of your interaction with the school principal?

- Do you interact with the school teachers?

- How often do you interact with the school staff/members?

- How important is building school relations?

F. Interaction with students in Fellow's classroom

- Do you interact with students in the Fellow's classroom?

G. On Leadership Development

- What is the 'Leadership Development Conversation' about?

- How do you discuss Fellow Commitments and the Student Vision scale?

- How do you understand evidence in these discussions?

- Do Fellows and Program Managers come to mutual agreements on these discussions?

- Is this a mode of assessing a Fellow's performance in the classroom?

- Do Program Managers' keep a record of these discussions?

- What are the attributes of a 'good' Fellow?

H. Transformational Impact Journey

- Could you elaborate on the process of selection of Fellows for this?

- How many Fellows are awarded?

- What is the nature of the award?

- What is the organisation looking for in these exceptional Fellows?

I. Post Fellowship Opportunities

- What is the range of post-fellowship opportunities open for Fellows?

- How many Fellows apply for internal opportunities such as those for Program Managers?

J. Other concerns

- What if a Fellow wants to quit the Fellowship mid-term?

- How do you address this situation?

- How do you address difficult situations within the school which disturb the Fellow's working process?

- How strict is the organisation with Fellows who do not take their commitments seriously?

- How strict is the organisation with Fellows involved in corporal punishment or issues concerning sexual abuse etc.?

- Is there any structure in place to address these concerns?

K. Other organisational tasks

- What are the various other internal organisational tasks that the Program Manager has to be involved in? (Recruitment, training at the Institute etc.)

- What are the key attributes that you are looking for in prospective applicants during recruitment?

- Are there any specific targets that Program Managers are required to meet with regard to these organisational tasks?

L. Program Manager and Senior Management

- What is the organisational hierarchy above the Program Manager?

- How are they evaluated for their work?

- Do Program Managers collaborate with each other? How and for what tasks?

- What are your future aspirations?

- Is there any chance of upward mobility to management positions within TFI Delhi?

V. TFI Vision

- What is the vision for TFI in Delhi, other cities and at the national level?

- Is TFI Delhi seeking to expand and deepen its association with the government?

- Are there any collaborations between TFI and other NGOs in Delhi?

VI. TFI in Delhi

- How many TFI Fellows are there in Delhi (2015)?

- Of this number how many Fellows are working in the government schools?

- Is it true that TFI is keen to move away from First Year Interventions and focus only on classes where the intervention has already been working?

- Is TFI keen to make its presence in higher grades?

- What are the challenges to moving into higher grades in government schools?

Appendix B3. TFI Alumni questionnaire

I. Profile of the Alumni member

- Name

- Age

- Educational profile

- Work profile

II. Stint with 'Teach for India'

- Why did you join 'Teach for India'?

- How was your experience with the programme?

- Did you consider opportunities with TFI post the programme?

- Did you go consider going back to your previous job?

- What motivated you to make the change in your career trajectory by moving into the development/education sector?

III. Present Organisation

- How did you come to work at your present organisation?

- Could you describe your job profile?

- How did your experience at TFI help with the work profile at this organisation?

- What is the role of your organisation in the education/development sector?

- Is your organisation connected to 'Teach for India' or other NGOs or organisations in the education sector?

- How does the organisation benefit and collaborate with TFI or other NGOs or organisations in the education sector?

- What is your perspective on the new nature of organisations coming up within the private domain within the education sector?

- Is your organisation working with or connected to schools or organisations in the government sector/or the private sector?

- What are your future plans with regard to your work and association with this organisation?

Appendix C. Prominent NGOs in Mumbai and Delhi

Name	Spread	Year of founding	Focus area in education	Pedagogical Focus	Prominent individuals/connections	Some donors
Akanksha foundation	Mumbai, Pune	1991	After school remedial classes, now PPP with BMC and PMC schools focused on teacher training and head teacher training	Teacher centred, behaviourist and classroom management focused	Shaheen Mistri, Anu Agha	Thermax Foundation, BMC, PMC, other corporate sponsors
Aseema	Mumbai	1995	Non-formal schooling; now focused on teacher training in BMC schools. Emphasises English literacy skills.	Teacher centred, structured methods, English language skills focus	Collective of lawyers, bankers, industrialists	GE, Tech Mahindra, Salman Khan Foundation, Moet Hennessy India, Vidya Trust
Door Step School	Mumbai, Pune	1989	From improving school enrolment to curriculum, pedagogy and teacher training		Social workers, Pune University professors	Range of corporate sponsors: Ernst and Young, Infosys, Asha Foundation, governments of Mumbai and Pune
Muktangan	Mumbai	2003	From community development to teacher training. Focused on training women in local communities to be	Child centred, activity oriented		Paragon Charitable Trust

Organisation	Location	Year	Activities	Approach	Connections	Sponsors
Masoom	Mumbai	2008	teachers. Night schools, teacher training. Focused on English and Maths.	English and Maths skills oriented		Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, IDFC, IL & FS, other corporate sponsors
Naandi	Mumbai, Hyderabad	1998	Teacher training, school adoption	English and Maths skills oriented		KC Mahindra Education Trust, Ernst and Young, state governments of different states, Michael and Susan Dell foundation and other corporate sponsors
Life Trust	Mumbai	2000	Digital classrooms, computer training, IQ testing and remedial education			Lifestyle company, National Geographic, other corporate sponsors
Teach for India	Mumbai, Delhi, Hyd, Chennai, Bangalore, Pune, Ahmedabad. Indian off-shoot of the American programme.	2009	Teacher training	Draws on Akanksha's pedagogical model	Connected to Akanksha, Pratham and STIR	Omidyar network, Thermax Social Initiatives foundation, Acacia Partners LP, Pirojsha Godrej foundation and other corporate sponsors
Pratham	Mumbai, Delhi, across different states	1995	Began as providing pre-schools to children from slum areas. Now involved in teacher training, curriculum and data collection	Teacher centred, structured methods, literacy and Maths skills important	Connected to Akanksha, TFI	UNICEF, BMC, Accenture, Bank of America, Bill and Melinda Gates foundation, other corporate sponsors

Name	Location	Year	Description	Pedagogy/Approach	Connections	Sponsors
Katha	Delhi	1988	Began with a literacy project for street children. Involved in textbooks and pedagogy. Has a tie-up with CBSE.	Child centred, constructivist pedagogy		Ashoka Changemakers and Lego Foundation, Barrington Education Initiative. British Asian Trust and other sponsors.
Room to Read	Several states, offices in Mumbai and Delhi, ten countries across South Asia, South East Asia and Africa	2003	Literacy and gender equality			American off-shoot supported by range of foreign foundations and corporates. Artha Capital, Credit Suisse, Citi Bank, The Lee Foundation and others.
STIR	Delhi (head office), presence in Uganda as well	2013	Teacher training	Teacher centred, classroom management important	Connected to Pratham, Muktangan, Akanksha, TFI, ARK	USAID foundation, UBS, The Mulago foundation, British Council, ARK, other American and Indian corporate sponsors.
ISLI	Delhi	2013	Head teacher leadership		Connected to Akanksha	Central Square Foundation, Akanksha sponsors
ARK	Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, UK	2002	School adoption, quality standards		Connected to Akanksha, TFI	Range of corporate sponsors from India and UK
Sajha	Delhi	2013	School management		Connected to Pratham, Akanksha, TFI	Central Square Foundation
Tech Mahindra	Delhi	2007	Teacher training, English and		Connected to Aseema	CSR wing of Tech

foundation			school leadership, English and Maths focus	Maths language skills		Mahindra Limited

(Source: Compiled through information from websites of the respective organisations)

Appendix D (a). Classifying Organisations Types, Associations and Geographical spread

FINANCIAL ORGANISATIONS

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	HDFC	Deepak Satwalekar, former CEO	Financial conglomerate (India)		Banking, housing finance, asset management, venture capital, education loans		Presence on Board of Members of TFI and one of the funders	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
2	Barclays	Neel Shahani	Global financial conglomerate		Banking services		Presence on Board of Members of TFI and one of the funders	Africa and Middle East, Americas, Asia Pacific and Europe	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
3	Acacia Partners, LP		Global financial investment company.	Has presence of several venture capitalists	Invests in innovative technological companies directly and indirectly		Funder of TFI	Websites state presence in US and UK	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
4	Bloomberg L P		Global financial conglomerate		Financial services, mass media, technology		Funder of TFI	Has close to 200 offices across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015

No.	Organisation	Person	Type	Services	Notes	Presence	Source
5	BNP Paribas India		Multinational bank	Corporate and institutional banking, investment solutions and retail banking	Funder of TFI	Headquarters in Paris, presence in several Indian cities and across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
6	Credit Suisse		Global Financial Conglomerate	Investment banking, private banking, asset management and other services	Funder of TFI	Global presence in several countries across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
7	ICICI		Indian Financial conglomerate	Banking and financial services	Funder of TFI. It also allows employees to commit two years of service to the fellowship as part of their CSR activity.	India	TFI Annual Report 014-2015.
8	Bain Capital	Amit Chandra	Global private investment firm	Specialises in private equity and venture capital services	Amit Chandra is mentioned as one of the sponsors of TFI	Global presence in several countries	TFI Annual Report 014-2015. Interviews with Fellows from TFI.
9	JP Morgan Chase		Global Financial conglomerate	Banking and financial services	Funder of TFI	Presence in several countries across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
10	KPMG		Global tax and audit services	Tax, audit and advisory	Funder of TFI	Presence in several	TFI Annual

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
11	Goldman Sachs	Tabassum Inamdar	Global investment banking firm company	Investment banking services		Tabassum Inamdar is one of the sponsors of TFI	Presence worldwide, countries across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
12	UBS		Global financial services conglomerate	Wealth management, investment banking, asset management and other services		Funder of TFI	Global presence	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
INDUSTRY								
1	Godrej	Nisaba Godrej	Indian industry conglomerate	Chemical commodities, consumer goods, food products and other services		Presence on Board of Members of TFI and one of the funders	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
2	AZB and Partners	Zia Mody	Indian corporate Law Firm	Legal services		Presence on Board of Members of TFI	India – Mumbai	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
3	Deutsche Post DHL		German courier company	Mail, freight and other supply chain services		Funder of TFI	Global presence in 220 countries	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
4	Chell India		Private	No specific		Funder of TFI	Website	TFI

No.	Company	Type	Details	Funder	Location	Source
		company	details found online		states offices in Kerala	Annual Report 2014-2015
5	Symantec	Global Technology company	Cyber security services	Funder of TFI	Services worldwide. Head office in the US.	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
6	Indira Foundation	Indian Housing and Real Estate organisation	Real estate services	Funder of TFI	India - Chennai	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015.
7	Rural Electrification Corporation	Indian Public infrastructure finance company	Company finances and supports rural electrification projects across the country	Funder of TFI	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
8	Encure Pharmaceuticals	Indian Pharmaceuticals company	Production of pharmaceuticals	Funder of TFI	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
9	Genpact India	Multinational business outsourcing and IT company	Business Outsourcing and IT services	Funder of TFI	India, has presence in other countries as well	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
10	Microsoft Corporation	Global technology company	Computer software, technology and allied technological services and products	Funder of TFI. Strong association with 'Teach for All' network	Presence in several countries across the world	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015

244

POLICY/RESEARCH THINK TANKS/CONSULTING appears as a section header within the table.

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread / Presence	Sources for making links
11	NYK Line (India) Pvt. Ltd.		Global shipping company		Shipping and other transportation services		Funder of TFI	Presence worldwide	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
12	Western Outdoor Interactive Pvt. Ltd.		Indian technology company		In-flight entertainment services, software, games		Funder of TFI	India - Mumbai	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
13	Infosys Group		Indian IT services company				Offers sabbatical options for employees. Some TFI Fellows are on a sabbatical from their job at the company	India – several cities	Websites and interviews
14	Tata Consultancy Services		Indian IT services company				Offers sabbatical options for employees to enroll in TFI fellowship	India – several cities	Interviews
POLICY/RESEARCH THINK TANKS/CONSULTING									
S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (JPAL)	Abhijit Banerjee, Karthik Muralidaran	Global Think tank	Bilateral organisations, foundations and state governments in India	Sectors such as agriculture, health, finance, environment and labour	2003	TFA and TFI Fellows have associations here	South Africa, US, France, India, Latin America and Carribean, Indonesia	Interviews with TFI members, websites

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
2	McKinsey	Ramya Venkataraman	Global management consulting firm	Firm is owned by 1,400 partners across the world	Wide range of client services including research and data based solutions for the social sector		Has consulted for TFI and other 'Teach for' organisations	Global operations in US, Asia, Africa, Europe, Middle East, South America and the Pacific	Websites
3	Boston Consulting Group	Nandita Dugar, former consultant with BCG	Global management consulting firm		Range of consulting services to public, private and not for profit organisations and clients		Presence on Board of Members of TFI. Has strong history of association with TFA and the 'Teach for All' network	Africa, Asia Pacific, Central and South America, Europe and the Middle East, North America	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015, various websites
4	Centre for Civil Society	Karthik Muralidaran, Parth Shah	Policy think tank	Mix of corporates and foundations	Advocates school choice and private schooling		TFI Fellows take up positions here. One of the funders is CSF.	India - Delhi	Websites and interviews

PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS/VENTURE CAPITAL FUNDS/CSR ORGANISATIONS

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation		Private foundation (US)	Proceeds from several corporate companies	Education, health care, poverty	2000	Has sponsored 'Teach for America' and 'Teach for India'	Global presence in US, UK, South Asia, Africa and Latin America	Websites
2	Michael and	Debashish	Private	Proceeds	Urban	1999	Has funded	US, India	Websites

	Name		Description	Focus / Purpose	Link to TFI	Region	Source
	Susan Dell Foundation	(US)	foundation from Dell Corporation	education, childhood health, family economic stability	Akanksha Foundation in India, an NGO linked to 'Teach for India'	and South Africa	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
3	Omidyar	Mitter	Global philanthropic investment firm	Provides funding to non profit and for profit organisations. Operates on principles of venture capital seeking measurable results for sectors such as technology, education, citizen engagement and governance	Presence on Board of Members of TFI and one of the most prominent funders	Funds projects in several areas across the world, notably India and Africa	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
4	Porticus		Global philanthropic organisation	Supports and develops programmes of charitable organisations working in areas of human dignity and social justice	Funder of TFI	UK, Netherlands, North America, Germany, Switzerland and Austria	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
5	Emerson Collective LLC	Laurene Powell Jobs	Philanthropic foundation (US)	Provides funds to social entrepreneurship endeavours	Funder of TFI	US	TFI Annual Report

No.	Name	Type	Focus	Role	Location	Source
			in education, immigration reform and innovative solutions to social issues			2014-2015
6	Cognizant Foundation	CSR arm of Cognizant company	Provides financial and technical support to organisations involved in education, healthcare and livelihood.	Funder of TFI	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
7	Murugappa Group (AMM Foundation)	Philanthropic arm of Indian business conglomerate	Education and healthcare	Funder of TFI	India - Chennai	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
8	Pricewaterhouse e Coopers Foundation	CSR arm of the global audit and tax services company	Provides funds for causes in education and humanitarianism	Funder of TFI	Presence worldwide	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
9	The Allan and Nesta Ferguson Charitable Trust	UK based charitable trust	Education, peace and development.	Funder of TFI	Provides funding to charities based in UK and overseas	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
10	Western Union Foundation	CSR arm of global financial services conglomerate	Grants to NGOs working in education, education scholarships, disaster relief	Funder of TFI	Global presence	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015

248

					projects				Websites
11	Central Square Foundation	Ashish Dhawan	Venture philanthropy fund and policy think tank (India)	ChrysCapital	Philanthropic funding and capacity building for education related NGOs. Follows outcome oriented principles for funding	2011-2012	Funds several organisations– 3.2.1 schools, Akanksha, CCS, ISLI, Educational Initiatives, Indus Action, TFI and Education Alliance	India - Delhi	Websites
12	Thermax Social Initiatives Foundation (TSIF)	Anu Aga, Meher Pudumjee	CSR arm of Indian energy and environment engineering company Thermax		Quality education, environment and community engagement	2007	One of the prominent supporters and funders of TFI. Presence on Board of Members. Supports Akanksha foundation as well. TFI Fellows engage with this organization during the course of their work	India – Pune	Websites and interviews
13	Tech Mahindra Foundation		CSR arm of Tech Mahindra company	Founded by Tech Mahindra group. Collaborations with other corporates, NGOs and state governments	Capacity building for teachers, technical training, employability	2007	Collaborates with state governments of Bangalore, Chennai, Mumbai, Pune, Delhi and Hyderabad. Operates in ten locations in India		Websites

NON GOVERNMENTAL/NOT FOR PROFIT ORGANISATIONS/ASSESSMENTS/ACCREDITATION

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	Teach for America	Wendy Kopp, Michelle Rhee	Not for profit organization (US)	Mix of banks, corporates, philanthropic foundations and state education departments	Teaching, leadership, alternative teaching certification, education equity	1989	TFI is a satellite organization of the 'Teach for All' network. Programme draws on TFA	US	Interviews with TFI members, TFA and TFI websites
2	Teach First	Brett Wigdortz	Not for profit organization (UK)	Mix of banks, corporates, philanthropic foundations and state education departments	Teaching, leadership, alternative teaching certification, education equity	2002	The UK adaptation of 'Teach for America'	UK	Websites
3	Akanksha Foundation	Shaheen Mistri, Vandana Goyal	NGO (India)	Range of philanthropic foundations and corporate companies	Education for children from low-income communities	1991	Shaheen Mistri is the CEO of 'Teach for India'	India – Mumbai and Pune	Websites
4	Azim Premji Foundation		NGO (India)	Wipro founder Azim Premji is one of the prominent funders	Quality education and development, partnership with governments in various states	2001	TFI Fellows have taken up options here	India – head office in Bangalore, has presence in several states in the country through government partnerships	Websites of TFI and Azim Premji Foundation
5	Teach for India	Shaheen Mistri, Anu Mistri	NGO (India)	Mix of banks, corporates,	Teaching, leadership,	2009		India – Mumbai,	Websites

No.	Name	Key People	Type	Partners/Funders	Focus	Description	Year	Relation to TFI	Location	Source
6	Give India	Aga, Meher Pudumjee, Ashish Dhawan, Nisaba Godrej, S. Ramadorai	NGO (India)	philanthropic foundations and Chennai municipal corporation	education equity	Online donation platform that allows individuals and groups to donate to up to 200 NGOs in India who have been scrutinized for credibility and transparency		Funder of TFI	Pune, Hyderabad, Chennai, Bangalore, Delhi and Ahmedabad; India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
7	Mantra 4 Change		NGO (India)	Infosys Foundation, JP Morgan Chase Singapore, Bharat Petroleum, EdgeVerve Systems Limited and Janagraha not for profit organisation		Provides systemic and school support working with school principal and teachers	2014	Founded by TFI Alumni	India - Bangalore	Websites and interviews
8	STIR / Sharath Jeevan		NGO (India)	Mix of corporates and foundations		Teacher support and training	2013	Several TFI Fellows join the organization.	India – Delhi and Uganda	Websites

9	Indus Action	Tarun Cherukuri	NGO (India)		Facilitating the implementatio n of Section 12 (1) of the RTE Act. This regards the 25 percent reservation of seats for EWS students.	2013	Founded by TFI Alumni Tarun Cherukuri who was ex City Director for Delhi TFI team. One of the funders is CSF. Has associations with Ashish Dhawan, ARK, 'Teach First', Pearson, Akanksha, British Council and McKinsey	India - Delhi	Websites and interviews
10	Pratham		NGO (India)	Established by UNICEF and Brihanmumb ai Municipal Corporation. Brings out the ASER report. Range of corporates, banks and foundations.	High quality, low cost interventions in primary education.	1995	TFI Fellows move into positions here. It is one of the prominent NGOs in the Mumbai primary education landscape	India – several states	Websites and interviews
11	Naandi	Anand Mahindra	NGO (India)	Founded by Mahindra group. Began as a charitable trust, now is supported by range of	Range of activities in education, especially girls education, poverty eradication, rural and	1998	Works with the Mumbai municipal body, engages with TFI. Some TFI Fellows have worked with	India – several states	Websites

No.	Name	Founder	Type	Supported by	Focus	Year	Description	Location	Source
				corporates, state governments and foundations in its activities.	community development		the organization as well.		
12	Educo		NGO (India)	Supported by Tech Mahindra and other corporates	School support programme in curriculum, constructivist pedagogy, computer skills and sports	2009	Supports few schools in Mumbai under PPP model. TFI Fellows engage with this NGO during the course of their work	India - Mumbai	Websites
13	Kaivalya Education Foundation	Ajay Piramal	NGO (India)	Piramal Foundation, USAID, Michael and Susan Dell foundation and UNICEF	School leadership, quality education	2008	TFI Fellows have engaged with this organization during the course of their work. Has connections with CSF as well.	India – Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra	Websites and interviews
14	Khan Academy		NGO (India)	Mix of corporates and foundations	Personalised online learning resources	2006	CSF funds this organization. TFI Fellows have collaborations with this organization.	Global	Websites
15	ISLI		NGO (India)	Funded by private	School leadership.	2013	Supported by CSF. TFI	India	Websites

No	Name	Founder	Type	Description	Year	Remarks	Location	Source
			foundations that operate on outcome oriented principles	Works with school principals and teachers in government and private low cost schools. Offers fellowships to teachers and school principals as well.		Fellows have taken up positions here. Links to Akanksha foundation as well.		
16	Firki		Online school teaching resource portal (India)	Online portal that provides range of material to school teachers in planning their classes		Founded by TFI	India	Websites
17	Educational Initiatives		Educational assessment and research company	Founded by IIM Ahmedabad graduates. Supported by range of foundations and corporates. Large scale assessment, technology based interventions, teacher evaluation	2001	TFI Fellows take up positions here. One of the supporters is CSF.	India – Ahmedabad, Bangalore and Delhi	Websites and interviews
18	Centre for Teacher Accreditation	Ramya Venkataraman	Private teacher accreditation organisation	Founded by Ramya Venkataraman and Nalini Haridas. Ramya Ramya Teacher accreditation aimed at B Ed, D Ed students and school	2015	Links to CSF, AZB Partners, Educational Initiatives and McKinsey	India - Bangalore	Websites

No.	Name	Person	Type	Funder / Initiated	Activity / Description	Engagement	Year	Relation to TFI	Location	Source
				Venkataraman was associated with McKinsey	teachers					
19	Design for Change	Kiran Sethi	Social development programme	Initiated by Kiran Sethi of Riverside schools.	Provides resources to children to develop innovative solutions to social issues			TFI has initiated this programme in the schools they are working in	India and some global presence as well	Interviews and websites
20	Createnet Education		NGO (India)	One prominent funder is CSF	Partnering with SCERT for school leadership training for school principals of government schools in Delhi			One of the funders is CSF, linked to TFI.	India - Delhi	Websites
21	Saajha	Abhishek Choudhary, Saransh Vaswani	NGO (India)	Pratham, CSF, American NGO Echoing Green	Involved in creation of school management committees for government schools	Community partnership and engagement.	2013-2014	Has links to CSF and Pratham. Some TFI Fellows are closely working with Saajha in school management issues as well.	India - Delhi	Websites and interviews
22	Bol	Artists Debjani Mukherjee and Shayok	NGO (India)		Involved in art activities to build creativity and social			TFI Fellows collaborate with Bol volunteers for	India and some global presence	Websites and interviews

No.	Name	Type	Founder / Partners	Mission	Programs	Year	TFI Role	Location	Source
23	Becoming I Foundation	NGO (India)	Banerjee founded the organization. Range of private foundations, NGOs, schools etc.	Involve youth in community based issues of gender, primary education, leadership development and life skills development	awareness ... art based activities in their respective schools.	2014	TFI Fellows collaborate with volunteers from this organization for activities in their respective schools	India – Delhi, Chennai, Hyderabad and Bangalore	Websites and interviews
24	Deepalaya	NGO (India)	Amway, Oriflame, Business and Community Foundation, PEC Ltd, Edukans International, Jochnick Foundation, Intrepid Foundation	Projects in education, health, institutional care, disability issues, vocational training and women empowerment. Runs schools in Delhi.		1979	TFI Fellows teach in Deepalaya schools in Delhi	India – Delhi, has schools in UP and Haryana	Websites and interviews
25	Just For Kicks	NGO (India)			Sports for underprivileged children in Mumbai		Started by TFI Fellows	India - Mumbai	Websites
26	Khel Khel Main	NGO (India)			Sports for underprivileged		Started by TFI	India - Delhi	Interviews

GLOBAL/NATIONAL CONSORTIUM

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
					d children in Delhi		Fellows		
1	Clinton Global Initiative, Clinton Foundation		Global consortium	Sponsors include philanthropic foundations, corporates and business schools	Climate change, economic development, girls and women, health and wellness	2001	Key supporter of the 'Teach for All' network	US, Africa, Asia-Pacific, Latin America and the Carribean	Websites
2	The Education Alliance	Arvind Virmani, Ashish Dhawan, Debashish Mitter	NGO consortium (India)	CSF, ARK, Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Consortium of NGOs to facilitate PPPs in India		Several organisations linked to TFI	India	Websites

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	KIPP	Richard Barth married to Wendy Kopp	Charter school network (US)	Mix of banks, corporates, philanthropic foundations and state education departments	Charter school model for disadvantaged students	1994	Several members associated with TFA and TFI	US	Interviews with TFI members, several websites and news articles
2	3.2.1 schools	Gaurav Singh	PPP model school (India)	One of the prominent funders is	PPP model school for children from	2012	Founder is an ex-TFI Fellow	India – Mumbai	

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
3	National Council for Skill Development	S. Ramadorai	PPP between Indian government and industry conglomerate	Central Square Foundation	Provides funding to develop vocational training of individuals for for-profit organisations low income communities		Presence on Board of Members of TFI	India	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015
4	ARK network	Amitav Virmani (UK)	PPP network of schools (UK)	Co-founded by a group of hedge fund financiers. Also involved in health care and child protection issues. Gets funding from state department of education as well.	Schools in India, UK, US and Africa.	2002	Strong associations with 'Teach First', 'Teach for America' and the 'Teach for All' network. Several Fellows from 'Teach for' organisations have moved to ARK.	UK, US, India, Africa, Eastern Europe	Websites and interviews

GOVERNMENT BODIES/ORGANISATIONS/INSTITUTIONS

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
1	Corporation of Chennai		Government Municipal Body		Civic body that governs the city of Chennai		Funder of TFI. TFI Fellows work in some of these schools. The Corporation	India - Chennai	TFI Annual Report 2014-2015

			has also sent some of its teachers to the TFI training institute in Pune.		
2	Bangalore Municipal Corporation	Government Municipal Body	TFI Fellows work in some of these schools	India - Bangalore	Websites and interviews
3	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation	Government Municipal Body	TFI Fellows work in some of these schools. They have also interned and worked in close quarters with the BMC administration.	India - Mumbai	Websites and interviews
4	Directorate of Education, Delhi	Delhi state government body	Education from Class VI to XII. Some Sarvodaya schools offer education from Class I to XII as well. TFI Fellows teach in some of the schools under the DoE. TFI Alumni are involved in organisations that interact with the DoE.	India – Delhi	Interviews, RTI documents, websites
5	Muncipal Corporation of Delhi – SDMC, NDMC and EDMC	Delhi municipal government body	Primary education – class I to V. TFI Fellows teach in Pratibha Nigam Vidyalayas under SDMC, NDMC and NDMC	India – Delhi	Interviews, RTI documents and websites

No.	Organization	Type	Description	Details	Location	Source
	EDMC			There are collaborations regarding school leadership with TFI and TFI affiliated organisations	India – Delhi	Interviews
6	NUEPA	Government institution involved in education related research and teaching	Education related research and teaching			
7	Pune Municipal Corporation	Government Municipal Body		TFI Fellows teach in some of these schools. The Corporation has collaborations with TSIF and Akanksha Foundation.	India - Pune	Websites and interviews
8	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation	Government Municipal Body		TFI Fellows teach in some of these schools.	India - Ahmedabad	Websites and interviews
9	Hyderabad Municipal Corporation	Government Municipal Body		TFI Fellows teach in some of these schools	India - Hyderabad	Websites and interviews
10	DIETs Delhi	Government teacher training institutes		TFI has been organizing school principal and teacher conferences with members from these	India - Delhi	RTI documents

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
11	Delhi SCERT		State government education research institution				bodies. Is engaging with several NGOs including Createnet for school leadership training.	India - Delhi	Websites
HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS/SCHOOLS									
1	Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs		Foreign University		Public policy, management, leadership		TFA, TFI Fellows and Alumni have associations here	US	Interviews with TFI members, TFA website
2	Harvard Kennedy School, Public Policy programme		Foreign University		Public policy, management, leadership		TFA, TFI Fellows and Alumni have associations here	US	Interviews with TFI members, TFA website
3	IIM		Top-tier educational institution in India		The MBA programme is globally recognized and individuals enter high profile positions in top companies in India and across the		TFI Fellows have degrees from IIM. Some even go to IIM post the fellowship, training in areas of social entrepreneurship and management.	India	Websites and interviews

#	Institution	Type	Recognition	TFI presence	Location	Source
			world	TFI has an active advocacy platform at these institutes.	India	Websites and interviews
4	IIT	Top-tier educational institution in India	Engineering graduates are well recognized in India and across the world, especially the US.	TFI Fellows have engineering degrees from IITs. TFI has an active advocacy platform at these institutes.	India	Websites and interviews
5	Symbiosis University	Top-tier educational institution in India	MBA and undergraduate programmes in business and commerce are well recognized in India	TFI Fellows have degrees from Symbiosis. TFI has an active advocacy platform here.	India - Pune	Websites and interviews
6	Mumbai University – St. Xaviers College, Jai Hind College, H R College	Elite undergraduate education institutions in India		TFI has an active advocacy platform here.	India - Mumbai	Websites and interviews
7	Delhi University – St. Stephens college, SRCC, Sri Venkateshwara College, Hindu	Elite undergraduate education institutions in India		TFI has an active advocacy platform here.	India - Delhi	Websites and interviews

	College		Key focus			
8	Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai	Top tier educational institution in India	Social work, applied social sciences, elementary education	TFI Fellows pursue the Masters in Elementary Education programme here.		Websites and interviews
9	Tata Institute of Fundamental Research – Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education	Top tier educational institution in India	Science education, applied research	TFI Fellows take up research positions at Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education. Few are even pursuing PhD research degrees here in science education		Websites and interviews
10	Azim Premji University	Private University	Key focus areas education and development	TFI Fellows have moved on to pursuing degrees in education and development from this University	India - Bangalore	Websites and interviews
11	Private unaided schools in Delhi – Vasant Valley, Heritage, Step	Private high-end school		Collaborations with TFI Fellows	India - Delhi	Websites and interviews

FELLOWSHIPS

S. No.	Name of organisation	Prominent individuals associated	Organisation type	Funders	Areas of work	Year of establishment	Links to TFI	Geographical spread	Sources for making links
12	FLAME University		Private educational institution				Collaborations with TFI. The TFI Summer Institute is held within their campus	India - Pune	Interviews
13	Private unaided schools in Ahmedabad - Riverside	Kiran Sethi	Private high-end school				Collaborations with TFI Fellows	India - Ahmedabad	Interviews
14	Private unaided schools in Chennai – American International School		Private high-end school				Collaborations with TFI Fellows	India - Chennai	Interviews
1	Ashoka University Young India Fellowships		Social entrepreneurship and leadership fellowships	Offered by Ashoka University. Supported by CSF	Encourages social entrepreneurship and leadership	2011	TFI Fellows have taken up these fellowships.	India	Websites
2	Gandhi fellowship		Social entrepreneurship and leadership fellowships	Funded by Kaivalya Education Foundation and Piramal Foundation	Encourages social entrepreneurship and leadership	2007	TFI Fellows have taken up these fellowships.	India	Websites

Appendix D (b). Close connections to TFI
Important funders, individuals and collaborations

TFI Board Members	TFI Important Funders	TFI Alumni Organisations	Close Collaborations
Anu Aga	TSIF (Anu Aga, Meher Pudumjee)	Indus Action (Advocacy) – Tarun Cherukuri	CSF (Venture philanthropy fund) – Ashish Dhawan
Meher Pudumjee	Omidyar Network		
Shaheen Mistri	Pirojsha Godrej Foundation		
Ashish Dhawan	HDFC Ltd.	3.2.1 schools (PPP Model) – Gaurav Singh	STIR (Teacher training) – Sharath Jeevan
Deepak Satwalekar	Corporation of Chennai		Akanksha Foundation (NGO, schooling underprivileged) – Shaheen Mistri, Vandana Goyal
Nisaba Godrej	Bank of America, Merrill Lynch	Firki (Teacher training)	
Neel Shahani	Barclays		
Nandita Dugar	Bloomberg LP	Mantra 4 Change (School Support)	ISLI (School Leadership)
S. Ramadorai			Createnet (School Leadership)
Zia Mody		Just For Kicks (Sports)	CCS (School Choice) – Parth Shah
		Khel Khel Main (Sports)	EI (Assessment, Curriculum)
			McKinsey (Research, Public Policy,

Consulting) – Ramya Venkataraman

CENTA (Teacher Accreditation) – Ramya Venkataraman

Pratham (NGO, schooling, teachers)

ARK (PPP school network) – Amitav Virmani

Saajha (School Management Committee)

Design for Change (Social/Creative awareness)

Riverside School (private unaided school) – Kiran Sethi

Vasant Valley School (private unaided school)

Heritage School (private unaided school)

Step by Step School (private unaided school)

American International School (private unaided school)	
Harvard University (Kennedy School of Government)	
Columbia University (School of International and Public Affairs)	
Other Colleges/Research institutions	

Appendix E. Educational and Professional Profiles of 'Teach for India' members (Fellows, Program Managers, Administrative and Alumni)

'Teach for India' Fellows (2013-2015 cohort and 2014-2016 cohort), Delhi

Name	Age	Education	Prominent Institutions	Company/Area of work	Work Experience	Professional Sector	Information on TFI
Dhara	38	Bachelors in Economics Honours in Shimla; Masters in International Business Symbiosis University	Symbiosis University	Software firm	10 years	International Business	Through a friend
Kartik	39	BTech Mechanical Engineering Government College Trivandrum		Infosys	16 years	Information Technology (IT)	Infosys CSR event
Manav	33	BCom Mumbai University; MBA Jodhpur		Birla Sun Life Mutual Funds	10 years	Mutual funds, insurance	Through the company's CSR policy
Payal	34	BCom Delhi University; PG Diploma Finance		ICICI Prudential	8 years	Banking and Insurance	Through the TFI website
Sanjay	29	BCom Honours Delhi University; Masters in Risk Management XLRI Jamshedpur	XLRI Jamshedpur	ICICI Prudential	6 years	Insurance and Risk Management	Through the television
Chandni	29	Bachelors Political Science Calcutta; Officers Training		Indian Army; Mahindra Risk	3 years	Risk Management	Through friends

				Academy Chennai		Management	Publicity event on campus
Hari	24	BSc Computer Science Hansraj College Delhi University	Hansraj College Delhi University	Ernst and Young	2 years	Risk management, consulting	Publicity event on campus
Naina	25	Bachelors in Economics Claremont College, Los Angeles	Claremont College, Los Angeles	Worked at a Hollywood Film Production company	1 year	Budgeting and Finance	Has connections with Anu Aga Thermax Head and friends in 'Teach for America'
Amit	27	BCom Honours SRCC, Delhi University	SRCC Delhi University	Ernst and Young, Family business and Real Estate	5 years	Commerce, Business	From television
Vineet	24	BTech Plastic engineering CIPT Bhubaneshwar		Lohia Corp	2 years	Machine manufacturing	Through newspaper advertisements
Neeraj	28	BSc Physics Presidency College; MSc Physics IIT Kanpur; PhD in Nuclear Physics at TIFR, Mumbai – discontinued after a year	Presidency University Calcutta, IIT, Tata Institute for Fundamental Research	Homi Bhabha Institute for Science Education	3 years	Science education research	Former TFI Fellows
Ravi	24	BTech IIT Kharagpur	IIT Kharagpur	Cognizant Analytics	Less than a year	Data Analysis	Through a friend
Girish	32	BSc Physics Delhi University; MSc Physics IIT Delhi; MTech IIT Delhi	IIT Delhi	IBM	7 years	Consultant	Through a friend
Trisha	23	BTech Electronics and Communication		No work experience	No work experience		Through the TFI website

Name	Age	Education	Prominent Institutions	Company	Work Experience	Professional Sector	Information on TFI
		at a college in Rajasthan					
Anita	27	BCom Honours Delhi University; Chartered Accountancy course		Ernst and Young	3 years	Consultant	Ernst and Young CSR information

'Teach for India' Program Managers, Delhi

Name	Age	Education	Prominent Institutions	Company	Work Experience	Professional Sector	Information on TFI
Sameera	31	Bachelors in Fashion Design, Los Angeles		Various fashion related companies	3 years	Fashion design, merchandising	Through the television
Varun	25	BCom Honours, Sri Venkateshwara College, Delhi University		No work experience	No work experience		Through friends
Kirti	26	Bachelors in Psychology, University of Exeter; Masters in Counselling, University of Bristol	University of Exeter, UK and University of Bristol, UK	Child Line – voluntary work	3 years	Child psychology	Through the University networks connected to 'Teach First', UK
Naveen	26	BTech, Government College Ferozepur		Infosys	1 year	Information Technology (IT)	Infosys CSR event
Hemant	29	BCom, University of Madras		No work experience	No work experience		Through the website

'Teach for India' Delhi and Mumbai Teams

Name	Age	Education	Prominent Institutions	Company	Work Experience	Professional Sector	Information on TFI
Roshan	26	BSc Physics Kirori Mal College Delhi	Kirori Mal College Delhi University	No work experience	No work experience		

'Teach for India' Alumni members, based in Delhi

Name	Age	Education	Prominent Institutions	Company	Work Experience	Professional Sector	Information on TFI	Present Organisation
		University; MSc Physics Delhi University						Through a TFI event conducted on campus
Anamika	26	Bachelors in Sociology, St Xaviers College Mumbai	St. Xaviers College Mumbai		No work experience	No work experience		Through a TFI event conducted on campus
Kapil	27	BTech Mukesh Patel College of Engineering	Mukesh Patel College College is linked to NMIMS Mumbai		No work experience	No work experience		Through a TFI event conducted on campus
Abhijeet	31	BTech BITS Pilani; Masters in Public Policy Harvard Kennedy School (post TFI)	BITS Pilani; Harvard Kennedy School	Unilever	3 years	Manufacturing	Through the 'Teach India' voluntary programme that is associated with 'Teach for India'	Indus Action
Samarth	26	BCom, NMIMS Mumbai	Narsee Monji Institute for Management Studies	Standard and Poor	1 year	Ratings and standards		ARK, India
Raman	28	BTech Govt engineering college Thrissur Kerala; MBA	Indian Institute of Management	No work experience	No work experience		Through the IIM Indore campus cell	Educational Initiatives

		IIM Indore						
Tanvi	28	BBA Symbiosis Pune; PG Diploma in HR Management Symbiosis through distance mode; Masters in Education Azim Premji University, Bangalore	Symbiosis University Pune; Azim Premji University Bangalore	Evaluserve; Rocksearch	2 years	Business analyst	Through friends	ISLI
Mohit	25	BTech APJ College of Engineering, Gurgaon		No work experience	No work experience		Through friends	Central Square Foundation
Vinay	27	BTech Delhi College of Engineering		No work experience	No work experience		Through friends	STIR
Kailash	27	BSc Chemistry, Botany and Zoology Christ College Bangalore; MSc Molecular Genetics University of Leicester, UK; Masters in Elementary Education,	University of Leicester, UK; Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai	No work experience	No work experience		Through the newspaper	PhD, Michigan State University

| Mihir | 27 | TISS, Mumbai | BTech NIT Kurukshetra | National Institute of Technology | No work experience | No work experience | | Through friends | Aam Aadmi Party and Indus Action |

273

Appendix F. Classroom Management and Teaching Strategies

Component	Grade Specifications (if any)	Strategies	Duration of Class	Pedagogical underpinnings/alignments
Classroom Management	2,3,4,5,6,7*	5. Different seating arrangements based on learning levels 6. Classroom trackers to grade children's behavior 7. Rewards and Consequences: Positive behaviour reinforcement through commending children who follow rules in the classroom 8. Posting charts in the classroom explaining rules for engaging with teacher and peers		Behaviour management oriented
Literacy Reading Comprehension	2,3,4,5,6,7*	• Assessment** * carried out to understand learning levels of children	40 minutes	Differentiated learning and Bloom's taxonomical approach

- Children seated in different groups based on learning levels

- Introducing New Material – The Fellow teaches the class at grade level

- Guided practice – Group reading activities where children are paired based on learning levels and made to read

- Independent practice – Child is encouraged to learn on his/her own

- The Fellow designs different assessments for children based on their learning levels

Reading Fluency	2,3,4	Emphasis on teaching phonics. This involves articulation of letters, sounds and constructing words. Fellows told to incorporate English songs, poems to get children to understand aspects of recognizing sounds, associating with letters and making words, sentences etc.	20 minutes	
Writing	2,3,4,5,6,7*	• Ideate • Make a draft • Check for organisation of content, word choice, sentence fluency and other conventions • Edit • Publish	30 minutes	
Maths	2,3,4,5,6,7*	Emphasis on Concrete, Pictorial and Abstract. In 2014 some changes were made to address upper primary grades with separate teaching groups.	35 minutes	Efforts to align with National Curricular Framework and other state curricular frameworks
Science/Social Science***	6 and above	• Hook question • Ask students to create hypothesis • Provide information		Some efforts to make structure fluid and incorporate enquiry based approach

| | and allow students to access information • Enhance hypothesis • Share result | |

*The highest grade that the intervention has entered is Class 9 in Pune. In Delhi, the intervention entered Class 7 in 2015.

**A new component of Literacy, 'Speaking and Listening' was introduced at the Summer Institute in 2015.

***Assessment here refers to the set of standardised tests that TFI uses to evaluate children's learning levels. The tests are prepared by a private education company, 'Indus Learning'. For Literacy (Reading Comprehension) there are several tests made in an ascending order based on learning levels. There are several levels starting from 0, 0.2, 0.5, 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, 3, 3.5, 4, 4.5, 5, 5.5, 6 and higher. Here 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 correlate to grade levels. Unlike the Literacy component, Maths assessments are made at grade level. 'Teach for India' assesses only Literacy (Reading Comprehension, Speaking and Listening) and Maths. No assessments have been made so far for Science and Social Science components.

****Information is based on interviews conducted with Fellows from two cohorts (2013-2015 and 2014-2016).

Appendix G. Teaching as Leadership

Teaching As Leadership Comprehensive Rubric

Set Big Goals

The classroom has a justifiably ambitious academic destination toward which all efforts can clearly point.

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
B-1 Develop standards-aligned, measurable, ambitious and feasible goals that will dramatically increase students' opportunities in life	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to set or adopt big goals according to the criteria *In reflection…* Accurately explains the main ideas behind big goals, including relationship to standards, measurability, and criteria for ambitiousness and feasibility Describes in a compelling way why it is important to set big goals, particularly according to the criteria	**Adopts a broad, generic** goal that **aspires** to be ambitious and feasible for the entire class and achieves that balance for at least **half** of the teacher's students Describes how the goal is aligned to key standards and identifies a **basic tool** of measuring achievement of the goal	Designs a goal that is both **ambitious** and **feasible** for **most** students, based on **reasoning** informed by multiple sources, including diagnostic results for mastery goals Describes how the goal is aligned to all key standards, explains **broadly** what students should know, understand or be able to do in order to achieve the goal, and cites the **necessary** assessment tools (e.g. achievement tests, performance-based assessments, etc.) that will be **most meaningful to students' lives** when measuring the different facets of the goal	Designs **feasible, highly ambitious** goals that require intense work from **each and every** student, based on **reasoning** informed by multiple sources, including diagnostic results for mastery goals Describes how the goal is aligned to all key standards, explains the **specific** and **prioritized** knowledge and skills that each student will need to master in order to reach the goal – including pre-requisites – and cites a **specific set** of balanced measurement tools to measure different facets of the goal that will be **most meaningful to students' lives**

TEACHFORAMERICA

Invest Students and Those Who Influence Them In Working Hard to Achieve Big Goals

Students build confidence and eagerness that leads them to work hard toward short and long-term goals.

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
I-1 Develop students' rational understanding that they can achieve by working hard ("I can") through evidence of students' own progress, statistics, explicit discussions of malleable intelligence, creative marketing, leveraging the big goals, etc	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to develop students' rational understanding that they can achieve by working hard *In reflection...* Accurately explains strategies for developing students' rational understanding that they can achieve by working hard Describes in a compelling way why it is important to develop students' belief that they can achieve by working hard	▪ Effectively uses the same **teacher-centered** strategies in all situations to convey **generic** messages that students can achieve by working hard ▪ Conveys messages and implements strategies **occasionally** and **in isolation**	▪ Effectively uses **student-centered** strategies (based on an understanding of students and depending on the situation) to reach a **range** of students to convey that students can achieve by working hard ▪ **Regularly** conveys messages and employs a series of **integrated** classroom strategies	▪ Effectively **considers individual students** and situations when choosing strategies and messages that convey that students can achieve by working hard ▪ **Monitors individual students'** "I can" investment levels, effectively conveys messages and employs strategies **as often as necessary,** enables students to **empower one another** and initiates effective efforts to **shape the larger school context**
I-2 Develop students' rational understanding that they will benefit from achievement ("I want") through connections between class achievement and their lives and aspirations, statistics, creative marketing, leveraging the big goals, etc	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to develop students' rational understanding that they will benefit from achievement *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for developing students' rational understanding that they will benefit from achievement Describes in a compelling way why it is important to develop students' belief that they will benefit from achievement	▪ Effectively uses the same **teacher-centered** strategies in all situations to convey **generic** messages that students benefit from academic achievement ▪ Conveys messages and implements strategies **occasionally** and in **isolation**	▪ Effectively uses **student-centered** strategies (based on an understanding of students and depending on the situation) to reach a **range** of students to convey that students benefit from academic achievement ▪ **Regularly** conveys messages and employs a series of **integrated** classroom strategies	▪ Effectively **considers individual students** and situations when choosing strategies and messages that convey that students benefit from academic achievement ▪ **Monitors individual students'** "I want" investment levels, effectively conveys messages and employs strategies **as often as necessary,** enables students to **empower one another** and initiates effective efforts to **shape the larger school context**

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
I-3 Employ appropriate role models so that students identify with people who work hard toward achievement ("I can") and value academic achievement ("I want")	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to employ role models *In reflection...* Accurately explains how to select and use role models to convey messages of persistence or academic success Describes in a compelling way why it is important to employ such role models	▪ Ensures that role models convey messages of persistence **or** academic success ▪ Enables students to learn role models' stories through **occasional** exposure ▪ Uses reasonably appropriate and relevant role models with whom **at least some** students can **identify**	▪ Ensures that role models convey messages of persistence **and** academic success ▪ Enables students to gain **frequent** and **meaningful** exposure to role models ▪ Ensures **almost all** students have appropriate role models with whom they **identify**, based on an understanding of student subgroups	▪ Ensures that role models convey messages of **extraordinary** persistence **and** academic success ▪ Generates opportunities for students to **work directly** with role models ▪ Monitors individual students and ensures **all** have effective role models with whom they **deeply identify**
I-4 Consistently reinforce academic efforts toward the big goals (e.g., through praise and public recognition of success, extrinsic rewards and competition, cooperation, student-teacher relationships) even while increasing long-term investment in hard work and the big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to reinforce efforts toward the big goals *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for consistently reinforcing efforts toward the big goals Describes in a compelling way why it is important to consistently reinforce efforts toward the big goals	▪ Chooses a **small set** of sound reinforcements for **all** situations ▪ Reinforcement system recognizes **basic** academic effort (e.g., class participation, homework completion) and mastery of a well-defined, **absolute** bar ▪ Consistently provides reinforcement at **regular** intervals and **sometimes** conveys the meaning of the reinforcements as a celebration of progress toward the goals	▪ Chooses a **variety** of appealing reinforcements to reach a range of students, based on an understanding of students and **depending** on the situation ▪ Reinforcement system recognizes **significant** academic effort (e.g., studying hard and making incremental gains) and mastery of a well-defined, **absolute** bar ▪ Provides reinforcements appropriately and flexibly so they are delivered only at **purposeful** intervals and **almost always** conveys the meaning of the reinforcements as a celebration of progress toward the goals to maximize impact and lead to **intrinsic motivation**	▪ Chooses reinforcements based on the needs of **individual** students and situations ▪ Reinforcement system recognizes effort **in proportion** to students' individual accomplishments ▪ Provides reinforcements appropriately and flexibly so they are only delivered **as often as necessary** to supplement students' intrinsic motivation, **always** conveys the meaning of the reinforcements as a celebration of progress toward the goals and teaches students how to **reinforce their own performance**

TEACHFORAMERICA

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others		PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively / CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**	**Exemplary**
I-5 Create a welcoming environment through rational persuasion, role models, and constant reinforcement and marketing to instill values (e.g., respect, tolerance, kindness, collaboration) so that students feel comfortable and supported enough to take the risks of striving for the big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to create a welcoming environment *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for creating a welcoming environment Describes in a compelling way why it is important to create a welcoming environment	▪ Effectively chooses a range of **generic** messages to support a welcoming environment (e.g., respect, tolerance, kindness and collaboration) ▪ **Adequately** sets basic expectations for a welcoming environment as necessary and consistently and **effectively responds** to breaches, using them as opportunities to convey messages that support the welcoming environment	▪ Effectively chooses messages **applicable to student subgroups** within the classroom (e.g., respect and appreciation for students' diverse academic levels, skills, learning styles, special needs, language barriers, races, classes, ethnicities, sexual orientations and backgrounds) ▪ **Effectively** sets expectations for a welcoming environment as necessary, **anticipates and prevents most** breaches by proactively using a variety of methods (e.g., explicit lessons, classroom jobs, community building) that will support a welcoming environment and effectively responds to breaches when they occur	▪ Effectively chooses messages **applicable to student subgroups** within the classroom and beyond and ensures that each student is affirmed and supported for the **unique individual** s/he is ▪ **Compellingly** sets expectations for a welcoming environment as necessary and **effectively empowers students** to become leaders in sustaining a respectful, collaborative environment for all by teaching them to affirm and support their classmates and to resolve all conflicts in peaceful and enduring ways
I-6 Respectfully mobilize students' influencers (e.g., family, peers, coach, pastor) using techniques such as direct explanation, role models, modeling, constant reinforcement and marketing, etc., so that they actively invest students in working hard toward the big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to respectfully mobilize students' influencers *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for respectfully mobilizing students' influencers Describes in a compelling way why it is important to mobilize students' influencers	▪ Uses a **single**, formal method to interact with every student's **family** ▪ **Provides** basic information and respectfully **requests help** when students are **not working hard** ▪ **Shares** positive news of student performance on an **absolute** scale ▪ Successfully **informs** students' families of basic information	▪ Uses **multiple** methods and occasions to mobilize students' **key influencers** (e.g., parents, guardians, other relatives, coaches, pastors) ▪ **Shares** knowledge and skills on how the influencers and the teacher can **accelerate** students' progress ▪ **Shares** positive news of student performance on a **relative** scale ▪ Successfully **involves** students' key influencers	▪ Based on an understanding of individual students and their key influencers, **customizes** interactions in order to mobilize each student's **key influencers** to invest students in working hard toward the big goals ▪ Ensures that students' **influencers are equipped** to invest and advocate for students **beyond this school year**, in addition to sharing knowledge and skills on how the influencers and the teacher can **work together to accelerate** the students' progress ▪ **Shows influencers how to monitor** students' performance and **recognize** progress ▪ Successfully **invests** students' key influencers

TEACHFORAMERICA

Plan Purposefully

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly

Instructional plans, behavioral expectations and procedures lead students to master objectives and advance efficiently toward the big goal.

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
P-1 Create or obtain standards-aligned diagnostic, formative and summative assessments (with tracking and grading systems) to determine where students are against big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to create or obtain standards-aligned diagnostic, formative OR summative assessments (with tracking and grading systems) to determine where students are against big goals *In reflection...* Accurately explains the criteria to consider when creating or obtaining diagnostics and assessments, as well as how they are used to determine student progress toward big goals Explains in a compelling way why it is important to utilize diagnostics and assessments that meet the criteria for effectiveness	▪ Creates or obtains diagnostics that assess students' **readiness**, as well as formative assessments (including lesson assessments) and summative assessments that measure each learning goal taught. Assessments do not contain any items unrelated to the learning goals taught ▪ **Uses** items (e.g., questions, rubric rows) aligned to the objectives being tested ▪ Ensures assessment reveals **true mastery** of the intended objective ▪ Grading systems provide an **accurate** picture of student performance against goals to guide future planning, and the teacher can accurately articulate a vision of student mastery	▪ Creates or obtains diagnostics that assess the **extent of readiness** of **most students**, as well as formative assessments (including lesson assessments) that, when appropriate, scaffold questions to discern **extent** of mastery of each learning goal taught and summative assessments that measure mastery of each learning goal taught. Assessments do not contain any items unrelated to the learning goals taught ▪ Uses **multiple items** aligned to the same objective, in summative and, if appropriate, formative assessments (while also balancing the need for **efficiency**) ▪ Ensures each item reveals **true mastery** (while balancing the need for **efficiency**) ▪ Grading systems **efficiently** provide **detailed, increasingly reliable** picture of student performance against goals to guide future planning, and the teacher can accurately articulate what **explicit degrees** of student mastery look like on items.	▪ Creates or obtains diagnostics that provide **detailed information** about the **extent of readiness of each student**, formative assessments (as well as lesson assessments) that, when appropriate, scaffold questions to discern the extent of mastery of each learning goal taught, and summative assessments that measure mastery of each learning goal taught, including components requiring **higher-order thinking.** Assessments do not contain any items unrelated to the learning goals taught ▪ Uses **multiple items** in **multiple modes,** aligned to the same objective, in summative, and if appropriate, formative assessments (while balancing the need for **efficiency**) ▪ Uses **authentic assessments,** when appropriate, to reveal **true mastery** (while balancing the need for **efficiency**) ▪ Grading systems are **consistent** and **extremely efficient,** provide a **detailed, increasingly reliable** picture of student performance against goals to guide future planning and the teacher can accurately articulate what **explicit degrees** of student mastery look like on individual items.

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
	Shows a lack of attempt or action			▪ Creates or obtains tracking system that **calculates and reports** **individual and class** progress toward big goals	▪ Develops tracking system that **reports individual and class** progress toward big goals and highlights where **individual students** need improvement on **particular objectives**
		▪ Creates or obtains tracking system that **records** student performance on assessments			
P-2 Backwards-plan by breaking down longer-term goals into bundles of objectives and mapping them across the school year (in a long-term plan and unit plans)		*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to backwards-plan by breaking down longer-term goals into bundles of objectives and mapping them across the school year (in a long-term plan and/or unit plans)	▪ Uses standards-aligned learning goals to plan a **logical** unit with an assessment and **clear, measurable, student-centered objectives** leading to achievement of the unit goals	▪ **Logically** groups standards-aligned learning goals into a unit (coupled with an assessment) identifying daily **clear, measurable, student-centered, and rigorous objectives,** and creates a long-term plan (coupled with and end-of-year assessment) built on **grouped and sequenced** learning goals that lead to achievement of the big goal.	▪ **Logically** groups and clearly organizes relevant standards-aligned learning goals into units (coupled with assessments) that **build upon one another conceptually** and that identify **clear, measurable, student-centered, and rigorous objectives** to be taught in each unit, creating a long-term plan that leads to achievement of unit goals and year-long academic goals
		In reflection… Accurately explains the process of backwards planning	▪ Schedules objectives from the unit plan on a calendar **in the midst of** teaching the unit and/or allocates time **inappropriately**	▪ Schedules units from the long-term plan and objectives from the unit plan on a calendar **ahead of time** and allocates time **appropriately** based on the content to be taught	▪ Schedules units from the long-tem plan and objectives from the unit plan on a calendar **ahead of time,** allocates time **appropriately** based on the content to be taught, and plans for **contingencies, remediation and enrichment**
		Explains in a compelling way why it is important to backwards plan at the unit and long-term levels	▪ Uses an **appropriate** external source of data to create plan (e.g. adopts school district policies)	▪ Effectively **tailors** plan to class after engaging deeply with **multiple sources,** including diagnostic data (and others such as excellent school practices, veteran teacher consultation, etc.)	▪ Effectively **tailors** plan to class after engaging deeply with **multiple sources,** including diagnostic data, to create plan, and leads efforts to align plans at the **school level** (e.g., vertical teams, across subjects)

	SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**	**Exemplary**
P-3 Create rigorous, objective-driven lesson plans so that students who complete class activities successfully will have mastered the objectives and made progress toward the big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to create rigorous, objective-driven lesson plans *In reflection…* Accurately explains how to align lessons to objectives and strategies for fulfilling the steps of the lesson cycle Explains in a compelling way why it is important to align lessons to both the objectives and the lesson cycle	• Key points are **accurately** and **appropriately** derived from the objective. Components of the lesson **generally align** to the objective, to the key points, and to the way that students will be asked to demonstrate mastery • Designs activities that **technically align with the steps** of the lesson cycle • Designs lessons that can be completed **in time available**	• Key points are **accurately** and **appropriately** derived from the objective. **All components** of the lesson **align** to the objective, to the key points, and to the way that students will be asked to demonstrate mastery • Designs activities that **align** with and **accomplish the purpose** behind the steps of the lesson cycle • Designs lessons so that **timing supports learning**	• Key points are **accurately** and **appropriately** derived from the objective. **All components** of the lesson **align** to the objective, to the key points, and to the way that students will be asked to demonstrate mastery, while purposefully and efficiently **building upon one another** • Designs **innovative, student-centered** activities that **align with the principles** of effective lesson planning (e.g., activates prior knowledge, articulates key ideas, anticipates misunderstandings, infuses scaffolded student practice, assesses understanding) and **effectively and efficiently** lead to student mastery • Designs lessons so the lessons' pacing is feasible and **supports students in mastering** the objectives but also allows for **real-time adjustment**
P-4 Differentiate plans for individual students based on their unique learning profiles (including ongoing performance data) so that all students are engaged and challenged	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to design differentiated plans *In reflection…* Accurately explains the main ideas behind differentiating plans based on student diagnostic data and/or goals of the individualized education plans, if applicable Explains in a compelling way why it is important to differentiate plans	• Designs content, processes and products applicable to a **general group** of students, while complying with official accommodations and modifications, if applicable • Crafts plans based on student **diagnostic data and/or goals of the IEPs**, if applicable • Designs efficient plans so that the teacher can offer support to **individual students** when the whole class is working	• **Regularly** designs content, processes and products applicable to **subgroups** of students with different needs and interests • Crafts plans based on **multiple** sources of data (including ongoing assessments) **and goals of the IEPs,** if applicable • Designs efficient plans and **accountability** systems to initiate **various forms of structured differentiation** (e.g., teacher rotating among established student groupings)	• Designs content, processes and products customized for **individual students** • Uses **multiple** sources of data to inform plans, while consistently pushing for students to **transcend past performance** • Designs efficient plans and **accountability** systems to initiate **flexible differentiation** (e.g., students in varied groups, students working independently)

TEACHFORAMERICA

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
P-5 Establish age-appropriate long- and short-term behavioral management plans (rules and consequences) so that, if students comply, the amount and value of instructional time is maximized	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to create rules and consequences and a plan to introduce them to students *In reflection...* Accurately explains the criteria for, and examples of, effective rules and consequences Explains in a compelling way why it is important to create age-appropriate rules and consequences	▪ Crafts rules that address a **core set** of needs in the classroom ▪ Crafts rules that are **technically clear** and **positively** stated ▪ Crafts consequences that are **reasonable and logical** ▪ Designs **initial plan** that **clearly introduces** rules and consequences to students	▪ Crafts rules that address **most foreseeable** needs in the classroom ▪ Crafts **student-friendly** rules, i.e., **clear** to all students once rules have been introduced, **positively** stated and **manageable** in number ▪ Crafts consequences that are **reasonable, logical and likely to deter most** students from misbehavior ▪ Designs **initial plan** that **requires all students to demonstrate** their comprehension of the rules and consequences	▪ Crafts rules that **easily apply to any situation**, as well as effective **specialized** rules based on an understanding of individual students ▪ Crafts such **clear, student-friendly** rules that all students can explain classroom expectations **in their own words** once rules have been introduced and all students can **apply them to novel situations** ▪ Crafts consequences that are **reasonable, logical and customized to deter individual** students from misbehavior ▪ Designs **ongoing plans to teach and invest students** in the rules and consequences
P-6 Design classroom procedures (for transitions, collecting and handing out papers, taking roll, etc.) that provide structure to students and maximize the amount and value of instructional time	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to design classroom procedures and to introduce them to students *In reflection...* Accurately explains the occasions for and strategies to introduce classroom procedures Explains in a compelling way why it is important to design classroom procedures	▪ **Plans** procedures that address a **core set** of inefficiencies in the classroom ▪ Designs procedures that enable the class to **run more smoothly** ▪ Designs **initial plan** that **clearly introduces** procedures to students	▪ **Develops** procedures that address **most foreseeable** inefficiencies in the classroom ▪ Designs procedures that create **additional instructional time** ▪ Designs **initial plan** that **requires all students to demonstrate** their comprehension of the procedures	▪ **Innovates** procedures with the class to address **all possible** inefficiencies ▪ Designs procedures that create **additional instructional time** and **conserve the teacher's energy** for instructional responsibilities ▪ Designs **ongoing plans** that **teach** students the procedures and **invest** them in the purpose

TEACHFORAMERICA

Execute Effectively

Students glean the maximum benefit from instructional plans, behavioral expectations and procedures.

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
E-1 Clearly present academic content (in differentiated ways, if necessary) so that students comprehend key information and ideas	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to present academic content clearly *In reflection...* Accurately explains key techniques for presenting academic content Explains in a compelling way the importance of each strategy	• Explanations are **coherent, cohesive and correct** • Maintains **adequate** tone, pace, volume, poise and body language well enough to capture the attention and interest of **more than half** of the students in a classroom • Follows content and pacing of lesson plans **faithfully, regardless of circumstances**	• Explanations are **coherent, cohesive and correct** with a focus on **key ideas** • Maintains **effective** tone, pace, volume, poise and body language well enough to command the attention and interest of **almost all** of the students in a classroom • Follows lesson plans **faithfully**, while **flexibly making adjustments** based on in-the-moment circumstances as necessary	• Explanations are **coherent, cohesive and correct** and are conveyed in a **focused, meaningful and memorable** way that illuminates **key ideas** • Maintains **persuasive and compelling** tone, pace, volume, poise and body language well enough to captivate **all** students in a classroom • Seizes opportunities to **purposefully transform** lesson plans, as necessary, in order to move further toward goals
E-2 Facilitate, manage and coordinate student academic practice (in differentiated ways, if necessary) so that all students are participating and have the opportunity to gain mastery of the objectives	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to facilitate, manage and coordinate student practice *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for facilitating, managing and coordinating student practice Explains in a compelling way the importance of each strategy	• Clearly communicates **basic** instructions • **Monitors** student performance to ensure students are **practicing**	• Clearly communicates instructions, with an emphasis on **key points and rationale** • **Monitors** student performance and **engages** with students to offer clarification and **extend student understanding** • Follows lesson plans **faithfully**, while **flexibly making adjustments** based on in-the-moment circumstances as necessary	• Communicates instructions in a clear, **focused, expressive** way that illuminates **key points and rationale** • **Facilitates** in ways that encourage students to **self-monitor, cooperate and support** one another • Seizes opportunities to **purposefully transform** lesson plans, as necessary, in order to move further toward goals

TEACHFORAMERICA

9

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
E-3 Check for academic understanding frequently by questioning, listening and/or observing, and provide feedback (that affirms right answers and corrects wrong answers), in order to ensure student learning	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to check for understanding *In reflection...* Accurately explains the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of strategies for checking for understanding Explains in a compelling way the importance of checking for understanding	▪ Directs questions to a **random variety** of students and can identify individual responses ▪ Crafts questions that would reliably discern **whether** students understand ▪ Asks questions about the most important ideas **occasionally** ▪ Upholds high expectations for successful responses and tells students **whether** they have met the standard	▪ Directs questions to a **representative subset** of students and can identify individual responses ▪ Crafts questions that would reliably discern the **extent** of student understanding (e.g., scaffolded questioning) ▪ Asks questions about the most important ideas **throughout** the lesson ▪ Upholds high expectations for successful responses and tells students **why** they have or have not met the standard	▪ Directs questions to **all** students and can identify individual responses ▪ Crafts questions that would reliably discern the **extent and root** of a student's misunderstanding ▪ Asks questions about the most important ideas at **key moments** throughout the lesson ▪ Upholds high expectations and teaches students **how to evaluate and articulate** the success of their responses
E-4 Communicates high expectations for behavior by teaching, practicing and reinforcing rules and consequences so that students are focused on working hard	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to communicate instructions and directions and to respond to misbehaviors clearly and assertively *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for communicating instructions and directions and for responding to misbehaviors clearly and assertively Explains in a compelling way the importance of each strategy	▪ Communicates expectations clearly and assertively as necessary, **sometimes** avoiding in-depth discussions of expectations because they are reasonably established ▪ Effectively uses the **same** techniques to respond justly and similarly to comparable misbehaviors while maintaining students' dignity ▪ **Often** reacts to violations of classroom rules immediately, clearly and assertively in the moment ▪ Misbehavior **sometimes** occurs and **often** ceases in the short-term with teacher's intervention	▪ Communicates expectations, **and often the purpose** behind them, clearly, assertively and confidently as necessary, **usually** avoiding in-depth discussions of expectations because they are well established ▪ Effectively chooses from a **range** of techniques to respond justly and purposefully to misbehaviors while maintaining students' dignity ▪ **Consistently** reacts immediately, clearly and assertively in the moment ▪ Misbehavior **rarely** prevents the lesson from moving forward and **consistently** ceases in the short- and long-term with teacher's intervention	▪ Communicates expectations **and the purpose** behind them clearly, assertively and compellingly as necessary, **almost always** avoiding discussions of expectations entirely because students have thoroughly internalized them ▪ Effectively and appropriately discerns and **addresses individual causes** of misbehavior while maintaining students' dignity ▪ **Always** effectively considers **individual** students and situations when reacting in the moment ▪ **Students resolve and/or prevent** misbehavior by independently problem-solving and making good choices

SET Big Goals | **INVEST** Students & Others | **PLAN** Purposefully | **EXECUTE** Effectively | **CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE** Effectiveness | **WORK** Relentlessly

TEACHFORAMERICA

10

	SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**		**Exemplary**
E-5 Implement and practice time-saving procedures (for transitions, dissemination and collection of supplies or homework, etc.) to maximize time spent on learning	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to explain procedures clearly and to reinforce them over time *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for explaining procedures clearly and reinforcing them over time Explains in a compelling way the importance of each strategy	▪ Explains procedures clearly when needed, **sometimes** avoiding in-depth directions because **more than half** the students know and follow established procedures ▪ Effectively reinforces procedures **when they break down** ▪ **Most** procedures run **adequately with** teacher's facilitation and/or intervention	▪ Explains procedures clearly when needed, and **often the purpose** behind them, with an **emphasis on key steps, usually** avoiding in-depth directions entirely because **almost all** students know and follow firmly established procedures ▪ Effectively reinforces procedures when they break down but **anticipates and prevents** most procedural breakdowns by proactively reinforcing procedures and **regularly connects** them to the purpose of maximizing instructional time ▪ All procedures run **smoothly and urgently with** teacher's facilitation		▪ Communicates procedures when necessary, **and the purpose** behind them, in a focused, memorable way that **illuminates key steps** and their relation to student achievement, **almost always** avoiding directions entirely because **all** students know and follow thoroughly established procedures ▪ **Proactively** reinforces procedures, ensures students can articulate their purpose and **empowers students** to critique, monitor and create procedures ▪ **All** procedures run **smoothly and urgently without** the teacher's facilitation
E-6 Evaluate and keep track of students' performance on assessments so that the teacher and students are aware of students' progress on academic, behavioral and investment goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action.	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to administer diagnostic, formative OR summative assessments, to grade accurately and to track student performance periodically *In reflection...* Accurately explains key strategies for administering diagnostics, formative OR summative assessments Accurately explains process for grading and tracking student performance Explains in a compelling way the importance of each strategies and process	▪ **Periodically** administers diagnostic and summative assessments to determine student **performance** ▪ Grades accurately and efficiently so that students are **aware of** their performance ▪ Tracks student performance **periodically**	▪ **Regularly** administers diagnostic, formative, and summative assessments to determine student **progress** ▪ Accurately and efficiently grades in a way that helps students **understand** their performance and where they are **in relation to the big goals** ▪ Tracks student performance **regularly** so that data can inform short- and long-term planning and differentiation		▪ Administers assessments as **often as necessary** for students to **work to mastery** ▪ Accurately and efficiently grades in ways that help **individual** students **learn** their strengths and weaknesses, **improve** their performance and see where they are **in relation to the big goals** ▪ Tracks student performance **immediately** so that data can drive short- and long-term planning and differentiation

Continuously Increase Effectiveness

Student performance improves over time through deliberate data-driven reflection, analysis and meaningful changes to teacher performance.

Teacher Action	Pre-Novice	Novice	Beginning Proficiency	Advanced Proficiency	Exemplary
C-1 Gauge progress and notable gap(s) between student achievement and big goals by examining assessment data	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to gauge progress and notable gaps between student achievement and big goals *In reflection…* Accurately describes a process for gauging progress and identifying gaps between student achievement and big goals Explains in a compelling way the importance of gauging progress and identifying gaps in this way	■ Accurately **notes** general student progress and gaps between student achievement and big goals	■ Accurately **notes** progress and gaps for established student **subgroups** (e.g. "low," "middle" and "high" groups and/or class periods) against goals and **prioritizes** gaps by weighing urgency and feasibility of addressing them	■ Accurately **notes** progress and gaps of established student **subgroups,** as well as in **trends across the entire roster,** and **prioritizes** gaps by weighing urgency and feasibility of addressing them
			■ Performs action **when asked** to do so	■ Performs action on regular occasions **beyond staff-initiated,** formal interactions	■ Performs action **continuously**
C-2 Identify student habits or actions most influencing progress and gaps between student achievement and big goals	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to identify the student habits most influencing progress and gaps between student achievement and big goals *In reflection…* Accurately describes a process for identifying the student habits or actions most influencing progress and gaps between student achievement and big goals Explains in a compelling way the importance of identifying these student habits or actions	■ Considers (based on **observation** data) **several** student actions that align with identified progress and gaps in student achievement	■ Considers (based on data from **more than one source**) a **wide range** of student actions that align with key progress and gaps in student achievement	■ Considers (based on data from **multiple, authentic sources**) the **full range** of student actions that align with key progress and gaps in student achievement
			■ Performs action **when asked** to do so	■ Performs action on regular occasions **beyond staff-initiated,** formal interaction	■ Performs action **continuously**
			■ Accurately **identifies** (using data and/or student work) particular student habits or actions that **would logically contribute** to student results	■ Accurately **prioritizes** (using data and/or student work) a certain student habit or action that **has contributed** to student results by examining notable instances of student behavior and/or understanding and by **weighing** the feasibility and urgency of improving or capitalizing on the habit or action	■ Accurately **prioritizes** (using data and/or student work) a specific, **well-documented** student habit or action that **explains** student results by looking for causal relationship between confirmed instances of student behavior and understanding, **weighing** the feasibility and urgency of improving or capitalizing on the habit or action, and **confirming theories** against data

TEACHFORAMERICA

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**	**Exemplary**
C-3 Isolate the teacher actions most contributing to key aspects of student	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates attempt to identify a teacher action that could logically contribute to trends in student performance	Considers (based on **observation data**) **several** teacher actions that could explain identified student habits or actions	Considers (based on data from **more than one source**) a **wide range** of teacher actions that could explain key student habits or actions	Considers (based on data from **multiple, authentic sources**) the **full range** of teacher actions that could explain key student habits or actions
performance by gathering data (e.g., using the TAL rubric) and reflecting on teacher performance		*In reflection…* Accurately describes a process for considering teacher actions that could contribute to trends in student performance Explains in a compelling way the importance of considering teacher actions in this way	Performs action **when asked** to do so Identifies a teacher action that **would logically contribute to notable** trends in student performance	Performs action on regular occasions **beyond staff-initiated**, formal interactions Determines **a key** teacher action that **contributes** to **notable** trends in student performance by using the TAL rubric and by **prioritizing** teacher actions based on the feasibility and importance of improving or capitalizing on them	Performs action **continuously** Efficiently determines **the key** teacher actions that **explain definitive** trends in student performance by using the TAL rubric, **prioritizing** teacher actions based on the feasibility and importance of improving or capitalizing on them and **confirming the theory** by examining all of the relevant aspects of student performance
C-4 Identify the underlying factors (e.g., knowledge, skill, mindset) causing teacher actions	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action…* Demonstrates **attempt** to identify potential root causes that are logically aligned to identified teacher actions *In reflection…* Accurately describes a process for identifying potential root causes that could explain identified aspects of teacher actions Explains in a compelling way the importance of identifying root causes in this way	Considers **causes** that could explain identified aspects of teacher actions Performs action **when asked** to do so Identifies **potential** root causes that **are logically aligned to** identified teacher actions	Considers a **range of causes** that could explain key aspects of teacher actions Performs action **when asked** to do so Determines **a** root cause that **contributes** to an identified teacher action by listing potential underlying factors, using data, reflecting honestly and **prioritizing** based on solid evidence	Considers the **full range of causes** that could explain key aspects of teacher actions Performs action **continuously** Determines **the** root cause that **explains** an identified teacher action by using data, nuanced observation and honest reflection, by **prioritizing** based on strong evidence and by **confirming the theory** by examining all of the relevant teacher actions

13

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**	**Exemplary**
C-5 Access meaningful learning experiences that direct and inform teacher improvement	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to engage in learning experiences aligned with the root cause	Pursues resources or learning experiences that **technically align** with the underlying factor	Pursues **credible and meaningful** resources and learning experiences that **align** with the underlying factor	Pursues and/or creates **varied and valuable** resources and learning experiences (by consulting veteran teachers, reading articles, attending workshops, etc.) that are **efficient, targeted and customized to align** with the underlying factor
		In reflection... Accurately describes a process for determining and accessing a resource or learning experience aligned with a root cause	Performs action **when asked** to do so	Performs action on regular occasions **beyond staff-initiated,** formal interactions	Performs action **continuously**
		Explains in a compelling way the importance of engaging in learning experiences aligned with a root cause	**Completes** a learning experience that **improves** the teacher's knowledge, skill or mindset to some degree	**Maximizes** a productive learning experience and **masters** the pursued knowledge, skill or mindset	**Masters** the knowledge, skill or mindset sought and **extends opportunities** to expand learning into other domains and needs
C-6 After a cycle of data collection, reflection and learning, adjust course (of big goals, investment strategies, planning, execution and/or relentlessness) as necessary to maximize effectiveness	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to create and implement an action plan	Chooses strategies that **align with** identified problems and their causes in the classroom	Chooses strategies that would **solve** the key problems and root causes in the classroom and that build upon the teacher's and the classroom's **strengths**	Chooses multiple strategies that would **transform** student performance and that build upon the teacher's and the classroom's **strengths**
		In reflection... Accurately describes a process for choosing strategies that align with identified problems and causes in the classroom and creating an action plan in order to implement those strategies	Performs action **when asked** to do so	Performs action on regular occasions **beyond staff-initiated,** formal interactions	Performs action **continuously**
		Explains in a compelling way the importance of adjusting course after cycle of collecting data, reflecting and learning	Creates action plan that is **technically feasible** to implement	Creates action plan that is **personally feasible** to implement **independently**	Consistently gauges what is both **personally ambitious and feasible** to implement **independently**
			Implements the plan	**Implements** the plan with fundamental **commitment and follow-through**	**Pursues contingencies** if initial solution is ineffective and/or **broadens impact** of the classroom change by sharing it with others

Work Relentlessly

Time, energy and resources are maximized to reach the goal.

	SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others	PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**	**Exemplary**	
W-1: Persist in the face of considerable challenges, focusing effort on the ultimate goal and targeting those challenges one can impact to increase student achievement	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to implement strategies of persistence *In reflection...* Describes personal strategies for persisting in the face of considerable challenges Explains in a compelling way why such strategies are important	▪ Generally **avoids making excuses** about challenges ▪ **Maintains** effort when faced with challenges (i.e., does not give up)	▪ Consistently **targets** for resolution those challenges that will **most move students closer** to the goals ▪ **Increases** effort when faced with challenges	▪ **Widens circle of what is in his/her control to target** challenges that hold students back from meeting classroom goals ▪ **Prioritizes** investment of time and effort to focus on the most pressing challenges and works **purposefully and efficiently** toward their resolution	
W-2 Pursue and secure additional instructional time and resources in order to increase opportunities for student learning	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to implement strategies to pursue additional instructional time and/or resources *In reflection...* Describes strategies for identifying additional instructional time and/or resources Describes key techniques for swaying constituents Explains in a compelling way why such strategies and techniques are important	▪ **Identifies** time and/or resource constraints that impact student achievement ▪ Considers and pursues a **workable solution** to address time and/or resource needs ▪ Effectively uses a **few** persuasive techniques to **sway** those who control time and resources, when necessary ▪ Implements the time and/or resources acquired such that they have a **temporary** impact on student achievement	▪ **Isolates key** time and resource constraints that **significantly** impact student achievement ▪ Considers and pursues **purposefully selected substantial solutions** to address time and/or resource needs ▪ Employs a **variety of appropriate** persuasive techniques (e.g., logic, appeal to values, exchanging) to **gain support** of those who control time and resources, when necessary ▪ Integrates the time and/or resources acquired into the classroom such that they have a **sustained** impact on student achievement	▪ **Targets** the **most feasibly addressed** time and/or resource constraints that **most urgently and substantially** impact class performance ▪ Pursues **bold, far-reaching solutions** to address time and/or resource needs ▪ **Builds purposeful, lasting alliances** through compelling persuasive techniques most appealing to those who control time and resources, in order to **gain widespread approval,** when necessary ▪ Ensures that the time and/or resources acquired have a **sustained** impact **beyond the teacher's classroom, students and tenure** at the school	

TEACHFORAMERICA

SET Big Goals	INVEST Students & Others		PLAN Purposefully	EXECUTE Effectively	CONTINUOUSLY INCREASE Effectiveness	WORK Relentlessly
Teacher Action	**Pre-Novice**	**Novice**	**Beginning Proficiency**	**Advanced Proficiency**		**Exemplary**
W-3 Sustain the intense energy necessary to reach the ambitious big goals through a variety of strategies (e.g., (a) building meaningful personal relationships with students, (b) reminding themselves of the high stakes involved in their work and (c) taking care of themselves to ensure an ability to take care of their students)	Shows a lack of attempt or action	*In action...* Demonstrates **attempt** to implement strategies to sustain intense energy *In reflection...* Describes personal strategies for productively addressing low energy and motivation Explains in a compelling way why such strategies are important	• **Constructively indicates** when s/he is losing energy and motivation • **Addresses low** energy and motivation by productively implementing a **limited** number of strategies	• **Anticipates** when s/he may lose energy and motivation • Proactively takes steps to **sustain** energy and motivation through a **combination** of strategies		• **Consistently maintains the right balance** for the individual to avoid losing energy required to reach goals • Leads the effort to **create a culture that sustains** the collective energy and motivation through a **combination** of strategies

16

Appendix H. Leadership Development Journey

	1	2	3	4	5
COMMITMENT TO PERSONAL TRANSFORMATION — I explore who I am, what my purpose is, and strive to be a better person	I do not reflect on who I am	I reflect on experiences given to me and become aware of who I am	I seek out and reflect on experiences, growing in some aspects of my life	I actively produce and reflect on experiences, growing in some aspects of my life	I actively produce and reflect on experiences, growing in many aspects of my life
COMMITMENT TO COLLECTIVE ACTION — I build relationships and organize partners to multiply and deepen my impact	I work alone and focus on my class		I build relationships with some of the following stakeholders: children, parents, Fellows, TFI staff, school staff, alumni to multiply my impact	I build relationships and work with all of the following stakeholders: children, parents, Fellows, TFI staff, school staff, alumni to multiply my impact	I build relationships and organize a wide range of stakeholders within and outside of Teach For India to multiply our impact
				I build relationships and organize a wide range of stakeholders within and outside of Teach For India to multiply my impact	
COMMITMENT TO EDUCATIONAL EQUITY — I deepen my understanding of educational equity, and commit to attaining it	I take no action towards educational equity and I do not know the role I will play for all children		I take action inconsistently towards educational equity in my classroom, school and community but I do not know the role I will play for all children	I take action consistently towards educational equity in my classroom, school and community but I am unsure of the role I will play for all children	I take action consistently towards educational equity in my classroom, school and community and have some idea of the role I will play for all children
			I take action consistently towards educational equity in my city, and know the role I will play for all children	I take action consistently towards educational equity in my city, and have some idea of the role I will play for all children	I take action consistently towards educational equity in India and I am clear about the role that I will play for all children

COMPETENCIES

INTEGRITY
RESPECT & HUMILITY
MANAGING SELF & TIME
CONTINUOUS LEARNING
REFLECTION
GRIT
INITIATIVE

BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS
INVESTING PARTNERS
TEAMWORK

SENSE OF POSSIBILITY
SEVA
RESOURCEFULNESS
PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE
CRITICAL THINKING & PROBLEM SOLVING
VISION AND GOAL SETTING
PLANNING
EXECUTION

PEDAGOGY, CONTENT AND CURRICULUM

OPPORTUNITIES

ESSENTIAL

- CITY CONFERENCES
- LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT CONVERSATIONS
- OBSERVATION DEBRIEFS
- PEDAGOGY CONTENT & CURRICULUM TRAINING
- LEARNING CIRCLES
- MID YEAR RETREAT

AVAILABLE (CITY DEPENDENT)

- REAL TIME COACHING
- BTCP
- MIC WORKSHOPS
- FEEDBACK ON PLANS
- PROFESSIONAL LEARNING COMMUNITIES
- TOGETHERNESS EVENINGS
- TRANSFORMATIONAL IMPACT JOURNEY
- FELLOW COMMITTEES
- LEADERSHIP FORUMS

POSSIBLE (CITY DEPENDENT)

- MENTORSHIP
- CD/SPM SUPPORT
- GRADE LEVEL LEARNING TEAMS
- PATHWAY CALLS
- PARENT-PROGRAM MANAGER MEETINGS
- EXCELLENT SCHOOL VISITS
- TEACH FOR ALL OPPORTUNITIES

SELF-CREATED

- INTERNSHIPS
- MENTORS

STUDENT VISION SCALE

	1 NO LEARNING	2 LIMITED LEARNING	3 BASIC LEARNING	4 SIGNIFICANT LEARNING	5 PATH CHANGING LEARNING
STUDENT VISION ASPECTS	No aspects present	Some aspects present, but not integrated	All aspects present, but not integrated	All aspects present, and some integrated	All aspects present, and integrated

STUDENTS

	1 NO LEARNING	2 LIMITED LEARNING	3 BASIC LEARNING	4 SIGNIFICANT LEARNING	5 PATH CHANGING LEARNING
ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT — The knowledge and skills our students need to be on the path of expanded opportunity					
CULTURE OF ACHIEVEMENT	are destructive	are apathetic	are on task	are interested and hardworking	are passionate and joyful
RIGOUR	are not learning	are confused	can factually recall and learn challenging procedural content	can analyse and apply challenging content	can evaluate, synthesize and create challenging content
VALUES AND MINDSETS — The values and mindsets that shape how our students choose to operate in the world and contribute to making it better	cannot articulate class values	can articulate class values and know what they mean	can demonstrate some class values with teacher reinforcement	can demonstrate class values with teacher reinforcement	can independently demonstrate class values in and out of class
ACCESS AND EXPOSURE — The experiences that will lead our children to discovering their strengths and attaining the aspirations of their choice	cannot articulate own strengths, goals, challenges and opportunities in the community and the world around	can vaguely articulate own strengths, goals, challenges and opportunities in the community and the world around	can articulate own strengths, goals, challenges and opportunities in the community and the world around	start to leverage own strengths and goals, sometimes solve challenges and sometimes leverage opportunities in the community and the world around	operate using own strengths and goals, often solve challenges and leverage opportunities in the community and the world around

Appendix I. MoU between TFI and MCD

MOU/AGREEMENT   35/C

This agreement is executed at Delhi on ___ day of _April_ 2011 between Municipal Corporation of Delhi, having its office at Dr. S.P. Mukherjee Civic Centre, New Delhi – 110001 (hereinafter called the First Party).

AND

Teach To Lead, a trust registered under the Bombay Public Trust Act, having its registered office at c/o Akanksha Foundation, Voltas House "C," TB Kadam Marg, Chinchpokli, Mumbai 400033, with respect to its program Teach For India (TFI) through Shri _Shaheen Mistri, Trustee_ (Designation) Authorised Representative / Competent Authority (Hereinafter called the Second Party).

1. WHEREAS the first party is desirous to partnership with second party for its English Medium Nigam Pratibha Schools/ Classrooms.
2. AND WHEREAS the second party is also desirous and agreed to partnership with English Medium Nigam Pratibha Schools/ Classrooms run by the First Party.
3. AND WHEREAS the second party has agreed to comply with the work to words significantly improving the quality of education in close partnership with the Education Department, MCD in its English Medium Schools/ Classes with the following benefits:-

   • **Access to excellent teaching resources**: Recognizing that teacher talent is a big challenge for schools, TFI will take responsibility for selection, placement, training & mentoring of Fellows.

   • **Significant, measurable impact on student learning**: Through objective impact assessment, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, MCD will be able to systematically track the impact and results achieved by Fellows in classrooms. TFI will periodically share with MCD all assessments administered in the classrooms. TFI will provide all children the ability to read, write and converse in English.

   • **Significant increase in attendance levels** in the short term, reduction of dropouts in the long term.

   • **Contribution beyond classroom**: Fellows will work closely with the administrative or school leadership beyond classroom hours, and implement a School/Community Development Project to help address barriers to student learning in these schools.

Teaching Methodology:-

1. **Skills based learning**: Fellows will base teaching on research based learning standards similar to learning standards as per NCERT.
2. **Planning**: Fellows will plan for the year in advance, and will create detailed monthly and daily lesson plans.
3. **Methods**: Fellows will use experiential, non-traditional methods of teaching (activities, field visits, educational trips, games, charts) and resources (e.g. laptops)
4. **Assessments**: Fellows will conduct regular assessments (weekly, monthly) in their class. They will set exams that test conceptual knowledge, understanding and critical thinking instead of rote learning,

5. **Additional Resources:** Fellows will supplement the Board's curriculum with their own / TFI provided grade level teaching material (e.g. storybooks to develop reading fluency, independently develop worksheets).

6. **Volunteers:** Fellows may bring in volunteers when required, in addition to teaching aids/material.

7. **Extra time:** Fellows will help weaker students from their class before / after school, in school premises.

Role of TFI :-

1. **Recruiting:** TFI will select & recruit top graduates / post graduates / professionals from all across the country, through a rigorous selection process.

2. **Training:** TFI will provide intensive pre-service & in-service training on necessary teaching skills.

3. **School selection and Fellow placement:** TFI will select English-medium primary schools in consultation with the Education Department, MCD, and place at least 2 Fellows in the available English Medium class sections in each school, as full-time teaching resources. The ideal class-size for a classroom would be in the range of 25 - 40 students. If the number of students in a class is over 40, TFI will either split the class into two separate classrooms (wherever possible) or, place 2 Fellows in the class to co-teach.

4. **Professional support and troubleshooting:** TFI will provide regular, in-service trainings, and TFI staff will regularly visit Fellows in / outside the schools to enhance their effectiveness. TFI will seek feedback about the Fellows from the leadership of the concerned Principal of school and officers / administrators of Education Department, MCD every month. In case of complaints of misconduct or inefficiency of Fellows, TFI will undertake corrective measures to ensure that the said school is not put to inconvenience.

5. **Impact testing:** TFI will conduct periodic assessments to gauge the impact on student achievement. These assessments may be in addition to the exams administered by the Education Department, MCD.

6. **Financial support:** TFI will pay and will be responsible for paying the regular monthly salary / stipend to Fellows directly and none of the payment will be routed through the respective school or MCD School Board.

7. **Documentation and awareness building:** To raise awareness about TFI and its partnership with the Education Department, MCD TFI will document its activities through photographs, videos, visits by stakeholders (e.g. funders) with prior approval of First Party.

Role of Fellows :-

1. Fellows will be highly motivated, young graduates / post graduates / professionals from India's top colleges and corporates with excellent

academic record, strong English language skills and selected through a rigorous selection process that judges their commitment, critical thinking, perseverance, leadership skills and ability to succeed in classrooms and schools.

2. Fellows will teach all subjects except 2nd and 3rd languages (e.g. Hindi, Urdu etc.) to students in Standards 2nd and onwards in English medium classrooms, with the medium of instruction as English. The senior officers of MCD may inspect these classes during school hours and also seek feedback from the students.

3. Fellows will NOT provide any direct financial assistance to the Education Department, MCD school, and will not render their services for any other school other than where they are placed. Fellows will not be responsible for collecting fees and will not be engaged in other duties during their classroom hours.

4. Fellows will report to TFI, and their letters of engagement will clearly state that their teaching in schools is under the auspices of TFI and does not entitle them to claim employment with the Education Department, MCD. However, TFI will regularly seek feedback from the officers and officials of Education Department, MCD school (e.g. Principal etc.) and other Education Department, MCD officials regarding the Fellows' performances and act accordingly.

5. Fellows will follow Education Department, MCD school's working hours and holiday calendar and perform responsibilities as are fit for other teachers. Teach for India allows Fellows 5 days of leave during school days. They will be granted casual or emergency leave in consultation with the school's Principal. However, Fellows will also work well beyond the school's working hours to maximize learning in all possible ways (e.g. conduct remedial classes for low performers, conduct enrichment classes for high performers either before or after school hours in school premises).

6. Beyond classroom hours, in their 2nd year of the Fellowship, they will work on a Project to help the Education Department, MCD realize its vision of providing excellent education by addressing barriers to education, identified by the Fellows through their work and interactions with teachers, officers and officials of Education Department, MCD. This may include developing new systems for the school, creating counselling programs and improving the school-community relationship.

7. The fellows will teach as per the (NCERT Books) being followed in MCD Schools.

Role of Education Department, MCD :-

1. Education Department, MCD will assist TFI in identifying English Medium Schools and provide relevant information required by TFI to arrange key staff.

2. Education Department, MCD will permit TFI and Fellows to perform roles as outlined in the sections above, including
   a. Place Fellows in identified schools as full-time support teaching resources without replacing MCD Teachers for English Medium classrooms in standards IInd onwards growing by one standard each year as Fellows move up with their children for continuity.
   b. Allow for 2 Fellows in one classroom if the student-teacher ratio in a

class is over 40:1.

   c. Provide autonomy and support to help maximize their impact (e.g. control of classroom, use of non-traditional and innovative teaching techniques, access to resources equal to those provided to other MCD teachers)

   d. Permit Fellows to attend necessary trainings and other on-going professional development initiatives conducted by TFI.

   e. Provide language teachers for 2nd onwards standards to teach languages other than English (e.g. Hindi & Urdu)

   f. Allow Fellows to conduct parent meetings in school based on need/ interact with parents in school premises outside teaching time, make periodic community visits and build relationships with parents of students and others within the community.

   g. Fellows will work under the supervision and directions of Principal of concerned School.

   h. Not ask Fellows or TFI to conduct any activities not in line with their role, as mentioned earlier

3. Education Department, MCD will educate and make schools and Education Department, MCD officials aware of TFI and help Fellows to build good working relationships with other faculty members, and help address any issues on this front.

4. In order to equip students to perform well in the long term, in the short-term it is critical to build foundational skills in students given the extent of achievement gap. Therefore, Education Department, MCD will provide flexibility to Fellows to supplement with test papers with internally developed skill-based assessments.

5. Education Department, MCD will share basic, non-confidential information with TFI and allow TFI staff to conduct concerned school visits in order to carry out key activities such as interaction with key faculty/staff, observation of classroom and Fellow performance to assess performance

6. Education Department, MCD will ensure regular maintenance and upgrade of physical infrastructure in schools (including clean functional toilets, drinking water, classroom infrastructure, corridors) in order to meet the increased requirements of each year.

7. Education Department, MCD will take all steps possible to ensure TFI has long term, independent access to the same group of children for long term impact (e.g. allow Fellows to move up the standards with their children each year).

8. Education Department, MCD shall not have any financial implications under this project.

Termination :-

Either party may terminate this MOU under the following conditions :-

- Mutual written agreement of the Parties to terminate the agreement.
- The default of either party in performing its obligations hereunder.
- Any significant change in the financial capability of either party which seriously affects the party's ability to perform its responsibilities under this MOU.
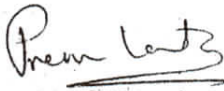
- Either party can terminate the MOU by giving 50 (fifty) days notice justifying the termination.
- Upon terminate of this MOU, the parties shall ensure that they do not incur any further commitments with respect to the project.
- Both parties, in the event of termination and / or lapse of time, shall settle account (if any) within four weeks form the date of termination.
- The Commissioner, MCD has right to terminate the MOU/Agreement at any time without assigning any further reason thereto.
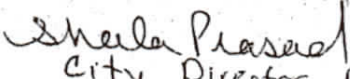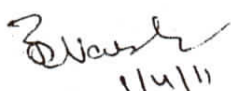
Duration of Partnership :-

The partnership shall be effective and shall continue to be in full force and effect for a term of 3 years from the date of execution, unless renewed, or terminated. Neither party shall be entitled to claim any damages, compensation, loss or any other amount whatsoever on such termination.

IN THE WITNESS, WHEREOF, BOTH THE PARTIES HAVE SET THEIR RESPECTIVE HANDS IN THIS AGREEMENT AT DELHI ON THIS 1st DAY OF April 2011.

(FIRST PARTY)

DIRECTOR (EDN.)
MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF DELHI
Education (H.Q.)
15th Floor, Civic Centre,
Minto Road, New Delhi-2

(SECOND PARTY)
1/4/11

WITNESSES:

1. Sheila Prasad
   City Director, Delhi
   1/4/11

2. 1/4/11
   A.D.E (se)

Appendix J. A Note on the Assessment modules of 'Teach for India'

The trajectory for teaching in a Fellow's classroom was set by the process of assessment. Three sets of standardised assessments – the 'Beginning of the Year' (BoY), 'Middle of the Year' (MoY) and the 'End of the Year' (EoY) – prepared by a private company 'Indus Learning' were administered on the students by the Fellows in their classrooms. The assessments took place in July – when the school session began, October and in March as the school year ended.

The assessment module comprised mainly of two sets of tests: Reading Comprehension (RC) and Maths. Separate modules for RF (which focuses on phonics, words and meanings) as a part of RC were also developed by 'Indus Learning'. The RF modules were administered largely on children in grades II and III[73]. A new module 'Speaking and Listening' (S&L) was also introduced in 2014 but was more a subset of the RC module. The organisation has so far not forayed into assessing the subjects of Social Studies and Science, although Fellows were involved in teaching Environmental Studies (EVS) in grades III, IV and V, and Science and Social Studies in grades VI and VII. This description will focus on the two main modules of RC and Maths.

Reading Comprehension

The RC module had tests of several levels: 0, 0.2, 0.5, 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, 3, 3.5, 4, 4.5 and 5. Here the levels 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 corresponded to grade levels. For example if a Class II student (seven years of age) scored more than 70 per cent on an RC test of level 2, this implied that the student was at grade level. 'Grade level' thus was defined explicitly in terms of performance on a certain level of the test conducted. The RC module assessed a set of skills in English language learning, which were arranged in an ascending plane along Benjamin Bloom's Mastery approach to learning. In Bloom's approach cognitive thinking began with factual comprehension, then moved to inferential understanding and finally to critical thinking. Every level in an RC module sequenced a mix of factual, inferential and critical

---

73   There are children in higher grades of IV, V and VI who have a poor comprehension of phonics and Fellows do use the assessment modules of RF on these children as well to tabulate their learning levels. However, the general thrust is to move from RF to RC in the higher grades.

thinking questions. The complexity of the questions however increased with levels. Where at lower levels, the modules had more pictures and questions were limited to simple actions such as drawing, labeling and naming, at higher levels, the content of the modules had lesser pictures, were more verbally descriptive and required structured answers in English. The questions at higher levels tested various aspects of grammar, punctuation and logical thinking. Writing skills were also tested within the RC module through an essay question in higher levelled tests.

The content of the RC modules tested certain language skills that aligned with the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 objectives for the teaching of English. Fellows taught RC in their classrooms through NCERT textbooks for English and Environmental Studies (EVS) and a range of other grade level books in English. In an MCD school in Delhi with grades I to V, the highest level for an RC test was 5. As the intervention entered Class VI in DoE schools in Delhi in 2014, higher level RC tests were now being prepared and administered in these schools.

Process of Assessment

The RC tests were administered over the course of ten days. Children were administered tests from zero (0) level onwards. Every child who scored more than 70 per cent on a certain levelled test was then given a test of the next level. If the child again scored more than 70 per cent, the child was administered a test of the next higher level. This process continued till the child could not attempt more tests and was assigned his or her learning level based on the last attempted levelled test. In grades where 'Teach for India' had been working for more than two years, data on learning levels had been tabulated by previous Fellows. New Fellows who entered these classrooms got access to this information and tested the children based on this tabulated data.

Maths

Unlike RC, Maths tests were designed only at grade level and were based on the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 objectives for respective grades. The Maths tests had a heavy influence of English and it was required for most students to have some verbal proficiency before attempting the tests. Most Fellows taught Maths in their classrooms using the NCERT textbooks. Some Fellows also used teaching-learning materials such as ice cream

sticks and other resources procured from non-governmental organisations such as Jodo Gyaan. The pedagogical underpinnings for the teaching of Maths in 'Teach for India' followed the 'Concrete, Pictorial and Abstract' model similar to the NCF objectives for the teaching of Maths at the primary stage.

Process of Assessment

Students were administered tests based on their grade level. If a student scored more than 60 per cent on a Maths test, he or she was said to be at grade level for the subject.