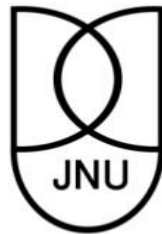


**TEACHER AGENCY, SUBJECTIVITY AND
CLASSROOM PEDAGOGY:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SMRITI SINGH



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Date: 27th July, 2012

DECLARATION

I, **Smriti Singh**, declare that the dissertation entitled '**Teacher Agency, Subjectivity and Classroom Pedagogy: an Exploratory Study**' submitted by me, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru U, is my bonafide work. I further declare that the dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

SMRITI SINGH

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Binod Khadria
Chairperson

Dr. S. Srinivas Rao
Supervisor

LIST OF ACRONYMS

1. TEP: Teacher Education programme
2. PEI: Progress of Education in India Report (1902-07)
3. ICSE: Indian Certificate of Secondary Education
4. ISC: Indian School Certificate
5. CBSE: Central Board of Secondary Education
6. CCE: Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation.

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As an elementary education teachers-student, our classroom observations often reflected that teachers are dynamic individuals bringing to classroom their own ideas about world, education and life. However, the observations remained unaddressed, since we critiqued the superficial findings without really engaging with the larger context. The concerns of a naïve mind would have not resulted in a documented research without constructive help and guidance. I would like to express my utmost gratitude to all those who helped, encouraged and guided me towards shaping, structuring and completion of this dissertation.

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Chapter#1

Introduction

Situating the debate

Educational debates in Indian context have been dominated by a discourse that assumes apparent ignorance to the potential and agency of teachers. This dominant discourse has stood resilient to any strong changes. Some of the foundational tenets of this educational discourse, and relatedly praxis have remained rather restricted. Most educational concerns, especially with regard to elementary education, have been dominated by an overwhelming concern about access; and an associated worry about quality (both defined rather restrictively).

Such inconsiderate equality thus, laid foundation for educational thought, in policy documents. Up until mid 1960s, state's assumed ignorance to any structural discrimination owing to a superficial equality of opportunity that played deaf and blind to the realities of discrimination. Equality of opportunity, assumed apparent ignorance of structural and ideological 'inequality' historically disadvantaged faced. This led to perpetuation of existing social discriminations, especially in the sphere of education and consequently in the sphere of employment. The assumed blindness caused the inequality, discrimination and exclusion of the historically disadvantaged to continue. 1968, educational policy and others that followed faced the problem of implementation, since, school expansion was being shaped and controlled by vested interests, including orthodox belief systems of bureaucracy, resulted in skewed availability, distorted growth, and unequal access (Velaskar, 2010). The National Policy on Education 1986 heralded a new re-formulation of discrimination through its dual proposition of goals of education. With its proposition of non formal education (NFE) it justified a gap in the nature of educational goals and praxis. It suggested a lesser means of making the 6 to 14 crore children, out of school, fit for mainstream schooling. The goal of education in NFE was teaching

basic educational skills and minimum level of learning. Further from here the inequality got entrenched in the debates on quality education. This sub-standard educational initiative received a new found zeal and enthusiasm, in the emergence of neo-liberal regimes in education, and the strategic investment by World Bank and forced disinvestment in education by the state. Neoliberal regimes came to guide the defining of the goals of education (Ghosh, 2000; Basu, 1993).

Poor teaching quality and dismal teacher profile has been featured in almost all policy concerns. Teachers have been laden with the responsibility for restricted success in achieving universalisation of elementary education. Thus largely all commission reports and policy documents raised a concern about enrichment of teachers and capacity building of the teachers. Missing from this entire discussion and top-down advising is the understanding of 'teacher's agency'. Thus, despite the focus on teachers as potential change agents, the well intentioned reformative recommendations of these commissions have not reached ground reality and implementation, and 'teacher' in educational praxis has managed to stay resilient to any effective progressive change (Stacki, 2002; Batra, 2005a; Raina, 1995). As a result, teachers have declined from being the celebrated 'guru'¹ to being a mere bureaucratic functionary, the pawn of government's bureaucratic army. The rampant reality-scenario of teacher motivation and effectiveness can be summed up as being resultant of a work force that is largely demotivated, mis-qualified/under-qualified, under-compensated, devalued cadre of officials flowing into educational praxis out of a lack of choices for occupation, and failure at securing a place in other more favoured options, or as casual supplementary earners.(Batra, 2005a) It has become the last resort of the unemployed, a favourable option for women seeking socially acceptable profession as a part time engagement (Batra, 2005a).

Batra (2005a,b) categorizes the sphere of educational discourse and deliberation into four sectors of concerns.

¹ Batra(2005a) discusses the concept of guru in traditional sense and its embodiment of agency.

“(...) access to schooling, an adequate teaching-learning environment, an appropriate school curriculum and an empowered and inclusive teaching community are four crucial prerequisites of a school system that seeks to enable social transformation”(Batra, 2005a: P.4348).

Of all that is listed in the above classification, only ‘access to school’ and ‘adequate teaching learning environment’ have been the primary focus of all educational intervention in policy discourses and educational dialogue. Batra points out,

“While educational reform since the 1980s was strongly focused on the first two elements, the late 1990s brought the role of the curriculum into national focus. The critical link that binds these four critical elements together - the agency of the teacher continues to be cast aside, by political ideologies of most hues, contemporary curriculum reform efforts and the professional practices of much of the teacher education community” (Batra, 2005: p.4348)

The point she makes here is crucial, that is, we have been dismissive and unable to relate these four sectors of concern to a very crucial missing link, the teacher’s agency. While access dominated policy concerns up until the conception of NPE in 1980s, curriculum took the centre-stage with the coming of NPE.

While curriculum stood central to educational deliberations, a significant disjuncture, in the form of NCF 2000, provided a ground work for deliberations on subjectivities in education, but it couldn't go far enough to be able to read teacher as a possible source of ideas, instead of a passive transmitting device of ideas in texts. However, despite providing the groundwork for deliberations on teacher’s agency, the issue effortlessly skirted the deliberations on teacher's as sources of ideas while methodological and factual errors stole all the limelight. And, questions related to subjectivities of teachers were dismissed unceremoniously. While issues pertaining to equity, inclusion and exclusion, learner diversity, religious identity and communalism were voiced strongly, yet, the discussions restricted themselves to the expression of these issues

within the *subjectivity* of the text(the right word though here would be ideology, whereby ideology is understood and distinguished from subjectivity in being a clear organized set of beliefs attitudes and values, while subjectivities can be seen as more random), while more glaring issues of subjectivities of teachers escaped any possible scrutiny.

The problem in this may be with the agreed understanding. that the ideas were restricted to the realm of printed texts, something that revealed a technocratic-positivistic assumption about educational praxis (Taneja, 2001; Sahmat & Sabrang.com, 2002; Sahmat, 2002; Balagopalan, 2009; Nair, 2005). Textbooks were seen as central to and in fact governing the educational praxis (Saraswathi, 2004; Nair, 2005; Balagopalan, 2009).

Such a view is a thorough and blasphemous disregard for teacher's agency and context of learners, as if education is synonymous to textbooks.

The questions that should have been raised in this context are,

- Texts as reflective of larger social discourses on various issues, given that such discourses exist nonetheless in larger social milieu, is it enough to 'sanitize' textbooks?
- If discourses exists, given that teachers are social beings, and so are learners², is it safe to assume, that these discourses are not relevant to educational experience?
- Assuming teachers are 'meek dictators'(Kumar, 1991), that is, the one that has a strong authority within the classroom, and are exposed or engaged with a number of these alternate discourses, is it safe to assume that these teachers are not 'being guided' by their social conscience, nonetheless? And then what implications can this have for pedagogy and classroom learning situations?

² Learning is a complex, dynamic, continuous process drawing and constructing knowledge from various sources, textbook is only one, and most abstract as compared to, others like, media, tradition, experiences, et cetera.(NCF,2005; Kincheloe(Undated) learning to teach) Read the classroom observation and following discussion on tantrism and science, in Kumar(1989), P.60. it illustrates the role of pedagogy, textbook and learner in a classroom learning situation.

In such a situation, the most obvious that arises in mind is: What causes this deep set ignorance of teacher's agency?

Historical Contextualization of the Problem

The root cause of this kind of deep-set ignorance can be traced to the discourse of teachers and teaching profession that arises from historical research, or more simply put, how do we historically understand teachers and what is unreliable in that historical imagery of a teacher. Theoretical frameworks in research on pedagogy have restricted itself to only explorations of the professional domains of performance, when it comes to teachers. This strictly removes the domains of personality that may not be embedded purely in professional space and thus, even in, the findings reveal a more behaviourist³ or instrumental level engagement. The study strictly explores the larger wholesome context that the teachers contextualize themselves in. Studies may restrict themselves to the performance, reflective models of pedagogy within professional domains of schools; or pre-service teacher training, extracting from the persona of the teacher anything that may not and cannot be identified as purely in line with the professional domain.

Any study of pedagogy assumes either explicit and implicit cultural models of pedagogy, constructed through engaging with administrative and policy discourse and governing body's institutional discourse as well as the cultural-historical discourse on education. Further such studies may also draw in part from anthropological and sociological models of pedagogy that have been evolved. This culture of pedagogy can be understood by the way of the zest to "indigenize" education (Elbaz quoted in Clarke,2001), That was felt strongly in the wake of independence. There was a popular understanding that English education had established itself by displacing the indigenous education systems and thus, in reaction, it was felt that there was an intense need to get rid of the foreign influence and re-introduce the essence of Indian education systems (Karlekar, 1983; Kumar 1991; Clarke, 2001). Raina (1999) points out that the focal point of this indigenization must be the school curriculum as well as the pre-service

³ Invoked here in synergy with the definition of Behaviorism in traditional Developmental Psychology.

teacher training courses. However, one must note that there has been a considerable stress on western theoretical frameworks and pedagogic models, that find restricted applicability in indigenous contexts (Raina, 1999).

Thus, for the purposes of the study, a number of discourses or cultures of pedagogy can be identified, each one although may differ in certain dimensions while they all largely produce and sustain a dominant discourse on pedagogy, one that translates into larger trends of praxis, accommodating whatever marginal differences there maybe. Cultural discourses produce something of an episteme⁴ of pedagogical praxis, one that can be identified from the interaction of these cultural discourses and the margins they define.

These discourses can be traced back to certain points of reference, on the basis of which they can be distinguished from each other. Together, these discourses within stipulated margins of dissent and agreement shape traditional praxis models. Any discussion must first acknowledge that the teacher-student relationship embeds itself in the larger dyadic texture and nature of any adult-child relationships in the social discourse on organization of society along the lines of generations (Sarangapani, 2004). This is a taken for granted and internalized world view that holds children as inferior and unintelligent. Thus, accordingly, the social discourse upholds that 'questioning', 'argument', and 'disagreement', all characteristics of independent thinking, must be seen as disrespectful to the authority of the adults. However, meek acceptance and memorization and repetition, invoking references of adults, and faithful reproduction of orders of adults⁵, are seen as dutifulness and obedience, virtues that are socially celebrated. Thus, in the same line, questioning the teacher is seen as disrespectful and is discouraged, independent thinking is neither cultivated nor valued.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (1980, p.197)

⁵ Strictly as one illustration, from certain religious texts, one can note epic texts such as Mahabharata (for Savarna Hindus) mentions episodes that uphold unquestioned acceptance of the orders of adults, whereby the casual orders of the mother, Kunti, Panchali attains the status of being the wife of five brothers. Similarly in Ramayana, Rama is sent on exile to uphold the sanctity of his father's words.

One discourse on pedagogy is located in its reference to the mythological and religious discourses on education. The dominant discourse that is sustained, even within religious-mythological discourses holds constant, the inferiority of the learner and the monological, unilinear and authoritative relationship between the guru and the shishya. Hirst (2005) point out how there are evidences of alternate discourses that exist in pedagogy, she lists the examples of Al-Biruni (Ahmad, 1983 quoted in Hirst, 2005) as well as Shankara, who were self-conscious writers and pedagogues, however, their reflective critical approach is not given much prominence in dominant discourses of research in pedagogy, and thus they remain unexplored and 'alternate'. Discourses become dominant only when they are sustained and sustain other discourses that are produced by a society, the alternate discourses, since do not find the same support from other discourses as the one that makes for the dominant discourse, remain on the margin. Discourses sustain each other, a shift in any one discourse is likely to disrupt the order among discourses and thus, any radical shift localized to any one discourse is met with a fierce backlash from other discourses, the same seems to be the case with larger educational discourse. Conversation with Parimala V. Rao⁶, supported the claim made by the specific study done by Hirst (2005). Rao (2012) points out that the populist discourse on ancient history of education, argued by historians such as Altekar (1965, P. 95) are skewed in their analysis of the nature of pedagogy in ancient India (2000 BCE- CE 1200). Altekar (1965) argues, that ancient pedagogy divided into four epochs namely, vedic, Upanishadic, Dharamashastric and Puranic arguing a consistent degradation in the importance that was paid to meaning making and creativity in transition from vedic to puranic pedagogy

Having explored, the mythological-religious discourse on pedagogy, one must also examine the other discourse on pedagogy, namely, the one produced by history. Again, significantly it was found that the historical discourses already set the pace for teacher-targeting and dismissing

⁶ Parimala V. Rao is Assistant Professor, History of Education, Zakir Husain Center for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The researcher interviewed her to gain specific insights into historical contextualization of the problem under study.

their agency as unripe, unnatural and unnecessary. Historical facts are reconstructed and thus have the greatest margin for interpretation. Historical works illuminating pedagogy in pre-colonial and colonial times often reflect a bias against the teachers, and by arguing that agency of the teacher was irrelevant and un-useful (Rao 2012 unpublished on Altekar, 1965; Dharampal, 1983; Altekar, 1965; Dharampal, 1983 and Acharya,1996 evolve more sweeping generalizations about the authoritarian nature of teacher-student relationship without much in depth investigation. Altekar (1965), pays more emphasis to the pedagogy of Vedas, Upanishads, Dharamshastras and puraans. Across the texts, the dominant discourse that is proposed can be understood through the historical description of educational praxis that begins from vedic period and ends at independence and beyond in a consistent stretch of degradation

“During the Vedic period focus was on imparting sacred literature and family occupation to the children. Memorisation was the dominant pedagogical method along with interpretation and creativity. These, however, became less important during the Upanishadic period where the emphasis was on accuracy, correct accent and intonation. In Dharamashastric period systematic teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic was done by the teacher. The focus was also on memorising the Vedas. “ – (Altekar,1965, P.95)

Puranic period had four types of teachers - the Acharya, the Guru, the .Shikshak and the Upadhyaya. (Clarke, 2001- P.37) The Acharya was the highest level, which a teacher could attain. During the Buddhist period the Upadhyaya was considered the most revered teacher who instructed students in proper conduct, morality and notions of Vinaya (humility) and Dharma (duty). The nature of pedagogy during the early period was “oral, repetitive and exemplary” (Altekar, 1965, P.95-100). Prior to colonization, the teacher or Guru provided practical instruction to students in the local schools in villages or pathshaalas. Reading, writing, arithmetic and Sanskrit were the main subjects. Teachers had an authoritative role and students related to the teachers with reverence (Dharampal, 1983).

During the colonial period, the British introduced a complete English system of education in India. Rote learning was encouraged and the presence of British knowledge or curriculum (as embodied in the textbook) played a prominent role (Kumar, 1991, P.14). In 'Political Agenda of Education', Kumar (1991) points that the British curriculum was not related to the experiences of the Indian child and, represented discontinuity. As a result of this discontinuity Indian students were forced to memorise the information. As Clarke (2001) in her work on "Teaching and Learning: The Culture of Pedagogy" states, "it is difficult to conceive that British could have transformed this pervasive practice of rote entrenched among us for generations even with curriculum that may not have represented discontinuity with our own culture and traditions". Even though the British attempted to transform pedagogy by a "more progressive" method of learning (through Froebel's method of instruction) they were not successful.

The two issues that must be focussed in such an analysis is one that it only restricts the explanation of the arguments through the popular texts that belong to or represent only a miniscule group of Savarna Hindus, and thus it cannot be taken as representative case of majority population, when talking about Buddhist pedagogy or Islamic pedagogy its is dismissive of an in-depth examination. Second issue is that even within restricted representation and overgeneralization it is a building of a discourse based on the perceptions of present times superimposed on the past, since it does not acknowledge presence of alternate pedagogies that were popular and prevalent, even within the vedic and post vedic pedagogy.

Conversation with Parimala V. Rao, supported the claim made, with respect to the pedagogy in post-vedic times (c700-800 AD) that the stress on rote memorization was restricted to a small group of Brahmins and a selected few Sanskrit texts. However, such an analysis ignores the fact that a majority population did not follow the Sanskrit texts or pedagogy characteristic to Savarna-brahmins.

In fact the more popular trends in pedagogy must elaborate on the pedagogy that was available to masses. Sanskrit text that sit as a epicentre of all pedagogic analysis in reaserch and historical literqature alike can be traced to a miniscule population of savarna Brahmins, given that the

other dominating castes were better propertied and wouldn't invest time in anything other than leisure and extravagance. Studying required diligence and commitment, and the dominating castes would rather appoint someone well read than read something themselves. Rao pointed out the fact that majority population from 8th century B.C. to 3rd Century A.D. was Buddhist, while Sanskrit texts were limited to savarna-brahmin, the more popular religion evolved out of dissent and critique of the stringent vedic beliefs. And given that critique of stringent unreasonable practices of vedic times was the foundation to the emergence of Jainism and Buddhism, it is only a safe assumption that pedagogy would uphold that spirit of questioning, even in the pedagogy. Rao admits that pedagogy in vedic times was repetitive, reproductive and had little or no scope for creativity or independent thinking, but she strongly contends establishing this as the final and absolute word on pedagogy in pre-colonial subcontinent. The assumption that the pre-colonial pedagogy in Indian subcontinent suppressed the spirit of enquiry and was largely repetitive contradicts with the very nature of arithmetic which, as plenty of evidence suggests was taught in pre-colonial Indian subcontinent. Arithmetic cannot be taught through rote memorization and requires a certain level of abstract and independent thinking, evidence that arithmetic was taught across vernacular schools in the subcontinent suggests, it is inherently flawed an assumption that popular pedagogy was repetitive and based on rote memorization (Rao, Unpublished).

The second contestation comes against the arguments about pedagogy that seem to suggest, that there was a public pedagogy a larger trend in pedagogy that existed across Indian subcontinent. The contestation comes from two stand points, one is the larger social perception with respect to acquisition of knowledge and its implications for an individual within the given social context, and secondly, from the ground realities that existed and reflected in reports. Rao points out that the perceptions with respect to acquisition of knowledge were very different in western context as opposed to the Indian context. While in western countries society was based on class based social stratification, the powerful and propertied class ensured that education be restricted to the wealthy, as a determinant of social respect. In the case of Indian context the society was divided along the lines of caste, and although knowledge was restricted

to uphold the sanctity of castes, such restrictions were not correlated to the wealth but the caste groups. Rao points out that Brahmins in pre-colonial subcontinent were abysmally poor while the propertied caste, the landowners and ruling clans would rather invest in extravagance and luxury than set themselves in educational pursuits. The wealth in the propertied was meant to buy labour, this included Brahmins. Learning, wisdom, knowledge was never meant to be a pursuit of the propertied clans, who were characterised by their indulgent lifestyles, educational labour, as per the requirements could be bought by the money, owned by them. Rao points out that the English colonial administration was not too keen onto giving education to the lower class, since education was considered a mark of class in their native land, however, the schools that were initially opened by English did not attract the landed and propertied clans, since respect and power was on the basis of caste, not knowledge.

(Acharya, 1996), identified 12th century as the time that the *pathshalas* can be traced back to. These *Pathshalas*, he argues were arranged by local community (by wealthy individuals or community members) to provide for practical instruction to the students of the community, according to the needs of the community. Rao points to a similar practice that was coined by the British administration later, named *Halkbandi*, and can be geographically traced to areas of Punjab and Haryana. This consisted of only 4 years of educational instruction, within a local community, arranged by the community or local Zamindar or the land owning clan.

Further educational praxis in the middle ages (12th century to 1830s) flows in unsettling consistency with the consistent degradation built by historians through the ancient ages. Clarke (2001), as well as Dharampal (1983) build a consistent picture of pedagogy in India. Clarke (2001) quotes Shahidullah (1996) who emphasises that the oral tradition dominated classroom practice in that the exercises were dictated and the students memorized them. Printed textbooks were not widely used in the classroom. Students used reed pens, their fingers and charcoal to write, either on sand or on plantain leaves. They began by tracing individual letters and then joining them to form syllables. After learning to read and write, arithmetic skills such as addition and subtraction were taught.

Acharya (1996), Clarke(2001), as well as Dharampal (1983), quote excerpts from Adam's report(1935-1938) to establish the redundancy of educational praxis, the authoritarian relationship between the teachers and students, and repetitive and rote memorization based pedagogy during the stated period. Dharampal, 1983 quotes Fra Paolino, 1796, was an Austrian missionary, who wrote his account of Indian subcontinent under the name of 'Voyage to East Indies'. Dharampal(1983) quotes him to communicate the authoritarian relationship between the students and teachers that is unsettlingly consistent with the present day picture. Dharampal, (1983) quotes Paolino, (1796), "When the guru or teacher, enters the school, he is always received with the utmost reverence and respect. His pupils must throw themselves down at full length before him, place their right hands at their mouths, and not venture to speak a single word until he gives them express permission. Those who talk and prate contrary to the prohibition are expelled from the school.". Dharampal(1983) quotes Paolino, without reading him in the context of his times, without exploring the possibility of ethnocentrism, which was more common at the given time the specific author was writing.

Rao also points out another significant abrasion in the picture projected by historians, which is that historians often read the descriptions by foreign writers, academicians and officials in isolation of their embedded-ness in their own contexts, that is, a number of writers while slammed Indian educational praxis, their own indigenous models of teaching learning, and teacher-student relationship did not differ much or at all. Clarke(2001) also quotes Kumar (1991), Shahidullah(1996) who emphasises the prevalence of oral tradition in classroom, however, he does not capture or Clarke fails to mention the larger socio-cultural and global context within which this is embedded. The point being made here is not that such practices are examples of good practice in educational praxis, but the point here is that textbooks are a relatively modern phenomena and Shahidullah's (1996) dashed expectation of classrooms with textbooks; and Clarke's (2001) invocation of him seems to be out of tune with the larger trends in educational praxis contextual to the medieval times, available or it is just a convenient position which helps explain the contemporary status of educational praxis.

Such conceptualization by historians seems juxtaposition of present day scenario to the past. Given the unusual consistency in description of educational praxis in 18th century and praxis in 21st century, it can almost be concluded that praxis is unlikely to change despite efforts, time, or innovation.

Rao also points out to the observation that, what the Adam's report (1835-1838) makes about pre-colonial education are also in part quoted out of context in an attempt to draw a flawless coherent picture of consistent educational praxis. For instance, Clarke (2001) quotes Adam's report:

“Adam Cites documents describing how students helped each other to write and learn:

The pupil are the monitors of each other, and the characters are traced with a rod or the finger on sand. Reading and writing are acquired at the same time, and by the same process.”

It's almost self explanatory how Clarke (2001) in her overzealous attempt to establish the static and redundant nature of pedagogy, fails to draw linkages of this description with innovative pedagogy, in a popular discourse like Montessori methods, Vygotsky and peer learning and Organic reading and writing⁷ or whole language approach. She in fact uses this quote to conclude that “Again, repetition and memorization appear to be pervasive pedagogical methods used across subjects” (Clarke, 2001, P.39)

Kumar (1991) blames the colonial administration for introduction of a foreign curriculum that has largely inspired rote learning and repetition pedagogy, Clarke (2001) also quotes Progress of Education Report, (1902-1907), that states, that one of the major barriers to the adoption of Froebel's teaching methodology appeared to be the widespread and ingrained use of memorization. Indian students, mainly through the art of memorization were successfully “consuming” the transplanted British curriculum. Rao however pointed out how government

⁷ Montessori is a model of educational praxis, Vygotsky is a theorist of psychology of mind, Organic reading and writing is a technique and ideology by Sylvia Ashton.

reports were meant to fulfil a purpose, British colonial administration was largely against western education being imparted to Indians, since the only population that was most enthusiastic about studying challenged the mindset that British, being a context strictly divided along the lines of class stratification, had against educating the poor. Further she points out how MaCaulay's schools that were imparting western education to indigenous children were stopped abruptly in favour of Halkbandi schools that only covered 4 years of education and that too minimal and basic. Bengal presidency opposed closing of schools, and began their own schools that taught western curriculum at a level that was more advanced than halkbandi schools. Bombay and Madras presidency also resisted the revoking of western education, and the pressure to introduce indigenous education. Rao exemplified that the cause of resistance was not that Indigenous population lacked the ability to engage with the curriculum or as Clarke (2001) establishes through quoting PEI (Progress of Education in India Report 1902-07), the tendency of Indian students to "consume" western curriculum through having mastered the art of memorization. She illustrates that not only were Indians learning but were capable of developing competence at the subject which was at par with the western students and scholars. She argues that in Madras presidency within 5 years of formal schooling, Euclid's geometry (marked by a high level of abstraction) was being taught at schools. This trend of theorization about the past continues to post-independence as well, synchronising all happenings into one coherent argument of the lack of motivation, will, and interest in pedagogy of the Indian teachers, although for the post-independence period, the arguments sound more cohesive given the uniformity and legitimacy of structures shaping decisions about teacher training.

Thus, to assume that pedagogy has been redundant and static is a dangerous assumption, since it is likely to deflect the attention that must rightfully be paid to the kind of pressures that teachers experience today. Assuming that pedagogy is static is to suggest that teachers inherit a certain culture of educational praxis, that they dutifully carry forward, such an assumption also reduces all arguments towards teacher training reform to accept and be bogged down by the magnificence of a historical burden. The historical burden projects lethargy and rote

memorization based pedagogy as hard fact that has stood firm through a long time, and in the process developed a certain sense of permanence and obviousness. Such an assumption is likely to discourage evolution and reforms in the field of pedagogy, by arguing lethargy and memorization based pedagogy as somewhat constant and natural.

Clarke (2001) maintains the same tone even through her description of colonial period, and even though talking about teacher thinking, fails to accord consideration to teacher training in her entire discussion on educational praxis. Rao points out how disinterested British were in promoting education, since in the context of the Indian subcontinent it was set to only attract the destitute, since educational pursuit was irrelevant to propertied or could be done through private tutors. Rao suggests that those who would choose to attend schools were so poor they would often not even have a change of clothes, but had an intense urge to study. Given such a strong disinterest among a society based in class distinction, in educating the destitute of a colony, teacher education is only another case in the same league.

In 19th century AD with a very low motivation British introduced teacher training in 1840. Teacher education as conceptualized by the colonial administration was to have a three year teacher training for anyone who had completed five years of formal schooling. Individuals who would choose to undergo teacher training were given scholarships by the administration but were bounded by a contract to only serve the administration as teachers and thus, in effect were barred from entering any other job. The problem with the arrangement was that administration's initiative, at schools were not consistent, and schools would often be closed down for indefinite time period, forcing teachers out of job with no surety of resuming. Also, given that schools would close more often, there were not even enough students who would have the qualifications beyond five years of formal schooling. In addition to the present picture, upon adding age of the teachers entering teaching profession, one can infer that the average age of a teacher promising to enter into teaching profession would be anywhere between 12 to 15 years of age, of which if 3 years are of teacher training, it is easy to imagine the pedagogy they are likely to develop at their age.

It must be noted that historians of education also produce a certain kind of academic discourse on educational praxis that contributes to holding, in place, the irrelevance of educational praxis. Such an invocation of history informs other contemporary researches in educational praxis, and the collective plethora of academic research together influences and gets influenced by the policy level discourse on educational praxis, in essence making educational praxis sound like static and constant.

Contemporary Context of the Problem:

The inclusion or exclusion of the agency of teacher has to do with envisioning and defining the goals of education and the nature of education envisaged. Education, and especially elementary education, assumed a trajectory that focussed elaborately on education (of a certain kind) for the masses. However, since the very beginning the deliberations on education have been a tryst with 'quality' (Valeskar, 2010, Kumar, 2010). What caused a systematic exclusion of teacher's agency from discourses and deliberations on education, can only be understood through deconstructing the meaning of 'quality' envisioned by education, since this quality education determines the goals of education which in turn influence definition of roles of various structures within it. In this context the discussion of 'quality' education by Krishna Kumar(2010) becomes relevant.

He argues that the neo-liberal regimes can be seen at the root of this kind of re-definition of educational goals in such a way as to cause ignorance of teacher's agency. 'Quality', he argues, in education systems of third world countries being guided by neo-liberal global regimes, is seen as, something that adds value to it, rather than being a characteristic of education.(P.8) According to him, quality in education gets defined as a 'better ranking' and 'being better than others'.⁸

A fall out of the cross-country frame of analysis, this understanding of 'quality in education' is more instrumental a view given an intense focus on instrumental aspects of education.(Sadgopal, 2010, P.33-34; Hurn, 1993, P.54) This notion is intimately linked to

⁸The notion of 'quality' elaborately used by Carnoy(2005)

standardisation and universal testing, and thus connects to a 'tool and technique' proscriptive pedagogy. Such pedagogy, (behaviouristic) focuses on teaching for results, understanding teaching learning exclusively through planned, predicted ways for outcomes that can be quantified and measured at the end of a learning task(Stenhouse; 1975 quoted in Kumar; 2010, P.10).

However, it is important to note that this(above described and henceforth 'instrumental view') view is reductionist, and ahistorical. Since this view attaches great deal of importance on large-scale testing, it in turn appreciates teaching for predictable and measurable outcomes. This view reflects its deep set relationship with 'financial accountability' (Kumar, 2010).

The instrumental sense of 'quality' is incapable of acknowledging the dimensions of education such as, intrinsic motivation, diversity and context specificity as values both in teaching and learning. 'Quality' thus needs to be conceptualized in a way that acknowledges this dissent with the *quantifiable, short-sighted, quick-result-oriented* educational 'quality'. Thus, 'quality' in the holistic sense(as against instrumental sense) of the word must assume that education is a gradual, and historically sustained project towards empowerment (Kumar, 2010). It has a more enabling and empowering potential and thus works in longitudinal ways rather than in short term duration as a mere tool for '*human resource training*' (Sadgopal, 2010) The intense focus on targets and deadlines, on accountability and on results make education not only get reduced to skill imparting short sighted project of human resource production but also strips it of any possibilities of progressive social change.

However, the holistic face of 'quality' faces problems of operationalisation in policy discourse. The other problem, of course, that is faced is the fear of such a distinction being read as mutually exclusive wholes and in fact at one level dialectical. The point, here is not to dismiss the instrumental aspect of 'quality' but it is to reduce its deterministic usage in educational praxis, and seek to make an advancement towards developing the holistic aspect of quality. But then, the question arises:

What is this quality, how is it consonant with teacher subjectivity?

In what ways can such 'quality' be assured?

The holistic understanding of 'quality' holds dear, the project of empowerment, of social justice. Quality is determined, not through scoring and improvement on comparative performance, but in terms of its relevance to the learner, its meaningful-ness and capacity for progressive social action⁹. Kumar(2010) distinguishes the instrumental sense of quality(quantifiable, short-sighted, quick-result-oriented) and the holistic sense of quality through their intimate association with 'choice' and 'agency' respectively. He describes choice as the ability to select one from many available options, he says, it is a constrained exercise of subjectivity of the individual, this dominates the former understanding of 'quality'. Agency, however, (as inherent characteristic of 'quality' education; quality in latter sense of the word) is one that *enables human capacity to set new goals rather than merely pursuing given goals*, (Kumar, 2010, P.12). it is here that teacher subjectivity makes most sense, the conception of agency recognizes its intimate links with subjectivities of teachers as well as learners, in defining new goals of education. However, the dominance of instrumental view of educational goals is restrictive and denies teacher's agency.

The repeated use of the word 'denial' of teacher's agency, makes it safe to assume that agency of some kind has existed and continues to exist nonetheless, even though ignored and denied. While on one hand there is acknowledgement of strengthening teacher's agency (Batra, 2005a;2005b, Raina, 1999), and yet there has not been ample exploration of the nature of existing 'agency' of teachers.

Thus, teacher's agency¹⁰ is not only deeply devalued and systematically demotivated, but it has been ignored in educational discourses, from being read in its true nuanced meaning, owing to the instrumental view of educational goals. Given this assumption, evoking teacher's agency is likely to move educational discourse closer to the more empowering role that education may entail, and vice versa. NCF-2005 evokes a greater agency and assigns a greater role to teachers,

⁹ Kumar,(2010) argues that this aspect of quality doesn't seek to exclude the less 'meritorious', but seeks to understand that which constraints their 'merit' and evolve ways to enable the 'less competitive' and 'less represented' to find their due space and eventually become more competitive as social categories. Lest, this may be understood as assimilation of differences into dominant stream, through homogenization,

¹⁰ Kumar(2010) defines agency as the human capacity for setting new goals.

such an effort is reflective of a changing view of teacher's agency. Teachers are being, re-understood as being capable of redefining education in ways consonant with ethics of social justice and empowering potential of education.

While, most current educational discourses stress the need for greater agency of the teachers, and the need to build a critical-subjective-reflexive agency of the teachers, but the question that still stands unexamined is: **What is the nature of teacher subjectivity?**

Dyer(1996), a study quoted in Raina(1999), explicitly states that teachers in the state of Gujrat, India, admitted to the futility of pre-service training, quoting the wide gap between first world reaserch-third world praxis, and that such a situation forced teachers' to evolve their own pedagogies to suitability of their context. This then makes it safe to assume that teacher's (even though forced due to redundant training related reasons), exercise their agency to determine applicability and re-formulation of pedagogy. Such knowledge must propel us to examine the nature of this agency of teachers. It is this exploration that research seeks to make.

Thus, in the light of the above discussion, the study centres around the following research question: **What impact does a teacher's subjectivity have on pedagogy in classroom learning situations?**

In light of the above discussion, *subjectivity* of the teacher is defined, in post-structuralist framework, as Weedon(1996) defines it, that is, "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world." Weedon(1996, P.32)

Thus, essentially subjectivity is defined in relation to subject. Subject, is used synonymously with the person/the actor. The subject implies agency, action and authorship. Subjectivity must then be seen as constitutive of two broad dimensions, one being creative agency or the individual's ability to engage and make sense of his/her ideological and material conditions and secondly as occupants of roles and bearers of social structures.

It must also be acknowledged as being in opposition to *objectivity*, defined as *'free of bias or prejudice'*. In this sense, subjectivity would come to signify biases or prejudices. It must be noted that biases and prejudices may be positively discriminatory or negatively discriminatory¹¹, defined in their relation to the ethics of social justice¹²

Review of literature

Various studies have been conducted in differing contexts to understand the various factors that may shape and influence subjectivities of teachers, and how it may come to reflect or influence their classroom pedagogy. Each of the studies only reiterates the importance of studying the subjectivity of a teacher to understand and be able to efficiently evolve this subjectivity towards the formation of teacher's as transformative intellectuals. The paucity of research on subjective agency of teachers in Indian context makes it important for us to study this unexplored domain of teacher subjectivity as the ground work towards evolution of teachers as transformative intellectuals.

Jessop Tansy and Penny Alan(1993) in their study titled, **"A study of teacher voice and vision in the narratives of rural south African and Gambian primary school teachers"** elicit teacher views on teaching, their sources of motivation and the conceptual frames out of which they conduct their work. Their work raised questions about ownership, participation and the divide between 'experts' and 'practitioners'. A 'missing discourse' was revealed, in the study, on the process of making meaning from the curriculum and teaching it. They argue that teachers failed

¹¹ Discrimination is defined as outcome of social processes which disadvantage social groups racially defined.(penguin dictionary of Sociology). Thus, in this context, discrimination would be read in any intent or action, through any statement/attitude/behavior, explicit or implicit, singular or combined, that may contribute to/support/reinforce a structured, negative/unfair/constraining/derogatory treatment aimed at any individual owing to his/her membership to a historically disadvantaged group.

¹² Owing its grounding in equity, Social justice would be read as any action/statement or behaviour that acts favouring a sense of empowerment amongst the members of a socially disadvantaged group and/or breaking or challenging prejudiced notions/opinions/attitudes/mindset about the any historically disadvantaged groups, through discussions surrounding issues of power, politics, and stratification.

to contest the ground of their teaching, or question it in relation to their own experience, knowledge and expertise. Teachers effectively abdicated responsibility for exercising agency over what they taught, to whom, how and for what reason.

In his study, **“Disciplining the body: power, knowledge and subjectivity in a physical education lesson”**, Wright (2000), argues through a study of physical education text and pedagogy, that one specific site within which education must be examined is that of physical Education, as an area in education that focuses specifically on the body it is well placed to define, shape and inscribe bodies through its material and discursive practices. The study places an important beginning to thinking about subjectivities in pedagogy by focusing on body as ‘embodied subjectivity’ and reflective of socio-cultural understanding and conception of self and body, constructed within specific historical circumstances and specific relations of power. Wright argues, from a post structuralist positioning, that the construction of an understanding and conception of self and body is mediated by print and electronic media, in schools, public spaces and in and through institutional discourses associated with the law, medicine, education, sport, religion et cetera. He further argues the centrality of education, and specifically pedagogy to construction and expression of these ‘embodied subjectivities’. He states pedagogical practices associated with schooling can be taken to be constituted as a text, produced by and through the interactions of teachers and students (and administrators, syllabus writers and so on who have been involved historically in the production of classroom knowledge). This provides the opportunity for an interrogation of such texts as they contribute to the (re)production of social relations and embodied subjectivities.

In this sense Wright argues, pedagogy is not to be seen simply as a process of teaching and/or learning where technical and/or cognitive skills are acquired but rather as dialogic process where teachers and students together construct meanings/text as they draw on their experiences of other discourses texts, institutions and genres.

Importantly the study establishes that physical education lessons are constituted intertextually as teachers and students draw on their experiences of other physical education lessons and on

their previous positionings in relation to discourses around physical activity and sport, as these intersect with discourses and social practices which determine cultural notions of femininity and masculinity, age relations, ethnicity and so on. Similarly in interpreting the lesson I will be drawing on these same discourses as they have been documented in the literature to understand how embodied subjectivities are being constituted in the lesson.

Jackson Alecia Y.(2001), in her study, **“Multiple Annies- Feminist poststructural theory and the making of a teacher”** of the experiences of student teaching of a young aspiring teacher, argues from a post-structuralist feminist framework that the subjectivity of an individual understood as the site of disunity and conflict, that is constantly in process and constructed within power relations. This idea of individual’s subjectivity comes in conflict with the teacher education notions of a predetermined, unified teacher identity that is expected to emerge if a novice follows a linear already completed path of the student teaching experience. She establishes that teachers are situated within unstable relationships between power, knowledge and experience. Thus, subjectivities of teachers shift between varying discourses within the discursive field of her student teacher experience. Thus, she establishes a very crucial point, that the material discursive realities that teachers find themselves within are likely to influence shaping of their subjectivities.

In the same spirit, **Lee, Huei I.(2010)**’s PhD study titled, **“Subjectivities, Discourses, and Negotiations: A Feminist Poststructuralist Analysis of Women Teachers in Taiwan”** investigates the discursive construction of teacher subjectivity by mapping and complicating the normative discourses that dictate the im/possibility of what counts as a “good teacher” in Taiwan. Importantly he evokes poststructural theory’s understanding of development of an individual’s subjectivity through existing discourses that *constitute* rather than *determine* a teacher’s identity, the latter concept evoked to infer to a Marxist notion of ‘false consciousness’, in which teachers are relatively passive vis-a`-vis the reproduction of dominant class interests through schooling. He studies and establishes a connection between teacher’s subjectivity and their reflective understanding of a good teacher that is constructed through

juxtaposition of multiple normative discourses on what it means to be a good teacher. Stressing the point that teacher subjectivity is a matter of both professional and personal identity.

Atkinson, Dennis(2004) in his study titled, “**Theorising how student teachers form their identities in initial teacher education**” The study investigates the forming of student teacher identities in initial teacher education. The article argues, through an analysis of student narratives of school experiences, that although reflective, reflexive and critical discourses are helpful interrogatory tools, they presuppose a prior subjectivity which fails to acknowledge the idea that it is through such discursive practices that subjectivity emerges. Such discourses also suggest an emancipatory project grounded in rationality. The study stresses that the reflective discourses fail to take into account non-symbolizable and non-rational aspects of experiencing that have powerful ontological effects on subjectivity and identity.

Although the aforementioned studies exist in the same or similar areas, they restrict themselves to discussing the influence of a certain institutional or professional association in relation to teacher thinking and subjectivity, most others are embedded in western context and as argued before are likely to have contextual limitations. There appears to be negligible attempts in the western context to engage in understanding the existing ground realities and existing subjectivity of the teachers. Clarke (2001) comes closest to examining the existing subjectivities of the practicing teachers, through her engagement with teacher thinking, however, even her attempt leaves out the reconstruction of teacher thinking in the context of his/her specific lived realities and specific social engagement. Thus, in essence, in existing literature, there is a skewed tilt towards one of the aspects, the subjectivities of the teachers or their pedagogy. This study intends to bridge the gap between the two, in an attempt to understand how the personality of the teacher is a crucial component of his/her pedagogy and any engagement with either aspects, in isolation of the other is likely to be rebutted, consciously or unconsciously, in the course of educational praxis. The study seeks to explore the interconnections between subjectivity, agency and classroom pedagogy, an attempt that is novel, in its own mark and points towards a new direction of deliberation in traditions of

educational thought. The interconnections are understood in a way that is unique in itself since the dominant concern that runs through the study is to strike a chord between the academic-theoretical deliberations in the realms of educational thoughts; and the nuanced reality of educational praxis.

The Study

Objectives of the proposed study

- To study the nature of Agency in teachers.
- To study the nature of teacher's subjectivity.
- To explore the interconnections between subjectivity and agency.
- To study the factors that may contribute to constituting and shaping a teacher's subjectivity
- To observe the nature of pedagogic intervention in classrooms.
- To study the different ways in which a teacher's subjectivity may find expression in classroom learning situations and pedagogy.
- To study the different ways in which a teacher's agency may find expression in classroom learning situations and pedagogy.
- To explore the possibility of evolving a comprehensive model to map the interaction between teacher agency, subjectivity and classroom pedagogy.

Methodology

The study focussed on pedagogy of social sciences given the scope they offer for subjective interpretation of the text. The observation of pedagogy was done for the 6th, 7th, and 8th grade, for two reasons, one that social sciences is a subject gets divided into geography, social and political life and history, only from this level onwards and the second reason being that students are capable of articulating reflective thinking by this age, which is required for triangulation of observational data and interviews with the teachers. A cursory content analysis

of the textbooks would be done to identify chapters with greater scope for subjective interpretation.

The study aims through its design to uncover the role teachers may play in specific ways through which key sociological themes of resistance, discrimination and social justice may find inclusion and expression in classroom situations.

Sample:

Sample consisted of six practicing teachers, drawn from a population of practicing teachers from two elementary schools in Delhi. The schools were chosen in a manner that they could cover a greater variation in the profile of the teachers as well as the students. Names of the teachers as well as schools have been changed for the purposes of this research, and in view of the condition towards grant of consent for the study by the schools.

Schools: The two schools chosen, were both situated at only about a kilometre radius of each other, in the central part of the metropolitan Delhi. The first school is an aided school that has 95% aid grant by the government of NCT, Delhi while 5% is supported by a management of a specific religious minority. The school was founded as a primary school in Chaukwal, District Jhelum, now in Pakistan. In 1916 it became evolved into a high school, it also had boarding facilities with about 250 boarders. After partition, a considerable number of patrons of the school settled in New Delhi and with the sincere efforts of one of the members of the trust that grants aid to the school, Shri Hargobind Singh, the school was re-established at the present site in 1959. At present there are about 1500 students enrolled in the school, both boys as well as girls, from nursery to Class XII. The school receives aid from the government of NCT, Delhi. The school is run on secular lines and students from almost all religious communities are granted admission without any prejudice for caste, colour, religion or creed. The managing committee pledges itself to provide competent education to people who may not be able to afford high fees.

The school subscribes to National Council of Educational Research and Training, and Central Board of Secondary Education.

The second school is a popular public school in the national capital region of Delhi. The school was founded in 1959 by Mr. Peter Smith, who was a member of the Indian constituent assembly and represented the Anglo-Indian committee. The four school buildings, designed by the a known German architect Mr. Henry, are located at the central region in New Delhi.

The school is coeducational and has more than 4000 boys and girls on the rolls from classes Nursery, Preparatory up to Class XII.

The school is established, owned and administered by the All-India English-Indian Education Institution, New Delhi, registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. It is affiliated to the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (the only one in New Delhi), which was established by the late Mr. Peter Smith in 1958 in liaison with the Cambridge Syndicate and continued as the elected Chairman till his demise in December 1993.

The students in the school represent various sections of the society, and come from different religious communities.

The reason for the choice being, that Delhi schools host a majority of migrant population, and it may thus help constitute a diverse group of historically-socially disadvantaged social groups, which could enrich the findings of the research.

Sampling was done through convenience sampling for the first phase of observation, further from the profiling of the teachers the sampling would be purposive, with primary consideration for variation in pedagogy of sample population.

The sample consisted of six social sciences teachers, who were teaching classes 6th, 7th, and 8th. It must be mentioned here, that of the six teachers that formed the sample group of the study, five teachers were originally trained and qualified to be language teachers and in fact took language classes alongside teaching social sciences, these included all three teachers from the

aided school and two from the private school. This study initially was intended to engage with a discourse on pedagogy through a discourse on the pedagogy of social sciences, however, in view of the sample profile, such an engagement does not seem to hold appeal or value and thus, the study restricted itself short of such an engagement, in its analysis. Since the teachers largely lack the training in pedagogy of social sciences, an engagement with the discourse on pedagogy of social sciences is futile.

Tools, Techniques and Processes of Data Collection: The plan of action for data collection has been improvised from the critical ethnographic research done by Carspecken(1996), and adopted by Kathy Mills in her PhD dissertation, (2006), submitted to Department of Education, Queensland University. The research design of critical ethnography is divided into five stages. Stage one involves eighteen days of observational data collection over the course of ten weeks in classroom. Stage two involves initial analysis of the data, including verbatim transcribing, coding and applying analytical tools to the data. Stage three involved 45 minute semi-structured interviews with teachers, principle, and four culturally and linguistically diverse learners. In stages four and five, the findings of micro-level data analysis were compared to macro level phenomena using structuration theory. The research design is suitable for this research study for two reasons, one that the research design is embedded in critical sociology that looks at society as unfair and discriminatory and seeks to study this discrimination and two because the research design is focussed on pedagogy and teachers specifically. Due to time constraints, however, and specificity of research question, the design has been slightly modified to suit the specific needs of the research in question. The research design is explained below.

	Preparatory phase	Phase-I	Intermediary Phase	Phase-II	Phase-III
Plan of action	Content analysis of 6 th 7 th 8 th grades Identification of chapters with maximum scope of subjective engagement.	Monological observation, with minimal dialogue. Observation would be centred around teaching learning situation of classroom An observation-cum-reflection journal shall be maintained.	Social and pedagogic Profiling of the teachers based on observational data, through initial analysis (phase-I of analysis) of pedagogical practices and related observations, and interactions.	Dialogical interaction with the teachers who've been shortlisted after profiling	Traingulation of data collected through interaction with learners.
Locale	Research space	In elementary schools	Research space	School space	Schools,
Tools	Content analysis	Observation with minimal participation	Micro analysis	Semi structured interview (teachers)	Semi structured interviews (students)
Time duration	Unspecified	6 hours of classroom instruction. For each teacher.	-	Unspecified	Unspecified

Interview is scheduled for after observation, since it is expected and feared that an interaction prior to observation may induce researcher's influence in respondent's actions and perspectives.

The interview schedule and tool-design of observations are made available in annexure.

For the purpose of the study, it is proposed that considering the limitations of the scope of the study, the researcher anchored the research to pedagogy of social sciences. for variation in pedagogy of sample population.

It must be mentioned here, that of the six teachers that formed the sample group of the study, five teachers were originally trained and qualified to be language teachers and in fact took language classes alongside teaching social sciences, these included all three teachers from the aided school and two from the private school. This study initially was intended to engage with a discourse on pedagogy through a discourse on the pedagogy of social sciences, however, in view of the sample profile, such an engagement does not seem to hold appeal or value and thus, the study restricted itself short of such an engagement, in its analysis. Since the teachers largely lack the training in pedagogy of social sciences, an engagement with the discourse on pedagogy of social sciences is futile.

Chapterisation

The entire dissertation has been divided into six chapters, Chapter 1 introduces and situates the debates that surround the main focus of research. It provides the historical and sociological contextualization of the problem. Chapter 2 embeds the question in the environment of various theoretical traditions as well as thinkers. It seeks to establish the idea and the research in strong theoretical base, for it to keep itself critical. Chapter 3 explores the nature of teacher agency through engagement with such themes as nature of agency, factors influencing teacher agency and the impact of such an agency . It seeks to engage itself with the questions pertaining to the agency in the teachers, that the initial phase of critical theory assumed was a-priori. Chapter 4 picks from the reflection of subjective perceptions in shaping the agency of the teachers and examines subjectivity of the teachers. It engages with such aspects and dimensions such as what shapes an individual's personality and the processes subjectivity take to modify and shape and then eventually, establish itself. Chapter 5 explores the realm of pedagogy, in the perception of the teachers, while exploring the more scientific, empirical conceptualization of the pedagogy. Chapter 6 concludes the highlighted findings to yield a comprehensive understanding of agency, subjectivity and classroom pedagogy and their interconnections with each other in the form of a diagram and a model to aid understanding of the teachers, their respective struggles.

Chapter#2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to give a foregrounding to explorations in the field, and a framework to the proposed study. The chapter seeks to situate a framework towards engaging with the findings by the means of theoretical developments and propositions of various thinkers and traditions of thoughts.

Situating Pedagogy in a Framework

Teacher thinking, the approach adopted by research in pedagogy and teachers, give significance to the tacit or implicit frameworks that underlie teacher's thoughts and actions in the classroom. These tacit frameworks are in addition to the rational or explicit construction of classroom events (Clarke, 2001; Clarke and Peterson, 1986). Shavelson and Stern, (1981), cited in Clarke, (2001) identify a certain sense of reluctance and resistance towards receptivity among teachers in accepting objective knowledge and pedagogy and adopting it in their praxis. This, the cited study argue was assumed by an 'ideal' model of rationality, that research in teacher thinking and pedagogy. Dyer (1996), Raina (1999) and Kincheloe (2004) identify a gap between research, and teaching praxis and seek to bridge the socio-cultural contexts of teachers with the research. Clarke (2001) argues that the failure of research to directly impact teacher's conscious and unconscious resistance to principles of a good practice and its implementation in classroom drew researchers to focus on teacher's implicit beliefs about work, subjective theories, metaphors and personal philosophies and images that influenced their thoughts and actions in the classroom.

In this line of thought, teacher thinking research draws from theoretical constructs of sociology, psychology and philosophy. Clarke (2001) cites Clandinin (1986) and Elbaz (1983) as studies that invoke interpretative paradigms in sociology that include symbolic interactionism and phenomenology. This study however, does not assume any specific theoretical framework strongly, it instead draws from multiple traditions from the fields of sociology as well as philosophy in an attempt to understand reality of the data. The study draws in part from structuralism, and in part from post-structuralism in sociology, and from phenomenology as well as contemporary philosophical traditions. However, the study attempts to understand the 'lens of the teachers' or their material and ideological working conditions, a somewhat unique attempt.

While in part the research focuses on ways in which teachers construct meaning or understanding the tacitness in teacher thinking, whereby both meaning and tacitness being functions of culture, however, the research departs from any attempts made earlier in that it attempts to empathetically understand the limitations of thoughts that govern the thoughts and actions of the teachers. While, understanding the limitations within which teachers work, the research also seeks to unravel ways in which teachers resist traditional praxis models and innovate and improvise. Tacit knowledge, a concept evolved by Michael Polanyi in 1958 in 'Personal Knowledge'. The notion of "tacit knowledge" or "tacit knowing" and he describes the fact that "we can know more than we can tell" (Zhenhua, 2004). According to him, not only is there knowledge that cannot be adequately articulated by verbal means, but also all knowledge is rooted in tacit knowledge in the strong sense of that term. With tacit knowledge, people are not often aware of the knowledge they possess or how it can be valuable to others. Effective transfer of tacit knowledge generally requires extensive personal contact, regular interaction, and trust (Goffin and Koners, 2011). This kind of knowledge can only be revealed through practice in a particular context and transmitted through social networks (Schmidt and Hunter, 1993). Giffin and Koners further point out a significant aspect of this tacit knowledge that has far reaching implications for this research, that is, to some extent it is "captured" when the knowledge holder joins a network or a community of practice. Thus, Polyani (1958) adds the

dimension of making articulate the inarticulate, in the thinking of teachers, it seeks to find the embeddedness of teacher's subjective views and theories in their respective contexts and lives.

It is this tacit knowledge that fails to get captured in the existing research on teacher thinking. Clarke (2001) also points out that the existing literature on teacher thinking fails to assign due attention to the possibility that thinking itself is a cultural entity based on cultural knowledge that teachers hold. However, Clarke (2001) focuses attention on 'tacitness' mainly through submitting the implicit cultural models of teacher thinking and teaching. The present study, departs from Clarke (2001) in its interpretation and reading of 'tacitness', and thus, aims to explore the dimension of this tacit knowledge and thinking as cultural entity to study the fluctuations and variations in teacher's classroom engagement and their tendency to take initiatives with respect to pedagogy, or students.

Other significant points that Clarke (1988) makes in her study is that there is a 'twist' in the notion of bounded rationality, that is, the realization that teacher's like students and other human beings can and often do multiple conflicting theories and explanations about the world and its phenomena. It is this aspect that the study seeks to focus on, in an attempt to understand teacher thinking. Clarke (2001) quotes Lampert (1986) and Wagar (1987)'s research that points to 'Knots' and 'Dilemma' in teacher thinking research as a way in which teacher deals with incoherence and/or contradictions in their mental models. This research builds upon this idea through its explorations in terms of Agency and subjectivity among teachers.

Clarke (2001) quotes Elbaz's (1990) study that defines teacher thinking as non-linear or dialectical- in other words, lacking coherence and consistency. At the same time Elbaz identifies teacher thinking as integrated, in the sense that, it has both affective and physical dimensions.(Clarke, 2001; P.21)

Lortie's study (1975), again cited in Clarke(2001) identifies a certain persistent nature of teacher's meanings (from formal schooling) and insist that teachers "do not claim to be

common partakers in shared body of knowledge” or common contributors to “the state of art”.(P.P 21-22)

A significant point made by Feimen-Nemser and Floden (1986), quoted in Clarke (2001, P.22) argues differences amongst teachers on the basis of age, experience, social and cultural backgrounds, gender, marital status, wisdom ability, and subject matter. They argue, that teachers differ in various ways, including the schools they teach in, the students they teach, all these lead to differences in teaching culture.

To approach above defined dimensions in teacher thinking, the study draws from LeVine’s (1984) research that evolves Emic perceptions and Etic perspectives. LeVine describes an emic perception as “that which represents its folk system of classification” and an etic perspective as “that which is constructed by an outside investigator for comparative research purposes”.

Etic and emic are terms used by anthropologists and by others in the social and behavioural sciences to refer to two kinds of data concerning human behaviour. In particular, they are used in cultural anthropology to refer to kinds of fieldwork done and viewpoints obtained.

Pike has been credited with coining the terms emics and etics, and who first used them in print in 1954 (Pike 1967 Quoted by Headland, 1990¹³). Harris first used the terms in print in *The Nature of Cultural Things* (1964), where he cites Pike (Headland, 1990). Pike had argued that the tools developed for describing linguistic behaviors could be adapted to the description of any human social behaviour. As Pike noted, social scientists have long debated whether their knowledge is objective or subjective. Pike's innovation was to turn away from an epistemological debate, and turn instead to a methodological solution. Etic and emic are derived from the linguistic terms phonemic and phonetic respectively. Pike had discounted the possibility of a truly objective description in his original work; he proposed the emic/etic dichotomy in anthropology as a way around philosophic issues about the very nature of

¹³ From <http://www.sil.org/~headlandt/eticemic.htm> Accessed on 18th November, 2011, 12:34

objectivity¹⁴. Goodenough evolved it to primarily understand the culturally specific meaning of specific beliefs and practices (Goodenough, 1970); Harris was primarily interested in explaining human behavior (Harris,1976).

Pike, Harris, and others have argued that cultural "insiders" and "outsiders" are equally capable of producing emic and etic accounts of their culture. Some researchers use "etic" to refer to objective or outsider accounts, and "emic" to refer to subjective or insider accounts.

It is within this very specific outline of Emic and Etic categorization and analysis, and within the domains defined by studies quoted here that subjectivity and agency feature in the study, here.

Theoretical Background: Agency

The research originates from a point in the Structuralist framework of Giddens(1984) for the initial starting point of the working on binary coordinates of structure and agency and improvises thereafter on the nature of relationship between the two. Thus, the study draws from the emergent tradition and works of Pollard (1982) and Shilling(1992) to partly deal with the ontological crisis that Giddens' work produces, in its conflation of the structure and agency into an irretrievable amalgamation. Here, through arguments we try to propose a dynamic dialectical relationship between structure and agency drawing from a standpoint that presupposes analytical dualism between the two. It is in this dynamic dialectical interrelationship that we situate the possibility of "resistance" conceived by neo-marxist thought and particularly resistance thinkers and critical pedagogy.

Giddens breaks away from the Cartesian dualism proposed by structural Marxism that situates structure, as independent of agency. Giddens argues that structure is never beyond agential grasp, superior and ever ready to engulf agency. However, Giddens work makes it difficult to conceptualise the relative weightings of society and agency (Archer, 1982; Thompson 1989). In an attempt to break away from Cartesian dualism Giddens conceptualises structure and agency

¹⁴ Ibid <http://www.sil.org/~headlandt/ee-intro.htm>, accessed 18th November 2012, 3:30 PM

into one “tightly constituted amalgam” (Willmott, 1999). The question, then emerges: what is the true relationship between agency and structure?

Structure and agency, must be seen not as individuated independent wholes, but rather must be conceptualised within a framework of emergentist social ontology (Willmott, 1999). It must be seen in such a way as to view structure as emergent from and ever dependent on agency, and yet “possessing irreducible causal powers and liabilities which differentially condition agential courses of action” (Willmott,1999). That is to say, at any point, structure, through imposing limitations and constraints that acts both as causing and moderating influences on the intervention made by agency, the structure “structures agency”, and although structures emerge and change owing to the intervention of the agency, and yet, they cannot be held to fundamentally reflect all agential action in its essentiality.

So, agency, that is, the capability to make a difference to the world, or to exercise some sort of power, reliant on knowledgeable, competent human actors (in case of critical pedagogy a minority group possessing self reflexive critical consciousness) can effectively evolve and intervene into changes in the structure, that is rules (routines, norms) and resources (material, authoritative), organized as properties of social systems. However, agential action cannot cause an absolute overhauling of the structure or a cent percent change, as structure is framework that organises social systems, any disruption in routine behaviour of structure is seen to upset or challenge the routine functioning of the social systems. Social systems are complicated and interrelated and each works to maintain the larger scheme of functioning. Thus faced with an agential intervention, systems work to offer resilience to the change sought by the agential action, in order to maintain the pre-intervention functioning of the overall structure. This is not to dismiss the intervening capacity of agency, agencies target structure and its constituent systems, a disturbance in any one of the systems is though met with resilience and yet, agential action makes dents both in structures as well as systems, neither of whom can effectively ever regain their pre-intervention functioning absolutely.

The noteworthy argument presented in this regard, is that the conceptualization of the agency, structure and the social systems must carefully avoid being read as a hierarchy of organization of social life, since such a hierarchy would make the relationship vulnerable to being read in favour of primacy of structure over agency. It would sabotage the very degrees of freedom that differentially placed agents have within a concrete structural situation Shilling (1992). However, one must also carefully note that in moving towards conflating the structure and agency, a point prevailing in the works of both, Shilling as well as Giddens, one runs the risk of understanding agency as being accorded “an inordinate degree of interpretative freedom and the capacity to effect structural changes as and when such change is desired” Willmott (1999).

Thus, one needs to move ahead with the optimism Shilling accords to agential action, making change an ever-present possibility, a view that helps move away from the determinism characteristic of history of education as well as of the relationship between society and education. However, one must not work ignorant to the point raised in counter argument which makes “change” a possibility that is not ever-present but needs and seeks conducive context.

It is in this context that one finds the space for inclusion and deliberation on the resistance theories of the neo-marxist tradition in sociology of education thought, characterised through the works of Paul Willis, Michelle Fine, Angela McRobbie amongst others. Resistance theorists made a departure from the traditional approaches characteristic of technocratic rationality (as the working, underlying principle of the works of Durkheim, and Functionalist tradition in educational thought), Interactionist rationality (the underlying principle of the Symbolic Interactionism tradition in educational thought) and reproductive rationality (the principle underlying the structural-marxist tradition, and in the works of Bowles and Gintis, Althusser and extended to cultural reproduction situated in works of Bernstein and Bourdieu). Each of these works seem to fall prey to ontological dismissal of agency and its fusion into the structure (technocratic and reproductive rationality) or ontological denial of structure as being anything other than actions of its agents (Interactionist rationality). The problem is neither seems to

acknowledge a dialectical relationship between structure and agency and their ontological distinctness.

Technocratic rationality seems to assume harmony between agents and structure since it does not see any distinction between the interests of the two. It assumes a positivistic notion of knowledge and primacy of mathematical tools, it views schools, pedagogy and school-society relationship as neutral and non-political, and thus the harmony emerges from mutual realization of objective, rational goals of education that are unanimously agreed upon.

Interactionist rationality presupposes primacy of agency over structures, it situates structure into the actions of the agents and refuses any distinct ontological status to structures by themselves. Although it reclaimed the deliberations around the subjectivity and intentionality, from the unproblematised value neutral reception and transmission of absolute truth, it went too far in doing so. Credited with exposing the subjectivities of epistemology, they lacked in terms of their acknowledgement of institutions or of history. The tradition compromised on the understanding of the larger landscape against which meanings are formed, shaped, negotiated and sustained. The greatest achievement was including the teacher-student relationship, from educational discourse being society-school centric.

Reproductive tradition went closer, it exposed the conflict existing within the agents and structures. It also politicised the school space to expose the unholy matrimony between school and society. Thus reproduction theorists evolved an understanding that made possible understanding of social systems and structure working synchronically to produce a certain social order and looked at its oppressive nature. However, in their elaborate investigations of the relationship between structures, institutions and social systems, the reproduction theorists took it tad bit far with the essentialisation of agency as inferior to structure. They tended to reflect a deterministic primacy of structures over agency, forgetting that structures are not only formed by agents but are also altered by agency. Structures are not only constitute the subject but are themselves shaped by human action, there is little room in these perspectives to

provide a historical account of the genesis of consciousness or the transformation of structure itself.

As Giroux(1981) puts it,

“Interpretative rationality responds to positivist theory and practice by attempting to reinstate consciousness and subjectivity at the core of its problematic only to lapse into subjectivism. Reproductive rationality politicizes the meaning of structure only to do away with an account of the reflexive subject or the way in which human agents constitute the social practices underlying the reproduction of the existing society. Both rationalities fail to overcome the false dualism of subject and object in the analysis of cultural and social reproduction. Neither links action and structures o as to illustrate how they interpenetrate and affect each other in a nonreductive fashion. At the heart of these two rationalities is a failure to provide a dialectical linkage between social change, power relations, and forms of resistance, on the one hand, and the reciprocal relationship between human action and structural transformation, on the other”-
(Giroux, 1981; P.16.)

Resistance theorists, however, draws from both the interactionist tradition as well as from reproductionist tradition of thought, however they maintain that the domination is never static, complete and/or absolute, there is a crucial aspect of resistance, on the part of agents. Resistance thinkers assign an active role to human agency as a key mediating link between structures and lived effects. The marginalized are not seen as being simply passive in the face of domination. However, the understanding of resistance for the resistance thinkers is a form of political protest, or any manifestation of dissent. Resistance theorists schools as social sites and places where dominant culture is countered by sub-ordinate groups. However this conceptualization is only half baked since it doesn't take into account the historical conditions that promote and reinforce contradictory modes of resistance and struggle. Resistance theorists conceptualise resistance as any act of opposition to the dominant culture by the subordinated cultures. However ambiguity leaves the open possibility of inclusion of any form

of political protest. Including emotional reactionary protest, that escapes the emancipatory logic, regressive behaviour, causing further marginalisation and exclusion. Further it fails to capture the heterogeneity of any subgroup, and the complex dynamics of oppression within and across the various categories. Further the concept of resistance as conceptualised by the resistance theorists emphasises agency, but, the emphasis falls prey to the high optimism displayed by Shilling's theorisation of Structure and Agency, making agential action, an ever present possibility. They do not acknowledge structures within which a particular form of resistance may emerge or could be nurtured and evolved. Resistance theorists theorise resistance, and study and engage as a social event or occurrence, treating it lesser as a possibility, and reduce its potential of acting as an agent of social change. The Cartesian duality of structure and agency can be seen here, since the linkages between the two are poorly developed and restrictive.

Teacher as transformative agency, and teacher-student relationship as the foundation to progressive social action are held central to the concerns of education in the works of critical theorists. Education is seen to be the catalyst for empowering students to become critical, active citizens (Giroux & McLaren, 1996). Transformation begins in the classroom, or "public sphere" (Giroux & McLaren, 1996), and then moves outward as students live beyond the classroom.

Needless to say, how various theorists of educational discourse, time and again have pointed out the power educational praxis and educational institutions exercise to perpetuate dominant beliefs, prejudices and biases. This then gave critical theorists, ample of reason to believe, there is also that possibility of evolving that very power of the institution, particularly schools, as a tool to critically examine and progressively change the unjust societal norms. Restating it, the very structure of schools is favourable towards and helps perpetuate a dominant culture through various ways, and to be able to successfully transform the unjust social order, one must re-structure the very tools that contribute to its perpetuation.

What constitutes inequality and discrimination in educational experience could be manifold, it could be at various levels like, the nature of teaching learning illustrated in the works of Bourdieu and Bernstein, the school infrastructure and school structure as illustrated in the works of Foucault, Bowles and Gintis, Althusser, and/or at the level of teacher-student interaction, as illustrated in the works of Paul Willis.

However, critical theorists seek to focus on the crucial link that coordinates between the above mentioned aspects, namely the 'teachers' and view them in the backdrop of the understanding of their role in transforming educational experience into empowering for the marginalized as well as reflective for the dominating; and evolving it into an organised progressive social action.

Discrimination, resistance and classroom discourse

Critical theorists situate their primary focus on student teacher relationship and classroom processes. This, acquires the critical questioning of established structures of teaching and teacher-student relationship, and then emphasises the need to nurture resistance as a form of agential action, geared towards changes in other structures and thus systems. For critical theorists, domination and discrimination is never final/complete nor absolute, thus, they view resistance of the learners as being a resource for building of critical consciousness whereby students develop a critical appreciation of their own context as well as about the larger socio-political context in a historically, culturally and economically situated manner. This the critical theorists in turn connect to progressive social action that seeks to redress historically sustained discrimination, through constructive ways embedded in the logic of social justice.

For critical theorists resistance becomes the focal point to study the relationship between society and the school. It takes the focus to a critical analytical engagement keeping central the subordinated groups, with the dominant culture. The point of departure that such a position carves out for itself from other forms of critique; as in the subaltern perspective is its inclusion of the dominant cultures into realizing their hegemony and associated oppression through constructive dialogue (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Critical pedagogy examines the privilege

and the normativity associated with certain positions and attributes. It seeks to induce the privileged to rethink their own understanding of their own position in the society and the construction of their own consciousness.

Critical theorists seek to employ a post-modernist critique to enable the marginalised to reclaim their histories, epistemologies, and ways of making sense of the world. They use the logic of dissent and aim to culture it into a critical collective consciousness, that situates itself in a analytical understanding of its historical, cultural, political, social and economic roots. Thus, they see the logic of dissent with the dominant culture as roots to resistance and seek to evolve it into collective consciousness and social action. Such a position is unique as it seeks to minimise the possibilities of ghettoization and related segregation and continued or evolved forms of discrimination (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Giroux, 1985). They seek to situate resistance in a theoretical rationale that provides a new framework for examining schools as social sites where the life experiences of marginalized groups can be structured and organised into collective progressive social action informed by ethics of social justice.

Critical theorists realize that such mobilization of learner resistance and its efficient culmination into progressive social action, cannot happen unless the structure most intimately associated with the educational experiences of learners are not radically restructured and reconceptualised.

They challenge the structures surrounding curriculum, and teacher-student relationships through orientation of the teachers and the way in which they conceptualize their classrooms and their pedagogies as a primary structure that should be able to make a conducive environment for development and nurturance of resistance and its evolution into collective consciousness and eventually into social action (Giroux, 1985; 1988).

Critical theorists evolved the understanding of pedagogy to be seen as democratic 'scaffolding', aiding critical analytical understanding of one's own socio-political, cultural and historic construct and the of the structures that are being read as oppressive and discriminatory.

Since, critical theorists place resistance (against discrimination) of learners as central to their deliberations on education, and realize that for agential action of the learners to effectively find a translation into progressive action there is a need for the immediately associated structures of teachers to be conducive. Thus, they seek to re-conceptualize the relationship between the teacher and the learner, as one that challenges/breaks rather than constructs power structures. Critical theorists, significantly read teachers as the embodiment of larger educational structures to the learner and significantly, read teacher as an intimate face to the abstract structures that restrict and shape their resistance.

Critical theorists thus lay emphasis on teachers, most writings in critical theory tradition seem to address teachers or hold teachers as the focal point that needs to be strengthened for effective realization of resistance, into social change through progressive action. They emphasise the teacher's agency as being the crucial link towards effective operationalization of the theoretical discourse of critical theory. They seek to politicise schools as sites of political and social action through politicisation of schools in the understanding of teachers. (Giroux, 1985)

Teachers as transformative intellectuals

Teachers have the potential to be what Giroux and McLaren (1996) described as transformative intellectuals who combine scholarly reflection and practice in the service of educating students to be thoughtful, active citizens (Giroux, 1988). The call for teachers to be transformative intellectuals is founded in the assumption that the dominant perceptions of teachers are those who are "high-level technicians carrying out dictates and objectives decided by experts far removed from the everyday realities of classroom life" (Giroux, 1988; P- 46).

Critical theorists evoke the subjectivities of the teachers in re-conceptualising their roles as intellectuals. The challenge of teachers becoming transformative intellectuals resides in this resistance of teachers being technicians who are simply transmitters of knowledge (Giroux & McLaren, 1996). In contrast, transformative intellectuals critically examine the world and its

processes, including the political and educational institutions that maintain social inequalities, and subsequently transform it.

Teacher As Agents and Structures

Critical theory situates agential action within the context of structures, and sees agency as being capable of engaging and evolving structures, while structures are seen as shaping through constraints and providing context to agential action. The agency of these structures thus is conceptualized as the teacher in the classroom. Situating their focus on pedagogy, critical theorists thus talk extensively about role of a teacher in classrooms.

Critical theorists understand teachers for their agency as well as structures of educational practice. Teachers as structures are the impersonation of the educational system most intimately accessible to the learners, and thus becomes the embodiment of educational structures in the classroom context. At the same time critical theorists understand teachers as agents, who can question and critically evolve the structures of which they are a part and embodiment to effectively evolve a more conducive environment for constructive expression of resistance and its translation into progressive action (Giroux, 1988; 1985).

Critical theorists emphasise the critical analytical agency of teachers, and pay due respect to teacher preparation in this regard (Kincheloe, 2004; (Undated), 2005a; Giroux, 1985, 1988; 2001; 1982.) Most of the critical theoretical writings either address teachers or project the work as reflective insights on practice of teaching.

Critical theorists assume their roles as critical pedagogues, and thus pedagogy becomes important in connection with their goals of emancipating the voices of resistance among learners. From addressing pedagogues reflectively, the critical pedagogues have eventually come to acknowledge the need to train the teachers into a subjective-reflexive practice, and evolving them as researchers and intellectuals who are critical and analytical and who understand teaching as a socio-politically, historically and culturally situated practice.

Much emphasis is placed on critical politicisation of the material and ideological conditions under which teachers work (Giroux, 1985). The structures are sought to be problematised and politicised through invoking critical agency of teachers as subjective-reflexive researchers.(Kincheloe, 2004; Giroux, 2001; Kincheloe (Undated)). The earlier writings the critical theorists addressed the concerns to practicing teachers to reclaim and evolve their agency, through active politicisation of the material and ideological conditions of work, or the theorists joined ranks with the practicing teachers talking normatively on what they (teachers) must do, ideally, as critical pedagogues, the initial writings do not reflect a sense of acknowledgement of the constraining nature of structures surrounding teachers as much as the shaping nature, thus, theorists talk of critical revealing of the structures, by teachers through appealing to the collective conscience of the teachers. (Giroux, 1985; 1982)

However, such an appeal is going to not only appear abstract but also is somewhat de-contextualised itself, as it fails to account for the structural constraints around the profession and conscience of teachers. This point is reiterated by Pollard (1982) as he argues, drawing from Hargreaves (1978) theory, whereby Hargreaves (1978) has gone on the other extreme as that assumed by early writings of critical theory tradition. Hargreaves (1978) over stresses the macro structural constraint on the acting agency of teachers. Pollard (1982) shams the overpowering control assumed of the structures over agency of the teachers, to argue that teachers do not entirely enact (to draw an analogy with role play), instead they seem to be improvising, that is, as he puts it, structures are “processually (procedurally) mediated” by the teachers “on the ground”.

Theory of critical pedagogy, although acknowledges structural constraints on teachers's agency, the engagement of critical theorists with this constraining power of structure seems superficial, at one level. Their understanding of structure and agency as braided dialectical arrangement and as intertwined rather than as interlinked (Giroux, 1988). In his analysis of teachers, for the first time in educational deliberations, Giroux (1988) studies teaching as a socially situated constraint practice and the need to re-conceptualization of teachers as intellectuals, and critical

reflective practitioners. He criticises, the social role description attached to the teaching profession arguing it is still embedded in technocratic rationality and stands redundant. Although such strong acknowledgement of structures surrounding teachers, critical theorists fail to see the possibility of a backlash on ground breaking agential action, by other structures.

When, one draws from Pollard and Hargreaves analysis, it must be seen that the constraints imposed on teachers by the structures they are surrounded by and a part of, systems reinforce adherence and dutiful observation of structural roles assigned to teachers and student. Pollard introduces yet another significant insight on the non-reproductive nature of praxis of the teachers, he observes “objective interests” of teachers in fulfilling the obligations of the respective roles within the structure, however he argues that individual properties can, and indeed do impact the personalized performance of the role. Thus, the structural position can be mediated by the specific incumbent, and the rationale of, mediating such role-requirements are anchored in intra as well as extra-school social relations and conditions.

Pollard then takes the analysis forward and backward; and back, to critical theorist’s assumed faith in the conscience of practicing teachers and the non-structured, non-definitive way of approaching their sensibilities. Pollard only reassures the possibility of improvised enactment within structural constraints, but the kind of improvisation sought by critical theorists is too threatening to other structures and systems, and thus is likely to be met with fierce opposition from the systems and structures without evolving a braided structure-agency initiative. Politicisation of this kind if not (at least) initiated in agreement with the larger system runs the risk of being read as revolt and should expect a backlash. At least critical analytical initiation must draw support from associated structures and systems for the agency to develop fully.

This position is also ignorant to the role-set behaviour that settles in teachers through settled pattern of practice and settled role socialization, which happens largely in pre-service training. The critical upraising of the consciousness as is expected for the learners must be carefully engineered for the teachers as well. And so is reflected over the late 1980’s to 1990’s, with the shift from the prescriptive evoking of ‘covert’ subjectivities of practicing teachers into re-

conceptualising nature of socio-political situated-ness of teaching profession to systematic and critical structuring of the agency of teachers to be critical-reflexive subjectivities, and thus the analysis shifts from practicing teachers to teacher preparation, in late 1990's and onset of the 21st century.

Thus the question in the light of above described theoretical framework, arises that,

- **Given the structural constraints on teachers, what is the nature or possibility of existence of subjectivity of a teacher?**

Given the critical emphasis in critical theory, on assumed subjective-reflexive agency of teachers, as crucial link to realization of a radical progressive social change through its translation in pedagogy,

- **Do the subjectivities envisioned by critical theorists, even a reality in the context of educational experience of learners?**
- **What is the role subjectivities play in shaping of pedagogies?**

Understanding Subjectivity

In light of the above discussion, *subjectivity* of the teacher is defined as a starting point that Weedon (1996) sets through his definition, that is, “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world.” Weedon (1996, P.32). Thus, essentially subjectivity as defined, by Weedon (1996), is strictly in relation to subject. Subject, is used synonymously with the person/the actor. The subject implies agency, action and authorship. Subjectivity must then be seen as constitutive of two broad dimensions, one being creative agency or the individual's ability to engage and make sense of his/her ideological and material conditions and secondly as occupants of roles and bearers of social structures.

However, when one engages with the philosophical discourse on the idea of 'subject', it can be seen how it invokes a multitude of dimensions that argue and/or contend its nature and existence. Raffoul (2006) traces subject as,

"A term with a broad range of senses in continental philosophy, being at once a logical, grammatical, epistemological and metaphysical notion. However, some unity in meaning can be found by looking at the etymology of the term. 'Subject' can be traced back to the Latin subjectum, which means literally that which is thrown underneath: sub-jectum. It thus indicates an underlying support and basis, a foundation. The logical and grammatical sense of 'subject' is that which provides the basis for predication and thus that which in turn cannot be predicated of something else. Metaphysically, the term 'subject' is thus synonymous with the 'substantial', a ground and foundation. As such, the concept of the 'subject' is intrinsically connected with neither the 'I' nor the self."

It is this 'Subject' that captures the interest of various theorists and traditions of thought in contemporary philosophy. The idea of 'Subject' stands amidst philosophical contradiction of defining that which by essential nature eludes definition. Adorno (1998) also discusses the resistance of 'subject' (and 'object') to definition: 'The determination of their meanings requires reflection on the very thing the act of defining truncates for the sake of conceptual manageability.' (p. 246). Thus, 'The philosophy of the subject,' writes Ricoeur (1974), 'has never existed; rather, there have been a series of reflective styles, arising out of the work of redefinition which the challenge itself has imposed.'(P.232). This philosophical deadlock is parallel and in many ways an offshoot of the deadlock that one encounters with seeking to study a relationship between humanity, thought and practice.

Here, we do not engage at depth with the various philosophical traditions but instead evoke certain elements that may help evolve a better, more coherent sense of subject and subjectivity. Such conceptualization would not only be embedded in philosophical deliberations but would also, be grounded in the conscious political implications of such deliberations and conceptualization. 'Subject', can be conceptualized in ways that may contradict or overlap, that

is subject has been conceptualized as the bearer of thought at various levels, at the level of species, individual, the self, the philosopher him/herself, as a passive bearing of thought or the active force.

This contradiction between the passive or active characteristic nature of the subject is of crucial significance, in that it determines the correspondence between the political and philosophical conceptualization. In the passive versus active conceptualization, which bears crucial implications for studying the agency, political and philosophical axes have significance in pointing out the dimensions which can help study subjectivity. Tracing its linguistic lineage Power (2007; P.P 55-56) notes that across Greek, Latin, French and English the meaning of the term 'subject' is cut across political axes and philosophical axes whereby political implications of the definition of 'subject' are not coterminous with their philosophical origins. While philosophical lineage of the term gives rise to logico-grammatical and ontological transcendental meanings, the political lineage seeks to tie it in the context of juridical, political and theological meanings.

Origin can be pinned to the notion of Heidegger's 'Dasien' which forms a primordial existence of the 'subject', one that precedes the metacognitive/representational aspects or the definition of activity and passivity. Heidegger distinguishes between the events of being as opposed to beings. The term Dasein, Heidegger tells us, is the subject ontologically understood. The subject is only one particular interpretation of the human being, and not the most primordial. Ultimately for Heidegger, the subject characterizes only a moment in the history of being and of humanity (Raffoul, 2006). This conceptualization, ties the motif of subjectivity to the ontology of substance¹⁵ and power. Heidegger's project can then be seen as a way to destruct or

¹⁵ To contemporary philosophy the truth resides in the real, that is identical to the immediate given within the immediacy of knowledge itself. Such a strategy can have no other implication than this: that the whole of human subjectivity consists in the more or less free interpretation of the real as given within this immediacy. The link between our conceptual understanding and reality as such – expressed by Hegel in the 'identity' of reality and thought – is here severed. A free understanding of the given, i.e. a process of hermeneutics, replaces the self-expression of reality in and as the concept. After all, against the background of absolute 'being', which is taken as the essence, subjectivity is deployed as the inessential.

deconstruct the 'subject' in order to reveal a more primordial element, that of being itself in its advent and call. However, once the subject is deconstructed, it nevertheless remains that being, as Heidegger says, 'needs' humans for its givenness. The subject is thus overcome in order to let another form of humanity emerge, which Heidegger names Dasein (Raffoul, 2006).

'Dasein' as a term attempts to link the logical subject (that 'of which' there can be predicates) and the physical subject (that 'in which' there are accidents). On one level this is manifestly correct – the noun form and adjectival form of the political 'subject' (as in the phrases: 'the people is subject'; a faithful subject; a British subject, and so on) does not necessarily or immediately come to mind in discussions of the subject as a philosophical noun (as transcendental, reflexive, involved in subject-object relations, etc.). Nevertheless, the fact that the noun 'subject' refers to a legal or political person/collective *and* to a perceiving or cognising self, as the French etymology would have it, both reveals and obscures a political and historical coupling that is rarely noted. (Balibar, 2004 Quoted in Power, 2007)

While a starting point of a trajectory can be traced in the ideas of Descartes, who reflectively defines 'subject' as the thinking self (I think), thus situating subject in the conscious realm of ego. Thus, for Descartes 'subject' came to denote the thinking I, however all this thinking was conscious and heralded ego as supreme and central while the external reality is rendered problematic. 'Self' thus became the locus of all philosophical reflections. The second stream of advancement in theorisation of the subject came from Kant and Hegel. Following Kantian

Hegel characterizes this definition of the truth with a category that seems to express the whole of the history of philosophy: according to the preface this is what is meant with the word *substance*. That the object of knowledge is the immediate within the immediacy of knowledge is thereby denounced as a presupposition of contemporary theories of knowledge that follow a particular trend in the history of philosophy going back to Parmenides. From <http://www.hegelcourses.com/substance-as-subject/> Accessed on 20th November, 2012, 18:30

Substance means the immediacy of the object and of consciousness, but it also means the "living substance", i.e. reality as absolute. In paragraph 19 Hegel speaks about the nature of *the divine life* to be for itself, and in paragraph 23 Hegel speaks about the Absolute as subject, being expressed by specific theological propositions like God is the eternal and so on. Although Hegel criticizes such propositions because they are more edifying than truthful, he nowhere distances himself from their intent. There is such a thing as absolute subjectivity, even if the identification with a Christian concept of God is not as evident as it seems. From <http://www.hegelcourses.com/substance-must-become-subject/> Accessed on 21st November, 2012, 11:20.

analysis, the articulation of 'subjectivity' and 'subjugation' came to be defined as the theory of constituent subjects. Although at this point, one must acknowledge that central to even deliberations on subjectivity and subjugation holds constant the ontological definition of subject as substance, that is coherent with the consciousness of what it isn't, and constantly working and evolving in ways to determine the reality that it is not, in trying to constantly define and re-define what it is. In the Phenomenology Hegel argues that substance reality has the same structure as the subject, consciousness, which is what makes possible their ultimate reconciliation in Spirit. In both cases this structure is incomplete, and its negation what lies outside is part of its very being, so that consciousness and reality are defined by constant movement, incessant change as they strive to close up this hole at the centre of their being. Spirit, in fact, is this movement which they share. Consciousness seeks to know the reality it is not, to make it its own, but it can never close the gap that makes it consciousness and not reality itself, while at the same time reality does contain consciousness, consciousness is real enough (Zizek on Hegel, <http://ethicalpolitics.org/seminars/davie1.htm>). This also holds central the foundational assertion made by modern philosophical tradition, that is, 'man' as the 'subject', this could be at any level- individual, self, thinker/philosopher, or even species.

Thus the roots of modern, philosophical-political subject can be traced to Kant's discussion of revolutionary politics in the speculative political, anthropological, and historical texts as well as the critical works, as can be drawn from the discussion made by Power (2007, P.56) of Balibar (2004), "It is ... only with the *Critique of Pure Reason* that *das Subjekt* becomes the key concept in a philosophy of subjectivity ... for all finite minds, that interplay [between the faculties of knowledge] constitutes "the world".' The subject understood ontologically and logically as substance – as that which supports as well as underlies the sensible qualities it makes possible (as in Aristotle), and whose hypothetical existence must be supposed in order to make possible a 'double intelligibility of the sensible' (as Henriot puts it)"

It is precisely this Kantian notion of subject which is of significance for the purposes of the study. Thus, subject must be seen in its characteristic feature of dual intelligence, in that it

supports as well as underlies what it makes possible. In Kant's analysis, a significant point is also, that the subject becomes transcendental, which means that the subject is now the condition of possibility of objectivity itself, and no longer problematically cut off from it.

Nietzsche denounces the illusory character of the subject. The subject belongs to that list of great errors such as the error of identity, permanence, thinghood, unity and so forth and is now to be analysed in its genealogical provenance. Raffoul (2006) argues that contemporary continental philosophy attempts to come to terms with this Nietzschean challenge, and that the elaborations on the subject have been ways of rethinking a subject in crisis – to redraw its limits, as it were.

Thus, This discussion of subject moves beyond boundaries that were being defined for it until now to builds upon the discussion of the idea of "subject-ness" one that precedes the metaphysical representational logic as (language/confession) well as the definition in terms of passivity or activity. Subject as a theoretical subject, came to claim the underlying unity of self, or as a practical subject, through the imaginary free will.

Lacan makes another important contribution towards the understanding of subjectivity, that is he argues that there is an intense dependency of the subject on significance of language that operates at an unconscious level, in that, the speaking subject becomes the spoken subject. He deconstructs subject into a conscious ego and argues that the unconscious subject is a subject that comes to itself in and through language as a preexisting treasure. This engagement with Saussure's signified and signifier and the interception of language means that subjects can only appear henceforth as represented by a signifier and thus radically alienated from its being. The significance of language in understanding and existence of subjectivity brings us to the discussion of Polanyi's concept of 'tacit knowledge' elaborately discussed in the section on pedagogy. For Lacan, "we're only signifiers, places or anchoring points for meaning always shifting, operating in a place unbeknownst to us."(Raffoul, 2006).

Foucault, in his lectures on truth and subjectivity argues for the centrality of concerns surrounding 'knowing oneself' and 'taking care of oneself' as central to all concerns of humanity. He points out the centrality of confession (a kind of appreciation of the above, that is to be able to communicate with relative consistency and ease the inarticulate about oneself, or the uncomfortable and unsettling about oneself). He says, that not only confession but validation of that confession is central to the organization of all thought in humanity. He says, "One needs for his salvation to know, as exactly as possible 'who he is' and also, which is something quite different, to tell it to some other people as explicitly as possible".¹⁶

Thus for Foucault the hermeneutics of subject travels and evolves through the philosophy of consciousness(Heidegger, Descartes), and the philosophy of knowledge/scientific knowledge (Hegel, Kant) and the philosophy of meaning(Sassure, Lacan). Foucault traces two paths of reconstruction of subject, one is the path of logical positivism within which structuralism, linguistics, psychoanalysis and anthropological investigations and examinations feature, at another level he says is the possible route of tracing the genealogy of subject.

Foucault adopts the initiation led by Nietzsche, of tracing subjectivity amidst crisis and ties it to his concept of microphysics of power. Foucault invokes the concept of power, to be understood in terms of intersubjective relationships – relationships that actually constitute the subject: This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects.(Newman, 2005, P.52)

For Foucault, then, the subject is *produced* by power. This may be seen in the case of the prisoner, whose marginalized identity is constructed through the disciplinary and normalizing

¹⁶ Foucault, M. (1997) lecture#1. 'Truth and Subjectivity', Howison Lectures Part1. accessed from <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/foucault/howison.html> Accessed on 16th June, 2012 at 14:00

techniques of power in the prison, and the discourses and bodies of knowledge that support them. The subjectivity of the prisoner is thus constructed at the intersections of power/knowledge. It may also be seen in the way that sexual identity itself, rather than being natural and essential, is a discursive effect, a construction of the discourse of sexuality. This is what Foucault calls 'productive power', and it is perhaps his most important contribution to theory of power. Power can no longer be seen as purely repressive and prohibitive; rather, modern power *produces and incites* (Foucault, 1991: P. 94).

More insidiously, subjectivity is produced in such a way that its assertion or identification, rather than being an act of liberation that transgresses power, is something that only supports and reaffirms power. For Foucault, 'The man described for us, whom we are invited to free, is already in himself the effect of a subjection much more profound than himself' (1991: 30).

Foucault's microphysics of power, allows for development of this idea of individual as the signifier into accommodating the possibility for subject and subjectivity to resist ideological pressures and controlling his/her actions, however such a control is also embroiled in and produced as an effect of power.

'This is a struggle against power, a struggle aimed at revealing and undermining power where it is most invisible and insidious' (Foucault 1977, quoted in Newman, 2005, P.54). Foucault sees certain relationships of power – particularly when they become crystallized into institutions and hierarchies – as dominating and inequitable, and calls for their transformation in ways that allow a greater degree of reciprocity, fluidity and personal autonomy. The problem, however, is that, as Foucault has shown in his numerous analyses, the subject who struggles against power is always already caught up in power – indeed, his very subjectivity is an effect of this power. In other words, there is always the risk that the subject who resists is only playing into the hands of the very power that dominates him. As Foucault quite explicitly states, there is no going beyond power – the subject will always be embroiled in power relations. Resistance is therefore seen as an *effect* of power; power and resistance exist in a relationship of mutual incitement and provocation, where localized forms of power are met with localized forms of resistance,

and where the fluidity of this relationship means that resistance is always in danger of being co-opted by power (Newman, 2005; P.54).

Exploring teacher's critical-reflexive subjectivity as strength of pedagogy

Critical theorists emphasise a certain normative idea of agency of the teachers. They view teacher's subjectivity in a rather normative sense of being critical to the conceptualization of teachers as transformative intellectuals. They see, subjective agency of the teachers only as being epistemologically embedded, critical and analytical, reflexive and importantly drawing and feeding into a reflective praxis.

To critical theorists, the effort to explore the construction of subjectivity and its relation to teaching practice, involves individuals' attempts to disengage themselves from socio-interpersonal norms and ideological expectations (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993). Teachers must be aware that they perceive reality from particular vantage points in the web of reality, coming in the process to realize that there is no value-neutral way of perceiving. This recognition is most likely to emerge from a larger appreciation for a situated understanding of context—an understanding of the historical, philosophical, and sociological dimensions of what is going on in schools.

For this, the teachers, first, must assume the role of researchers of the formation of their own socio-cognitive structures. Such inquiry produces a meta-awareness of an omnipresent feature of transformative teachers (Kincheloe, 2005a). They must always engage in the process of being changed and changing, of being analyzed and analyzing, of being constructed and constructing, of learning and teaching, of disembedding and connecting.

Bartolome (2000) maintain that teachers need to develop political and ideological clarity in order to increase the chances of academic success for all students. "Political clarity" refers to the ongoing process by which individuals achieve ever-deepening consciousness of the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape their lives and their capacity to transform such material and symbolic conditions. It also refers to the process by which individuals come to

understand the possible linkages between macro-level political, economic, and social variables and subordinated groups' academic performance in the micro-level classroom Bartolome (2000). "Ideological clarity" refers to the process by which individuals struggle to identify and compare their own explanations for the existing socioeconomic and political hierarchy with the dominant society's. Thus juxtaposing of ideologies should help teachers to better understand if, when, and how their belief systems uncritically reflect those of the dominant society and thus maintain unequal and what should be unacceptable conditions that so many students experience on a daily basis Bartolome, (2000).

Such pedagogy is most likely to understand that the development of self-knowledge, an understanding of the social construction of self is a key purpose of a rigorous and critical education. An aspect that can be connected to the meaning of 'quality' education as is envisioned by the study.

It is essential to draw from the discussion here, that, although as conceptual entities by themselves, subjectivity, agency and classroom pedagogy may belong to distinct and specific traditions of thought in Sociology, Philosophy and Education. They are of profound significance to each other, especially pedagogy. Critical pedagogy comes closest through its implicit assumptions about pedagogy to highlighting their dynamic interconnection, however, it glosses over without examining its assumptions, to rest its arguments on a more conscious and new variable of 'material and ideological conditions of work' (Giroux, 1988).

Chapter#3

Understanding Agency of The Teachers

Introduction

The objective of this chapter emerges against the backdrop of 'Agency'¹⁷, that is assumed as *a-priori* to the successful actualization of critical pedagogy by the tradition of critical theorists. Such an assumption inspired an enquiry into examining the reality as against the proposed expectations of a critical reflexive, reflective practitioner or what Giroux terms as "teacher-intellectual" or "teacher-researcher" (Giroux, 1988; Giroux & McLaren, 1996; Giroux, 1985). The idea of 'agency', implicit in the writings of the critical theorists, who seem to though understand structural constraints on a teacher's autonomy, also seem to assume an inherent criticality among teachers. This conception is revisited in the writings of critical theorists, post 2000, whereby they begin arguing about teacher education and the need to cultivate elements that maybe crucial to the kind of agency assumed by the theorists.

Writings in the Indian context suggest that a strong agency and voice for teachers also seems to be rather ambiguous in their identification of the nature of this very 'agency'. For instance, Batra(2005a; b) invokes and argues in favour of the re-claiming of the voice and agency of the teachers, drawing inspiration from Tagore's idea of a teacher who is herself a learner(somewhat in sync with the idea of "teacher-intellectual")(Batra, 2005a, 2005b). However, the contemporary debates(and curricular changes) in educational research and praxis seems to acknowledge the "Agency" of the reflective practitioner of education, namely the teacher.

¹⁷ Agency in the discussion henceforth is being kept in single quotes because the discussion in the chapter builds on the existing conception to evolve it into meaning something very contextual and specific. It acquires a certain level of re-definition, modification and modulation.

Agency and its relationship with the structure has been used as a tool by many social scientists, who although maintain a running consistency in their ideas of agency and structure and yet each theorist evolves the concepts in their works in what may form a broad range of understandings. In the broadest sense, however, agency is described as the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices, (Barker, 2005). By contrast, "structure" refers to those factors (such as social class, religion, gender, ethnicity, customs, etc) which seem to limit or influence the opportunities that individuals have (Barker, 2005).

It is from this basic tenet that the chapter draws its discussion and analysis. It is important, for the scope of the chapter, to keep in mind, the dynamic interrelationship between the structure and agency of the individual cannot be dismissed or disregarded. The study, in view of this broad view of human agency is set to illustrate the explorations of specific nature of agency among teachers while simultaneously highlighting its distance from the assumed conception of critical theorists and indigenous ideas of teacher agency.

With this set of objective, the teachers were asked through a semi structured interview, what they felt were the roles and responsibilities of a teacher, what they identified as the defining characteristic feature of an ideal teacher. They were further probed on the factors or aspects that they felt influenced/constrained in terms of their freedom as a teacher. This was juxtaposed against the free flowing, uni-directional narratives provided by the respondents about their in-service experiences and reflections as well as the in-depth observation of their classroom pedagogy.

The chapter begins with a description of what is the nature of teacher 'Agency' in the classrooms and schools. And then, it would seek to explain the running undercurrents in teacher's agency. The chapter also highlights concerns areas within this construction of agency, followed by factors that influence such an agency. The chapter would consolidate these findings through pointing out their relationship to teacher subjectivity and pedagogy. In subsequent

chapters, the discussion on agency of the teachers would gain greater depth and reflect in relation with subjectivity as well as pedagogy.

What is 'Agency' of Teachers?

This section attempts to describe the nature of agency, as understood by teachers, juxtaposed against their classroom reflections. It further explores the areas of concern, where a need for teacher initiative and agency is felt, again, this is juxtaposed against the classroom observations to evolve a tandem between Emic (that which represents its folk system of classification) and Etic (that which is constructed by an outside investigator for comparative research purposes) perspectives (LeVine, 1984; P.82)

The data findings suggested that Emic perspectives differed substantially from the observed reality. However, these congruencies and in-congruencies were crucial to making comprehensive meaning between the observed data and teacher's understanding of what they were doing.

Concerns areas of 'Agential Action'¹⁸

In terms of their roles, responsibilities, duties as teachers, where they felt that they felt an agency, these were the key areas that stimulated them to act. Teachers identified two such areas, namely Pedagogy and Discipline. Actions in these two concern areas were also seen as crucial to the identity of the teacher. However, teachers felt very differently about such an obligation. While some teachers felt it was in obligation to their roles as teachers to act, it was argued that acting in these spheres was mandatory, binding requirement of their commitment to teaching. Still others felt it was a matter of moral-responsibility, self-fulfilment and satisfaction. Teachers readily identified various sectors that can be clubbed roughly in two broad groups.

¹⁸ A term coined by the researcher to denote, action that would corresponds to expression of agency

Pedagogy:

Teachers felt that teaching was the most crucial area that required their actions, involvement and individual engagement, unanimously. What they readily identified as 'Teaching', however, differed significantly. They coherently locate themselves within the realm of teaching-learning. In coherence can be identified in terms of presence or absence of 'self-identified moral obligation' either towards the profession or towards the children. Description shall move from the spheres that were identified by most number of teachers, to those spheres that were identified by a lesser number. The pattern demonstrates a steady rise in what we may term 'Self-Identified Moral Obligation'. It is being called 'Self-Identified Moral Obligation', because it is a subjective interpretation of a teacher's responsibility and is in tune with a certain sense of 'morality' these individual teacher associate with the teaching profession.

All teachers unanimously identified the sphere that is defined traditionally as a teacher's responsibility. All teachers said that they felt the need of individual engagement and initiative in transaction of the syllabus-textbook-lessons. These can be seen as bare essential requirements of teaching as a profession. These are also bare essential in terms of their intimate connect with the evaluation. Evaluation and learner performance marks primary basis of accountability between teachers, higher authority and the parents, thus, it assumes significant position in educational praxis. While all teachers accepted transaction of text as an area of concern, only four out of six identified lesson and the question and answers, at the end of the lesson, in unity, spontaneously. The other two teachers (JASMEET and HARLEEN), only mentioned lesson-transaction, while said that question and answers were to be done in consultation, and were in greater part, the responsibility of the learners.

Classwork assignments were seen as of greater importance than homework assignments. Five out of six spontaneously identified classwork as an area of concern. The concerns, though, were largely revolving around ensuring completed work of all children, correction of copies and dictation/demonstration/illustration by writing on blackboard. This was seen in closest connection with the classroom teaching, in that it formed written evidence of teaching learning

process, quantified learning, recorded it in concrete ways, and provided a reference for future purposes of examination and evaluation.

Only Four teachers (excluding HARLEEN and JASMEET in the response), also, identified homework as the concern area. Only DAVID, however, defined this concern area of teacher agency in terms of inspiring thinking in students. Three teachers identified homework in terms of accountability/records/or material that would help from the view of exams. Only PREITY identified this as a way of ensuring students were working. HARLEEN and PREITY of four (TINA and DAVID were from ICSE schools, that doesn't have CCE) mentioned the usefulness of this material in terms of formative assessment regulations entrusted upon teachers by the CBSE.

In terms of explaining the contents of the lesson, although there was unanimous agreement on explaining the contents as crucial part of teacher initiative and agency, teachers differed on the elaboration of, what constituted 'explaining'. Four out of six teachers elaborated their explanations as clarifying word-meanings in case of difficult words. Two teachers elaborated explanation as clarification of concepts and doubts that children may have with respect to the taught content. Only two teachers namely, DAVID and PREITY elaborated 'Explanation' as all of the above and discussion with children about the topic, in congruence with their observation, extra-curricular resources, newspaper clippings and teacher's own anecdotes.

The two teachers (DAVID and PREITY) also exhibited a concern also about financial condition and aid that must be taken care of for students to be able to learn. DAVID expressed a concern about the emotional state of the learner, as crucial to helping learners positively associate with learning, and thus, perform better. While, PREITY expressed a concern about helping children develop positive life-skills, in terms of developing civic-values, morality, maturity, sensibilities that are helpful with their day to day lives.

Disciplining:

All the teachers unanimously expressed a keen concern on disciplining of learners, although the spheres of disciplining vary for each teacher. The discipline of the body and attention during

classroom hours were important to all the teachers. Discipline of thoughts and values, specifically of unquestioning attitude and abidance by the learners were important to two teachers (JASMEET, TINA). Of them, JASMEET, in fact used the word 'Shraddha-bhaav' (translating to *reverence*) in describing the disciplined attitude, towards teacher that is desirable from learners.

DAVID thought most flexibly about discipline, he argued in favour of socialization as against disciplining, he distinguished between the two in terms of the amount of coercion they may assume, he maintained that there is an intense need to initiate learners into developing responsible behaviour specially with respect to their sexuality and careers. He allotted teachers the task and responsibility of supervising in ways to help, guide children in developing a sense of right and wrong, although this wasn't critical of its own position.

Teachers believed it is their moral obligation to take initiative that help learners to imbibe values of discipline, which they spontaneously associated with a successful life in future.

Expression of Teacher 'Agency'

Teachers felt that the above two spheres, of Pedagogy and Discipline, required initiative and action on the part of the teacher to understand what was this action/initiative they were talking about the researcher probed their understanding of ways in which they manipulate, steer and control of both the spheres.

Teachers' narratives and the classroom observation were coherent in terms of identification of the various kinds of expressions to the 'Agency' of the teacher. Teachers were asked, what ways do they think they act on their own behest (guided by their own selves), while performing their duties as a teacher.

Teachers identified four expressions roughly that could be understood as an expression of their 'Agency'.

Personal Freedom:

Teachers felt it was essential for them to find space to define, in their own ways, the space of the classroom, the learning situations, their own dressing, specifics of their conduct (general conduct all agreed is best kept intact, in view of teachers, who may be too much of a digression). They felt, they feel uncomfortable in being corrected for their body language, their classroom etiquettes, et cetera.

Verbal Expression:

Teachers unanimously felt that they should have the space to express themselves, whether in the classroom with learners, or outside of a learning situation; or with authorities. Situations characterised by a lack of or disjoint-free communication with authorities is seen as something that could lead to resentment, and unwillingness to cooperate, or could impact on the positive association that teachers felt towards schools and authorities.

With learners they assumed that chronological maturity (Age based) equipped them with an obvious and naturally ordained, discretion of usage, of verbal signs. They saw their verbal expression and the freedom thereof as crucial to shaping the learning of the learners, which is scholastic as well as in terms of, what HARLEEN termed "*children's social and emotional cognition*".

Most teachers maintained that they have their own sense of filtering of thoughts and ideas. The possibility of communicating inappropriate ideas or words wasn't ruled out, but all the teachers, irrespective of their thoughts or ideas felt that they could vouch of themselves and their discretion with respect to communication. "This is a very natural thing...we understand this very well, we've lived such long lives...we've taught for so many years...we eventually learn to distinguish between what can be said and what must be 'censored'...we have a sense of right and wrong...we're educated...with such experience of life."- HARLEEN

It is worthy to note the use of the word 'censor' here illustrates that teachers at some level maybe conscious of their prejudices or just understand the unacceptability of their own views among certain audiences. Either ways, teachers seem to be operating with what may be described as '*cognitive filter*¹⁹' one that is abstract and allows for a careful usage of language and common/general ideas.

Teachers said they felt most comfortable in being able to freely guide their own speech and ideas, while interacting with students, but while interacting with authorities that are immediate superior, they expected to be understood, and allowed to freely express while being guided safely as well.

Physical Actions:

All six respondents unanimously agreed they had a very sound weighed sense of their own actions in the classroom. Teachers felt they needed a free space to decide, from their physical posture and placement, their movement and the nature of physical contact between the teachers and the learners. There were instances witnessed or invoked through ready references, or warning of, that pointed to instances that made the use of corporal punishment, matter of fact, to the pedagogy. The teachers justified the use of 'violence', which was strictly with reference to corporal forms of violence. The teachers seemed oblivious to violence at the level of verbal, emotional or even symbolic forms of violence.

Three teachers were witnessed employing corporal violence, namely, JASMEET, HARLEEN, PREITY. Of these, JASMEET specifically had an intense dependence on corporal violence, while HARLEEN and PREITY employed considerably lower levels of violence. JASMEET made use of an intense level of corporal punishment, in that she used broken wooden leg of a chair, in winters to hit on bare hands, made students sit on cold floors, asked them to stand on the table.

¹⁹ A cognitive filter is meant in the same manner as censorship, however the use of the word 'cognitive' acquired from the same term used in traditional educational psychology, is in synergy with the meaning of cognitive in the traditions of educational psychology. Through the use of the word 'Cognitive' what is being communicated is that the source of censorship is not singular or localized to one domain of thought.

She justified the use of such intense violence as the nature of the specific group of students as inherently undisciplined, and disrespectful.

“This class, is inherently undisciplined..they have no respect for elders...they even don’t have any respectful consideration for their teachers.”

Interesting, as it was, the students did not see punishments levied by her as demeaning or something they could even feel bad about, from the discussion with a group of students, it was gathered that the students (boys, mostly) had made this a measure of their masculinity and endurance to see who can get hit without batting an eyelid. They made it a matter of pride that they could not even get affected by her punishment. Boys were observed, on most occasions laughing amongst themselves even when reprimanded, or segregated or made to stand on their desks. This can be seen as resistance of students against her oppressive measures and demeaning manner, however, the resistance is strongly loaded with sexism and borders masochism. What we see in this example can be seen as an instance of ‘Counter Agency’. This shall be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

While DAVID explicitly drew references to a set of two steel measuring rulers that were in fact named, Ram and Shyam, and used in classroom with learners in non favourable situations, as defined by the teacher, himself. SHOUMITA and TINA maintained that they did not take recourse to use of physical violence. Although, SHOUMITA mentioned that she feels ‘forced, at times, to cross that boundary’. This happens because at times it becomes non-negotiable, and thus difficult to put across the word. She justifies it as essential to establishing a certain dynamics between students and teachers that help aid pedagogy. However, TINA denied use of corporal punishment, although the students recalled at least three coherent instances within the past two months where she had taken recourse to corporal punishment. The supporting observation was that she used a cold stare as a warning for students, which children would faithfully respond to.

On one occasion the learners were reflectively talking about the class, that the researcher had sat through, due to commotion at the end of the class and her packing up, such an interaction would have been hard to focus on. However, the learners spotted the teacher staring at them, as they were talking to the researcher and they abruptly stopped short and requested the researcher to not let her know what they said. The impact of a stare, as a warning of what might follow is quite a giveaway of either the corporal punishment that the learners referred in instances, to a mere threat that she has established.

Initiative/Innovation:

Teachers felt it was of utmost importance that they be allowed to manipulate with the guidelines of lesson plans or even with the exercises and, as in the case of CBSE school, manipulate with the continuous and comprehensive evaluation (CCE).

Teachers expressed the need to be given the freedom to manipulate with lessons, even the flow of the lessons, with syllabus, with teaching techniques, pedagogy, lesson plans and overall classroom learning situation. As DAVID, expressed,

“I feel we should be able to access stuff that can help transact the lesson better, like maps, if I am doing a country so that I can readily illustrate what I am talking about in terms of geography”.

All teachers felt they had such a freedom, and all credited immediate authorities, for providing them with such ‘conducive’ space and freedom, while all saw at the abstract level authorities as constraining their freedom through ‘unrealistic’, ‘abstract’ demands and directives, (SHOUMITA, PREITY, JASMEET).

In terms of initiative and innovation teachers expressed the desire to, arrange for outings, changing locales of classroom transactions, using material, manipulating the classroom space, manipulating with the flow of the lesson, manipulation of the sequence of the lessons, omission of certain ‘irrelevant’ parts, manipulation with CCE. Only DAVID, expressed a keen desire to be

able to access other sources of information, such a membership to a public library, for teacher's own enrichment, being able to ask children to bring some material for an altered class work.

Factors Influencing Teacher 'Agency'

'Agency' or free initiative inspires individuals to act in accordance with their beliefs and ideas. While some may chose to act towards achievement others may act towards comfort. In the present study, 'Agency' quickly and spontaneously intertwined itself with the factors that either motivated or inhibited the expression of 'Agency'. These factors not only contributed to expression of agency but also defined the outlines to further analysis of 'Agency'.

Schools/management

Teachers identified School management's support as strength. Teachers saw rapport with the school management/authorities as both an ideal and an essential factor that influenced their comfort and initiative. Teachers could be clustered roughly into three groups on the basis of their perceptions. First, teachers who wanted to take initiative (DAVID, PREITY) felt winning support of the school authorties helps them take risks and allows them margin for failure and errors. Second, the teachers who engaged in counter-productive activities (JASMEET, TINA) sought school support as a safety net and expected schools to understand their constraints and empathise with them. Third, there were teachers who feared losing their jobs(SHOUMITA, HARLEEN, TINA), and thus felt that their rapport with the authorities/ management was their guarantee of job security.

School management/ authorities were read in terms of the clerical support, matters related to teacher performance, teacher appraisal/ promotion/increment, through the mediating force between student's parents and teachers, as the mediating channel between teachers and directorate of education/media/management/trusties, examination duties, school records, parent-teacher associations, parent-teacher meetings, submissions, teacher evaluations, extra-curricular responsibilities, school level organization responsibilities, inter-school level organizing

responsibilities. The rapport was essential feature to feeling comfortable within the work environment and consistent with a positive association with the job and professional identity.

Intra-staff relations

Intra-staff relations were also of great significance with respect to expression and/or inhibition of 'Agency'. All teachers pointed to the intra-staff relationships and their significance in their interviews as well as narratives. There were four ways of classifying responses on intra-staff relationships and the inter-relationship between teachers within the staffroom. There were the ones who looked at their colleagues as peers and contemporaries, shared a warm cordial relationship, were, more often than not, extending their cordiality beyond the confines of the working group context. Such dynamics were seen as supportive cushion to the work pressure and risks of teaching profession by the teachers.

For some it meant sharing of tools and successful lesson aids and techniques, or information (DAVID). For others it meant uncritical, threat free environment for better comfort and ease owing to a shared understanding of learners and beliefs (JASMEET, TINA, DAVID). In the latter case the teachers used this confidence and shared faith as their safety latch on their questionable conduct and deviance from directives issued against certain practices, such as use of violence.

Some teachers also felt that intra-staff relationships were supposed to be in sync with the body and organ analogy. As HARLEEN put it,

“Staff relationship are important...if each one of us does his/her work efficiently, it makes everyone's task easier, and if everyone does his/her tasks efficiently the school will also function better. I always do this...I distribute work responsibilities..some may do certain things, some others may do something else...everyone must just concentrate on doing their work well...interference then becomes improbable.”

The relationship is dismissive of any inter-relationship although it does focus on dividing the task and having each one work efficiently. The teacher (HARLEEN) felt she performed better this way since it made her answerable to others who were working towards the same goal. The point of significance here is that this view she held in relation to doing school level organising work. When asked about lesson plans and classroom teaching she argued,

“everyone is competent to handle their own classrooms.” (everyone works as individual in their own classrooms...why must it at all bother other teachers...everyone is qualified....has a sound judgement of right and wrong...everyone is individually competent to handle their own classrooms). Thus for her, intra-staff relationships must be cordial but isolated, distinct yet coexisting.”

There was yet another way of understanding intra-staff relationships. It is marked by a deep sense of mutual distrust and suspicion, and an intense feeling of insecurity and fear. This was evident in the narratives of (JASMEET, TINA), the hostility was mutual and it inhibited free expression of ‘Agency’, for the fear of being reported to higher authorities, or arrange it into a kind of lobbying against them. This wouldn’t really get them insecure but the very surveillance and constant justifying was seen as rather bothersome.

Education system

Education system, upon every mention, in teacher interviews as well as narratives, was directed towards pointing to abstract level authorities, the ones that presented themselves only through circulars, directives, policies, instructions, manuals and isolated workshops. This I have further classified into two groups.

Evaluation system: Evaluation system, specifically the CCE system of formative assessment geared towards assessment of the holistic development of the learner. Teachers in the aided school, almost unanimously agreed that the top-down decision making is disruptive to their ‘Agency’ as teachers. The constraints inhibited their work as teachers. There were two ways of interpreting the constraints levied by the nature of evaluation. While for some it meant

inflexibility to design and manipulate with “classroom transactions”. The holistic development interfered with their free interpretation of, what it meant to learn and educate, and the discord between the two caused considerable setback to teacher’s ‘Agency’.

The teachers constantly felt that they had to weigh their lesson plans in terms of its productivity value and end product relevance within the CCE system of evaluation and assessment. They felt constrained by the concern to have to reproduce assignments that could be submitted as valid evaluation. This however, was restricted to the aided school that affiliated to CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) board.

The teachers who worked in the school affiliated to the ICSE board felt evaluation was not as much of a constraint because they felt it was essential to marking that which they’ve learnt. Their conception of constraint was restricted to the pressure it created on teachers to perform towards attainment of 100% pass result. Teachers felt it pressurized them but they in the same bracket, justified this pressure as essential to teacher’s ‘Agency’. They felt it gave teacher’s ‘Agency’ a direction and quantified results and attainment for them to re-direct ‘Agency’ through feedback.

Curriculum

Both set of teachers, in aided as well as the private school, felt curriculum was essential to defining agency of the teachers. In terms of curriculum they felt a constraint in terms of the lessons, in that what they talked about, in overall organization or theme of the book, in terms of the rigour of chapters, information selected and represented, and in terms of summative exercises and formative activity suggestions. Teachers felt that books had steadily lost their rigour and suffered a serious lack of focus. According to one teacher,

“For instance, the poets taught in class 10th we’ve not even heard about them, neither does NCERT any longer give a biographical sketch, as they used to...in many respects some of them don’t even appear poets...these are weird books, we can’t even understand what to teach?!...they done a similar thing with the 6th standard textbook, they’ve described a market

place, they've included a biographical sketch of a rikshaw puller...children would have learnt about these things anyway...and in lieu of this they've removed the important information they used to include before..although all this is reflective of student's contexts ..but why must it be a part of textbooks when it can be talked about nonetheless.”- PREITY

In the school affiliated to CBSE, the feeling was expressed strongly in reflection to the recent change in textbooks designed in coherence with NCF2005. Teachers felt that there was an intense pressure on teachers to do too many things that were not expected before. Textbooks now had re-defined teacher 'Agency', however, they also could not relate to the kind of changes that the curriculum either suggested or imposed. Teachers actively omitted a number of exercises suggested by the books, especially the ones that involved higher level thinking or analysis, critical engagement, data collection, or argumentation, on the part of the teacher, or on the part of the learner. Teachers unanimously suggested that these conflicted with learning (in their understanding), and were unnecessary and time consuming, besides they argued that students were not as critical/analytical/argumentative. Teachers felt these were unnecessary burden since, students were not the way curriculum exercises conceptualised them to be, thus, they had to design their own exercises.

Teachers felt that the books forced a re-direction and feedback of teacher's 'Agency'. In the ICSE affiliated school, since some teachers (DAVID, TINA) also participated in textbook writing process (neither, although, mentioned any specific training that aided them into doing this work) they related to the textbooks in the sense of a feedback to their own 'Agency' and thus, also an extension of their 'Agency'. The teachers in ICSE affiliated school had a stronger sense of 'Agency' given their participation in designing the textbooks that made them feel a greater and a more holistic sense of their own 'Agency'.

Legal system

Teachers felt very constrained by the threat of legal system or the legal reprimands ruled out by the court of law against use of violence in schools and classrooms. They felt the legal system

was depending on one sided reading of the entire issue. No teachers out rightly supported the corporal system of punishment, but none even rejected the use of it, vehemently. Teachers unanimously maintained that the expectation of sparing the rod entirely was 'unrealistic' and 'impractical'. Teachers argued,

“Without a little bit of fear, the children are likely to get unruly and disruptive...and without a little hitting, fear is impossible to instill...” –DAVID

“Children these days, don't respect their teachers as they once used to...these days kids thinks themselves as all supreme...reading it time and again in the newspapers about such instances (of corporal punishments), these children have evolved a strong sense that if a teacher ever hits you, you may file a police complaint against her...unlike before, we (teachers) perpetually live under threat...” –HARLEEN

“Its important for children to feel a little intimidated...otherwise these children would never sit, and never study...we also understand that hitting isn't advisable...but then, we're compelled to hit...to keep them controlled.” –PREITY

“I wouldn't hit them otherwise...but when they compel, sometimes its the only resort...now with the knowledge of the new acts and legal provisions children act really smart with teachers...they know they can not be hit...so its like they now have power on us” –SHOUMITA

“A little bit of fear is essential, to maintain a distance and respect in the relationship of students and teachers...and often students may take too much liberty and disrupt the classes, on such occasions teachers are compelled to at least hit one child and use that as an exemplary warning for others..” –TINA

“Acts and court rulings correspond to a whole different level...too removed from the reality..they do not even know or understand what kind of children do we encounter and how we have to deal with these children...they're such difficult children that, it

doesn't change them in the least even on being hit...if we stop hitting them, they'd climb atop our heads and dance" –JASMEET

Thus, teachers are divided in terms of the justification of use of violence, while some argued that violence was necessary for them to instill a disciplined decorum that is essential as a precondition towards optimal learning (PREITY, DAVID). Another reason was the need to keep a distance as a guarantee of dignity, respect and authority and a sense of formality within the relationship (TINA). Yet, another reason quoted was the need to discipline students beyond mere behaviour, that is disciplining them in thoughts actions and deeds, this view simultaneously stated the importance of power centralization towards making of the authority of a teacher (JASMEET). Two teachers argued that hitting students was a necessary evil, and that students forced them by their behaviour or otherwise to hit. The teachers felt that this wasn't so bad because students compelled them (SHOUMITA, HARLEEN).

Teachers also actively expressed how constrained they feel owing to the fact that violence or even screaming was illegal. They also felt that their agency is being systematically stripped by the law and media through such abstract and unrealistic ways of reprimanding and controlling a teacher. Three teachers nostalgically recollected how hitting was once understood by students as 'in their own favour', but now students take it on their ego, and get offended. All teachers felt that the role and understanding of a teacher had suffered a setback owing to contemporary changes in law, which ignores the context of an act but reprimands solely for the action. Teachers also expressed how this has led to students becoming more and more indisciplined and unruly. Parents are supportive and thus teachers are cornered and insecure about themselves and their jobs, as a result they would refrain from use of violence. However, classroom observations suggested contradictorily.

All teachers felt that their 'Agency' was being dismissed and disregarded through such laws that are incomprehensive and lopsided (DAVID, PREITY, HARLEEN, SHOUMITA).

Teacher's subjective perceptions

Teacher's Subjective perceptions were of intense interest since they were guided by and were guiding their world view and their approaches and actions. Their understanding of what is teacher's 'Agency' only would make coherent sense once juxtaposed in relation to their undiluted understanding of their perceptions and beliefs. Their uncritical beliefs and perceptions guided their understanding of their roles and responsibilities as well as their actions as teachers.

Subjectivities featured in pedagogy as well as 'Agency'. Here I explore the impact that the subjective perceptions of the teachers had on them exercising and understanding their own 'Agency'. A deeper analysis would be taken up in the next chapter to explore subjectivities in their own respect and their possible roots in the lived experiences of teachers.

Embedding subjective perceptions of the teachers in the due context of actual lived experiences is crucial to understanding the point where the epicentre of the teacher's subjective agency could be located. Here I only scrutinize the uncritical subjective perceptions at one level of how they impact the agency a detailed analysis of the reasons and context of the 'uncriticality'/'criticality' of the subjective perceptions shall be taken up in the next chapter.

Subjectivity cannot be constructed outside of its contextualization in the relationships of and dynamics of power (Foucault,1991). To situate subjectivity and the factors in a context, one would require to engage with; and evoke the context of power, to understand how subjectivity and Agency may connect.

Power, Powerlessness And 'Agency'

Teachers experience the dynamism of elements of power as well as powerlessness. And these are not only bureaucratic or professional aspects of being a cog in the larger machinery of educational praxis. The elements of power and powerlessness emerge from diverse spheres, other than professional spaces and the spaces of educational bureaucratic structures. Krishna

Kumar's concept of meek dictator is applicable however; its locus is more dispersed than what he conceptualizes it as. The locus draws, in part, from the educational structure but, that isn't the complete contextual picture that results in the formation of the position of teacher as the meek dictator. The study revealed that the concept employed by Kumar, could be used beyond the existing usage of the concept by him. The study revealed that the position of the teacher as a meek dictator also is inspired by the conflicted position in spheres other than professional.

The elements of power and powerlessness are generated from multiple sites or spheres in the lives of teachers. Although they may not be so central or as spearheading factor as the conflicted position of a teacher in the educational praxis, but the factors that emerged from the study contribute, in significant ways to the making of the meek dictator.

Upon being asked, what was the social perception of teaching profession, one respondent, AF-03 said,

“Society looks upon the profession of teaching, as a noble profession..especially for women, say for instance, if we were not studied, if we did not become teachers, we would have been housewives...presently we earn, and earn well...we have such a respectable profession and good economic independence”

The reflection may be seen at one level as a very basic, very general idea about economic empowerment of women as a source of power. While all female respondents identified the power dimension owed to the economic returns from their profession. Its noteworthy that all female respondents saw this in relation to the 'undesirable',²⁰ other available option of being a housewife (a situation of they identified as economically powerless). However, upon being

²⁰ Undesirable is defined in terms of the reluctance in teachers for it reflected in the tone, vehement negation, sarcastic laughter and other such suggestive gestures.

asked further about this idea of '*prestige*'²¹ associated with teaching profession, respondents identified reasons such as,

"Its a good profession for women, we're here till afternoon, and then we can go back, so our kids also can be easily looked after...what we teach here also helps us when we're teaching our own children"- JASMEET;

"for teachers, it is like, we're here with children only...people consider this respectful...for women, it is a good profession"-PREITY

"Teachers are looked upon with great respect, we civilize children, teach them to live with dignity"-HARLEEN

The gender dimension was prominent, however, being a teacher reflected differently for women and men teachers. Teaching is seen as a gendered job. The aspects that feed into it's gendering are a result of the parallels drawn from the mothering nurturing role of mothers as natural to women's reproductive roles. While it seems to offer a chance for women who expected themselves to have assumed the role of a housewife (four out of six respondents couldn't have imagined working as teacher while they were young girls), the choice itself throws up two glaring issues. One that although it seems to give women a sense of power as against their roles as home makers, the choices are emerging within a backdrop of powerlessness that women feel within gendered society. The work space/target group of children is seen as appropriate, while the skills of educating are seen as extension of their gendered roles within family.

Most women respondents seem to assume the powerful position of a working woman, through powerlessly submitting to gendered ideas about women. The low-achievement attitude is obvious in their recollection of social perceptions. This low achievement and gendered

²¹ In manner of denoting social respect and honour.

perception of women's ability makes them feel powerless, while their earning salaries and having a work space makes them feel more powerful.

Men on the other hand seem to experience this duality of power and powerlessness in a stark contrast. The socially powerful position of men in society seems to get contradicted when they find themselves in jobs that are seen socially as is put by the male respondent, "Teaching is seen, as if its a supplementary job...".

A similar reflection emerged in terms of economic profiling. Teachers who had been brought up in families that experienced greater economic stability seemed to not associate so positively with the teaching profession as the teachers who had been brought up against the backdrop of economic struggle and instability. Three of six teachers, had known economic instability, and all three associated positively with their salaries and in relation to it, with their jobs as teachers.

"If you see, we couldn't have imagined, (when we were younger) that we'd be able to earn so much..it feels nice to ourselves as well" –HARLEEN

"...That time, it was impossible to even think that I would be able to complete my studies...there was immense struggle...now I earn so much, I can spend as I like...it feels like I have achieved something, I wanted"-DAVID

The conclusive point from the above discussion is set to highlight, that teaching as a profession finds itself caught in the dynamic duality of power and powerlessness, in terms of its social profiling. It's profiling as a 'semi skilled' job, that doesn't require professionalism of a high order, makes it appear powerless an option. It seems to attract individual with a low-achieving attitude or low self-esteem, who may come to feel powerful through this, since it offers power through the conflicting rhetoric of respect, owing solely to the target group and nature of work(socializing, civilizing).

The above discussion has far reaching implications in view of the observation that feature in a write up by Prof. Poonam Batra (2005), who seems to echo the concerns of Giroux (1988) that

the low professionalism associated with teaching profession sits at the base of the problems of teacher reforms.

Batra (2005) observes that “..with most school teachers across the country being under trained, misqualified, under-compensated, demotivated instruments of a mechanical system of education that was initially conceived as a support to a colonial regime.”(p. 4347). The worries about low professionalism seem to ignore the possibility of power, teaching profession offers, to most marginalized, which can be seen as crucial to empowerment. Reforms for teaching profession, must maturely evolve itself to not just focus on empowerment of teacher as a professional but also of teacher as a person.

At the same point of time, it is important to note that for teachers, their subjective lived reality and life experiences play a crucial defining role in determining their experiences of power and powerlessness. When we exclude teacher’s experiences of power as well as of powerlessness, we assume agency to have a very mechanical character that can be triggered solely through external reinforcements, and this can be understood as one possible reason why teacher reforms in the country remain, superficial.

Subjective Perceptions About ‘Teachers’

Teachers own perceptions about what ‘teacher’ were and what they ideally should be reflected a unanimous agreement on the authority as an essential component of the relationship between teachers and students, the ‘Agency’ was influenced by the urge to evoke this nostalgic authoritative position and ‘granting’ role of the teacher.

The authority, traditionally constructed as the cultural more of relationship between adults and children. One that characteristically is representative of the hierarchy and authority of the adults over children and their obedience and abiding attitude (Sarangapani, 2000). This cultural more was chased through Agency and wherever the possibilities of establishing that authority over children was felt or seen, the Agency got reinforced and expression of it was overzealous.

Teachers would find ways of establishing their hierarchy, stating and reinforcing the position of their power over students and reinforcing the same wherever the possibility existed.

Teachers actively associated elements of disciplining roles and attached to it an emotional fervour. Teachers believed that it is the role of the teacher to instill the sense of right and wrong, to discipline their language, thoughts, mannerisms and bodies. Above describes what teachers considered their roles and thus defining roles of teachers, however, all teachers unanimously expressed a cynicism against the legal clauses and regulations as inhibiting to this role and the traditional understanding of teacher's role, thereby inhibiting the expression of their 'Agency'.

Subjective perceptions about Teaching profession

As mentioned earlier teacher's understanding of the teaching profession is gendered at one level, that is, owing to the target population and flexible timing and the larger social perception of the nature of skills it entails to be a teacher, teachers often understood teaching as a feminine profession. However, this wasn't consistent either, teachers vehemently opposed engendering while themselves admitting the gendered perceptions and its dominant association with the teaching profession.

Men would much rather prefer to be working in authority positions or administrative positions than be in just teaching. Only male teacher aspired to be able to move from being only a teacher to being the headmaster, and worked towards it. It wasn't that headmaster wouldn't have teaching responsibilities but the administrative level job seemed to appeal to men much more than it did to women.

Teachers also voiced a social perception of teachers, one that is undergoing massive changes and is currently in a conflicted state. Teachers noted that the traditional sense of teachers was that of someone who deserved 'Respect' in the sense of the having a combination of expressions such as, awe, reverence, abidance, and in some ways fear. Teacher felt that the traditional pedestal of the teacher has been maligned by the acts of a few teachers (DAVID,

PREITY), by the media and the legal pressure (JASMEET, TINA) and due to the dipping morality in children (JASMEET, SHOUMITA, TINA).

Although teachers admitted that the social respect was still associated with the teaching profession and that it positively reinforced their sense of positive association with their professional identity and thus, even their 'Agency'. Teachers also felt that socially an environment of scepticism prevailed alongside, teachers were looked upon with a sense of suspicion and scepticism which worked against their motivation to act, or influenced their 'Agency'.

Subjective Perceptions About Learning

Teacher understood learning in very behavioural, concrete ways. All teachers unanimously agreed that all learning must be able to exhibit itself upon being asked to, with only one exception of PREITY, who argued that some forms of learning like morality, conscience and wisdom took time to manifest it. Since teachers believed that all learning can and must be able to exhibit itself, their agency reflected a concern over control and disciplining of this very aspect. Since, learning is conceptualized this way, all the pedagogic processes and concerns with respect to learning are tied to examination and evaluation.

Learning was seen as synonymous to being able to reproduce correctly that which has been stated in the textbook. Free thinking/reasoning was not encouraged in four classes and constrained in two others (DAVID, PREITY). However, even in the classrooms where students found the space of thinking, the thinking process and its expression were kept largely isolated from the realm of curricular-pedagogical concerns. The thinking was seen as a personal way, in which, students may associate with the content of the text, but it was not seen of any educational consequence, by the teachers.

Thus the teacher's 'Agency' focussed on getting the environment of the class conducive to communication of reception of the information in the text. The 'Agency' aimed at best ways to communicate the information across, and getting students to memorize it.

Perceptions About Nature of Subject

Five out of six teachers were qualified language teachers, teaching language subjects, while simultaneously teaching social sciences. The only teacher who had done her post graduation in History was TINA. Teacher did not really know anything about the skills or attitude that is an equal part of social sciences. Social sciences, they conceptualised as having to do with knowing one's rights, duties, constitutions, and in terms of the constituents of geography, political science and history. All teachers were uncritical of the content they transacted partly because of their training in language subjects only.

None of the teachers critically engaged with their respective textbooks, the focus of the pedagogy was content and methodology featured faintly or did not feature. Thus, the deeper critical understanding of the subject, among teachers remained weak. Teachers, in the private management run school, associated knowledge of landforms, mineral and resources, population distribution, for geography; about civilizations and historical cultural heritage for history; and about civic roles and responsibilities for civics. The teachers, meanwhile, in the aided school read social sciences as a matter of social sense of who we are, how life is organized in society and overall understanding of self and society. In both cases, the researcher observed that there was an inherent lack of comprehensive understanding of the nature of the subject and the ideas were synchronic and in fact drew in large part from the curriculum. Thus, the teachers evolved the idea of social sciences from the text they transacted, instead of transacting any text from the understanding of the subject matter.

Curriculum, thus, was read as an idea on the nature of subject, instead of reading the text, or any text, in line with the nature of subject. Their indirect association with the subject assigned some bit of ambiguity to their pedagogic 'Agency', at the same time their lack of confidence with the subject influenced their overall professional 'Agency'.

Subjective Perceptions About Learner's ability/cognition

Teachers had a perception about the students learner's ability, all the teachers upon being asked to draw an average profile of the class employed three tools to illustrate the profile of the class, one, they compared the class to other classes, to an ideal of a perfect class, and they divided the class roughly in terms of the promising students, the average mass, and the group of 'difficult, disruptive, unengaged' students. On the basis of the density of either sub-groups the teachers determined the profile of the entire group. If the number of promising students was significantly higher than the number in most other groups, the class was described as a 'bright' class, and so on and so forth.

Agency shifted between the concerns of pedagogy and discipline in direct relation to the identification of the group of students as 'bright' or 'notorious' respectively. Teacher (DAVID, PREITY, SHOUMITA) identified that this was not a consistent classification since there were groups of students who were 'bright', yet 'notorious', however even in such cases, teacher felt inclined towards their pedagogic excellence over their lack of discipline.

The criteria of evaluation of class profile was, the regularity and consistency with assignments, preparedness for the class, in terms of maps and charts being asked to be brought, in attentiveness and discipline, in abidance and respect for the authority of the teacher and in terms of past educational evaluation records.

Past educational performance records were accorded the maximum significance, in that, they were seen as evidences of the performance capacity, cognitive ability, an inherent trait of groups of students to a certain kind of performance. Accordingly the teachers set their expectations and efforts with the class. With a group of students who had an average performance but a undesirable feedback about discipline or behaviour, from other teachers, teacher's Agency was stricter on matters of disciplining and more relaxed with their pedagogic 'Agency'. Teachers who received a bad review of the performance of the groups of students felt de-motivated in most cases to put an extra effort in pedagogy with them, since the teachers

settled themselves at low expectations from the group. However, at least, two teachers exhibited a zealous response to receiving bad reviews about a certain group of students, both of who PF01, PREITY saw this as the basis for putting extra efforts with the students, although even for the two the focus remained on disciplining more than pedagogy.

Teachers in both the school described the classes being observed, as not ‘their best group’ of students. One teacher, JASMEET, described the classroom being observed as the most troublesome lot of students, she identified them as inherently uninterested, disruptive and very ‘*Badmash* (notorious)’, she identified them as the most undisciplined, most disrespectful batch of students, she felt no other class was as unruly as this one.

Two teachers (SHOUMITA and PREITY) noted that the group of students was average, each of the two could identify some other groups as students as better (more attentive, diligent and regular with their work), and both the teachers could identify some groups of students who were much more difficult than the class being observed. Two other teachers felt (HARLEEN, TINA) that the students were average with their most classes of roughly the same profile as the ones being observed.

In contrast only one teacher DAVID felt that the class being observed was, “just as any other class” he taught. He felt that there was nothing extraordinarily flawed about the profile of the students but did note that children were losing moral anchoring was a result of a more general social phenomena.

Subjective Perceptions About Learner’s Socio-Cultural Background

The limitations of the learner’s context were most felt in the case of the aided school, where the teachers most actively quoted this whenever talking about the learner profile. The lack was more prominently acknowledged, while in the context of the private aided the invocation of a lacking context was done only for some children. While for the aided school the concern was more of a generalization applicable to all children and thus an overall sense of shortness among learners, on the other hand the concerns of the teachers in a private management run school

were centred the disparity between the background contexts of the students within the same classroom.

Teachers actively invoked the learner's background as the rationale behind their de-motivated pedagogical agency (JASMEET, HARLEEN) "These children come from very poor backgrounds..they don't want to learn to read and write..their parents send them, but claim no responsibility...they may fail, they may pass..it doesn't bother them...one PTM was scheduled for December, so many parents didn't even bother to show up to collect their report cards, thats why these children also don't bother...what can we do?!"- JASMEET

However, this wasn't a consistent feature, the direct co-relation was unsuccessful given that one teacher PREITY argued on the same grounds in favour of investing even more efforts than usual since the only place these children studied was in the school, they couldn't study once they returned back home. She observed that these children solely depended on the school for their education and lacked any support whatsoever, and thus she felt she owed her efforts all the more to the education of these children.

In the private management run school the concern were more aimed at the disparity, with all three teachers noting that children come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and while one teacher (SHOUMITA) did not feel it was significant marker of differences among children, and she further argued that she treated children alike irrespective. DAVID was sensitive to the differences in socio-economic backgrounds as well as emotional needs of the students and felt and exercised his 'Agency' in this regard as well. The last teacher acknowledged the differences in the socio-economic backgrounds of the students but felt that only due consideration was necessary in specific instances that called for specialized intervention at the level of support from the school administration, she argued that the 'Agency' of the teacher in this regard is only in terms of mediating the matter between students and school administration level provisions for consideration.

Subjective Perceptions About Learner's inherent interests/limitations

All teachers also argued that some 'difficult' students were inherently disinterested in putting efforts in education. The approach in the case of each teacher differed while most thought that such students were either distracted, one felt that students may be needing attention and counselling since they probably were being forced by stifling circumstances. Only one teacher (DAVID) felt students who performed badly needed special attention and counselling for their emotional state of mind since they probably were disturbed by some sort of conflict at home, or elsewhere.

'Agency' thus, was contingent on the subjective perceptions of teachers. Subjectivities shapes understanding of 'Agency' as well as 'Agential' action. The roots and context of teacher subjectivities would explain the motivation and rationale behind evolution of certain aspects of 'Agency', this would be explored in the next chapter.

Job/salary satisfaction

Four teachers out of six pointed out that their salaries were an aspect that caused positive association with their professions and thus felt that it was an influencing factor in their 'Agency', or making extra self-initiated efforts. The salary was a factor in positive self image. However, this wasn't a consistent phenomena across genders.

Increment/appraisal/promotion was a motivating factor for all teachers across gender distinctions. This formed a strong motivational factor that instigated a zealous expression of 'Agency'.

Parental Pressure

Parental pressure in the case of teachers from both the schools was seen as an influencing factor in teacher 'Agency'. However, the nature of influence differed. The teachers in aided school understood the parents as disengaged, ignorant and non-participative. Such a reflection influenced their agency in two ways. While JASMEET and HARLEEN saw this as a discouraging

aspect to the exercise of teacher's initiative taking and 'Agency', PREITY saw this as a reason that motivated her to work even more diligently. Teachers argued that their refusal to share responsibilities made their task a lot more difficult and thus an uphill task.

This is seen as discouraging to teacher's 'Agency' since parents are either, non-cooperative and disengaged, or undoing what the teachers do in the school. PREITY stood in clear contrast, although she admitted to the lack of parental support towards education of the learner, she looked at it as a binding reason for her to work with an extra effort so that the learners could gain from the opportunity of education made available to them. She felt sorry for the fact that parents could not contribute too much towards their children's education. She also acknowledged the fact that the children she taught may not find the time at home to invest in their education, since some of them may be expected to assist their parents with their job assignments. Thus, she felt that it was her moral responsibility to efficiently make sure the students followed their lessons well within the classroom. She felt that realistically, children could only learn within the classroom context, and thus, she felt she was obligated to exert extra efforts with the children so that they do not lose out on their educational opportunities.

In the private management run school, teachers felt that parents were a pressure lobby that kept checks on the expression of teacher's 'Agency'. Teachers (TINA, SHOUMITA) felt accountable about their efforts with the parents, and also kept parents participating in the education of their children. DAVID argued that the expectations of the parents are both enabling as well as discouraging to the expression of teacher's 'Agency', in that, the parents had a very limited sense of what it meant to be shaping educational experiences of their children, and thus their pressure was restricted to the progression of syllabus through the year, performance of the child and the classwork records. He argued that parents at times are restrictive of any efforts that maybe geared towards a different sense of educational development than the restricted sense of performance and evaluation. Parents often responded with anxiety towards innovative ways of lesson transaction, or evaluation, thereby inhibiting the expression of teacher's 'Agency'.

Teacher's family support

This was another aspect that found voice in most narratives of teachers, in that, the family support of the teacher helped her cope with the pressures at the workplace. While most teachers seemed in harmony with their families, the struggle of one of the teachers revealed a very different aspect of the entire argument. While, all teachers seemed to have a happy harmony between their professional identity and their personal goal achievement, as for example, some teachers PREITY, JASMEET, SHOUMITA, being able to work at the given salary and as teachers was a matter of pride and deep self fulfillment and satisfaction. However, as for example, one teacher TINA had aimed for a career in civil services or academics and her family saw her profession as secondary to the expected professional role. As a result, the teacher felt dissatisfied and unfulfilled. She quoted her family's dismissal of her profession and the general sense of low self-worth as the reason that effected expression of 'Agency' in her work. However, the nature of this effect was contradictory, in that, she felt that at times she felt defiant and thus felt like investing all the more in her profession as a matter of political protest to the imposed expectations and familial pressure, at the same time she felt that she at times internalized their sense of her profession being a lower achievement in comparison to the expected outcome.

Thus, the familial support and recognition played a crucial role in determining level of job satisfaction and self worth and thus is crucial to the expression of a teacher's 'Agency'.

Extra-curricular work responsibilities

Extra- curricular work responsibilities, teachers admit, are liable to interfere with teacher's pedagogic 'Agency', in that it causes distribution of time in more directions than usual. Teachers in both the schools conceptualized and organized co-curricular and extracurricular activities in mutually exclusive wholes. The aided school did not have any co-curricular activities while the private management run school had co-curricular activities like inter-house 'spell-bee'

and 'Quiz' et cetera. These activities were another form of evaluation and were not aimed towards following up or supplementing the classroom teaching in any way, as such.

The organization of activities, co-curricular or extra-curricular was a sure shot way of earning appreciation and possible rewards from the higher authorities at the school level, and thus teachers who had aspirations for quick growth or felt insecure about their jobs would often try to secure better prospects through such activities.

Teachers pointed out that organization of such activities, for instance like, inter-school cricket tournament in the aided school was a grand affair and required attention and dedication from a number of staff-members over considerable amount of time.

It was observed during the research duration that the teachers would actively participate with such events, organization and management of which would disrupt classes and disturb the routine. The teachers would prioritise the organization of events over classroom teaching, sometimes engaging students along with themselves in carrying out of various jobs. During observations, over a period of about a month in each school, three days and two teachers (DAVID, SHOUMITA) were noted in the private management run school and one teacher (HARLEEN) and ten days were noted, as consumed by the management and organization of upcoming events.

The loss was evident in aided school as classes were suspended, or the teacher brought the work to the classroom with her, finishing it while simultaneously engaging students with activities that could help her produce for the purposes of CCE. In the private management run school the classes were either substituted or students were given assignments.

The aided school was challenged with the lack of proper planning as students encountered ambiguity with respect to the classes. Classes would get suspended without prior notice, teachers would be non-traceable and there was high level of randomness, if the classes happened simultaneously while the teacher worked towards the completion of work responsibilities in relation to organization of the event. Students would either do a writing

assignment with least guidance from the teacher, would randomly be asked to finish past pending assignments, would be given a random, unrelated, isolated assignment that has no relation with the rest of the teaching learning happening otherwise, or would be asked to read aloud a chapter while the teacher did her work. Thus teachers would actively disengage and re-direct their 'Agency' towards other unrelated tasks in view of their significance in relation to desirable ends, sought by them.

Nature Of Teacher 'Agency'

The data collected from classroom observation of the pedagogy and the nature of dialogue between the teachers and learners, when superimposed upon the broad definition of 'Agency' revealed a picture that gives a clear idea of agency as not synonymous with critical agency alone, as proposed by theorists. 'Agency' as illustrated in the foregoing discussions, is not naturally, and essentially critical. Critical agency can best be understood as cultivated and nurtured through specific, strategic and systematic intervention.

It was revealed, that 'Agency' naturally amongst teachers can be classified as neutral/safe agency, negative agency, and positive agency. Positive agency can be understood as closest to and most conducive to its evolution into critical agency, as conceptualized by critical theorists. Other than these, another form of 'Agency' was encountered, one that needs mention here, this agency was observed in the learners and thus, it is being communicated here, separately.

Counter Agency

Another important finding was the encounter with a counter agency. This is exhibited, not by teachers but by students, in that they tend to assign a very different meaning to the action that has been designated a specific meaning by the teacher, namely, the act of hitting or being asked to stand on their desks. While the teacher assigned it a derogatory connotation, the learners manipulated the symbols and actions and re-assigned them meanings that actively challenged power and gave learners the space to reclaim the control of the situation.

Conceptually, this can be read as somewhat synonymous to the concept of 'resistance' in the works of radical thinkers, such as. Such resistance is largely uncritical, emotional and reactionary and is counter-productive, illustrated elaborately in the works of Paul Willis (2000) on Labour class boys's resistance against liberal aims of education. Another concept that can help explain this kind of agency is Nietzsche's conception of '*Ressentiment*'. Nietzsche (1887), in his work titled 'On Genealogy of Morals' argued through the polemic of 'slaves' and 'nobels', illustrated a concept that described the difficult interaction between what we can loosely call, the oppressed and the oppressor, the powerful and the powerless.

Nietzsche argues that '*Ressentiment*' is the tendency amongst the 'slave' type to dismiss and rebut everything that it finds itself in opposition to as a means of generating affect and distracting itself from its own lack of integrated identity. In praxis, 'slave' type employs '*Ressentiment*', as a tool against not what it intends to possess by itself, but against what it resents other having or enjoying. Nietzsche, thus talks of '*Ressentiment*' as a negative corrosive force that aims to manipulate meaning in order to lead to formation of an identity that is integrated and fulfilling, to itself, when it finds itself in situations that challenge a sense of integrated identity. He sees this as an emotional reactionary force that is blinded, uncritical and illusionary practice that brings little over a false contentment. It is an empty gesture because it seeks to enliven the 'slave' only through the deprivation of others and the general false levelling of cultural forms.

Nietzsche says, the 'Nobel' type actively affirms to its powerful position and identity. It affirms everything and everyone related to this identity. *Ressentiment* allows the 'Slave' type to invert this process and begins a process of rebuttal of everything it cannot be, outside of itself. The 'Slave' type derives its sense of an integrated identity derivatively and only through its presumed differences from the 'Nobel'. It actively manipulates meanings and assigns a hostility to outside world in order to gain a positive integrated identity for itself. It is argued that in absence of such a delusional sense of identity, the 'Slave' type would be forced to confront its

ongoing failure to constitute itself as a being worthy of unmediated affirmation Conway (2008)²².

In order to keep this identity the 'Slave' type is dependent on sustaining the hostility, it does so, by initiating what Nietzsche calls 'slave revolt in morality'. 'Slave revolt in morality' is a creative tactic, (illustrated by boys in the above cited example), that insists that the oppressive conditions imposed upon them by the 'Nobles' are desirable. It argues 'goodness' as validated through their 'endurance' or the 'strength of their suffering', which is assigned greater value than being powerlessness and incapacity to avoid/refuse it in any situation. Thus, through '*Ressentiment*', the powerless uses situations of its unavoidable powerlessness and translates it into an expression of power.

It is strictly emotional response to finding oneself in a powerless situation that cannot be avoided or refused. For instance, JASMEET's intense use of corporal punishment forced young boys to evolve ways of redefining their powerless situations in their own favour, as an expression of their strength and masculinity.

However, the reactionary zeal of counter agency is at best a sentimental revolt but not one that is grounded in a sound strategy or critique of its own position or the overall situation.

Neutral/Safe Agency

Neutral/ Safe Agency can be understood in terms of its passivity, at one level it can be doubted whether this is even qualified to be considered agency, at all. However, it is an active conscious subscription to passivity, whereby teachers refuse to exercise any agency beyond that, which is prescribed by the directives issued by higher authorities. This is deeply uncritical of its lack of individual manipulation of directives at all. Teachers, who would be examples of such neutral/safe agency wanted above all else, to play safe. As professor Krishna Kumar also observes, about teachers,

²² Conway, Daniel W. (2008). Nietzsche's On the Genealogy of Morals: a Reader's Guide'. London: Continuum.

“The Indian teacher is bound by syllabus and textbook, prescribed by bureaucratic authority, which also has many other powers including the power to recruit, promote, punish and transfer the teacher. He acts in total compliance and fear towards this authority. He has no control over what he teaches, not even over his pacing.”(1989; P. 129)

The observation made over two decade ago, still has its relevance as far as educational praxis is concerned, although it is not the only picture of reality. This form of agency can be understood as ‘guided’ or ‘prescribed’. The teachers actively disengage and unsubscribe from any digression, from the prescribed. The active withdrawal, also suggests exercise of ‘agency’. The teacher, who could be classified as an example of neutral/safe agency, was conscious of the scope and possibility of digression, but she actively chose to reinstate the prescribed agency, as suggested by the authorities. Although she clearly stated, “Mr.A’s (Division Incharge²³) directions matter most to me, since I am accountable to him, directly...If he wants me to do something, I would do it, that way, even if something goes wrong I can, always say, he asked me to do so..”-TINA

Its noteworthy that Neutral/Safe Agency is deeply characterised by strong internalisation of directives and rules, issued by authority, the primacy of written orders and accountability. It is also coupled with an intense insecurity and fear of being questioned or ‘picked out’ and/or unfavourable outcome such as dismissal or enquiry. It is further marked by the lack of rapport with higher authorities as well as learners and a deep lack of self-confidence. It is also, worth mentioning here how safe agency embeds itself in what Weber termed ‘Formal Rationality’, or faithful observation of expected behaviour. This is not to say that individual operate linearly guided by singular rationality. Presence of other rationalities cannot be denied, however, there is a domination of one kind of rationality, in guiding majority of actions.

²³ Division Incharge is incharge of administrative operations of a cluster of classes, in this case, from standard 1st to standard 6th.

Teachers demonstrating Safe/Neutral Agency seemed least likely to adapt to critical agency, due to high levels of self-doubt and a strong urge to justify using concrete measurable evidences as well as a tendency to disregard one's own thought process to strictly endorse the ideas/views/statements of the authorities.

Negative Agency

Negative agency can be understood in terms of its counter productivity, and in stark contrast to critical agency. Another important way of understanding Negative Agency is to situate it as uncritical, unreflexive, towards its own stand, actions and thoughts; extreme, and oppressive nature to the broad conception of Agency. Thus, Negative Agency sprawls conceptually across counter-productive initiatives to a clear expression of coercion. It is dismissive of learner's abilities, intolerant and volatile in attitude.

Negative agency may be manifest at the level of ideas of the teacher, attitude, in terms of the pedagogic tools employed by her/him, or other actions. The ideas are fragmented, stereotypical and prejudiced, are dismissive of learner's intellect, cognition and abilities.

The attitude of the teacher may range from being negligent and arbitrary to being controlling and authoritative. The classroom interaction is largely interrupted and unengaged, and the classroom learning ethos is largely disrupted.

Negative Agency is deeply uncritical of itself and of its own ideas, thoughts and actions, to the extent that it seeks to justify its position as relevant to the concrete reality, as against the directives issued by authorities at various levels, which it readily identifies as impractical and idealistic. Thus, while negative agency is deeply uncritical of itself, it still is intensely critical of the structures and other aspects pertaining to the external environment and ideological and institutional structures. There appears a deep sense of individuation from the authorities at varying levels, through different strategies. While, the more immediate authorities are convinced, or manipulated through distortions or persuasions or even appeasement; the more distant abstract authorities are readily dismissed or ignored.

“(I) have read everything...The guidelines issued by NCERT et cetera..but..these kids aren’t like those (as mentioned by the guidelines)...they are oblivious to the kind of situations we encounter, the kind of children we deal with...we also donot like to punish/hit them[learners] but without threatening them a little, it is impossible to teach.” –JASMEET

Negative Agency crudely subscribes, in part to what Weber would term, “Practical Rationality”, as well as to “Substantive Rationality”, in that they readily force actions into patterns while simultaneously evolving a set of values and rationales that argue for its efficiency as well as deeply ingrained uncritical ideas and values of educational praxis, that maybe reflective of their own experiences at school.

“Both my parents were teachers, my father went onto be a principal, and they were strict, we were not spared if we did something wrong...all of us(siblings and the teacher, herself), but I am very thankful to them that they were that way...because it evolved us into successful individuals...”-TINA

Positive Agency

Positive ‘Agency’ may be designated as most conducive to evolution into critical agency. Positive agency is marked by a deep drive to deliver. It is product oriented and focussed, and thus, it seeks to employ tools other than only prescribed by varying levels of authorities. Positive Agency is significant in terms of its characteristic positive association with the profession, a feeling of responsibility and zest towards learning outcomes. It is noteworthy though that in the findings positive agency much like negative agency showed possibility of corporal punishment, however, the two differ significantly in terms of the reasons invoked for justification.

Positive Agency maintains cordial relationships with the immediate authorities and attempts to relate positively with the other, more abstract authorities. Positive Agency is only in part critical of its own actions, although the major hindrance it succumbs to is in its alienation from the

context of the learner. There is an obvious attempt to distance oneself from the learners, due to varying reasons; from the fear of loss of control and thus, the fear of falling short on self defined goals of pedagogy and learning, to ignorance of an overzealous attempt to “distribute knowledge”, guided by a projected passivity of the learner.

“these children depend on us, a considerable number amongst them also live in such tough scarce life conditions, and yet they come to study...the teachers in private school are also like us...but, they put in a lot of efforts with those children...our job is to teach these children..I don't like it, if I am not able to do my job satisfactorily...the reason why we're here is to teach..then why must we waste their time...I feel the education of these children, should not suffer because of us.”- PREITY

In contrast to Negative Agency, which is counter-productive, Positive 'Agency' holds central to itself, the concern of productivity. Learning and pedagogic goal setting and achievement is of utmost importance to Positive 'Agency'. Positive Agency has a restrained sense of criticality in that, it is deeply critical of its actions that must be strongly justifying the ends defined as desirable and sought, however, the criticality doesn't cross the domain of defining and achieving learning goals. Beyond this domain of learning outcome achievement this Agency is starkly uncritical, in terms of its actions and pedagogic tools and methodology, like negative agency. It is not as dismissive or critical of authorities as Negative Agency, but it holds its discretion and engagement with the directives given by any authority. However, its noteworthy that even this criticality strongly evaluates any directives issued only against its influence on the achievement of set goals. Important, it is to note that, the goals are in part defined by the syllabus, however, the syllabus is readily manipulated with, in order to achieve the learning outcomes fixed by the teacher in consultation with the guiding directives.

Positive 'Agency' draws from both 'Practical Rationality' as well as 'Substantive Rationality', much like Negative 'Agency', however, significantly departs from it in matters of definition of goals as well as efficiency. Positive 'Agency' exhibits positive association with teaching as a profession, and operates with a sense of responsibility and allegiance towards perceived role-

responsibilities and a strong sense of accountability towards learners, parents as well as self. Teachers who illustrated Positive 'Agency' argued their "Self-Fulfilment" or a feeling of contentment, as one of the driving forces to their efforts.

Implications for Critical Agency:

There are two significant implications of the above described findings for the Critical Agency deemed crucial to critical pedagogy by critical theorists.

One important implication of the above findings has already been given significant expression in the, rather recent, works of critical thinkers, namely the lack of 'Theoretical Rationality' from the rationality of the teachers's actions. A dynamic relationship and interrelationship between all four types of rationalities can help strengthen the critical agency. Theoretical rationality can be evolved through strengthening conceptual tools that can help teachers politicise and problematize their material and ideological conditions of life and working. A sound critical-analytical conscious understanding of one's position is crucial to 'Active Forgetting' and thus, the exercise of a critical agency. The critical theorists also acknowledge the need for university education of teachers, into evolving them as researcher-practitioner or a teacher-intellectual. Critical theorists readily argue initiation of teachers in the traditions of educational discourses at the academic and research level.(Giroux, 2001; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005a; Kincheloe, *undated*).

Negative Agency as well as Positive 'Agency' are significant in that through their specific ways, both invoke what Nietzsche called, 'Active Forgetting' section 367 of *The Gay Science* (1882). 'Active Forgetting' has crucial implications for the much desired critical agency in teachers. Critical theorists invoke Critical Agency of the teacher, one that is reflexive, critical, and employs reflection and analysis. Critical theorists also argue that such criticality must not only be restricted to a critical understanding of positivist assumption, practices and texts but that teachers should be able to critically asses their own material and working conditions (Giroux,1988). Such an agency and such criticality of the agency is likely to invite a backlash

from the existing structures, governing educational praxis, since it seeks to manipulate power hierarchy as well as assume a critical stand against the structures through its problematic-ation of its material and working conditions.

Nietzsche's concept of Active Forgetting is crucial to exercising of agency, that is, "Forgetting some aspects of their ascetic training (self disciplining)". Forgetting some aspects of their 'ascetic training', are crucial to exercise of Agency as it allows for *looking past* certain aspects of structural constraints, thereby granting themselves novel opportunities. Active Forgetting can be understood through its relation to his invocation of related ideas of 'memory' and 'forgetting'.

Nietzsche, in Essay-II, "On the Genealogy of Morals" calls memory as an unreliable, recently emergent faculty which has been acquired at an immeasurable cost to human beings. He describes memory as a project of *Forcible Investiture*, acquired through a long and painful process, which occupied much of human pre-history, culminating in the establishment of the 'morality of mores'. He argues that the aim of this process was to make human beings more regular and calculable, so that they might receive the benefits and bear the responsibilities of life in civil societies.

In this sense he argues that 'forgetting' is natural to human beings, he states that it is "*an active, and in the strictest sense, a positive faculty of repression which enables individuals to bypass consciousness in as much as possible in their absorption of adventitious experiences.*"

Thus, 'Active Forgetting' involves a deliberate attempt at unlearning of the ascetic routines (disciplines of structures and their directives). Active forgetting helps overcome self division and self estrangement to reclaim and recovering of partial measures of self possession and self-identity, resulting in spontaneous self assertion.

Negative 'Agency' invokes "Active Forgetting" in the most extreme, un-self-critical manner, while Positive 'Agency' applies it in a manner which is somewhat critical. The illustrated

Negative/Positive 'Agency' operates in terms of manipulating, *within safe boundaries*, with the structural constraints.

It is crucial, thus, to note here that active forgetting is as crucial to evolution of critical agency as criticality. In absence of criticality Active Forgetting assumes the shape that it does in the illustration described above, and in absence of active forgetting, criticality is most likely to suffer with theoretical abstraction, alienation of critiques, despair, directionless-ness, inaction and frustration.

Critical Agency is crucial to the reclaiming of democratic educational praxis by learners and teachers, however, critical agency requires essential tools that help teachers strengthen their agency, which cannot solely come from active knowledge of systems, structures and their nature and working, it would also require acknowledgement of 'what needs to be forgotten' in accordance with one's knowledge, for the individual to be able to act.

Chapter#4

Multiple Subjectivities of the Teachers: Power, Consciousness and Evolution of Self

Introduction

Subjectivity and more importantly the *Subject* has been granted enormous significance in the philosophical traditions as well as sociological and political investigations, conceptualizations and theorisation about the individual. Philosophical tradition most intensely engages in an exploration of the political nature of the *Subject*, in essence, the political relevance. Implications of the deliberative theorisation about the *Subject* features most prominently in philosophical traditions, more so in contemporary philosophical traditions. Power, here features prominently in relation to subjectivity, in terms of a theoretical engagement that has political significance. Foucault (1991) sees subjectivity as of no independent significance, outside of power relations. He argues that subjectivity is constructed through and in the context of power relationships experienced. However, Foucauldian conceptualization of power is no less complex. Foucault dissolves the origins of power and diffuses it in layered previously unobserved discourses and practices, such that, power is all pervasive and yet not static. In Foucauldian conceptualization no one owns power, no one is devoid of power. The study, however focuses on his argument in his 1977 work where he makes some very significant points, for the scope of this study and findings. Firstly, Foucault says that theory must be seen as a form of political *practice*, whose precise function is to unmask and contest relations of power, '*This is a struggle against power, a struggle aimed at revealing and undermining power where it is most invisible and insidious*' (1977: 208). Secondly, Foucault here identifies a specific relationship of power, especially through its crystallization into institutions and hierarchies, as dominating and inequitable.

Another important operational pointer drawn from the works of Foucault is the idea of what constitutes political dimension of philosophical conceptualization about subjectivity. He identifies this political dimension as “the analysis that relates to what we’re willing to accept and refuse in our world, what we’re willing to accept and change both in ourselves and in our circumstances” (Foucault, 1997²⁴).

The exploration, in part also draws from the conceptualization of *Subject* and *Subjectivity* In the Post-Cartesian tradition of philosophy, specifically from the works of Immanuel Kant, and Descartes. The exploration draws from Kantian argument of self as not only the locus as well as source of consciousness and representation, but ultimately as the source of all knowledge, action and ethics. Through this argument, the findings about subjectivity can be seen in relation to ‘Agency’. The analysis also seems to reflect the Kantian notion of ‘*Subject is transcendental*’, that is, subject is now the condition of possibility of objectivity itself, and no longer problematically cut off from it.

Although it is well acknowledged that a great part of contention may emerge in light of the works of Deleuze, Lacan, Nietzsche and Foucault. The former two raising concerns about the representational schemes and linguistic mediation of subjectivity by the individual, which would require a deeper level of analysis of the specific linguistic symbols and expressions employed in communication. The criticism emergent from these thinkers would point to the alienation of the consciousness from the being due to primacy of representational schemes. The latter two focus on analysis of ‘*Subject in Crisis*’ or the contention that subjectivity redraws its limits, defines itself only in crisis, and thus, argue in favour of a radical overcoming of the finite limits of individual’s subjectivity through the focus on the processes and practices that shape the subject. Foucault (1997) also critically points to the centrality to custom of ‘confession’ or what traditionally was called ‘Truth Therapy’ that is the primacy of knowledge about self (what he

²⁴ Foucault, M. (1997) lecture#1. ‘Truth and Subjectivity’, Lectures Part1. accessed from <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/foucault/howison.html> Accessed on 16th June, 2012 at 14:00

calls *Truth Obligation*) and its exact, precise articulation in excruciating details to some others. (Foucault, 1997)

The analysis keeps the above markers in consideration, for reflection on findings in the chapter, however, due to limitations imposed by data and time, an extensive analysis along these lines would not be taken.

The exploration of teacher's subjectivity would thus entail an exploration of elements of identifiable institutional hierarchies and the experience of power and powerlessness, and its influence on the subjectivities. The chapter seeks to study self as the locus of experience, consciousness and morality. It also highlights the political dimension of subjectivity as illustrated by Foucault.

The exploration of subjectivity undertaken drew from the idea of subjectivity developed by Weedon (1996). Weedon described subjectivity as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world." Weedon(1996, P.32).

Early writings of critical theorists clearly point to the potential of the teachers to evolve thinking, reflective, reflexive agency by themselves, or through reading of critical texts, on one hand. On the other they ignore the subjectivity, as it may spontaneously be. All theorists in their writings enthusiastically appeal to the consciousness of the teacher, assuming their engagement as leading to their evolution in to "transformative intellectuals". Reading however is not uni-linear, coherent and unidirectional process, since it also simultaneously involves meaning making process that draws a lot from an individual's subjectivity. Thus, the assumption of a transformation of educational practitioners into transformative intellectuals who emerge out critical and reflexive through their encounter with reading these texts is an ambitious expectation. The aim of this chapter is to explore the 'subjectivity' of the teachers, that the critical theorists imagine as coherent and conducive, and to some extent passive (since the propositions of early phase of critical theory does not imagine variations within teachers

subjectivities, or even the significance of the subjectivity) in its encounter with critical theory texts. The subjectivity implicitly assumed is one seeking its critical-reflective-reflexive agency albeit being 'trapped' in a deadlock of institutional pressures and ideological lacunae.

The chapter begins by attempting to draw a biographical sketch of each of the respondents based on their narratives. The following section attempts to contextualize subjectivity in terms of the power relationships. Following section investigates the impact of the subject's experiencing the socially produced hierarchies and their influence on shaping of teachers' subjectivities. The chapter also attempts to deconstruct the processual component of subjectivity, in that, what goes into the making of a teacher's subjectivity.

It must be made a note of, here, that subjectivity is not absolutely manifest and thus, a large part of the analysis is supported by data evidence, and yet, an equal part of the analysis is speculative.

Multiple Subjectivities

It is important to note that the analysis of subjectivities can happen at multiple ways. This section looks at the more superficial analysis of realms in which subjectivity can be identified. This is only a prima facie analysis of subjectivities. Although the research attempted to reach a coherent individual subjectivity, the findings revealed that coherence was far from a characteristic of an individual. Data revealed that individual operated within multiple subjectivities that constantly interact with each other often conflict or even compete, collaborate with each other, synchronise at occasions to shape an individual's ideas, thoughts and actions. Thereby, refuting the hypothesis that there can or are coherent rationale behind ideas and actions. Findings pointed to severe discrepancies, incoherence and lack of any whatsoever linearity within the thought process of the individuals.

Interviews were taken in three sittings, two of which were dedicated to questions regarding their pedagogy and ideas, while one sitting was specifically meant for the purpose of getting teacher's narratives, In the case of two teachers only, DAVID, and TINA the sittings for the

narratives were two, making the complete number of sittings to four in the two specified instances.

Prima facie analysis of subjectivity revealed that subjectivity can be identified on the basis of the sphere that it manifested itself through, and in the form of spheres concerning classroom and teaching learning process, pedagogy, school and larger society.

Classroom subjectivity can be understood as the subjectivity that teacher had with respect to the space of classroom, the decorum/ethos, the role/authority of the teacher, the conduct of the students, the perceptions the teacher has of the learners, of the relationship between teacher and students and of what education means. Such a subjectivity dominates the shaping of classroom ethos and to a large part also pedagogy.

Pedagogy has manifestation of the teacher's undiluted views about the world order, about the textbook, the presumption about the knowledge in textbooks and the nature of the subject, the nature of learning and the process of learning. This has an overpowering influence on the learning outcomes as well as on the classroom processes.

There is the subjectivity constructed by the school, that is, the subjectivity evolved in employees of the school with respect to appearance, conduct, behaviour and even of morality and conscience and consideration. Finally, there is one that is society, society works in multiple ways, at one level is the shaping of subjectivity by the social/civil/popular media of the teacher, another is shaping of teacher's ideas and understanding about the world, evolving a world view, popular discourse on education and about herself as an individual who lives at the cross sections of multiple dimensions of varying identity markers.

At another level subjectivities can be read in correspondence of the contexts of related actions, that is, subjectivity of the professional role, subjectivity of the social role/roles, subjectivity of practice and experience, and subjectivity of ideas or perceptions. All these represent the unified-broad spectrum of possibilities that capture the actions and thoughts of individual teachers. These broad spectrums are certainly not mutually exclusive and bear common links to

each other providing the possibility of an overall consistency while yet allowing for incoherence to co-exist.

At yet another level the analysis could look at subjectivity as extra-curricular and curricular domains of subjectivity. Extra-curricular can be understood as domains of subjectivity that do not have an obvious and direct correspondence to classroom teaching and pedagogy, but have a more indirect influencing potential and thus, matter nonetheless. Curricular can be understood as that which corresponds directly and obviously with the pedagogy. Strong inter-linkages exist between the two domains exist so much so that the boundaries appear hazy. It is this classification that shall be the starting point for further analysis, since pedagogy is central to concerns of this research.

Extra-pedagogic aspect of subjectivity signifies, the subjectivity related to institutions of work, understanding non-pedagogic roles of teaching profession, about discipline, the understanding of educational discourse, workspace interpersonal relationships, perceptions about the social status and image of teaching profession, and an individual's own position on social map and his/her 'common sense'²⁵.

Pedagogic aspect of subjectivity can further be classified as epistemic and ontological, even as such a classification is made, it is acknowledged that there isn't a very obvious and clear demarcation between the two. The demarcation however is drawn upon the basis of consciousness of the teacher about holding certain views. For epistemic, there is only a reference that can be made through inference drawing, such as, the perception of the teacher about the meaning of pedagogy, the perception about learning, and about teaching-learning, teacher student relationship, perceptions about nature of knowledge, education and schooling, Stereotypes, biases and prejudices feature in both the epistemic as well as the ontological aspects since stereotypes, prejudices, biases are part of socialization and coherent with the

²⁵ Common sense is invoked in order to communicate the idea of uncritical, unreflexive ideas that have been constructed through the socialization of an individual into a specific cross section of dimensions of social stratification.

common sense that an individual acquires by virtue of occupying a certain position on the social map.

While ontological can be argued are the aspects that are more obvious as well as are used to actively invoke meaning making such as perceptions about the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of learners, the prejudices, stereotypes and biases of the teacher by virtue of his/her socialization, the teacher's world views, perceptions, ideas, thoughts that she may invoke during the meaning making process, the perception of the teacher about learner's ability, about the goals of learning and ways of assessing achievement of goals.

Teacher Narratives

Researches in 'who these teachers are' and 'what they think' can easily be classified as scarce, if not rare. Thus, it becomes pertinent to re-construct the teacher in terms of 'what she thinks' and 'who she is' this section draws a short biographical note on each of the teachers, extracted from their narratives and responses during an interview.

DAVID

Aged 36 years, he had been in service, in the given school, as a teacher for 8 years. An alumna of the same school, as a young boy of 17 years of age he had long nurtured a dream to join the armed forces of the nation. However, due to constraints posed by economic conditions of his family, he could not chase his dream to its destiny.

Born and brought up in New Delhi, he was the younger of two brothers, born to a religious Christian couple. His father worked at a reputed position, in hotel industry, while his mother was a home maker. His affiliation with the institution began as a student of the school, along with his elder brother. Otherwise hardworking as a student, he had a fluctuating school performance record. His growing up years also saw dramatic rise and fall in economic stability. During the more stable and financially balanced time, when things at home were more than just comfortable, he struggled with vernacular language, and was forced to repeat 6th standard,

since he couldn't score enough to pass the summative annual assessment examination. Since, vernacular, English and mathematics were considered core subjects, back then, he was forced to repeat the class.

By the time he reached 8th standard, a severe financial crisis had set in. His father had lost his job, and the family had lost its only source of income. The boys, were forced to take part time employment to sustain the subsistence cost of the family. Simultaneous employment pressurized the schooling of the two brothers. The elder brother, then in 10th standard, could not sustain the pressure of employment against his schooling and was forced to drop out. Recollecting his elder brother's trauma he said, *"The work he was doing was demanding, and after a point in time, he could no longer hold onto his education. He just couldn't have balanced both... he tried...he wanted to study...so badly...and I could see that...his conviction and yearning made me realize all the more...that if..I had to make it anywhere in life, I'd have to study...if I had not begun working....I wouldn't have been able to pay my fees..."*

He took a small part time employment as a service boy, at The Foreign Correspondents' Club (FCC) of South Asia, where he served water. He recalls, *"I used to wake up early in morning, get ready for school, attend school here, return home, immediately change and go to work...it was tough, as a kid..."*

Aged 14 in class 8th, forced by sudden demand to work alongside studying, he succumbed to the financial jolt and his performance in the annual summative assessment examination suffered, yet again. With time, he settled to the demands of school along with the pressures of working. From his 8th standard to his 12th standard he continuously took small time employment sometimes shifting between different work places and different jobs. Recalling the time and pressure he said, *"I've worked as bell boy, I've served water, I've even cleaned toilets, swept floors, mopped...I have done everything time demanded me to..."*.

Class 12th brought him some relief, as his father found employment again, however his relief was short lived, since his father's health condition forced him away from his job. With the

financial crisis looming on the family, all over again, he was forced to compromise his dream of joining the armed forces.

Encouraged by the principal of his school, he went to Martelly Teacher Training College in Darjeeling. He says, *“My principal sir sent me to Martelly, in Darjeeling, I liked the place, their training course, I clicked with the training and thus the profession during my encounter with it through Martelly.”* While pursuing his graduation from Martelly, Darjeeling, he again began working alongside at a place called *The Confer*, an formal body that works in organising and management of conferences. He worked there for 2 years alongside pursuing his teacher training course. After completing his course from Martelly, when he returned to New Delhi, there were no vacancies, in the school and so he worked with Delhi Police, IPR cell as a clerk for 2 years, after which he applied against an opening in the school and he resigned from IPR cell and joined the school. While working at the school he met and married his co-worker at the school.

He aims and hopes to one day head a school, be in its governing body and implement his ideas. He says, *“I want to reach a position, where I want to run a school...and I am working towards it...everyday...I’ve seen a lot of upheavals...and now I am in a place where I can dream for myself...and achieve it too.”*

SHOUMITA

Aged 51 years, she was born to a class 3 central government employee and a nurse. Of their four children, she was the youngest, succeeding a sister and two brothers. Born and brought up in Hooghly city (Now Hooghly-Chinchura, 40 Km from Kolkata), in district Hooghly, West Bengal, she did a major part of her schooling from St. Joseph’s Convent school, Chandannagar, after a brief stay at the *Krishna Bhabini Nari Siksha Mandir*, Chandannagar. She explains the reason for the shift as, “I only studied in that school till class 3, then shifted to St. Joseph’s, since my father was a government employee and was very fond of both English and French language, he wanted the girls of the family to be able to read and write in English...he had a small collection

of English books he treasured and safe locked in a glass cased almirah...I was sure as a child that when I learnt enough English, he'd let me read those books and I would constantly force him to share the books...to which he never agreed...Often Maa would read a page or two in her broken, unusual, bangle accented English, just so that we'd eat or drink milk...we, me and my elder brother had a lot of fun together..”

Her father wanted both his daughters to study English, however, her eldest sibling, her sister, got married early, owing to the pressure by grandfather and other kinship affiliations. However, having married early herself, PM02's sister stood a firm ground against her marriage soon after her graduation from Chandernagar government college, she, was encouraged by her father and mother to do a teacher training course from Institute of Education (P.G.) for Women, Chandernagore. She joined job as a teacher in a reputed private school, Le Matiniere in the year 1979 in Kolkata city, She served there for three years and meanwhile met her future spouse in the city. Soon after marriage, in 1982, both shifted to Delhi, and while her spouse joined his job as a bank manager in a government bank, in New Delhi, on deputation basis, she stayed home for two years.

She joined the school in 1984, and has since been working in the school persistently. She felt that, “My life, has been smooth..and even as I say this, I'm conscious that I should be thankful to god. Both my daughter and my son are now into jobs...both studied and found jobs, it just makes me happy and satisfied...My family was very helping and loving.”

A usually hard working and committed student, at school, she always performed well at studies consistently. She recalls her days at the school, “I initially didn't like school, but then, I learnt a lot from the school...my teachers always praised me...I was sincere”

She narrates how the expectations at home were high, “Both my parents were themselves educated...and so, they wanted us to study...and honestly despite all odds, I kept fighting to study...thanks to baba for choosing the right things for me...always...I always met the right people...my parents were so nice...my teachers were good to me...college was good...I just feel I achieved a lot...and I owe it in a large part to my family...and to my teachers”

SHOUMITA plans to serve her term here at the school till her service years and hopes to retire with a good performance record.

TINA:

Aged 32 years, she's completed tenure of 9 years as a teacher, in two different schools, and has been working in this school since January, 2006.

Born to two educational practitioners, she's brought up, in a Christian family, primarily, in Allahabad. The youngest among three children, she is preceded by an elder sister and eldest brother. During her growing up years, she has witnessed two *very dedicated, very hard working* teachers within her own home. As parents they've been *not only the source of encouragement and support but their being, their personalities and their work has been primary influence* on her choice of profession. This intense influence, of the parents and their professions, eventually turned out to be her *greatest motivation and inspiration behind choosing of this profession*. Referencing to the contribution of her parents she says, *"you are known by the values and the morals that your parents teach you...my parents always taught me to work hard and be assured that there is success for you...be satisfied..be happy...despite my health condition they always told me, 'you're a normal child,...nothing is wrong with you...you can do everything..you're no different'...and if I've made this far...its only because of my conviction and the values they inculcated in me."*

A dedicated and good student with a consistent performance record, she did her schooling from St. Mary's Convent School, Allahabad. This school was affiliated to the ICSE-ISE board. At 17 years of age, with a strong performance in the class XIIth examination, she opted to shift to New Delhi, following in the footsteps of her elder siblings, to continue further study. Having both elder siblings studying in St. Stephans, Delhi University, consent of the parents was conditional upon her procuring hostel accommodation, failing which, due to concerns about her safety, she would have had to either stay in Allahabad for her under graduation studies or moved to a college in Dehradun.

Having made it through St. Stephans successfully, along with a hostel accommodation, she did her undergraduate studies in History (Honors) from Delhi University. During the first year of under graduation course, just as the annual examinations stood around the corner, she was diagnosed with severe chronic diabetes. Hospitalized and bed-ridden, due to her health condition, she fell alone, as both her siblings graduated soon after she had joined college. Having lost on three months of attendance and course work posed the threat of costing her one whole academic year, but she stood determined to overcome. She persistently worked hard and relentlessly, shortly after her partial recovery and managed to score well in the yearly examinations. Recalling her condition during onset of her health condition she says, *“I would repeatedly lose my memory, I would not be able to walk after a class...I would slur(SIC), I would stammer, I did not have clear speech..and so my confidence would be low...but my parents encouraged me, told me always I’m strong enough to deal with anything”*

Her health condition has been a major challenge in her educational and career pursuits. However, she considers it a battle, she fights every day. She considers it a mark of success that she’s never had to repeat a class, she’s never failed in summative annual assessment examinations, and has maintained a consistent and *good* academic performance record.

After successfully completing her under graduate study in history (Honors), she proceeded and procured a masters degree in Modern History from St. Stephans, Delhi University. Her post graduation in modern history was followed by a bachelors degree in education, from Allahabad University. After her B.Ed. she went ahead and taught at Bishop Johnson’s School, where her father worked as the Principal. After Successfully working in Bishop Johnson’s for a year and a half, she got married and moved back to New Delhi.

During her stay at St. Stephans she met her future spouse, who, after completing his under graduate studies from St. Stephans, Delhi University, procured a bachelors degree in Law from Delhi University followed by a masters degree in law from Oxford University, London, United Kingdom. After his return, he sat for the entrance examination for Indian Administrative Services and successfully secured his place in the Indian Revenue Services. He is currently

posted in ministry of finance as a senior official. PM03 had a inter-religion love marriage, and is married to a caste hindu, but she suggests its has never created any difference of opinion ever.

After her marriage, she began teaching in the school she currently was working in. Simultaneously she undertook another post graduation degree course in European History from Jamia Milia Islamia. 3 months in her marriage, she experienced yet another severe and sudden bout of Diabetes. She slipped into coma, due to drastic fluctuation in her blood sugar levels, expectant with her first child; she had to abort pregnancy due to deformity in foetus, induced due to her critical health condition. She now has a son, who's 5 years old.

However she feels she's come a long way and has a long way to go. She is encouraged by her husband and wishes to study further, and uptake academic research, like many of her college peers, in a good university in United Kingdom. She is awaiting grant of scholarship and has applied and been accepted to three reputed universities (London School of Economics, The Oxford University and the Cambridge University), on an unconditional offer for PhD.

JASMEET

Aged 54 years, she was born to a spice merchant and a home maker, in a very traditional joint family. The family originally from Peshawar (now in Pakistan) migrated to Amritsar in 1940, for trade purposes. During the partition of India, the family suffered great loss of finances of business and property as well as of lives. Her father, was only survivor of three brothers, the family, by the time of her birth, was an elaborate joint family headed by her grandfather, along with the surviving wife and children of uncles and one widowed aunt and her children. Fourth of five children, she studied in the local government school for girls, along with her two elder sisters and other girls of the family.

After partition it took some time for the family to recover financial losses, by the time of her birth, things had settled both financially and emotionally for the family. The family business had grown and flourished, she recounts her family's status, "at that time, we had zari on the curtains, my father had an elaborate taste...there would be elaborate feasts to celebrate

occasions and festivities...as a child, it was fascinating and awe inspiring, governor and other big people would drop in often..." She recalls how her father admired English education and wanted all three of his daughters to be English educated so they were sent to the government schools, a practice not very popular in Punjab of those days. She recalls there were only 7 girls in their class and how she and her sisters travelled by cycles, then a luxury. Soon enough, business of the family sank due to conflicts in Punjab, but the family managed to sustain economic security. The children were usually not deprived, but the wealth had shrunk in comparison to earlier times.

She reminisces reflectively, "My father had worked very hard to earn that money, I had witnessed all the luxuries he made available to us, to his family...as I grew up and begun to understand things, I never thought I'd be able to ever earn as respectable amount of money as my father did...be able to buy a car from my own salary...today I own a car...my children proudly introduce me as a teacher...I earn such a respectable salary...it would have been unimaginable to my parents and even myself at that point"

An average student in academics, she graduated from school with a second division (then, a brilliant educational record). Happy with her educational performance the family decided to send her to the government college for women, Amritsar for her bachelors degree, following which, inspired by her aunt and following in her footsteps she did her teacher training from Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Married soon after her graduation, she completed her teacher training after her marriage, from her natal home. After completion of her teacher training, she joined her husband and his family in Dehradun, where he was transfer posted. She taught there in a school for 2 years. Following the transfer posting of her husband to New Delhi, she taught in Greenland Public school for 6 months and then applied and took a job in the said school where she's given 20 years of her teaching career.

HARLEEN

She's currently 44 years old, and was born to a primary school teacher, in Kendriya Vidyalaya and a home maker in Jammu city. Originally from Jalandhar, Punjab, the parents shifted to Jammu city on transfer deputation. She is second born of the couple, flanked by an elder and a younger sister and the youngest brother.

While the parents stayed at Jammu city, once, HARLEEN was about 4 or 5 years old. And then, the children were living in Jalandhar with their maternal grandmother and uncle and cousins. Ancestral home in Adampur, Jalandhar is an elaborate property constructed by her maternal grandfather. The children did their schooling together from Kendriya Vidyalaya, Adampur Jalandhar. She then went on to do her graduation from DAV college, Jalandhar.

She recalls her school days, "I was a lot into athletics and sprints running was my speciality...I enjoyed doing that...since I was very good at studies also, I used to be the monitor, most often...so I was good, overall a good student...I never gave studies all my attention yet I was so (Sharp), that I could recall better and I could remember better...my capacity to hear and remember is very good...you'd say I'm praising myself, but I was offered to host an event whenever the school required."

She recalls how it was a luxury, still for women to access education, however she succinctly adds that since her family was so supportive she's never felt restrained and inhibited. She joined a job in a private school locally, to support family finances. It is then, that she says, she began to explore the possibility of adopting it as a career.

After 5 years of teaching, she joined pre-service teacher training at regional DIET, institute, in 1991, and received training, subsequently she also married and joined the present school when she moved in with her husband, who is a government servant and belongs to New Delhi.

PREITY

PREITY completed years of service and 46 years of age. Born to a primary school teacher, and a farmer, PREITY, is the youngest of 7 children, and is preceded by two sisters and four brothers. The economic vulnerability was known to a modest farmer in Karnal, Haryana, and so as PREITY puts it, "He made the best effort he could to get us education that he could not get...I remember how there were days, when out of the loss incurred due to erratic rainfall and other factors like disease infection, we used to get scared that we would have to struggle to make the ends meet...it was very stressful"

She, fought against the odds to continue her education from a local government school, Soon after, the family incurred the loss of their son and a daughter, due to diseases like cholera and lack of awareness. In her schooling years she had seen struggles, both financial and emotional. She had witnessed an intense vulnerability of being from economically struggling backgrounds. With an intense sense of loss gripping the entire family, children of the family quickly grasped the economic instability and adapted. Third of five children she would often not have enough money to buy books and notebooks. She recounts her financial vulnerability and intense will to study she recalls, " I would often, when I wouldn't have money to buy new notebooks...I would stick pages at the end of an exhausted notebook to complete my homework...there have been times when I wouldn't even have the textbook, but since I was very diligent as a student, I had a friend, who'd loan out his books to me even if a day before the exams..he'd chuckle and say, 'at least you'd put it better use...of the two of us...you're more likely to study..so here go study' ...it truly touches my heart at times to think how beautiful such friendships were".

In the 5th year of formal schooling, that her interest in studies motivated a teacher to help finance her studies and so she went on to attend the Tagore baal nikan, Karnal. She did her graduation from Arya PG college, Panipat and then compelled by her mother's ailment and the financial fluctuations in the family, she started teaching at a small school, in Karnal, after about 5 or 6 years of teaching there she encountered a distance diploma in education by the IGNOU university as well. She acquired her diploma in education while in job. Through various links she

got to know of an opening in the given school and applied without hopes she recounts, “I was just nervous...too nervous...I was fearful and anxious I guess...There were people with better qualifications and better degrees...and when I finally got it...I couldn’t just stop thinking of my ailing mother..and I quickly rushed...”

Her desire to study was cultured and nurtured by her father and her aunt. Who would often motivate her to struggle and fight to study. She recalls how, of her three sisters, one discontinued her studies after 10 years of formal schooling, while the second sister struggled to study till her graduation. Having seen her eldest sister married, she recounts that she was determined to study like her elder sister. Her aunt counselled her after her graduation to join teacher training and find herself a job, she recalls, “I did not start working to be independent, or earn myself a livelihood...I began thinking of getting a job so that I could support the family, in whatever little way I can”

Her husband identified a strong desire in her to study and supported her interest, “he’s always been supportive and encouraging...at times he would tell me to leave the job and rest...but when I told him, its what I enjoy doing...he’s never argued against it...often on school days he’s wake me up with a bed tea...he’s always been very supportive of my choices”

Impact On Subjectivity:

Power and Subjectivity

Foucault proposes that there is no conception of a subject outside of the context of power relations. Without the larger canvas of experiences of power relations, subjectivity cannot be captured. “Power shapes subjectivity”, through its expression and specifically through the constraints it levies or the control it exercises over the subject.

However, power as illustrated by the findings was more complex and layered than the obvious conceptualisation by traditional Marxist thought. Much in line, with the thought of Neo-Marxist conceptualization of resistance, power was not static but fluid, dynamic and the

networks of power relationships emerged more convoluted than easy to trace. Power, as the findings revealed is not only convoluted in its expression but also dynamic and 'intelligent' in its manifestation; it can be, overt, coercive, obvious and controlling; or covert, implicit and implicit. The role of power relations was seen in the shaping of subjectivities. Institutionalised power relationships are usually more obvious and overt, in their impersonal dealings, where as in translating these institutional power relationships into micro level personal expressions are more complex and nuanced in expression.

Teachers at one level seemed to construct a part of their subjectivity in relation to the school they worked for. Judging the rules of behaviour from the implicit conversations with other staff members as well as with, from various other implicit expressions of unspoken rules of behaviour. When asked if they feel accepted and a coherent part of the school, all teachers unanimously acknowledged feeling that they belong to the school. When asked what it was that helped them become a part of the school, SHOUMITA, for instance said, "When you join a school, there are some things about the behaviour of a teacher that you already know...while some you improvise upon..."

It is this 'improvisation' that holds the key to understanding an important part of a teacher's subjectivity, that is her active construction of implicit, unspoken rules of behaviour and conduct. This active construction of the role and identity of a teacher was to some extent constructed in relation to institutionalised hierarchies and stated obvious rules, and also in terms of unspoken rules and conduct protocols that are observable but not defined. It also illustrates how, a part of subjectivity is forever evolving and shaping itself, and thus, any findings (by the time communicated) would be obsolete, since some aspect of the subjectivity will forever remain elusive.

Findings revealed that an active part of such a shaping role of power was, firstly, a deference-avoidance-prevention of any unfavourable unpleasant confrontation with any of the authorities. Although fear of losing job featured prominently behind this kind of attitude, a large part of rationale behind this kind of thinking was a feeling of obligatory allegiance that

teachers felt. There was also a feeling most prominent in SHOUMITA, HARLEEN, TINA was the threat of a 'loss of face', or the fear of a tarnished image as a teacher, one that responded not only to personal idea of oneself but also a social idea of who they were or what they did. Teachers unanimously feared any kind of legal or institutional/managerial action seeing it as an injury to their social prestige and persona.

A large part of this subjectivity went into the defining of a teacher's roles, actions, conduct, attitude and behaviour. Teachers both held in them, a deep resentment as well as awe against a power relationship that caused an unfavourable or unpleasant experience. The control exercised by the authorities shaped the agency of the teachers, as well as their understanding about their position within the larger context of educational praxis. The discipline exercised by the authorities and the control over actions and representation of teachers's individual presentation and ideas is beyond a mere controlling and defining, it is alienating to teachers.

At one level, teachers's subjectivity can be understood through an analogical parallel with the shaping of subjectivity of a prisoner being shaped by the prison authorities, in that, their actions, are constrained by the grip of boards that the schools are affiliated to, the textbooks, the yearly time table determined by the school, the schedules for examinations, the meetings and submissions. The structures constraint the teacher, however, power is not static and has more nuanced manifestation this broad understanding of being controlled can communicate. Teachers, a lot like prisoners do not abidingly accept every given by the authority, rules are bent nonetheless, guidelines are worked around and a lot of skimming of the given happens also at the level of schools who interpret the guidelines prescribed by higher levels to suit their acceptability and the working ethos of the school. Since the authorities were resented, in some way or the other, the individual teachers also further skimmed down the already skimmed guidelines, although not outside of the knowledge of the school authorities.

Yet another curious aspect of the power dimension was that all the teachers implicitly had undergone an process of what can be called 'Power-position Inversion'²⁶, all teachers had been students at some point in their lives and had resentment for the control and authority that teachers exercised on students, however, these teachers have now underwent an inversion, in terms of power position and are now in the place of the authority they had both awe and fear of. Such an inversion has curious implications in that it causes teachers to experience situations from a different vantage point all over again. When the vantage point changes, all teachers justified the teacher over the dissent they had as student. While such an inversion is taking place the teachers unconsciously address the resentful, unresolved conflict of a child, within themselves, in ways that help them carry out their present duties and roles more efficiently. Pressures of the authorities as well as pressures of life outside schools, do not allow for a relieving addressing of the concerns/conflicts and resentment these teachers had as children but instead it lead to a vehement dismissal and discouragement of their own childhood agonies/concerns. Why such a thing happens can elaborately be dealt with in the section that deals with processual component of forming of subjectivity.

Thus an important aspect of understanding the teacher's subjectivity is to understand the dynamics of the power relations that teachers find themselves in. Teachers find themselves stripped of powers in favour of the bureaucratic determination and find themselves in a in control in the classroom, although neither of the situations are of complete control or lack of it. It is significant to notice that ever power that is taken away from the teacher, of thoughts, actions, shaping, determining, redesigning, redefining can effectively be reclaimed in the sphere of classroom praxis, and teachers owing often to a deep set resentment for the powerlessness do attempt to reclaim it.

²⁶ 'Power-position Inversion' is being used to argue the drastic shift in power positions that individuals find themselves in. 'Inversion' is invoked by many disciplines, each in some way or the other, loosely meaning 'turning something upside down' and 'taking opposite position'.

'Power' thus remained a very crucial and important as well as complex factor in shaping subjectivity of teachers. Teachers were both constrained by the controls of varying levels of educational praxis, while the control resulted in a friction among the teachers, and thus produced varying kinds and degrees of individual manipulations, whereby they either reasserted their power or denounced or flouted the control.

Experiences:

Experiences played a crucial role in shaping consciousness and subjectivity. Institutions are structured and have their own practices, rituals and ideologies and subjectivities. Structured spaces or organizations and institutions evolve and disseminate their own ideas, in essence socializing everyone who is associated with them in effective or functional ways. Individuals strongly reflected a mixture of several institutions that have left their imprint on the thinking process as well as the ideas of the individual. This section will look at four broad categorizations that emerged out of the data, although the possibility of other such institutions cannot be ruled out.

INSTITUTIONS: Institutions can be social institutions primarily family and religion or more formal institutions, that is, schools, colleges, and workplaces. Families have immense effect on the formation of subjectivity. This was especially illustrated from the narratives of all the teachers, most overtly and obviously in the narrative of TINA, who explicitly mentioned how the family, especially the parents are responsible for inculcating certain values and morals that one is known by for the rest of their lives. This is significant also because, for her this socialization was intertwined with the fact that her parents were both educational practitioners in schools, and so, as she herself acknowledges, this had profound impact on her imagery and understanding of what it meant to be a teacher. Similarly JASMEET, and PREITY also mentioned how their interaction within the family taught them, to restrain themselves by virtue of their sex-category. The family socialized them into underestimating themselves and holding themselves in service to the men they were most immediately affiliated to, and thus, they see themselves as fortunate for earning what they earn, consistently diffusing the credit onto their

families instead of claiming credit for their achievement, they had very mediocre goals and were marked by a sense of satisfaction upon having fulfilled them. They readily also justified the job, along with HARLEEN, for its ability to complement the more taken-for-granted gendered roles and expectations.

Similarly an important finding was that there was an intense influence that was observed of the institutions that the individuals were consciously a part of, all throughout. Such an influence begins, importantly and especially for a teacher, was that of the school that these teachers attended as students themselves for this can be held as their first interaction with and experience of schools as educational institutions as well as first ever and the dominant aspect that contributes to internalization of the educational discourse. This serves as the first impression of what it meant to be in the educational discourse of modern times, contributing to evolution of an understanding about schooling, nature of knowledge, nature of learning, understanding of pedagogy. It is here that these teachers construct the meaning of educational praxis, imagery of a student, a teacher as well as the teacher-student relationship. This becomes the foundation of evolution, in a large part, of subjectivities classified as curricular.

Another very crucial institution was the pre-service teacher training institution. Pre-service teacher training institution was expected to have a strong and lasting impact, on the subjectivities of the teachers (Jackson, 2001). Although, it did have a strong impact on the teachers in terms of understanding of the teacher's workload came first through the teacher training institutions. Another important observation was that teachers identified how their perceptions changed and became more empathetic towards teachers once they underwent the pre-service teacher training. It was found that the process of '*Inversion of power-position*' happened during the pre-service teacher training and strengthened over time during in-service experience. Teachers begin relating with their own teachers empathizing with them, often in ways that are not forgiving but justifying.

“When I received training..my teacher training, I realized how different things were...how much more tougher than I had ever imagined...as kids you know, you think

that everything is all fun and easy...but then I realized...our teachers were so right...and we used to be such pricks, as students...only when you cross over no?!...you realize just how huge a pain you were as kids.”-TINA

“...with my teacher training, I realized, all the more how bad a students, and a kid I was...how difficult it must have been for our teachers...now sometimes when I stand in a noisy classroom, I begin to regret the hard time I gave to my teachers...I feel sorry for them...at times, you know, it feels we deserved the spanking..it civilized us..”-SHOUMITA

“When, once you become a teacher, you realize just how tough it is to be a teacher, as kids we used to be notorious...and we used to respect our teachers so much...that if they’ve ever punished us, or hit us, we would feel guilty for having inspired such an action...now I feel all the more that if they’ve hurt us then, it was the need of the hour , for us to develop into better human beings”- JASMEET

“I feel all the more (now) how notorious I was as a child...When kids(of her class) make noise or do not listen to me thats when I realize, how tough a time we gave to our own teachers...and how our teachers only wanted good for us...did everything they could do only towards our best interest”- PREITY

The self remained the locus of consciousness and as the self shifted from one role to another, the consciousness was quickly dismissed as obsolete and insignificant in favour of the new consciousness that allowed for greater scope of empathetic consideration for self in the present context. Empathy for self, to the extent of self-pity, remains at the core of such a discarding of old consciousness as obsolete and development of a new consciousness that works towards dismissal of the old consciousness. Since there exists a strong conflict between the two consciousnesses, uncharacteristic of any other profession, the teachers make an extra effort to suppress the conflicting consciousness in favour of the relevant consciousness. The suppression

is not complete, and so, teachers actively invoke the imagery of their own teachers, from their own schooling experience.

Whenever faced with a conflict, or a situation the teacher is not prepared for/trained to handle, accustomed to or familiar to, she falls back on the reference of her own schooling invoking the imagery of the teacher who they feel would have best dealt with something like what they've encountered. Teachers often invoke their worst memories of the control of the teacher when faced with a situation that threaten their sensibility as an individual or as a teacher.

For instance, in class 6, the class of PREITY, She said,

“When I had just joined the school...I was given 9th standard..and I used to be nervous, since I was young, then, and so children would often try to flex themselves a little too much...for instance, this once I entered the class, the students were deliberately disrupting the class instruction...they just wouldn't let me teach...that's when, I don't know how, but I recalled how we had this teacher of ours Mr. Chaudhary...the entire school used to be scared of him...this once our class was making a lot of noise so he came in and declared, 'class...I wouldn't bother with who all are creating a raccous, whoever I see first will surely get rounded up today'...it took us some time to settle in view of the threat issued, by this time, he held a boy and loudly slapped him...there was, in a second, pin drop silence in the class...I used his tactics...I issued his threat and then caught hold of the girl who was most loud, and slapped her hard...it worked..the class never again bothered me”- PREITY)

SOCIALIZATION: These experiences, were in part related to the socialization of the teachers as individuals in the social world and led to construction of an idea about the world, about self as well as others, where self is always held as the locus, as the reference point for meaning making. The cross section of dimensions of social stratification contributed to the evolution of a 'common sense' that is the uncritical reference point to understanding the self and the world. Such a 'common sense' is essential to understanding a teacher's prejudices, biases, stereotypes,

and/or ideas about a context that differs from one's own. This 'common sense' is also fundamental to understanding the teacher's conceptions about children who do not share the same social background, value systems, morals, cultural capital or people/characters/textual references that may differ from/conflict with teacher's own social background.

Teachers are individuals, who're brought up in a specific social context that becomes the reference point of meaning making for them. Uncritical of their own reference point teachers often interpret occurrences and ideas against their reference point or allow for their understanding to colour their reading. Reading is a process of meaning making and association, especially with social sciences (DeVoogd, 2007). The uncritical 'common sense' colours perception and interpretation of words and ideas against the socialized notions, that form an individual's common sense. For instance,

DAVID (During Interview, talking about what must a teacher be like):

"Say if a child has a problem and cannot concentrate in the class, you, as their teacher cannot just overlook what is presented to you....say if a girl has a liking for a boy...and they're exchanging glances, I would not pick on them and say...'hey!! what are you doing, this is all wrong'..no..I wouldn't do that...come on, now...they're all adolescents who're growing up experiencing a rush of hormones...and so what, if a boy and a girl have a liking for each other...I shouldn't be reacting to it...why should that be a problem...its not like, the boy has a liking for another boy..now then, I could have problem...that I would address definitely...(Laughs)"

"...you know these children now have strong emotional issues...if children cannot concentrate in classroom...there is a strong possibility..they maybe facing issues at him...and these issues are not superficial issues..they're emotional issues...these children return back to an empty homes...now when i was youn ger I remember my mother wasn't working and she'd greet us when we returned sat with us fed us asked us, '*beta*..what happened at school today'...now times are changing mothers are busy

with their kitty parties...or with outings...get together...they don't have time for their kids...now that causes a lot of emotional issues...and kids feel alone and unhappy...a teacher needs to understand everything..."

JASMEET(observation from the classroom):

Teacher is teaching a chapter titled, 'Mahilaein, Jaati aiwam Sudhaar' (women, caste and welfare) Chapter 9 in Humare Ateet-Part-II, for class 8th. Today is the 1st day of teaching this chapter....

11:20 AM, Teacher asks children to turn to page number 108, Teacher, "dekhiye yahan se padhenge..."

Teacher reads from the textbook, "Kya aapne kabhi socha hai...do sau saal pehle bachchon ki zindagi kaisi rahi hogi, ajkal madhyavargiya parivaaron ki zyadatar ladkiyaan school jaati hain...or unme se bahut saari ladjiyaan ladkon ke saath padhti hain...Badi hone par unme se bahut sari ladkiyaan kaalejon or vishwavidhyalayon me jaati hain or vibhinn prakaar ki naukariyaan karti hain..kannonan shaadi ke liye unka balig hona zaroori hai or kanoon ke anusaar, ve kisi bhi jaati va samudaay ke vyakti se shaadi kar sakti hain...Be-shaq sabhi mahilaein in adhikaaron ka upbhog nahi kar paati, ghareebon me shiksha ke mauke mushkil se milte hain, kam milte hain, ya mil hi nahi paate...bahut sare parivaaron me ladkiyaan apni itcha anusaar pati bhi nahi chun paati.n...."

Continued...

Teacher, “dekhiye...yahan kaha jar aha hai ki kaise ajkal ap log dekhte hain, aas paas bhi zyadatar ladkiyan ab school jaati hain...ladkon ke saath padhti hain..naukri karti hain...apni pasand se, apni mata pita ki razamandi se...shaadi karti hain...itni samajhdaar ho gayi hain ab ladkiyaan...lekin sari mahilaaein inn sab adhikaaron ka upbhog nahi kar paati...paison ki tangi ki wajah se...kahin kahin unko zaroorat nahi padhti...jaise kuch ladkiyon ke maa baap unki shaadi tayy karte hain...unko khud apne liye shaadi dhundhne ki zaroorat nahi padti..”

It must be noted in the above two examples that there is a clear superimposition of the coloured lens inherited through socialization of the individual in coherence with the individual’s own specific position on the social map.

While in the first incident, the teacher, born and brought up in a catholic family, a catholic himself, expresses clearly a prejudice against homosexuality embedded in homophobia, which could be embedded in his religious-cultural belief systems or his socialization, however, any assertion cannot be made with surety. Similarly in the second instance the teacher expresses clearly a strong prejudice against working women, and traces its roots in an appreciation of his own mother’s staying home to look after her children. He in fact projects this as essential to emotional fulfilment of children, implying that working mothers and their career choices are responsible for emotional void in children. He further sarcastically implicates non-working women for investing time in ‘unproductive engagements’ over looking after their children.

In the third instance, the teacher almost turns the meaning of the text on its head, while trying to explain it to students. While the text implies that ‘legally women are free to choose their marital partners, from any and every background’, she voluntarily sanitizes the text’s explanation at her level, she adds to the ‘free will of the girl’, the ‘consent/willingness/approval of her parents’. Further as the text attempts to point to the social environment that inhibits a

woman from exercising her 'free will' and 'legal-democratic choice', the teacher's explanation turns it around to explain how its optional for women to exercise their 'free will' in matrimony, since otherwise an equally viable, more desirable options of 'letting the parents take the lead' exists.

It is important to note that such distortions caused to the text are inevitable given individuals have their unprocessed, uncritical, unreflexive, and unconscious subjectivities providing the reference point for their reading of the text. This is a very significant point since it points to the possible source of damage to the intended effects assumed by pedagogues and educational frameworks. This analysis is not to implicate the teacher, for such a reading of the text, but to understand the helplessness of a teacher in adopting critical changes at individual level, without a critical engagement with themselves, and the overestimation of theorists and curriculum developers with the critical changes made to the curriculum, without a parallel and synchronic change made to teacher training and preparation, to address the subjectivities of the teachers.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HIERARCHIES: Teachers like all individuals construct their subjectivities within the context of hierarchies. Hierarchies are also significant, in that, hierarchies institutionalise power relationships. In this section, the argument moves a step forward from where it reached in the last section. As discussed above, individuals internalise the cultural and social norms in which they are brought up, this socialization helps them project the uncritical ideas of the restrictive 'common sense' upon the other, namely, individuals or contexts that are different from self. This is collaborated with another interesting aspect that contributes to construction of subjectivity.

At one level, while the individual grounds his/her own socialization and context specific common sense as the reference point for reading of occurrences, texts and even projecting ideas. Such a projection and reading is representative of a certain kind of ego-centrism that is centrality of one's reference point in defining the world around. However, subjectivities do not operate with such linearity and uniformity. Individuals indeed hold deep regard for their own lives, their own uncritical sensibilities; however, they are not oblivious to their position within

the larger context of hierarchies. Teachers, like any other individual are well aware and have internalized the larger order of hierarchies.

Although teachers argue and represent their socialization and social profile as better than all others, however, even as they do this, they are aware of the larger order of social hierarchies as well as hierarchies of ideas. These hierarchies parallel work towards production of subjectivities. While the individual defines itself as the locus, he/she also simultaneously reinforces, some, if not all, of the existing hierarchies.

In both the schools, and in all teachers observed, ideas of wealth accumulation, ideas of hygiene and an evolved form of what can be called 'ethnocentrism' was witnessed. The roots of the uncritical allegiance to a certain discourse of 'ethnocentrism' are consistent with the trends observed and perpetuated by dispersed set of discourses. Ethnocentrism is a popular term in anthropology, conceptualized by William G. Sumner in his 1906 book on *Folkways*, upon observing the tendency for people to differentiate between the ingroup and others (Merton, 1996, p.248). He defined it as "the technical name for the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it."²⁷ He further characterized it as often leading to pride, vanity, beliefs of one's own group's superiority, and contempt of outsiders.(Merton, 1996, p.248) This was later adopted by various anthropologists and evolved to argue the bias prevalent in the works of social scientists who studied the world with the reference point of Europe/western cultures and civilizations.

²⁷ Merton Robert King (1996). Piotr Sztompka. ed. On social structure and science. University of Chicago Press. p. 248.

What was found at the schools and in the teachers in some ways, represented the influence of Neo-liberalism, Globalisation, centrality of capitalist-monetary economy, and associated ideology of capitalism and profit making. All of these flourish through not just the selling of products but selling of ideas about a certain 'life', 'choices', abilities, 'freedoms', and 'entitlements'. The evolved ethnocentrism shifts back the reference lens to the western civilization, even in the minds of those who do not originally belong to it. Teachers, as individuals functioning and evolving subjectivities within the certain world order being promptly forwarded by the media and internet, also, tend to subscribe to it, and in absence of any critical faculties to screen or question the incoming influences fall vulnerable to the ideological pull.

For instance it was found that almost all teachers harboured an appreciation and awe for jobs in multinational corporations, largely for the wealth it was likely to produce. Upon being introduced as a scholar, five out of six teachers associated the researcher's affiliation to a renowned university as a strong potential to study overseas and 'settle there'. Two teachers DAVID, and TINA strongly expressed a desire to be studying and working in one of the western countries respectively. The findings were validated from the classroom observations of pedagogy as illustrated from two examples listed below:

Teacher is teaching a chapter titled, 'Australia: Resources and their Utilization' Chapter 6 in geography book, Longman Geography for ICSE, class 6th. Today is the 3rd day of teaching this chapter....

The teacher is yet to come to the class,

10:50 students are returning to the classroom...

With only about five students in the classroom, one of the students walks up to the researcher, peeps into the notebook, sits next to the researcher,

Student#1: Ap Kya likhte ho?

Researcher: Jo sir padhaate hain, jaise padhate hain wo likhti hun.

Student#1: Ap Australia ke chapter ke liye hi kyun aaye ho?

Researcher: Me aisa kuch soch ke nahi aayi thi... (Meanwhile another student who was up till this point standing at a little distance, drinking water...joins the conversation)

Student#2: Mujhe pata hai ma'am sirf Australia ke chapter ke liye kyun aati hain...

Student#1: Ap ye padhai karke kya karoge?

Researcher: me or padhai karungi..

Student#1: Ap Australia jaakar padhoge?

Researcher: me Australia jaakar kyun padhungi, me to yahan padhai kar rahi hun?!

Student#2: Nahi...ap isiliye Australia ka chapter padh rahe ho kyunki ap Australia jana chahate ho...haina?!..Ap Australia jaakar padhoge phir...

...pata hai me bhi bada hokar Australia jaunga...ap Australia jaakar padhai mat karna..ap wahan labourer ban jana...apko bahut sare paise milenge...me bhi bada hokar Australia jaunga or wahan jaakar labourer banunga...india me kuch nahi rakha hai...

Continued..

Researcher: Labourer kyun?

Student#1: Sir kehte hain Australia me labourers ko 100 dollars milte hain bahut chhota sa kaam karne ke liye bhi...sir kehte hain...yahan jitna hum ek mahine me nahi kama sakte wahan labourers 4 din me kama lete hain...Yahan ki life kuch bhi nahi hai...sir kehte hain...wahan sab kuch yahan se ten times better hai...

Researcher: Ye sir ne kaha??

Student#2: Haan...me to 12th karke Australia chala jaunga..wahan rahunga..yahan kya rakha hai

Teacher SHOUMITA is teaching a chapter titled, 'Australia: Resources and their Utilization' Chapter 6 in geography book, Longman Geography for ICSE, class 6th. Today is the 6th day of teaching this chapter....

11:17 A.M.

Teacher: Now...Ashima will read from here...Ankur, you may sit down...

Teacher asks a girl sitting in front row to read a paragraph describing the flourishing packaging industry in Australia.

Teacher: "You see...now Australians love food...they're not like us...they're very strict about the expiration dates of what they eat...Here when you go out...even if to a barista, or any eat out joint...if they don't sell the sandwich they store it...sell it even after 3 days, 4 days..they wouldn't throw it...and if you go to a not so good place they would even serve you 6 day-7 day old sandwiches...but in Australia...in countries like U.K. , U.S.A...you know what's the shelf life of a sandwich...6 hours...thats it...after that it is thrown away...dumped..its trash...no matter what... and you see since Australians are so particular about food and its preservation...packaging is an elaborate industry..."

The former incident is an interesting illustration of the impact of teacher's fluid unchecked, non-textual views about textual knowledge, and its very individualized reading. Teacher's views in this case go overboard in inspiring an awe in students for the affluence, and individualized achievement and wealth accumulation as the sole goal.

In the latter incident, although the packaging industry could have been tied up to the large amount of trade and export that Australia does of food products, the teacher instead exhibits an awe and appreciation for a certain kind of strict food habits. It would be ambitious to critique the pedagogy for the centrality it gives to capitalist mode of production and industry setup, since the text itself is embedded in that discourse. However, even as the teacher appreciates the strict guidelines for storage and consumption of food in Australia, she fails to acknowledge or raise the issue of food wastage, global hunger and poverty. The imbalance of consumption and food wastage in affluent countries as against the food shortage and hunger wars in poorer countries. Instead she almost ends up endorsing wastage of food.

Crisis:

After Power and experiences, the next most important influence on subjectivity comes from, crisis, called so, for its potential to raise a disjuncture, without possible resolutions, until incorporation of some drastic changes happen in existing order. Crisis is a very important and strong component in the understanding of subjectivity. It presented the possibility of overcoming of barriers of fixtures of socialization and social hierarchies. It must be understood that largely the process through which social hierarchies and socialization shaped subjectivity was largely a piecemeal and gradual a process. Crisis however is characterized by a sudden abrupt and highly sensitive juncture that exhibits a high potential of making lasting and drastic changes in subjectivity.

Emergent from the data, crisis can be of two kinds, Regressive and progressive crisis. Regressive crisis is marked by a vehement negation of anything new and settling of a new prejudice or

reinforcement of an old prejudice, while the Progressive crisis provides opportunity for maturation of subjectivity, a critical engagement and evolution of a new form of sensitivity.

A crisis in consciousness can be caused by a number of ways, experiencing and critical dialogue being the two agents of this kind of crisis, found in the study. Although another agent can be argued to be critical texts, however, findings revealed that there was a very limited potential that critical texts had by themselves, of bringing forward a crisis. This potential of crisis triggered by critical texts, was further discouraged by the fact that the critical texts in the given context, were prescribed rather than being picked due to a personal interest or curiosity.

The transformatory potential of experience and critical dialogue is validated by the idea that presence of critical literature in the forms of textbooks that these teachers engage with on a daily basis could not trigger off any crisis. However, specific instances from teacher's lives and narratives pointed to moments of experiencing a departure from fix of their own subjectivity to evolve it to be progressive and critical. On the other hand, when they were put into a situation that questioned established order of subjectivity through a critical dialogue, especially when the critical opposition came from a dialogue with students, (something coupled with a feeling of threatened authority), only one of six teachers, PREITY argued it caused a shift in thinking, the observation although pointed to the fact that teachers would vehemently dismiss such critical thought in favour of the stable order of already constructed subjectivity.

"Sometimes, children speak such things that gets one thinking...how we ourselves had never thought about such a thing...a lot of times, a lot of children say things and we're left thinking...and often such things that children say, changes the way we think...this once my sister's 7 year old daughter had come over asking for help from me to write an essay on 'my teacher'...and I dictated a sentence 'my teacher is very pretty', to which, my niece promptly retorted, 'Aunty, how does it matter what our teacher looks like...what matters is how she teaches'...and I thought, actually, how we teach is of significance, not how we look or present ourselves."-PREITY

However, in no observation made for any teachers, in any of the classroom exhibited potential of free expression, or critical dialogue between teachers and students, the classroom ethos was strictly marked by a formal relationship between teachers and students and one that reinforced a hierarchy between teachers and students, reiterating teacher's authority. No teachers even upon being asked could recall or cite any examples of any critical dialogue, although all teachers acknowledged that students resented their authority and often had implicit ways and tricks they employed to vent their disagreement with the authority of the teacher, however, all teachers saw this as counter-productive to the goals of pedagogy, and aims of learning.

Any situation that threatened to cause a strong violation of morality or value systems ushered a crisis and was met with fierce suppression and dismissal. For instance all teachers resented children's awareness about the legal clauses implicating the corporal punishment, as a way to question teacher's authority and action. Similarly sexuality, remained a taboo-ed terrain for teachers with regards to children, while five out of six regretted the issues of sexuality presented by the teen-aged students, only one teacher DAVID addressed it as a natural part of growing up, however he essentialized such natural development as heterosexual and in fact expressed a strong disagreement with respect to homosexuality.

Most of the students who were considered unruly and disruptive were resented by the teachers. Their dissent was read as disrespect, their questions and conduct as disobedience. Resistance was readily suppressed and dismissed, sometimes even reprimanded, as notoriety instead of being read as a crisis in the established order of subjectivity. For instance, every teacher had at least three students who they could point and identify as 'Problem Children'. These students were associated with, *'failure to concentrate/intentional refusal to concentrate, disinterest in learning, intentional disturbing classroom/pedagogy/other students, unengaged, pranksters, uninterested, annoying'*. However, teachers readily identified this as symptomatic of individual attribute/attitude, or reflective of an 'unhealthy' (conflicted, or too pampering, or random) environment at home, or emotional disturbance/void/issues, roots of which were

relegated to the child's home. Teachers actively refused to identify or acknowledge this as source of crisis in their own subjectivity, as a teacher.

Experience was the most effective measure of instilling a shift in the subjectivity. This was clear from the life experiences of DAVID and PREITY juxtaposed against the stability of SHOUMITA and HARLEEN and the financial security of JASMEET and TINA.

Both PREITY and DAVID had witnessed immense economic fluctuation and struggle and thus, they reflected a sense of commitment towards their jobs as well as students that the other teachers failed to exhibit. Both DAVID and PREITY expressed the rationale of their commitment as tied to the possibility that education presented for the children as a means of changing their lives, and as the only means of countering the limitations imposed by the life and their social circumstances. Thus even in their narratives they expressed an intense consideration for economic wellbeing of their students. While talking about their learners, they often referred to the sensitivity in teachers towards the economic challenges faced by the learners.

“You see...I've seen a lot of economic struggle myself, I have seen times when we couldn't even arrange one square meal one days...and I've seen times when we used to eat at the best of places...So I understand now when I see a child is going through the same...say, sometimes there'll be students who would wear somewhat worn out blazers...and while there are teachers who would blast off students for wearing worn out blazers or old worn out shoes...in this school students from all backgrounds come...and I have seen teachers who wouldn't think twice in publicly telling off students...they wouldn't think twice...wouldn't understand that maybe the child's family is going through a tough time...none of them would think twice...and yet, none would ever bother to buy a child a pair of shoes...I've even done that...I've never pointed a child out for any such thing...I understand...I would understand that the child is economically struggling...and maybe the parents don't have enough to buy him new shoes...afterall what parent doesn't want to spend on his children ”-DAVID

“..When I was younger, I recall, this once, I didn’t have enough money on me...at that time we often wouldn’t even have money in the home, and my copy had no blank pages left...and I had to work...so I took out a couple of pages from another copy and pasted it at the back of my copy and worked on it.....that time, even my teacher was really nice she saw it and said, ‘Look those who wish to work, work despite all odds’...so since I have myself witnessed all this in my life..I never point out any child for this...be it copies, shoes or dress...”-PREITY

This as against, say the views of JASMEET, who while talking about learners said,

“...these children don’t wish to study at all...they’d rather spend 50 rupees on cellular phone recharges..or chips and cold drinks..however, they’d not spend it on newspapers...they say they don’t have enough money...they just don’t want to study”-JASMEET

Even in observations, there was hard pressing evidence to a co-relation between the experiences of a teacher’s life and his/her pedagogy. In the non-curricular exchanges between the teacher and the students at least in the observations of three teachers the experience of a conflict in real life reflected rather clearly. TINA had seen severe setbacks owing to her fluctuating health, which reflected in her unintentional asking any child who’d be distracted about his/her wellbeing as a way to addressing what she saw. She particularly cited incidents of when students hurt themselves and that attracted her attention as a teacher. Say, for instance, she mentioned an incident where a boy had hurt himself during the interval between the changing of teachers for their respective classes, upon being asked the roles and responsibilities of a teacher. Similarly DAVID, and PREITY clearly reiterated their concerns for students finding well paying jobs and their economic wellbeing, as has been illustrated above. DAVID, was the only teacher who acknowledged that he had experienced ‘failure’, and ‘repeating a class’, and thus, he explicitly mentioned,

“Since I have known how and why I had flunked...I always, when I look at a child who’s not able to perform as well...i always try to find a better way, and easier way to explain

that to children...since even as a kid I always looked for easier ways to learn certain things..”.

Thus, Relationship between experiencing a deep crisis in life and an individual’s subjectivity is significant for its potential to allow an individual to crossover to the other side of the veil of ignorance. This in-turn offers to shape an individual’s consciousness and conscience. This can also be called a crisis in the consciousness of the individual subjectivity and evolution of sensitivity owing to the active acknowledgement of the crisis by the individual.

Processual Components Of Subjectivity:

In all of the above findings, one can clearly identify a number of processes that subjectivity undertakes, or goes through in order to shape itself, in an individual. Understanding these processes holds the key to understanding subjectivity, better. A major part of subjectivity, cannot be exhibited or captured and thus, processual component is outcome of a speculative analysis based on the findings. There are four processes that can be identified, each of these are described below:

Inversion:

Inversion²⁸ is the process by virtue of which teachers witness discontinuous change from being a student to being a teacher. Inversion happens in the sense of moving suddenly from the position of powerlessness to a position of power, within the same controlled environment of a classroom. Such a stark change, of moving from one extreme to the other causes a disjuncture in experience and subjectivity. Being in the powerless position of oneself to being in the powerful position that the one experienced from the other side, causes a rupture in subjectivity, unlike the situation where one would move from a position of power to a position of powerlessness (described in the section on ‘crisis’), that causes a positive impact since the

²⁸ Invoked in the same sense as described with reference to ‘Power-position Inversion’

discourse is followed by its critique. In inversion, however, the critique is experienced before the discourse, and thus, the critique or the counter-discourse opposes strongly with the establishment of the traditional discourse of teacher (Authoritative, moral, corrective, knowledge bank, with the underlying principle of 'teacher knows best and is always right'), and thus teachers undergo a process of Sublimation and Projection.

Sublimation and projection:

Sublimation and Projection²⁹ is a process that helps teachers overcome the disjuncture caused due to shifting from a position of counter-discourse to a position of upholding the discourse. In this process two things happen simultaneously, Sublimation is a process by virtue of which experiences that present the counter-discourse are allowed to sink and settle deep in the psyche, in their unresolved state. Experiences that laid the foundation to forming of the subjectivity of the individuals as students are often manipulated, co-opted, dismissed or ignored, and then eventually pushed to the less conscious state of mind and subjectivity. This is done to make fresh and unobstructed space for the discourse to set in. It is not a one-time consistent process and can happen over a long time period in a need based manner. The precedence is given to the present and the settling of discourse of teachers and teaching against the counter-discourse presented by the experiences of student life. As an d when elements of experiences of student life interfere with the settling of the discourse these elements are processed through manipulation, co-option, dismissal or ignoring and are then pushed to a lesser conscious level of the psyche. In doing so, teachers are invoked from their own schooling experiences and readily justified and projected in the actions and thoughts of the teachers as a way to suppress the counter-discourse produced by the subjectivity of the student experiences. Further, it projects student-life experiences as consistent with the

²⁹ Sublimation, is invoked here in synergy with its definition in natural sciences, that is, as a technique used in filtering water whereby the heavier sediments are allowed to settle down under the influence of gravitational pull.

Projection is invoked in synergy with its coinage in traditional psychology, as Freudian projection, by virtue of which, out of anxiety an individual who is experiencing a certain feeling tends to imagine it as happening to the other person.

teacher-discourse and as teacher-discourse emergent from the ignorance and mistakes of student life.

Projection also happens, at another level, in another interesting way, that is, projection of the internal conflict on the teacher's subjectivity upon his/her reading of her students. The justification of the teacher-discourse over its counter discourse happens through teachers identifying in their learners, elements of themselves, by projecting themselves as students onto the identity of their students and justifying the teacher-discourse, by relegating students to an irrational ignorant position through their ideas and praxis. For instance, all teachers felt that children were irrational in the way they saw teacher's and their 'corrective' actions/measures, all teachers unanimously identified with this as an ignorant behaviour that they subscribed to as students themselves. Further, all teachers unanimously felt that they regret their ignorance as students and admit to the teachers knowing better. Such believing helps these teachers hold the firm conviction that they're doing everything with a selfless feeling for the best of the students, best, of course, in a sense described by the teachers.

Deliberate and Selective Alienation:

Teachers strategically and deliberately alienate³⁰ themselves from their identity and subjectivity as students, developed by them during their student life.

Experience, however, of student life that establish a hierarchy of power, and other instrumental features of educational discourse, such as inferiority of students, of student life are internalized so well that they're justified norms and traditions that live, other experiences influenced by changing discourses are used as a way to carve a professional identity.

Teachers not only undergo alienation from their own experiences in life as students, but also, face alienation owing to internalization of norms of professional life that teachers find

³⁰ Is invoked here in synergy with its invocation in the traditional Marxist theory's conceptualization of the concept of 'alienation of the proletariat', that is, in simplest term estrangement.

themselves into. These norms are partially put into place by the bureaucracy of the educational system as well as the social discourse on educational praxis.

Teachers are alienated from the processes of decisions pertaining to educational praxis as well as deliberations and discourses in the educational thought and discipline. Teachers, or educational practitioners are distanced and uninformed by the deliberations in the academic circles and traditions of thought in educational discipline, which reflects in the distance between the ideology of the textbooks and subjectivity of the teachers.

Internalization:

Teachers, often like other individuals, in absence of triggers to flag off a crisis in consciousness internalize social aspects like religion, class differences, cultural norms and mores and such interpersonal codes of behaviour or social protocols of parent child relationship, teacher student relationship, and school experiences. This forms the reference point for guiding actions, perceptions and thoughts in teachers. The most striking finding of the study was that teachers readily invoke their own experiences of schooling, as guiding principles to praxis.

It has been illustrated above how teachers internalize and uncritically reflect their social ideas not only in their thoughts and considerations but also, rather loudly, in their pedagogy.

Impact Of Subjectivities

Agency and subjectivity:

In the previous chapter, Agency had emerged in its relation to power and subjectivity as the two crucial links that embed the concept of Agency. What emerged from the findings is that power, subjectivity form the underlying foundation to understanding 'Agency' of the teachers. Power is a deeply problematic area of investigation since it eludes definition in operational terms. This chapter illustrates how subjectivity shapes our conception of power or powerlessness, while power, through institutional and hierarchical arrangements shapes the

generic tone of our specific experiences and encounters, and thus a large part of our subjectivities.

Agency and subjectivity connect in a dynamic way, in that as illustrated in the previous chapter subjectivity not only helps define what teachers may consider agency but also works in determining whether or not teachers would exercise their agency. Subjectivity operates at the epistemic basis of agency, and at the more obvious ontological determining of agency and even in its manifestation. For instance, teachers, in the present context were guided by the epistemic knowledge that learners are inferior to teachers, much in line as the fact that younger are inferior to the older. Further at the epistemic basis, teachers understand that experience is the ultimate trigger to mental maturity, and wisdom. At the more ontological basis Agency is defined in the various ways in which students can be corrected including the conception of what is 'right' and 'moral'. In the more obvious level of manifestation we witness the ease and comfort that teachers have in their agency. At all three levels, 'Agency' is tied to subjectivity of the individual, some aspects that are inherited courtesy broad values of specific society and culture, where as others are a reflection of the more specific texture of values, norms, mores, and ethics that the individual is exposed to by virtue of one's birth in a very specific position on the social map or the specific placement of the individual on the matrix of social stratification. This is further likely to be influenced by the specific families and their respective socialization, as well as the institutions that the individual is exposed to during his or her lifetime.

Agency, influences subjectivity, in return through the potential it presents of triggering off novel experiences and thus a crisis in consciousness. Agency, allows for individual to undertake active forgetting, this active forgetting is crucial to understanding evolution of agency, in that, it is allows for individuals to take initiative and experience as well as experiment, it is this experiencing that allows for individuals to encounter a crisis that could hold the key to a shift in subjectivity.

Self as the locus:

When we talk about subjectivity, it is always evolving and in-formation, and yet, forming as it maybe, it is still the reference point for interpreting the world and oneself. Subjectivity is crucial to the meaning making process since it is the first tool that is invoked in trying to engage with anything one is attempting to make meaning from. Significantly, for teachers their conceptions of subjectivity and themselves became the locus point of all activity, professional or personal. Teachers to whom, the new experiences were presented weighed them against the preconceived notions they have inherited in line with their subjective perceptions. For instance, none of the teachers could make sense of the ideological changes of the textbooks, in the NCERT-CBSE school and resented the changes as dilution of knowledge. In some ways, the new textbooks violated the existing fundamental sense of what education was, one that is embedded in the positivist notion of knowledge. So much so, that teachers couldn't even critique deeply prejudiced texts such as a history text teaching about Aryan history, and the hindu code order of life, which has been printed in the history textbook of class 6th ICSE/ISE textbooks. Criticality, of the textbooks violate the subjectivity of a teacher at more than one level, it violates not only the subjective understanding of a teaching as a profession but also the adult-child relationship, teacher-student relationship, and the ideas of respect seen as synonymous to silent abidance and no questioning or argumentation. Thus, teachers due to lack of appropriate crisis emerging from the experience of the criticality, hold self as the locus.

Similarly in terms of actions, teachers understood corporal punishment, not from a changed legal discourse or social discourse but through the aid of their own subjective understanding of the nature of physical contact permissible between an adult and a child. They read their actions as consistent with their own experiences of education and growing up. Teachers's subjectivity also foregrounds itself in the traditional lores invoked of the teacher-students relationship that illustrate teachers placed above parents in authority, and of teacher-student relationship. Although, vicariously, and empathetically, teachers altercate their subjectivity about actions but

a shift doesn't really happen, in absence of a crisis in consciousness that could shift the subjectivity.

Similarly in terms of consciousness self remained the locus of all deliberations. This point has been illustrated in the section on crisis as to how teachers who had experienced specific forms of struggles in their lives tended to have a special consideration towards that aspect of their learner's lives as well

Implications For Critical Theory And Critical Pedagogy:

The implications the above findings have is to reiterate the need to engage the subjectivity of the teacher to formally undergo crisis in consciousness, and not one but multiple crisis in subjectivity to evolve the least traces of analytical abilities and critical thinking. The knowledge of the processes may help in this regard, with respect to using the knowledge of these processes to get teachers to be systematically be made conscious of them and the other fixations they suffer owing to their restricted common sensical understanding and reading of the world. This project can be furthered through maybe attempting to have teachers undergo what maybe called a reversing of the effects of these processes through conscious engagement and critical questioning.

Chapter#5

Classroom Pedagogy Of The Teachers

Introduction

The objective of this chapter emerges in relation to the previous two chapters. In the previous chapters, we explored 'Agency' and 'Subjectivity' of the teachers. This chapter, explores the realm of pedagogy and the cross-section between teacher pedagogy, teacher agency and teacher subjectivity. It aims to highlight the ways in which teachers subjectively re-construct their own pedagogy, and how can their pedagogy be understood reflectively, in an attempt to understand the realm of teacher pedagogy. The chapter can be divided broadly into two parts, one, that analytically explores the realm of teacher pedagogy, and the second that looks at how pedagogy, agency and subjectivity co-relate to each other. The first part of the chapter, that is, the exploration of the realm of teacher pedagogy employs the analytical tools employed by LeVine, that is the Emic perceptions and Etic classifications³¹.

"Pedagogy", has been described as is the "holistic science of education. It may be implemented in practice as a personal and holistic approach of socializing and upbringing children and young people." (Ibid Petrie et al.; 2009, pp. 3-4). Although the definition assumes a certain degree of consciousness on the part of the teacher, the findings, in this sense of the word would not fit the criteria of being identified as pedagogy. The definition also points to aspects that are beyond mere instructional strategies, it implicitly assumes a certain nature of teacher-student relationship, which is personalized and mutually appreciative. The definition clearly assumes, in teacher-educators very consciously chosen ideas about educational goals and instructional

³¹ Emic perceptions, LeVine describes as "that which represents its folk system of classification" and Etic perspective is "that which is constructed by an outside investigator for comparative research purposes" (1984; P82.)

strategies reflective of educator's philosophical beliefs with respect to instruction and pupil's background knowledge and experience, situation, and environment. The findings were not entirely in synchrony with such a sensitive and reflective approach towards educational goals and instructional strategies, and thus, the research, here, would refer to the instructional goals and strategies of the teachers being studied as "pedagogy", in a neutral sense of the words to aid an open exploration into pedagogy of the educators, in question.

The data draws in part from the classroom observations of the teachers during subject specific instruction and supported by the questions that required teachers to describe their pedagogy and classroom activities, their narratives about the teaching as a profession and the act of teaching as tools to help construct the Etic and Emic perspectives respectively.

Types Of Pedagogies

Pedagogies are the spinal column of an effective educational system. Pedagogy must be conscious, deliberative and reflective. Pedagogy is concerned with aspects of not only planning but also its dynamic coordination with the aspects of provisioning, curriculum and learner profile. Pedagogy must ideally be seen as a practice that is valuable for its foregrounding in educational purpose and value standards and assessment that ensures accountability and efficiency.

The research findings could be categorized into three kinds of pedagogies, for value neutrality, the pedagogy types would be numerically differentiated, however, the numeric differentiation is not cardinal but invoked strictly in nominal sense of numbers. Each pedagogic type would be explored in two sections, one that elaborates the Etic perspective of pedagogy, drawing largely from observational data, and supported by the questions of the interview schedule, and narratives. The other part of the pedagogy would draw largely from teachers responses to interview schedule as well as narratives.

Since pedagogic types are not mutually exclusive wholes, and no one type of pedagogy is an individuated, exclusive whole, individuals cannot successfully be classified in any one type of

pedagogic styles with a certain sense of finality. It is also one of the most significant findings that teachers may switch from one pedagogic style to another and such a change is in accordance with the fact that teachers may exhibit marginally, characteristics of other pedagogic styles, than the one that can be identified as their dominant pedagogic style. The recessive pedagogic style in each teacher may surface in response to specific stimuli; however, such a shift would be temporary, short-lived and superficial, as the teacher is likely to return to their dominant styles of pedagogy as soon as the stimuli gets familiar, ritualized or is removed. The classification of the teachers is made on the basis of the broad characteristics of pedagogic behaviour they exhibited. may exhibit more than one type of pedagogy types

PEDAGOGY TYPE#1-

Etic Analysis:

Type#1 pedagogy can be understood as the most unproductive pedagogic styles. It is marked by a sense of disengagement of the teacher from the context of education or professional responsibilities as a teacher. Teachers respond in accordance with the age-old redundant traditional imagery of a student teacher hierarchical relationship and educational scenario. Teachers usually reason their disengagement as a result of factors and constraints exterior to themselves. This pedagogy is largely unorganized, has no specific focus and is divergent. Instruction is interrupted and discontinuous, is removed from the context of the learners, and teachers are irritated or disengaged are largely un-self-critical, ignorant. Teachers of type#1 pedagogy have an arbitrary and negligent classroom ethos and teacher-student relationship. Example of this type of pedagogy is JASMEET, although HARLEEN exhibited characteristics of this type of pedagogy marginally.

LEARNING GOALS:

The necessity of having learning goals, in daily planning, is not felt naturally in type#1 pedagogy. The goals emerge out of an explicit and repeated questioning, which is usually, at first avoided, and then answered through a forceful effort to improvise the goals of learning. The goals

determined by the teachers for their students assumes the position that syllabus is synonymous to curriculum and to information printed in textbooks. The phrase 'information printed in textbooks' is set to establish the idea that activities, that have been made a part of textbooks as a result of a deliberative reform, are usually systematically ignored, skipped or dismissed as irrelevant and unnecessary and meaningless. For instance, DAVID says,

“the only aim for us is that] these children should be able to know, understand and memorise whatever is written in the textbook..if they do even this much, it is more than enough..actually these children do not want to study, the parents are themselves illiterate, they do not feel like studying, neither parents wish to bother nor children feel interested.”

The sole goal for the teacher here is to communicate the information printed in the textbooks. The goal of the teacher is to ensure children “sit down and listen” so that they “know what is there in the book”, whether it is learning, or how it is learning, does not reflect as a matter of concern for the teacher here.

The goals are not defined by the teacher prior to entering the classroom. The teacher in fact admitted to not consulting the textbook outside of the context of the specific classroom. For instance on ten out of fifteen occasions it was noted that the teacher was not prepared for the class and thus, she was not aware of the portion she's supposed to begin teaching. She was seen asking students to either tell her, or sought confirmation with respect to the portion of the textbook they had done last. Teachers also seem to focus intensely on acquisition and effective re-production of factual information in the chapters. The goal of instruction is solely to help students memorise the information in the textbooks and be able to reiterate it efficiently in the summative evaluation. Despite the changes in evaluation system by the NCERT-CBSE, the teachers still seem to focus more intensely on summative assessment over formative assessment. This seemed to reflect a 'response-set', something that can be explained as inertia of learnt behaviour and attitudes in practitioners.

When asked about the goals of the subject of social sciences, the teacher identifies abstract goals such as being good citizens and being able to contribute to the society. However, they refuse to concretely define how classroom teaching or pedagogic instruction or even textbooks help aid it. When asked, what the teacher concentrates on while teaching, it was realized that the teachers aim at being able to 'read out' the information stated in the textbook as clearly and as efficiently as possible.

COMMUNICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

Given that the aim of pedagogic instruction was to be able to get across the information stated in the textbook as clearly and as efficiently as possible, the communication of textbook information gains prime most importance in a teacher's pedagogy.

Teacher depended upon the coercive discipline to ensure student's attention and the classroom instruction was geared at creating the most efficient environment for transference of knowledge from the textbook, through the teacher and to the student.

No teaching aids, were employed and teacher usually depended upon close-ended questions to ensure that students paid attention. Student participation and expression were restricted to

During informal interaction with the students, it was learnt that students had nicknamed the said teacher "Bakri" (Goat), this was significant because it was student's reflection of the teacher's pedagogy. The reason why she was nicknamed goat was because she would monotonously read from the text, irrespective of the engagement students feel with the text or pedagogy.

confirmatory questions. The teacher monotonously read the stated words of the textbook. Even as she read activities that were suggested in between, she'd usually dismiss them as irrelevant or impractical.

Pedagogy included a monotonous, continuous reading of the texts with little intonation, explaining word meanings wherever necessary and asking close-ended questions to confirm student's attention. The teacher's glance barely moved away from the text, while reading, if students were found to be distracted, they would be severely punished.

The textbook is central to the pedagogy, and the pedagogy can be summed up as a loud proclamation of the textbook stated, as the embodiment of all knowledge, to a gathering, asserting authority of written word over mind. Auditory sense is invoked predominantly and primarily while the visual sense is invoked complementarily; pedagogy stresses on recall and discourages interaction of any kind. The pedagogy seeks to establish authority of two kinds, one of the text as the absolute knowledge that must not be interacted with rather it must be revered and memorized with least subjective manipulation; and second, of teacher as the proclamation-making authority, based upon the implicit assumption that a teacher is closer to absolute knowledge by virtue of its authority and also, has a legitimate authority since she 'reads out' the information written in the books to the children. The classroom learning dynamics can be understood as deeply hierarchical and iron-jacketed, with almost no interaction.

EXPLANATION:

Explanations, within type#1 pedagogy style are rare, superficial, close-ended and deeply restricted. Teacher reads aloud the section of the text, and usually stops her continuous reading in between to explain before resuming. The explanations never try to connect with the learners in a dynamic manner rather it seeks to aid memorization of a piece of information, seen as relevant by the teacher. The explanations were usually meant to provide an easier-to-comprehend synonym for a word children may not understand on their own. Other than for simplification purposes, explanations were scarcely used to legitimise the information given in the text as right representation of reality. These explanations were re-assertive and had a sense of finality about it. For instance,

Teacher reads from the textbook, “Kya aapne kabhi socha hai...do sau saal pehle bachchon ki zindagi kaisi rahi hogi, aajkal madhyavargiya parivaaron ki zyadatar ladkiyaan school jaati hain...or unme se bahut saari ladkiyaan ladkon ke saath padhti hain...Badi hone par unme se bahut sari ladkiyaan kaalejon or vishwavidhyalayan me jaati hain or vibhinn prakaar ki naukariyaan karti hain..kannonan shaadi ke liye unka balig hona zaroori hai or kanoon ke anusaar, ve kisi bhi jaati va samudaay ke vyakti se shaadi kar sakti hain...Be-shaq sabhi mahilaaein in adhikaaron ka upbhog nahi kar paati, ghareebon me shiksha ke mauke mushkil se milte hain, kam milte hain, ya mil hi nahi paate...bahut sare parivaaron me ladkiyaan apni itcha anusaar pati bhi nahi chun paati.n....”

Teacher, “dekhiye...yahan kaha jar aha hai ki kaise aajkal ap log dekhte hain, aas paas bhi zyadatar ladkiyan ab school jaati hain...ladkon ke saath padhti hain..naukri karti hain...apni pasand se, apni mata pita ki razamandi se...shaadi karti hain...itni samajhdaar ho gayi hain ab ladkiyaan...lekin sari mahilaaein inn sab adhikaaron ka upbhog nahi kar paati...paison ki tangi ki wajah se...kahin kahin unko zaroorat nahi padhti...jaise kuch ladkiyon ke maa baap unki shaadi tayy karte hain...unke khud apne liye shaadi dhundhne ki zaroorat nahi padti..”

The teacher gives text a different meaning and adds an air of finality to it as the most appropriate representation of the reality, while in the process she adds her own perspectives and masks them as the information of the textbook, thereby establishing its legitimacy as the apt information. She nowhere acknowledges it is her own personal views or subjective reading of the text. There is a strong effort from the teachers to sanitize the texts and the information in the texts in synchrony with their own values and morals. Other than this kind of deliberate yet unconscious distortion, the teachers do not engage with the text. Teachers explain difficult to understand words and phrases through simplified synonyms or phrases. Other than this, teacher only reiterates the information read from the text without any examples or illustrations.

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP:

- **Nature of questions:** Questions asked by the teacher were all confirmatory and close-ended. The purpose of the questions was two-fold, while on one level of question aimed at confirming that the students were listening attentively to the teacher's reading of the text, while the second type of questions while on the other it sought to draw attention extensively on the information that the teacher classified, or wished to classify as important. The purpose of confirmatory questions again was not only to confirm a general attention of the students collectively, it also sought to (on occasions) target specific children for validation of their attention, failing which, they would be given out punishments.

Questions pertaining to reiteration of important pieces of information centred around dates of historical significance to names and events, for their objectives and description. The questions were geared towards highlighting relative importance of an entire section of information from the point of view of examination and evaluation. The strategy adopted was meant to draw attention to such pieces of information that may feature in summative examinations and the signal was that such information would be reiterated, more than once. This works in line with the dominant assumption and expectation of the pedagogy that "heard is remembered". The other purpose that these questions sought to fulfil was to reassure concentrated listening among students. The idea being, to check if something spoken, that was important, has been registered by the student well enough to re-produce or not.

- **Nature of responses:** From interaction with the students, students saw the questions as either as a 'pass' that helped escape being hit, or saw this as an occasion for tug of war for power between the students and the teacher. Students would manipulate the expected order of situation to exert their power and control over the situation as an expression of their control on the teacher as well as the situation. Students would give deliberately give wrong answers to incite the teacher to hit them, in this way, they exert

control over situations that sought to declare their lack of control and powerlessness. This act of defiance and sadism made them feel powerful.

Yet another group of students admitted that the response to such questions was not evidence to attentive listening and memorization but was rather a shallow activity that required passive listening and instantaneous recall that depended more on short term recall instead of memorization. This according to the students only took “smart listening”.

- **Classroom engagement:** Classroom engagement was deeply stunted, in that the possibility of free dialogue or free expression with respect to the text was absolutely absent. Students were not encouraged to ask or even respond in analytical, critical or exploratory manner. The dialogue between the teacher and the student remains superficial and within a pre-determined code of behaviour, one that is deeply hierarchical, strained, formal and frozen. The classroom does not engage or manipulate

An ongoing joke on the teacher was to ask the teacher the same question over and over by different student each time, in regular intervals, in rephrased terms, say for example The teacher was doing the section that talked about social condition of women in 18th century.

Child#1: Ma'am, 'Sati' kya hota hai?

Child#2: Ma'am, auraton ko jalate kyun the?

Child#3: Ma'am, auratein khud apne pati ki chit ape baithti thi?

The joke was that these questions either had the same answer or similar ones. The joke was played until the teacher realizes and gets irritated or gets angry, or identifies something unusual. Often the same question was repeated by a number of students within a short period of time soon after one child has asked it. The idea behind the prank was to get the teacher to repeat the same answer over and over again, to manipulate with the actions of the authority, and to delay the progression of the chapter.

Another ongoing prank was that every time the teacher would stand up a child to answer a question the student would hold a finger against his/her cheek, in a very limp, feminine gesture mocking the teacher as they answered. Once a child began this, every child who was subsequently stood up for answering would keep the trend going, in solidarity. Although the idea behind the prank could not be deciphered or extracted from the children, it is speculated that the gesture was meant to demean the gender of the authority, in coherence with the greater sense of sexism that was prevalent in the students of the school.

the text, the environment or with the life of students. Another important feature of such a classroom is that it is marked by a deep power conflict, between the teacher and the students. The students actively target the teacher, which is seen as the undercurrent of a shared sense of humour, as an expression of their resistance and expressing their powers.

- **Curricular verbal interaction:** The curricular interaction was largely restricted to short and close-ended question answers and reading sections of the text upon being designated by the teacher. The curricular interaction was strictly guarded by the margins of textbook, and defined and directed by teacher but manipulated by students.
- **Non-curricular verbal interaction:** Non curricular interaction largely was meant to demean students in an attempt to justify the pedagogic laxity and larger disengagement. The teacher was observed making snide remarks about learner's potential, intentions, including the commitment of their families to educate them, or their lives outside school, on a significant number of occasions. High suspicion characteristically reflected in the comments almost on all occasions. A deep sense of disrespect reflected in the connection between teacher and students.
- **Non-verbal interaction:** In terms of non-verbal interaction, teacher usually depends a lot on a stern cold expression, which perpetually played on teacher's face through out the

classroom pedagogic time. A stern gaze was used as a warning, which was almost always followed by asking confirmatory questions or with a ;punishment being ruled out. A pause in the monotonous reading coupled with an intense gaze was a way of acknowledging the distraction in the students, and to roll out a warning for them to concentrate. Gaze also was meant to identify the individual student who can be

Observation Day#1

January, in Delhi is the peak of winter season and is thus, marked by intense cold weather. The class was scheduled after recess and a number of students were late in returning for the class. The teacher, anxiously looked at the researcher and said, “ye bahut badtameez bachche hain...ap doosri koi class observe kar lete...dekho abhi tak nahi laute hain 10 minute ho gaye recess khatam hue...aise aate hain jaise shaadi me aa rahe honge..”

It is quite evident that the teacher is anxious about her impression as a teacher and is deeply conscious of researcher’s presence.

A group of students has returned and is seeking permission from the teacher to enter the classroom. The teacher reaches out under her desk, and brings out a thick wooden chair leg. She lets students enter the class only after hitting them with a good amount of effort in each blow and asks students to line up against the wall. Students, curiously, do not seem to mind the treatment, something that may point to their habituation or something else.

Without much a dialogue, the teacher begins flipping through the book...

targeted for action in that specific instance.

Among following actions slaps, pulling and pushing, tugging at hair were still a lesser degree of punishment, being hit on palms with a wooden, broken leg of a chair, still a level higher, being hit on calves was the highest level, measured through the frequency of their being doled out and the sequence in which they are accorded. Usually being hit on calves was followed by being asked to stand on the bench.

PEDAGOGY TYPE#2-

Etic Analysis:

Type#2 of pedagogy is characterized by characteristic feature of intent; however such a classification would be incomplete in capturing the exact essence of the difference between the variations within this category in terms of teacher attitude(as has been captured in the previous chapters). Although pedagogy may not differ too much but the possibility of evolution of pedagogy may differ starkly among variations. This pedagogic style is characteristically marked by a strong empathy and morality guided behaviour and the overpowering concerns towards the best interest of the student. Type#2 pedagogy is marked by a heightened sense of responsibility and professional belongingness. This is also slightly personalized form of tutoring. The teacher is both engaged and engaging but not a very empathetic pedagogic style, it is in fact marked by a sense of sympathy. The consciously as well as unconsciously perceive learning-objectives of a child by the way of their own lived experiences or morality acquired. Teachers, also, as a result, project learning goals and needs defined by themselves on the children. Teachers perceive schooling as a means to attain social mobility and as a social project towards economic empowerment, and as a result, social project of attaining a 'quality' life measured strictly in terms of economic returns.

Pedagogy is both focussed and direct, marked by efficiency and accountability, on the part of the teacher. The pedagogy can be summed up as one that is characterized meaningfulness, an attempt to engage the learner, although only partly effective and shallow in its objectives and outcomes, the effort is worthy of recognition. There is an intense focus on repetition and revision, with central concerns of pedagogy being rote memorization through a very shallow meaning making and association with the text.

The other essential characteristic of this type of pedagogy is that it strictly identifies itself with the economic goals of education, and views efficiency of all educational endeavours in terms of the future economic return they may reap for the learner. Although, economic returns are

essential part of pedagogy and is a measure of efficiency/relevance of an educational system. The sole focus on such a measure dilutes the longitudinal goals of education geared towards social mobility, which may be tied to economic returns but are not exclusive determinants of it. Political and social determinants of relevance and efficiency cannot be ignored, when considering contribution of education to the making of a 'good life'. (Kumar, 2010) Examples of this pedagogy type would be DAVID and PREITY.

LEARNING GOALS:

The teachers though exhibited a deep concern for having pedagogic goals, and yet the goals were more in terms of the broad goals of learning, schooling and life, instead of being about subject specific or about learner specifically. Daily goals almost never featured except having clarity of what part of chapter needs to be done for PREITY, while for DAVID the concern included sketchy planning of activities, for example map work. Teachers do not systematically plan their pedagogy but nonetheless exhibit concerns towards planning and execution "...humein to lagta hai ki ye bachche padh lein...subah bistar se pehla kadam neeche rakhte hi dimag me ye chalne lagta hai ki aj kya padhana hai..."- PREITY. Barring isolated incidents, neither of the teachers ever, in the entire course of observation, sought to know the section that had been covered in the previous class, they both remained aware and absolutely clear about what section they had to begin doing in the class. The concern featured in both the teacher's narratives of designing their pedagogies towards ensuring or working towards securing better possibilities of survival in economic mainstream.

Teachers were concerned with being able to communicate the knowledge required to be transacted, and to ensure receptivity in students for that knowledge. However, this concrete goal was tied to the broad concern for the students to be able to commit themselves to a future with economic stability and security. For instance PREITY pointed out in her interview,

"These children depend on us, a considerable number amongst them also live in such tough scarce life conditions, and yet they come to study...the teachers in private school are also like us...but, they put in a lot of efforts with those children...our job is to teach

these children..I don't like it, if I am not able to do my job satisfactorily...the reason why we're here is to teach..then why must we waste their time...I feel the education of these children, should not suffer because of us). Similarly DAVID noted, "...It is our profession, our duty...students depend on the teachers and when we do our jobs efficiently...these students would learn better...grow up one day and be successful...working in fancy jobs, earning fancy money...they'd be thankful we did our jobs efficiently...and when we see them successful...we would be very happy too.."-PREITY

Teacher employ ways to ensure effective learning, these methods maybe redundant and orthodox but the effort these teachers put into using these methods is important. The teachers made extensive use of blackboards, and DAVID also extensively invoked such material as newspapers and maps, thus the goal of pedagogy was to ensure effective learning through meaning making, although in a restrictive sense. Meaning making is being called 'restrictive' because teacher determined and imposed ways in which learners must make sense of the text, using examples that the teachers think are relevant. The learning ethos of the classroom still remained largely authoritarian with formal and restrictive exchanges, slightly relaxed in comparison to Pedagogy Type#1, but still, cold, formal and stanch.

Teachers seem to focus intensely on acquisition and effective re-production of factual information in the chapters, just as teachers of Type#1 pedagogy. Summative evaluation still fared highest on the list of pedagogy defining concerns in the minds of teachers. The goal of instruction remained to help students memorise the information in the textbooks and be able to reiterate it efficiently in the summative evaluation. However this concern also included concerns surrounding their effective recording the information for future reference. Regularity and accountability of the learner featured high. For PREITY the formative assessment remained a way to add to the existing recording of substance to be remembered and recalled as a validation of learning. For DAVID, similarly, revision of the textbook knowledge fared as the highest concerns. During the course of observation, the said teacher held revision tests as a run up to the final summative evaluation examinations.

When asked about the goals of the subject of social sciences, both the teachers mentioned its scope as a scoring subject in boards examination as the foremost goal, followed by becoming good citizens and having a historical appreciation for the 'Indian culture' and geographic wealth. For instance, DAVID highlighted, "..When I teach these children Harappa civilization or about aryaans, I make sure they imagine the society as it existed back then...I want them to see themselves in continuity with their own pasts... to ensure they value the Indian heritage and culture..." Similarly PREITY pointed out,

"Somethings are such that...you pick them from the books and they become helpful in life...children learn about life, from these books...alot of things...like this one story, that communicated the idea that whenever you step out of home, check your wallet...there are numerous things of this kind...children learn a lot."-PREITY

COMMUNICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

Since the goal of the pedagogy is to aid a strong understanding of the text and an efficient retention of the information. The pedagogy was centred around an intense focus on retention, recording and reproduction. The communication of knowledge assumed the responsibility for accurate recording and retention. The strategy employed for the purpose was a compulsive extensive use of blackboards and reading aloud coupled with elaborate and explanatory teacher monologues.

Restricted use of teaching aids existed in classroom, while for PREITY, the pedagogy was more oriented to examples and elaboration, with an extensive use of blackboard, for DAVID the teaching aids included use of newspapers and maps, although the invoked aids complimented the texts rather well. While DAVID was teaching chapters on Australia, something that he readily identified as alien and unknown to the existing schema of children, and in this light he felt the need to invoke maps; PREITY was doing a chapter on "Aajivikaaein"(occupations), the nature of the latter's text focussed on the vocations that one finds readily, and largely are from the informal sector, and thus she invoked children's memory as a teaching aid.

Pedagogy by itself did not differ much in that it depended in large part upon long teacher monologues. The pedagogy called upon reading of the texts aloud, by the teacher, at a stretch for at least a paragraph, following which the teacher would have a long monologue explaining through illustrations, elaborating context and clarifying word meanings. The reading is usually done by any student appointed by the teacher, for the task, reading is usually monotonous with little intonation. Teacher may interrupt reading for explaining word meanings wherever necessary and/or asking restricted questions to confirm student's attention.

The textbook is still central to the pedagogy even with type#2 pedagogy, and the pedagogy can be summed up as a loud proclamation of the textbook stated, as the embodiment of ultimate knowledge, to a gathering, getting the gathering to actively identify/align lives in line with that which has been stated by the text. Auditory sense is invoked predominantly and primarily, while both mental associative faculties and the visual sense is invoked complementarily.

Thus pedagogy is largely marked by textbook oriented questions and answers, teacher monologues and elaborate and engaging explanations. Explanations are in the form of teacher monologue that assume learner schemas and knowledge as well as life situations and socio-economic conditions and even out of life experiences. The elaborations and explanations are teacher centric in that they project a sympathetic understanding of the learner's context, although complete respect is too high an expectation, since teacher are sympathetic but not reflective and critical of their own assumptions.

EXPLANATION:

Explanations, within type#2 pedagogy style are elaborate, descriptive and contextual to the text. Teacher either reads aloud the section of the text herself or would appoint one of the students to read it, and usually stops the reading at the end of every paragraph, to explain illustratively, including a brief exchange between students and teacher where the teacher invokes and projects her subjective knowledge of the student. Subsequently this is, more often than not, followed by asking questions that are context specific to the illustration and

explanation, often even tying it up with the textual this is then followed by resumed reading of the text.

The explanations in type#2, against the other two types of pedagogy, comparatively attempted most, to connect with the learners in a dynamic manner. The explanations moved beyond the printed word of the text, and explanation of word meanings. Memorization of information seen as relevant was still an important feature but the memorization was aided by making the information somewhat more personal and relevant. A diligent effort on the part of the teacher, owing to their intense focus on their own efficiency and accountability, were geared towards ensuring maximum participation from the learners. This maximum participation nowhere went lax on discipline, a strict decorum or the teacher's authority. The explanations were usually meant to provide an easier-to-comprehend synonym for a word children may not understand on their own.

Teacher SHOUMITA is teaching a chapter titled, 'Australia: Resources and their Utilization' Chapter 6 in geography book, Longman Geography for ICSE, class 6th. Today is the 6th day of teaching this chapter....

11:17 A.M.

Teacher: Now...Ashima will read from here...Ankur, you may sit down...

Teacher asks a girl sitting in front row to read a paragraph describing the flourishing packaging industry in Australia.

Teacher: "You see...now Australians love food...they're not like us...they're very strict about the expiration dates of what they eat...Here, when you go out...even if to a barista, or any eat out joint...if they don't sell the sandwich they store it...sell it even after 3 days, 4 days..they wouldn't throw it...and if you go to a not so good place they would even serve you 6 day-7 day old sandwiches...but in Australia...in countries like U.K. , U.S.A...you know what's the shelf life of a sandwich...6 hours...thats it...after that it is thrown away...dumped..it's trash...no matter what... and you see since Australians are so particular about food and its preservation...packaging is an elaborate industry..."

Other than for simplification purposes, explanations were used to personalize the information given in the text, to determine participation as a way of ensuring better retention and efficient re-production in summative evaluation and for life. These explanations were rather flexible and incorporated many illustrations and examples connecting the information to the learner, the explanations were somewhat open ended and a lot less staunch, in comparison to the explanations in other two types of pedagogy.

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP:

Teacher student relationship was stronger than in every other pedagogy type. Teachers knew their learners and their lives very well and associated with the learners in whatever restricted ways, were possible for them. Teachers felt an intense sense of belongingness towards their work and their target populations and thus took interest in teaching. As a result, students found pedagogies relevant and efficient, made students accountable as well as laid the foundation of a good rapport based either on bonding, the space available to students for expressions, personal reflections and on the fact that children felt they had acquired some knowledge or skills through learning under the said teacher. The learning process remained formal and concrete, measured by both the teachers as well as the students through the written work compilations and through scores in summative evaluation results. Both teachers as well as students could quantify their learning and, this led to positive association, between teachers as well as students. This association was further accentuated by the space that students found to express themselves, in whatever restricted way, but this only added to the positive association.

DAVID, used humour as a way to connect with his learners, he was very aware of their specific life situations and sarcastic humour on their lives and ideas and parental occupations was his way of striking a chord with the students. Students were largely receptive to his humour. However, some of his jokes would border a snide remark often risking the possibility of becoming distasteful. The teacher acknowledged the importance that sexuality assumes for adolescent students and he would use this as the theme of jokes, that at time, appeared more sexist and snide. The humour despite everything still remained embedded within the larger authoritarian position of the teacher and students, largely laden with presumptions and prejudices, however, according to both teacher as well as students, this made class "exciting...fun..Interesting".

Incident#1: Observation day#4

The teacher was explaining the popularity of packaging industry in Australia, as a part of a chapter on Australia. Invoking the illustration of the importance of packaging and preservation he summoned the knowledge of milk preservation and transportation from a boy who's father owns a dairy farm, rears cattle. He asked, "Sharad would know how important it is to package and deliver..what'd happen Sharad if the milk was not packaged...can it be delivered to homes in far places??...No"

However, on the 10th day of observation the same boy was picked up for not having brought maps, that they were asked to bring the previous day, the teacher had just noticed that Sharad was one of the children who had forgotten to bring maps. The teacher snidely remarked,"Oh...Sharad...even you haven't brought maps?? Why?? You've caught a habit of not following instructions or have you decided you'd not study...work on your father's dairy farm..no?!"

There was a rapport between the students and the teachers which was the formed the foundation for deliberations during explanations.

Other than this, the students also thought that the teachers were diligent, committed and that they learned better and felt more confident in summative evaluations, and this caused a positive association between students and the teachers. Students identified their own teachers as better than the other teachers of the school, teaching the same or other subjects. They,

Incident#2: observation day#7

The class is doing a map activity of marking the port cities and other important places on the map of Australia. The in between of the class, there is a commotion between two students, upon inquiring, the teacher learns that the girl is upset about the boy's teasing her with his friends from other classes. What was the basis of teasing wasn't very clear, the teacher warned the boy against repeating the incident, and in an attempt to pacify the girl he said, "...what have I said to you girls about when a boy teases you...", his initiation led the girls of the class to complete his sentence with,, "turn them around and give them a tight kick on their behinds (SIC)".

Incident#3: Obseration Day#10

The teacher is dictating answers for the questions listed at the back of the chapter, while the students are engrossed in writing, the child sitting in the lane adjacent to the lane where the researcher was sitting is somewhat restless. The teacher, glances at the child, then looking in another direction, said, "Aaron, what's the fuss about?...have you written the answer??"

Aaron: "Sir...I am...writing"

Teacher: "You have you notebook?", the teacher meanwhile walked closer to Aaron, glances at his notebook and exclaimed..."This is your notebook??...why have you not brought your notebook?.." walking casually back to his place, said, " Aaron doesn't wish to study...right aaron...we'll get him married to a fat old lady who'll beat him up everyday...Okay Aaron?!...you've become very smart...lets get you married..."

however, were also critical of the strictly defined margins within which the deliberations were clutched. For instance a girl from DAVID's class pointed out, "You know you can only say things sir feels are right...you cannot just say anything... he gets annoyed...but otherwise sir is very nice...I love his classes...he makes jokes and makes us laugh...its fun...he's better than SHOUMITA..."

➤ **Nature of questions:** Questions asked by the teacher were largely not closed ended but were structured and controlled. The questions were descriptive, but not really exploratory. The possibility of connecting the learner's life and experiences emerged through questions but the questions did not attempt to disobey the order of authority and hierarchy. Children were expected to fill the blanks provided by the teacher with the details of their own lives and experiences but the control of 'what is acceptable' and 'how much is acceptable' were determined by the teacher.

Students also saw this as an opportunity to earn appreciation of the teacher by anticipating just the kind of responses expected by the teacher as a child from PREITY's class pointed out, "ma'am jab poochti haina, to mujhe acha lagta hai ki ma'am mujhse poochein...mene nahi bhi dekha hota hai koi cheez, to bhi me bas bold deta hun...mujhe pata chal jata hai bas ki kya answer hoga" (When ma'am asks me (to answer), I feel really nice that ma'am is asking me...even if there's something that I haven't really seen, even then I just say something, answer somehow...I can just guess what she's really expecting). Even within this pedagogy type teachers employed questions as a way of confirming the participation of students, but these questions were usually closed ended and thus could be made out, apart from the usual pattern of questions asked by the teacher. As a child in DAVID's class pointed out, "When sir asks you something that has a very small (sic) answer...its s sure shot clue that he's seen you talking in the class". The questions tend to define a line of response, allowing variation in responses but illustrative variations, thus question seek synonymous, thematic or examples as answers. The questions do not leave much room usually for digression, or free explorations. Questions are largely leading and open within restrictions.

12:30 PM

PREITY is teaching a chapter on occupations to class 6th titled "Aajivikaaein", teacher reads out the title of the chapter aloud, and then asks, "Aajivika kya hota hai?"

Only one child raised his hand, the teacher said, "haan amardeep.."

Amardeep: "Ma'am Aajivika hota hai koi bhi aisa kaam jisse humko p[aise milte hain..."

Teacher: "Acha school ke andar or bahar, sadak par jab aap nikalte hain to kaun kaun se aajivika ke strot ap apne aas paas dekhte hain??"

This was followed by a brain storming on the names of various occupations that the children have observed in and outside of the school premises

➤ **Nature of responses:** The responses reflected a need to be able to provide the best fitted illustration in support of the assertion being made by the text, as the reflection of a student mentioned above. ("ma'am jab poochti haina, to mujhe acha lagta hai ki ma'am mujhse poochein...mene nahi bhi dekha hota hai koi cheez, to bhi me bas bold deta hun...mujhe pata chal jata hai bas ki kya answer hoga" (When ma'am asks me (to answer), I feel really nice that ma'am is asking me...even if there's something that I haven't really seen, even then I just say something, answer somehow...I can just guess what she's really expecting)). As a result, children started taking interest in the text, as they could engage with the text themselves.

The students also were influenced by the rigour of the teacher and his/her conviction and partly with the fear of surveillance that the teachers had on the students' recording, revision and recall of important information, as identified by the teacher.

The responses were never recorded, and were used as stimulants that only worked as triggers to the more standard answers that the teachers dictated. Usually these standard answers did not even remotely draw from or reflect the illustrations provided by the learners.

Thus, in essence, most of the free expressions of the children, their observations, illustrations were cosmetic and unconnected to the answers that children finally recorded for summative evaluation examination purposes. The responses of children were only meant to get them interested in the textbook knowledge, as a means to relate to the text and thus, served the purpose of being a psychological tool for enhancing retention of more formal, impersonal knowledge.

- **Classroom engagement:** Although the classroom ethos differed in type#2 pedagogy in comparison to the other types of pedagogy in terms of its receptivity and space for a relatively free expression from learners, however, the applauded sense of freedom and space was embedded in the same larger structural constraints, in that nowhere did the space leave appreciation for the hierarchy between teachers and students as well as the authority of teachers over context. It does not even question the authority of the text, or the printed word. The relative space and possibility of reflecting their own selves was curiously ensnared within the threads of predetermined order of divergence with strictly defined margins of acceptable questions and responses. It is within these strictly defined margins that the free expression was allowed.

There was a more positive sense of relation that students felt towards the teacher. The authority was largely seen as 'in best interest' and not resented, as much as, the other types of pedagogy.

- **Curricular verbal interaction:** Curricular verbal interaction, as has been described above was engaging, with greater rapport between the teachers and the students. The authority was seen as the sanctioned 'necessary evil'. The curricular verbal interaction was comparatively free flowing, but guarded by the limits of responses defined by the teacher. The nature of interaction was somewhat relaxed, with long sentences that were in essence put out by the learners to be scrutinized and sanctioned for legitimacy by the teachers.

DAVID had devised a way to keep children committed to their studies and investing their cent percent to the teaching learning process.

Upon interaction with the children it was learnt that the teacher had a couple of steel rulers named 'Ram' and 'Shyam', the rulers were used to slap the palms of students on occasions when the students would either forget to bring something being asked of them for an activity, or hindered learning situations, or when student would fail to exhibit or reinstate his/her commitment to the learning situation. Girls of the class were not covered in this sanction. However, it must be mentioned here that on no occasions did the researcher witness an event of the two rulers being used, despite being invoked by the teacher quite often in his threats.

In a conversation with a child at the area designated as a place where those who're punished or have incomplete work are sent as a reprimand, this is the area in the corridor that faces the headmaster's office.

Researcher: Is DAVID strict with the punishments he gives?

Child#1: No, not really...as in just slapping palms with rulers and pinching sideburns or pulling hair...not really 'punishment' punishment.

Researcher: To girls as well as to boys?

Child#2: No...this is to boys only...girls are not hit..they'll start crying no...they're sent here.

- **Non-curricular verbal interaction:** The non-curricular interaction was strong, however was arranged in such manner that it was meant to give the teacher what can be 'the last laugh'. Teachers took interest in the learner and learner's life, but remained an authority figure who was supervising them. Humour shielded snide remarks were common, and this included remarks on child's attitude, behaviour, actions, family occupations et cetera.
- **Non-verbal interaction:** In terms of non-verbal interaction, teacher here as well usually depends a lot on a stern cold expression, which was played out when the teacher saw anyone distracting the smooth proceedings of the classroom. A stern gaze was used as a warning, which would be followed by either a confirmatory questions or with a sarcastic

remark. Interestingly, in this pedagogy type gaze was always shifted before calling out to a student for being distracted, the teachers did not make an eye contact even when making sarcastic remarks.

PEDAGOGY TYPE#3-

Etic Analysis:

Type#3 of pedagogy is characterized by a strange domination of instrumentality or ritualistic pedagogy; distinct for its tendency to perform within safe margins. This pedagogic style is characteristically marked by a strong internalization of rules and regulations, and a high level of dissociation from the learners and the profession, It however, is productive unlike type#1. There is strong stress on maintaining records in teachers. Teachers who fall within the category of type#3 are aware of every guideline and job duty, and do their best to meet the requirements of the words. In comparison to type#2 the teachers within type#3 lack intent or drive and the emotional connection with the learners. There is a strong sense of being accountable but this accountability is owed to a higher authority. The sense of responsibility also is high in type#3 pedagogy but this sense of responsibility or accountability is not tied to any sense of passion or emotional drive. The morality for the type#3 pedagogy is strictly only in the sense of fulfilling the job requirements in the most impersonal way and to the best by the word of the rules/guidelines.

Type#3 pedagogy type can be understood as impersonal, formal tutoring, with an intense focus on records and performance. Teachers themselves exhibit a strong uncritical obedience towards the printed word. Another characteristic of this type of pedagogy is that it seeks to 'teach for the test', and measures learning in terms of performance on the tests and upkeep of the recording of notes and material that would be helpful in the summative evaluation examination. All concerns within this category is tied to the examination and assessment.

The teachers within this type pedagogy consciously perceive all learning as identifiable, objective and observable or demonstrable. The teachers define learning-objectives of a child by

the way of that which can be, may be, and would be tested. Teachers, also, as a result, project learning goals and needs defined by examinations at various levels on the children. Teachers perceive schooling as a means to attain a seat in higher education, clearing tests and in thus, being able to secure a better/prestigious job.

Pedagogy is both focussed and direct, marked by tutoring that assumes the form of either demonstration (in terms of tasks), or dictation (for answers). Teachers unlike in type#2 pedagogy type see that learning could have dimensions that cannot be measured; teachers who fall under type#3 pedagogy refute the possibility of any learning being unquantifiable. Teachers also apply quantification to themselves in terms of measuring their efficiency and accountability, on the part of the teacher. The pedagogy can be summed up as one that is characterized by teaching for measurable outcomes.

There is an intense focus on repetition and revision, with central concerns of pedagogy being rote memorization of the relevant portion of the text, as perceived by the teacher. The pedagogy conceptualizes the entire educational process as progression from one test and one certification to another. The pedagogy seems gripped between, examination, evaluation and qualification/degree attainment. The examples of this kind of pedagogy were HARLEEN, SHOUMITA and TINA.

LEARNING GOALS:

The teachers determine pedagogic goals in terms of what can and must be tested. Textbook statements are divided into questions that may feature in tests. There is an intense focus on these questions as the spirit of the chapter and curriculum.

in terms of the broad goals of learning, teachers see preparedness for exams as a goal, not just for while a child is in school but even in life. Daily goals consist of doing a section of the chapter in the class and giving out questions other than the ones given at the back of the book for homework. Consulting various guidebooks and other consultation books to give out to students as many questions as would cover every part of the chapter. Teachers do not systematically

plan their pedagogy but nonetheless exhibit concerns towards planning and execution. From having short term goals measured in terms of examinations and evaluations, for example as SHOUMITA pointed out, "...When I give these children questions and they search for answers...they in trying to look for the answers learn to sift information...and when they read it...write it...they learn side by side...". Other than this, teachers also defined goals of learning in more long term and tied them to examinations for instance, TINA pointed out "I believe all your life you're attempting for examinations...life itself is an examination..isn't it?!...If you want to study further you must appear for an exam...if you seek to get a job, you must give an exam... I believe this way students learn to crack questions, identify solutions and I believe such a skill is bound to help you in life, as well.."- PREITY.

It was unusual, for teachers to seek to know the section that had been covered last in the previous class. They usually began from where the class had stopped last, although this wasn't a flawless pattern. Teachers were concerned with being able to communicate the knowledge required to be transacted, effectively and efficiently. TINA noted, "when students are trained this way, what happens is that they may sit to revise but a number of questions pop in their heads against sections as they read...and as these questions rise in their heads, they become capable of predicting what may feature in the examinations".

Explanations were never very elaborate, and consisted in part of the questions that the teacher would give as homework. The teachers made extensive use of dictation and reading out aloud as a part of their pedagogy. HARLEEN presented a curious mix of type#1 and Type#3 pedagogy

Teachers seem to focus intensely on acquisition and effective re-production of factual information in the chapters, just as teachers of Type#1 pedagogy. Summative evaluation fared highest on the list of pedagogy defining concerns in the minds of teachers, only in ways that were astoundingly high in comparison to other two pedagogy types. The goal of instruction remained to help students memorise the information in the textbooks and be able to reiterate it efficiently in the summative evaluation. However this concern also included concerns surrounding their effective recording the information for future reference.

Regularity, and accountability of the learner featured high. For HARLEEN the formative assessment (continuous and comprehensive evaluation) was a means of producing material that could argue by itself for the engagement and efficiency of pedagogy. The activities designed by her for CCE remained largely reproducing the textbook stated on beautified loose sheets, with embellishments of pictures and colours. This also seemed to be a way to add to the existing recording of substance to be remembered and recalled as a validation of learning.

For SHOUMITA and TINA, similarly, up to date and neat work in the notebooks, was a matter of deep concern, since this was the only ever tangible record of 'learning' arguing for efficiency of pedagogy, and as future reference material.

These teachers also exhibited a sense of insecurity with respect to children and thus focussed intensely on maintaining notebooks and other material as a way of arguing their case, as SHOUMITA pointed out, "...I like to keep the copies checked and updated, I'm very particular about this...it really helps...now look this is a private school...we are more accountable towards parents than a regular government school maybe...and at times unpleasant situations happen, for instance this once, there was a parent who created a ruckus saying that a question I gave in the examination was not done in the notebooks...but I never do that...so I took a few student's notebooks and showed him that I had In fact done those questions in the class...and thats when the father realized that the boy had forgotten not completed his notebook...although I had made a question mark in red ink..but now I am very careful when marking the notebooks...I make sure I write in bold..'Incomplete work'... *Laughs* " .

When asked about the goals of the subject of social sciences, both SHOUMITA and HARLEEN only said that it is a subject in schools. TINA mentioned its scope as a scoring subject in boards examination as well as foundation for interest in pursuit of higher education, administrative services and the like.

COMMUNICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

Since the goal of the pedagogy is to aid a strong understanding of the text and an efficient retention of the information, for better recall and reproduction in examinations, teachers focus more on ensuring efficient and accurate recording of relevant information under strict supervision. The pedagogy is oriented towards evolving questions pertaining the chapter that cover a piece of information in the most comprehensive manner. The pedagogy was centred around an intense focus on retention, recording and reproduction. The communication of knowledge assumed the responsibility for accurate recording and retention. The strategy employed for the purpose was a compulsive extensive use of blackboards and reading aloud coupled which were invariably coupled with extensive dictation of questions as much as 10, from in between the chapter to compliment the questions at the back of the lesson.

Pedagogy by itself did not differ much in that it depended in large part upon reading aloud of the chapter by an appointed reader from among the students or the teacher herself, followed by a short explanation wherever necessary. The teacher also periodically stopped students to mark out relevant lines from an important paragraph, an important date, place or description of an event. Alongside, as the teacher directed students to underline a part of a passage, she simultaneously also dictated questions pertaining to that section of the text. These were noted down by the students to be later included in the notebooks.

Students within this pedagogy type were impersonal, lacked any rapport and had no distinct profile barring a few outstanding students who had displayed a better performance in the previous examinations, winning themselves a favourable spot in the hearts of the teachers.

The reading that was usually done by any student appointed by the teacher, for the task, reading is more or less monotonous with little intonation. Teacher may interrupt reading for explaining word meanings wherever necessary and/or for directing students to underline or dictating questions for inclusion into existing records.

In informal conversation with the students it was learnt that of the three teachers TINA, and HARLEEN appreciated textbook-ish language in answers, and thus students worked towards rote memorizing the language of the textbook to be reproduced in the examinations, with least possible digression to ensure better chances of scoring better.

The textbook is just as central to the pedagogy as for the other types of pedagogy. And the textbook is seen as an embodiment of all information that is important, relevant and necessary for a certain age group. The positivist assumption about textbooks is highest in type#3 pedagogy as it displays a certain sense of religiosity towards it.

The pedagogy retained a sense of textbook centrism. Auditory sense is invoked predominantly and primarily, the visual sense is invoked complementarily. The children were asked fewer questions for oral answers in the class.

Thus pedagogy is largely marked by textbook oriented questions and answers, short explanations, intensive focus on question answers at the back of the chapter and additional questions pertaining to the chapter.

EXPLANATION:

Explanations, within type#3 pedagogy style are restricted, to elaboration of information and extending synonymous words for difficult words, explaining what portion of the passage is important and what questions can be expected. In the scope of pedagogy the teacher either reads aloud the section of the text herself or would appoint one of the students to read it, and usually stops at a point where she points out that the students need to underline a section and/or dictate questions, pertaining to that section.

The explanations in type#3, as against type#2 pedagogy, does not attempt, to connect with the learners. The explanations stuck strictly to the printed word of the text, elaborating the stated

or re-wording or re-phrasing of it, and explanation of word meanings. Memorization of information seen as relevant was still an important feature.

Teachers seemed concerned about instrumentally going through the text information in the classroom. A ritualistic attitude prevailed in that the explanations were not rich and their absence or presence made little difference to the student's participation or classroom engagement.

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP:

Teacher student relationship was distant and un-interactive. Teachers remained unapproachable to the students and were largely perceived as an authority that was distant. Teachers felt associated to their job responsibilities and job expectations from them, by the institution. The relationship was cold, impersonal and formal. The conversation style, of the teachers, resembled bureaucratic style of conversation, with a very authoritarian vocabulary, tone and manner of conversation. Teachers not only themselves exhibited but also enforced rules and regulations of the school rather strictly. Thus even students viewed teachers as agents of the school, much in line with the views of a student TINA who said, "AT times you know?!...it feels like ma'am is like a policeman, working to enforce the law..". The most interesting part of the student-teacher relationship within type#3 pedagogy is that the smirks and snide remarks were almost negligent, the teachers maintained a distance and authority from the students, so much so that their engagement with the students was very disciplined and unemotional.

Students did not feel engaged or even interested, too much in the classroom activities, even the students who performed better remained somewhat distant, although lesser than others. The learning process remained formal and concrete, measured by both the teachers as well as the students through the written work compilations and through scores in summative evaluation results. Students did not feel they had the space for free expression since classroom pedagogy was, as one of the students of SHOUMITA put it, "Strictly business".

Other than this, the students also thought that the teachers were diligent, efficient and that the question approach to learning helped them perform better in examinations, as it gave them clarity of goal.

- **Nature of questions:** Questions featured prominently in this type of pedagogy. The nature of question being given out to students were all strictly content based and not analytical or critical. Most questions pertaining to the chapter sought recall of dates, places and names, or descriptions of events. The questions that were asked by the teacher, in the class occasionally were all theoretical, semi-closed ended and were structured and controlled.

The questions were descriptive, strictly not really exploratory or reflective. The possibility of connecting the learner's life and experiences did not exist in any part of the pedagogy. The teachers maintained as much distance from the learner or his/her profile as possible. The questions did not leave much room usually for digression, or free explorations. Questions are largely leading and open within restrictions.

- **Nature of responses:** The responses were absent or instrumental, customary, bland and uninterested. The students were influenced by the fear of surveillance that the teachers had on the students' recording, revision and recall of important information, as identified by the teacher.
- **Classroom engagement:** Classroom ethos was largely unengaged, disinterested and bland. The students did not feel connected to the teacher or the text, there was barely any interaction between students and teachers outside of the context of the text. Students remained uninterested, unengaged and often were observed either doing other work simultaneously, or bored or on isolated occasions students slept as well.

Observation Day#10

Teacher: TINA

As the researcher sat observing the class, while some of the students at the back of the class had leaned in on their own tables. Just as the class got over, and as the teacher prepared to move out, a student turned to the researcher,

and said, "Theek thi aj ki class?!" (how was the class today?)

researcher: 'theek thi.'" (it was nice) Paused and asked, "why, you didn't like it?!"

Student, "I slept through it...social studies is damn boring...everyone feels sleepy!"

- **Curricular verbal interaction:** Curricular verbal interaction was restricted to reading out of passages, pointing out relevant portions to be highlighted in personal copies of the book and dictation of relevant questions pertaining to that specific passage of the chapter.
- **Non-curricular verbal interaction:** The non-curricular interaction was negligent. The even if students notified teachers that they had forgotten a necessary resource or not completed their copies, the teacher gave them a long, angry stare and sent them to the principal's office.
- **Non-verbal interaction:** Stare featured prominently as a deterrent and warning signal, following which students were asked to go to the principal's office for further necessary action on their behaviour, occasionally parents of some students were also called for warning but this kind of action assumed the texture of disciplinary action at the school administration level. Corporal punishments, snide remarks, were absolutely missing, although isolated incidents revealed the presence of sarcastic remarks. The cold, frozen expression played perpetually on the faces of the teachers.

Emic Analysis:

Emic analysis for all teachers remained the same, that is it was divided roughly into three sections, the introduction or the explanation and the conclusion. The teacher's versions more or less coincided with each other. All the teachers suggested they read the passage explain to the students and then discuss and do the question answers. It is although significant to note that although the overall descriptions were alike the definitional aspects varied considerably between type#1 and type#3 teachers as opposed to type#2 teachers.

In terms of explanation and teacher-student relationships, the Emic perspective of DAVID and PREITY differed from the others. DAVID recognized the need for a rapport with the children and arranging activities for learning. Both DAVID and PREITY, explicitly identified themselves as invoking lived experiences of children during explanation, while the other teachers restricted to identifying themselves as explaining the difficult terms, words and phrases that were difficult to understand. TINA and HARLEEN explicitly noted that other than explanation they also dictated questions that were relevant but not covered by the textbook writers. However, the conclusion part of pedagogy was more or less the same, in that all teachers said that they concentrated on the questions at the back of the book, as a way to conclude the chapter.

The planning of the curriculum ran in terms of chapters and syllabus. Teachers were not aware of theme based lesson planning, and there were no records of any planning of daily lessons or of chapters. As TINA pointed out, "The plan of the chapter is enough...that guides us...thats what textbooks are for..."

Chapter#6

Conclusion: Towards a Model of Understanding Teacher Pedagogy

Mapping Agency, Subjectivity and Classroom Pedagogy

In conclusion, this study set out to explore the broader question of “‘who” is the teacher?’ and ‘What impact does a teacher’s subjectivity have on pedagogy in classroom learning situations?’. With these broad questions in mind, the study set out to study the nature of teacher’s subjectivity, the different ways in which a teacher’s subjectivity may find expression in classroom learning situations, the factors that may contribute to constituting and shaping a teacher’s subjectivity, and the impact of teacher’s subjectivity in her pedagogy.

The study revealed that pedagogy cannot and must not be constructed in isolation of its underpinnings in agency as well as subjectivity of the teacher. Construction of pedagogy in isolation of its linkages with either, is likely to yield an incomplete picture of praxis that subjectively targets the teachers, as weak links of educational praxis. Such a conceptualization essentially projects teachers as a hindrance in reforms related to educational praxis, without a comprehensive understanding of issues and obstacles that teachers face in adopting an ideological stand or praxis reforms proposed by highest levels of decision making bodies that determine the nature of educational praxis.

Raina(1999) identifies a gap between the praxis at the ground level and the educational theories, taught at the teacher training courses. This identification, combined with the observation made by Giroux(2001) about bridging the gap between the discipline of education and educational praxis, is of great significance in this respect. Although such an observation comes close to raising some significant points about the subjectivities of the teachers and the nature of agency, teacher have in educational praxis, it somehow restricts itself short of such an

engagement. Essentially it seems that critical theorists in the more recent writings (Giroux, 2001; Giroux and McLaren, 1996; Kincheloe, 2005; 2005(a), Kincheloe, undated) acknowledge the conflict any ideological position, proposed to teachers, is likely to have with the already existing world views and subjectivities of the teachers.

Towards A Comprehensive Understanding

Findings from the emic and etic perspectives revealed some very significant points, one being that teachers take textbooks as synonymous to curriculum reasserting the observation made by Kumar (1991) and are behaviourists since they act out their cultural and epistemic models of education. The attempt of the analysis here is to understand the underpinnings of the pedagogy of teachers as a step towards evolution of critical pedagogy.

An analytical engagement with the observations of pedagogy led to identification of the aspects that impact on and reflect in teacher's classroom pedagogy. This section is an attempt to engage with these aspects. Further it is important to note that the aspects can be categorized on the basis of their position in the consciousness. Following diagram may be helpful in understanding this dimension of the aspects being talked about in this section.

As illustrated by the diagram, epistemic foundation is the most unconscious level, followed by cultural ideas and models of teaching and finally the most conscious level is that of their actions and behaviour. It is important to note that, any action or idea embeds itself in a specific position in relation to different points within the other two realms. At any point of time, any specific aspect of a certain sphere may influence a behaviour of the teacher in a specific way, this may be complimented by some other specific aspect of the other sphere. Varying levels of consciousness may influence the ability of a teacher to be able to map the influence on his/her behaviour. This complex matrix resulting from interaction of specific aspects within different spheres, it is speculated, maybe, responsible for the inconsistency of behaviour and thought among teachers, much like any other human being. However, it is most significant to note that, at any point of time, the more conscious the teachers are of the influence, the more the

influences are tamed to yield a certain level of consistency. The researcher inferentially speculates that the inconsistency in ideas and behaviour, from time to time happen because of a dynamic interplay between the three sphere. However, understanding the texture of the spheres may prove to be helpful in taming this arbitrary aspect that characterizes the arbitrariness of pedagogic practice.

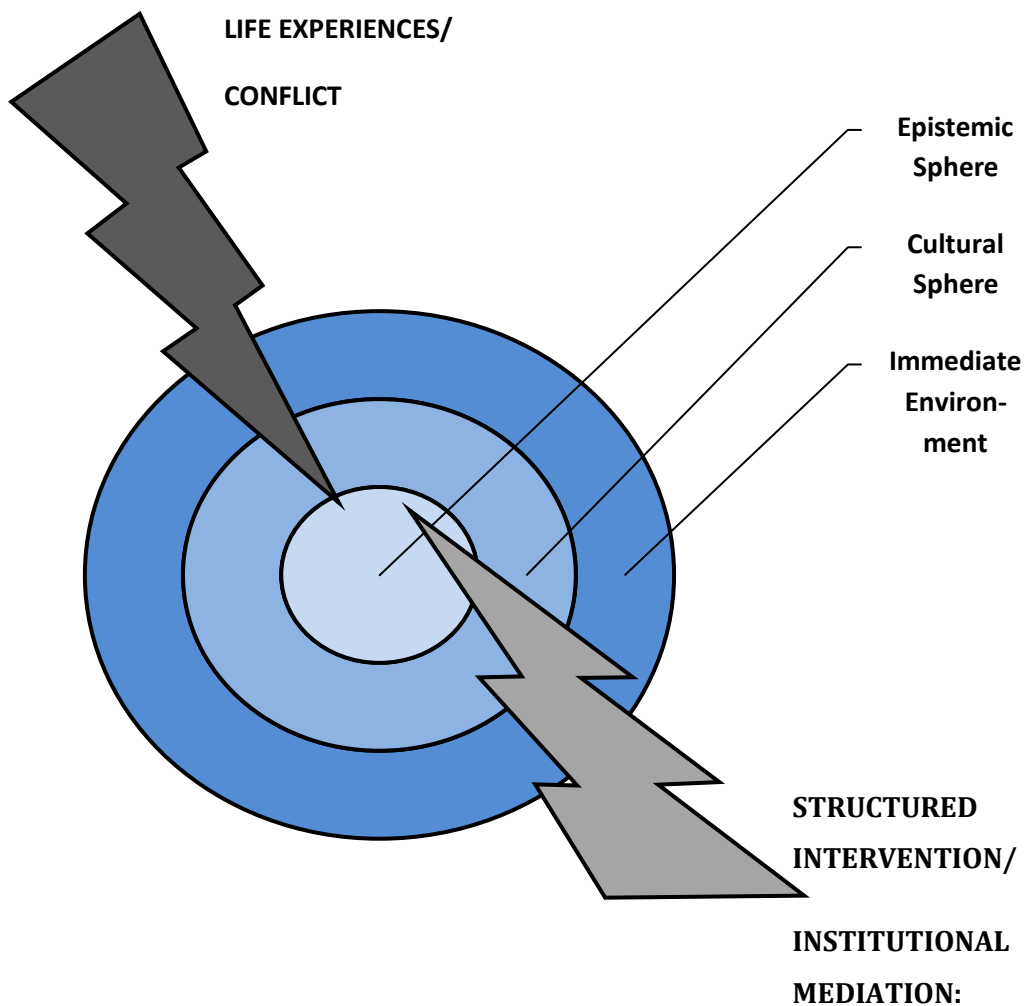


Diagram 6.1

Epistemic Sphere:

Epistemic sphere is the most implicit level in the consciousness of the individual. These are aspects that have been relegated to the deepest realms of memory and personality, and have become the most fundamental level of an individual's personality, and thus it forms the realm that is most uncritically engaged with. When encountered with a critical engagement of aspects relegated to this sphere, individuals are likely to be most vehemently opposed, offended or dismissive. These aspects are most difficult to identify, especially for the individual himself/herself, and anything that is so fundamental can only be speculated about and inferred. Individuals construct the most basic understanding of teachers, learning, schools, and students-teacher relationship, through interaction with these aspects, and since they may not have direct significance, they tend to settle at the deepest levels of conscience.

Aspects that may feature within this realm are lived experiences of religion, family, society, social hierarchies and relations of power, especially in terms of power and coercion, in essence everything that can be called autobiographical. Further, in this sphere there is the social protocol about the nature of children and the general relationship between adults and children. This is a crucial aspect since, as is the case, in most parts of south-east Asia, children are nurtured as dependents, dependency of children is rather celebrated, with little or no autonomy granted to children. A constant sense of lack of knowledge and power is perpetuated through cultural and social practices. (Sarangapani, 2004)

The aspects that feature within this sphere are historical-mythical ideas and folklores about student teacher relationships and teaching learning. These include folktales, tales from religious or mythological texts, contextual anecdotes including religious discourses. Another implicit aspect that operates one of the most strongly influential is the internalization by teachers, of their own schooling experiences as their first ever concrete encounter and engagement with the ideas of education, teachers, students, and their relationship, this also becomes the foundational understanding of unstated codes, rules and norms of behaviour and attitude with respect to educational praxis, and this is unique to the profession of teachers that they

experience both sides of the student-teacher relationship and so it causes a very curious impact, when left unaddressed appropriately. Alongside the student-teacher relationship the teachers also internalise ideas pertaining to knowledge itself; and a student or a teacher or even an individual's relationship with that knowledge. Having experienced traditional educational praxis for a significant amount of time most, if not all, teachers internalise the authority of printed word, the authority of a textbook and the authority of the word sanctioned by an authority. The positivist tradition of education being their foundational and epistemic idea of educational praxis, resists any significant deviance from itself, and thus although teachers use the contemporary rhetoric, yet their praxis deeply values the positivist assumptions about education and the positivist tradition of educational praxis.

Teachers have internalized inferiority and insecurity about knowledge that settles as a result of being in a hierarchical system with banking concept of education as children)

Individual's past life experiences also, including social discourse about children and adults sets into the minds of the individual, socialization also influences early formation of ideas in individuals, these ideas are about the various dimensions that form the social map of an individual, such as caste, religion, sex-gender, ethnicity, race, language, and class. The socialization not only seeks to evolve a cultural capital and distinctness and a sense of pride/honour between members of in-group, but also works in ways to form a hierarchy of group characteristics based on implicit power dynamics.

These ideas, developed through socialization process, when receive the stimulation of a conflict, evolve themselves in light of stimulation from new/critical/challenging/conflicting information/experience may undergo reformation, but not without stern resistance and refutation, however, this is only true of the stimulation that sustain the conflict in consciousness in a consistent manner for at least a critical period. In case, whereby the stimulation is short lived or not intense enough, the ideas resist changes and retain their original tone and texture.

Cultural Sphere:

Cultural sphere is the more conscious symbols that the teachers invoke or subscribe to as indirect references to their thoughts and actions in classroom as well as of their pedagogy. These are more obvious influences that provide more direct, immediate stimulus towards shaping of thoughts and actions, and pedagogy.

This sphere relates to the ways in which teachers associate and interact with the world and their immediate environment. While the foundational ways in which they relate are already shaped by the epistemic discourse that exists at a deeper level in conscience, and yet, these symbols or ideas provide a way of giving those discourses shape or translation of epistemic discourse into action and thoughts.

Aspects belonging to the cultural sphere are more easily accessible and available for critical scrutiny. Individuals respond with tolerance and slightly more favourably when thoughts and behaviour drawing implicitly or explicitly draw from aspects belonging to the cultural sphere. Among within the aspects of this sphere there is a tendency to be conducive to shifting allegiance and manipulation through questioning and critical engagement.

Aspects within cultural sphere include observable behaviour, body language, language and gestures of the teachers that individuals encountered during their schooling. These teachers are invoked as role models or reference point often, having been part of the pleasant experiences related to the schooling experience or deeply negative ones. It must be noted that unlike epistemic sphere, the cultural sphere only invokes these teachers and schooling experiences in most observable most concrete ways. Other than the invocation of role models from the teacher's own schooling experiences, influences such as the institutional orientation, that is, of the school are actively invoked. These codes of pedagogy are picked up through interaction with other faculty members and through unguided observation by the teacher during the initial phase of employment.

Another participant of the cultural sphere is the aspect of social ethos produced through a combined influence of mass media and internet. Mass media and internet constantly produce a discourse of teachers and teacher-student relationship, childhood, the process of learning, the teacher-student relationship and the process of teaching-learning, for example, all teachers invoked ideas of teacher and teacher-student relationship produced by movies such as *Dosti*(1964), *Taare Zameen Par*(2007), and even *Black*(2005). This was further linked with the kind of imagery that was produced by the popular news media about teachers and teacher-student relationship as volatile and unreliable and teachers as untrustworthy and students as perpetually threatened and unsafe. Popular media may also team up with the legal systems and, guidelines and directives also produce a discourse on educational praxis and the expectations of teacher-student relationship, teachers and teaching learning. However, legal systems and guidelines and directives by themselves also produce a discourse, which when consistent with the epistemic sphere works in harmony and consistency but when in contradiction it produces superficial praxis that is highly inconsistent and unstable.

Pre-service teacher training is another crucial aspect within the cultural sphere. This also features as an intervening factor (which would be discussed ahead). Pre-service teacher training is one of the aspects that provides explicit models for rhetorical invocation, however, in its superficial level skill training of the prospective teachers, it produces a rhetorical discourse on praxis.

Immediate Environment:

The sphere of immediate environment is the most explicit sphere, the one that is most accessible to the consciousness of the individual and largely manifests and reflects the aspects of the other two spheres. Individuals readily identify influences of aspects pertaining to this sphere and are deeply conscious and critical of these as well. This sphere pertains to the immediate surroundings and impetus that teachers face, in terms of immediate triggers of stress, anger, frustration, happiness and other such emotions. Immediate situations such as family pressures, agreements/disagreements with peers and colleagues and/or management of

the school, deadlines, syllabus, examination schedules, extra-curricular work responsibilities and other such pressures influence pedagogy intensely.

This sphere connects to the other spheres in that, analogically if influence of various aspects of this group is the text, then the epistemic sphere provides the grammar for interpretation, while cultural sphere provides the vocabulary. However, these aspects are most readily invoked reflectively when teachers talk about their pedagogy.

Structured Intervention/Institutional Mediation:

Pre-service teacher training has been listed as an aspect of cultural sphere, in the discussion about cultural sphere, since it does provide the more concrete, obvious and conscious models informing praxis. Although, it provides for a influences pedagogy, it's superficial approach to address only pedagogy without engaging with the individual. Also, it was noted from the example of DAVID, that pre-service teacher training can have a significant impact on the questioning of certain opinions, ideas, and prejudices by providing the critical stimulus of conflict in consciousness. It exhibited the capacity to have an individual engage with all three spheres and connect them through their dynamic threads to be able to critically engage the individual with him/herself. Pre-service teacher training has a capacity to engage with the personality of the teacher, by the way of pedagogy, teacher's own schooling experiences as well as cultural ideas of teacher and teacher-student relationship and teaching profession. However, there is a need for bridging the gap between the university level academic discourse on education as well as the research in the field of education.

Also, it was learnt from the field, that institutional mediation, such as training by the specific schools or refreshment courses, for specific subjects that teachers take from universities help teachers in understanding the spirit of the subject more critically and reflects in pedagogy.

Such an intervention is essential in terms of breaking open the porosity between the three spheres and helping the individual visit the ideas that form the grammar of thoughts and behaviour, this could have crucial and far reaching implications for teacher training as this

offers the prospects of overcoming the superficiality of theoretical models of educational praxis and its distance from ground realities and the teacher's own comfort conviction and ease with the theoretical models.

Life Experiences/Conflicts:

Teachers who had experienced conflict in consciousness by the way of their own life situations and experiences underwent a change of perspective through a critical conflict that challenged existing ideas, these teachers had. The life situations and life conditions induced the possibility of a critical engagement and teachers evolved a sensitivity and empathy through this experience. However, this aspect of intervention has its limitations since this forms and evolves from a more emotional reaction to situations; and although it has the potential to be used as raw material for further evolution into rational and reflective analysis. However, such an evolution would require a more guided academic engagement that inspires a critical enquiry by the way of what C.W. Mills³² called 'The Sociological Imagination'.

Agency and pedagogy:

The discussion on 'Agency' revealed that there are ways in which teacher's agency gets shaped, the discussion in the previous chapter also dealt elaborately with the ways in which subjectivity of the teacher shapes her agency. Keeping in mind the influences that subjectivity has on agency, agency can be classified into Neutral, Negative and Positive agency. Each of the different types of Agency has its specific manifestations in terms of pedagogy. In that, within negative agency, attitude of the teacher may range from being negligent and arbitrary to being controlling and authoritative. The classroom interaction is largely interrupted and unengaged, and the classroom learning ethos is largely disrupted.

Within both positive and negative agency, there is unchallenged centrality of textbooks and teacher monologues in terms of pedagogy. The pedagogic tool employed is teacher monologue,

³² Mills C.Wright, (1959),The Sociological Imagination, Oxford University Press, New York.

primarily with reading aloud of textbook. This may be coupled with limited or no explanation, usually through rewording the textbook-stated. There is negligent attempt to engage with the text or the student, in a teaching learning situation. The questions at the end of a given chapter in the textbook are significant, but these are also, done by the teacher through directing them to relevant portions of the chapter that can be quoted. There is negligent consultation. The questions asked during the transaction of the text are convergent/closed ended questions, which are directed at checking the attention and/or as control mechanism in the class.

Within Positive Agency, the pedagogy operates upon the uncritically assumed, centrality of textbooks and teacher monologues. The pedagogic tool employed is teacher monologue, primarily with reading aloud of textbook, either by the teacher herself, or by one of the students. This is coupled with explanation of the text, through re-wording, illustrations through examples and anecdotes that maybe drawn, in part from textbooks, in part from *outside/presumed* life of the learner. The goal-directed efforts show, in that there is a conscious attempt to transmit a given chapter, so much so, that questions are framed from in between of the text. These questions are directed by a clear aim of covering every important detail given in a text in a question answer format for memorization and recall purposes. These questions are usually complementary to the usual questions given by a textbook at the end of any chapter. Closed-ended questions are asked even in the case of Positive 'Agency', the rationale for this however is in part for the same purpose as negative agency, that is, a control mechanism and feedback on attention of the learners, but it is also a way of getting the control and feedback on what is being transacted.

Subjectivity and pedagogy:

Subjectivity and pedagogy have a very curious connection in that subjectivity features in classroom pedagogy in two ways, one is through agency and the other is through pedagogy itself. Even within pedagogy, it shapes the modality of praxis and presumptions and ideas about behaviour, attitude and conduct and at a different level subjectivity influences the ideas that are communicated by the way of elaboration and explanation of the textbooks statements.

Subjectivity as a feature that influences agency of teachers features in the amount of engagement teachers bring forth in their classroom, as a part of their pedagogy, and the amount of engagement they feel with their subject, and their pedagogy. The impact of agency has been covered more elaborately in the previous section.

Subjectivity in the second sense reflects in the modalities of praxis, that is, their attitudes, behaviours, thoughts and actions, their considerations and morality, their presumptions and unexamined ideas about various identities. This forms the basis of informing the ideas and a world view, that get reflected in a subjective reading of the text as well as when a teacher communicates his/her reading of the text by the way of explanations and elaborations. Reading a text is a process of meaning making, invoking a context and assimilation and accommodation of various social schemas, but also reflects in the pedagogic praxis of the specific teachers, in that, to a large extent teachers invoke various aspects of their own subjective ideas about various aspects including teaching as a profession, teachers, students, teacher-student relationship and so on. This is evident from the discussion on the three spheres and how they shape pedagogy's content and praxis.

Implications For Critical Pedagogy:

The discussion on the epistemic sphere, the cultural sphere and external environment along with the discussion on intervening factors have far reaching implications for the critical theory, which itself argues in favour of bridging the gap between university education and educational praxis or in other words Giroux describes as “university inclusion of Teacher education”, Giroux (2001). There has been a gap that has been identified even by Raina(1999) between the pedagogic models and the ground reality, something that also reflected in early writings of critical theorists who assumed that such an agency could be assumed and achieved through mere introduction and exposure to critical theory literature. However, as was observed in the study, reading is a process of meaning making and thus without revisiting the individual's life and experiences any theoretical engagement would have its limitations, since when read by an individual it would be interpreted based upon the grammar born out of their own life

experiences and uncritical ideas. Unless the grammar is critically engaged with,, any theoretical framework would not have the same reception until it finds a way to engage itself with and through their own lived experiences and ideas and perceptions. Kincheloe also has argued in favour of engagement with the personality and life experiences of the teachers as a way of introduction of a deeper conviction to critical pedagogy, Kincheloe (2005a)³³.

Significance of findings

Significance of the findings are for both further research into teacher education, for their accommodation of lived subjective realities of the teachers and in terms of reforms surrounding teacher education. Any reforms, in view of the findings, that restrict themselves to only the level of pedagogic intervention, is likely to yield very limited results. Any reforms, whatsoever, will have to address the personality of the teacher, embed her in her context and allow her to engage with it, for reforms to truly cause a shift in the educational praxis.

Other than that, the findings reveal a major setback for critical theory, in that, the existing subjectivities and agency in teachers is incompatible with the expectations of the critical theory, and without addressing how to bridge the gap between uncritical subjectivities and unreflective agency, any suggestions made by critical theorists are likely to only have superficial results or no results. In his paper titled "Autobiography and critical ontology" (2005), Kincheloe voices similar concerns of engagement with the subjectivities of prospective teachers. There are implications for critical theory that has

Limitations of the current study

A number of caveats need to be noted regarding the present study. Mainly issues of philosophical significance as, the coherence of stated to actual, and the primacy of language in communicating one conscious and unconscious ideas. It must be noted that despite best

³³ Kincheloe Joe. L. (2005 a). "Autobiography and Critical Ontology: Being a Teacher, Developing a Reflective Persona" In Wolff-Michael Roth (Ed.), *Auto/Biography and Auto/Ethnography: Praxis of Research Method*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

efforts, the possibility of researcher's own subjectivity cannot and is not ruled out. Another significant limitation is that in every individual, even the best descriptions and observations leave unexplained blanks in the rationalization of actions and thoughts. Non-rationalizable aspects must be understood as those aspects that were too sensitive to be probed deeper within the time span allotted by the study and required a deeper engagement or were unexplained due to lack of conceptualization and expression, within the capacity of the researcher.

Even with the most detailed examination, the teachers would disengage and dissociate from taking pedagogical initiative and 'Agential' action on account of fatigue, getting consumed by a routine, job fix (the disinterest that sets in after considerable number of job years).

Similarly there were certain aspects that could not be explored too well, namely, self-motivation, moral obligation and responsibility. Other than these, it continued to be difficult to say that the study had exhausted itself into accounting for all possible factors that could help explain 'Agency' and its motivation.

Further work needs to be done to establish whether Pre-service teacher training can address the issues of engagement with subjectivities and in what ways. Further it needs to be investigated as to what would constitute a fruitful engagement with teacher's subjectivities and measurement of effectiveness of shifts in subjectivities.

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ANNEXURE

For the purpose of the study, it is proposed that considering the limitations of the scope of the study, the researcher would anchor the research to pedagogy of social sciences. Initial observation would focus on the following pointers.

- Teacher's engagement with the given text in teaching learning situations.
- Students act of associating to the text.
- Response of students to pedagogy.
- Nature of questions raised by students.
- Questions raised by teachers.
- The primary focus of the teacher's pedagogy.
- The nature of interaction between teachers and students in relation to a text.
- The nature of interaction in the absence of the context supplied or related to the text.

The triangulation of data collected through interview with students would focus on following pointers.

- Understanding of classroom learning situations.
- Understanding of the teaching learning process.
- Understanding of the said teacher's pedagogy.
- Reflection on how the teacher receives student's responses.
- The understanding of the said teacher.
- The understanding of the teacher in the teaching learning process.
- The reflective understanding of his/her pedagogy.
- Understanding of the text, by learners.

Question guide for teachers

- Name:
- Age:
- Gender:
- School:
- Total years of service:

Professional issues:

- What do you think is a teacher?
 - Duties
 - Roles
 - Responsibilities
 - What must an ideal teacher be/ behave like?
 - What is the society's understanding of a teacher/teaching as a profession?
 - What is your idea of a teacher/ teaching as a profession?
 - How do you look at yourself as a teacher?
- Teacher's views on respective school
 - As a working environment, for teachers
 - As a learning environment, for students
- Teacher's views on pre-service teacher training
 - Do you think you already had an idea about teachers/ teaching as a profession, before you undertook T.T?
 - Has/How has Teacher training altered your understanding of being a teacher/ teaching as a profession?
 - How has your in service experience related to your pre-service TT conception of being a teacher/teaching as a profession?
 - Do you think actual teaching practice departs from the tenets proposed by the TT, or assumed by the larger society?
 - What did you learn about textbooks at pre-service TT?
- Teacher's views on classrooms:
 - If you had to make an average profile of your class, how would you describe it?
 - What must be an ideal classroom ethos, classroom scenario?
- Teacher's views on learners and learning process
 - How do children learn better?
 - What do you think is specific to children studying in this school, that sets them apart from the others?

- How do you define/determine goals for your learners?
- How crucial is textbook to learning?
- Teacher's views on texts
 - What should be the ideal relationship between a teacher and a text?
 - How do you relate to the textbook? What relationship do you feel as a teacher with the text?
 - What significance does a text have with respect to life?
- Teacher's views on pedagogy
 - What do you understand from teaching learning process?
 - Do you think there is a 'universal best pedagogic practice'?
 - How do you prepare for your classes?
 - What do you do, while in the classroom/describe your pedagogy?
 - How do texts feature in planning pedagogy?

Narrative:

- Journey as a teacher:
- Life's experiences influence on teaching
 - Do you think your common sense knowledge helps you in teaching better? How?
 - Do you think your specific life experiences help you relate with your students differently than other teachers?(Illustrate with examples)
 - Do you think your specific life experiences help you relate differently with a text, than other teachers? (Illustrate with examples)
 - Do you think your life situation, or life experiences make it difficult for you to relate with some aspects of your students's lives?(illustrate with examples)
 - Do you think your specific life situation, or life experiences make it difficult for you to relate to any aspects of the curriculum/teaching practice?(illustrate with examples)

Discrimination/prejudices/ classroom situations

- What is discrimination? How does it happen?
- Is caste relevant in present context? How?
- Is gender relevant in present context? How?
- Any other forms of discrimination that you think are relevant? How?
- How must a teacher deal with such issues?
- Have you encountered prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behavior? What must a teacher do to address such a situation?
- What role does textbook have in the context of discrimination?

- What role does education play in relation to discrimination?
- Have you ever faced classroom situations that reflected or endorsed discrimination?

Focus Group Discussion with students (we can discuss these when you come today)

- Understanding of classroom learning situations.
- Understanding of the teaching learning process.
- Understanding of the said teacher's pedagogy.
- Reflection on how the teacher receives student's responses.
- The understanding of the said teacher.
- The understanding of the teacher in the teaching learning process.
- The reflective understanding of his/her pedagogy.
- Understanding of the text, by learners.