THE MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY, MOTHERS AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

An Exploratory Study in Delhi

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the award of degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
(Sociology of Education)

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2012

July 27, 2012

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **'The Middle Class Family, Mothers and Education of Children: An exploratory study in Delhi'** submitted by **VIDYA K.S.**, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067, India, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is her original work and has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The persistent advantage of the Indian 'middle class'[i] in the field of formal education and professional employment is attributed to several inter-related factors in both the history of the emergence and construction of this class and the consequent well honed practices of its members in enhancing and ensuring their future prospects of mobility. While there is much literature that has examined how colonial policies pertaining to land-arrangements, education and family influenced the creation of this class and its future trajectories, there is little research that has delineated how the practices within the 'middle class' family secured its success. Within this domain of 'middle class' family practices, the role and labour of the mother in the socialisation and education of the child gets little notice. This research study proposes to examine this consistent characteristic of 'middle class' advantage with regard to education through the role and labour of the mother within the family. The position, role and work of the 'middle class' mother have not remained static and have undergone several changes from the colonial period to the present juncture - post neo-liberal reforms.

1.1.   The middle classes and practices of 'mothering'

The aim was to first locate sociologically the construction of the 'middle class', moving from cross comparisons between the history of its emergence in the western context and the Indian subcontinent to focussing specifically on the Hindu 'middle class' family and the rising significance of the middle classes in the present time (Fernandes 2006 and Saavala 2010). The formation of this class in the Indian context is linked intrinsically to debates concerning the education of upper caste/ 'upper class' Hindu women and their role and labour within the family. It was hoped that education would not disrupt the sanctity and role of the woman within the household but would merely provide her with certain skills and knowledge to perform her duties within the home better (Chatterjee 1989 and Forbes 2007).

These intricate connections between education for women and their role and labour within the family, which is instrumental in perpetuating this cycle of privilege, need to be deconstructed in order to examine the assiduous 'middle class' advantage with regard to education and professional mobility. Education for women and its relationship to their role and labour within the family has

also undergone changes over periods of time from the colonial period to the present context post the neo-liberal reforms (Donner 2005, Kumar 2007 and Scrase and Scrase 2009). Scholars suggest that the range of economic, social and cultural capitals that this class possesses is connected to a large extent to the myriad processes of investment in education by this class. This agential role of education, in turn, needs to be comprehended through the various means and methods adopted by the 'middle class' family to guarantee success in school, college and finally professional employment (Bourdieu 1997, Ball 2003 and Beteille 2004). The second chapter will highlight the important changes in the micro-practices within the 'middle class' family unit and most notably the work of the upper caste/'upper class' mother. There is a theoretical foundation that attempts to conceptualise role of the family and the work of the mother which is examined further in the next section.

1.2.   Theoretical framework

The middle classes are a complex heterogeneous and dynamic category composed of multiple fractions[1] who are engaged in a range of salaried occupations in both the government and the private sector. This advantage in professional employment is linked to the processes of social reproduction within the family. With regard to high status professions such as doctors, lawyers and engineers, Beteille (2004) argues that "the family plays a crucial, if not decisive, role in the reproduction of social structure, including the structure of inequality".

These processes of social reproduction are contingent on both the class location of the family and the inherent stock of economic, social and cultural capitals that the family possesses and suitably utilises to reproduce its status quo. On the nature and conversions of capitals, Bourdieu (1997: 47) writes:

> Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the preconditions for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up

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[1]'Fraction' according to Giddens (1981) refers to the multiple segments of the population with a diverse educational and professional background who comprise the broad category of the 'middle class'. However, the manner in which these certain segments of this heterogeneous class construct status through education and adopting key behavioural traits will be examined in the next chapter.

social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

The notion of cultural capital, specifically has been examined by Bourdieu (1997) in the "course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success, i.e. the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions."(Ibid)

He then links this unequal distribution of cultural capital between classes and class fractions to invisible and intricate processes of investment in education within the home cultivated through the work of the mother. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1997), can exist in three forms: "in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematic, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee". (Ibid)

However, while he sees the role and work of the mother as indispensable to the production and reproduction of these various forms of cultural capital, he does not elaborate on the various mechanisms through which she is engaged in these processes of production and reproduction. David (1980: 6) finds Basil Bernstein as being much more explicit about the importance of mothers to social reproduction, through education, although his emphasis is on the 'mechanisms' rather than the structure of reproduction. She writes:

> He [Bernstein] states (1975, p. 3) that it is 'important to keep together in one analysis the interactions between the family and the school, and to show the variations in this relationship – both within and between social classes'. He then goes on to show that women's role in the family and in the economy has changed and affected the ways in which children are treated in nursery and infant schools. He argues that 'historically…the mother is neither important as a transmitter of symbolic or physical property'. She was 'a domestic administrator' and served only as a role model for her daughters. This traditional system generated two models for cultural transmission: the abstracted mother was a model for the nanny-babyminder and the governess for the teacher of elementary competences. Nowadays the mother is 'an agent…of

cultural reproduction and unable to get away from her children'. This is now the basis of the 'invisible pedagogy' which underlies the form of 'cultural transmission in new infant and nursery schools'.

Locating these frameworks of social reproduction within an Indian context, Beteille (2004: 141) argues that in the context of the Hindu upper caste/ 'middle class' family, the family as a central unit in the transmission of cultural capital is distinctly created through conservative practices of marriage and parenthood. Endogamous marriage practices ensure that upper caste women are married into families of similar status and socio-economic privileges, thus sealing advantage within a tiny section of the middle class. Drury (1993), in turn, draws attention to dowry practices at the time of marriage pointing out that women with differential educational qualifications are assigned different rates of dowry in the marriage market. In his study he finds that women with professional qualifications are preferred over those with arts or humanities background thus hinting at assumptions of future possibilities of income that a professional wife would bring to the household. For the Hindu upper caste/ 'middle class' family then, education for women is largely perceived as being instrumental in aiding her to perform her duties within the home effectively and in the present context of globalisation and increasing costs of living in urban areas, to offer some sense of additional financial support. However, a number of studies have stated that her economic contributions are seen as secondary as her primary responsibility in the present context is to effectively invest time and effort in the education and future planning of her children. Her educational qualifications and the resources she brings to the household are seen as crucial in helping her perform these tasks related to schooling of children successfully.

Utilising Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Reay (1998), in a study based in U.K., seeks to understand the impact of women's own past educational experiences on their contemporary activities in support of children's education. At the centre of the concept of habitus is the interplay not only between past and present but also between the individual and the forces acting upon them; in other words, agency and structure. It recognises both diversity within social groupings and highlights the crucial importance of the context in which actions take place. During the course of her research in primary schools in London, she comes to perceive the habitus of the mother as incorporating a tension between what might be termed *possibility* and *constraint;* and between the replication and transformation of social practices. The class location and the past experiences of education greatly influenced the mother's own interactions and engagements with regard to both the practices related

to schooling and the choices she consciously made to widen the future options available to her children. She finds that a distinct element of change and continuity characterise the nature and form of mother's work.

For her study, she developed seven components of the mother's resources, which contribute towards the production and reproduction of cultural capital within the field of home-school relationships. These seven aspects are: material resources, educational qualifications, available time, information about the educational system, social confidence, educational knowledge and the extent to which entitlement, assertiveness, aggression or timidity characterised the mother's approaches to the teaching staff. (Reay 1998: 59)

Apart from Reay's (1998) conceptual framework on the mother's involvement in the education of children, Papanek (1979) locates the goods and services produced by women within the family as practices that contribute towards status production and maintenance. She delineates a range of practices associated with status production and maintenance with regard to the woman's engagement with her husband, children, relatives and the community. However, the crux of this study is limited to examining the mother's role in the transmission of cultural capital specifically in connection to processes of education. In this category of women's status production work, she includes, "training children in status-appropriate language, behavior, appearance, physical and intellectual skills, health, hygiene, and presentation of the self" (page 777). Such work, usually performed by mothers, signals the family's present status as well as its future status aspirations perhaps more accurately than any other criterion. It is instrumental in shaping the children's future occupations and marriage opportunities, thereby affecting potential income. It also has implications for the parents' future status, particularly in societies where parents rely on their children's support in old age (Ibid: 777).

The present study will draw on Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital and move towards locating the micro-practices of the mother's work with regard to education and consequent transmission of cultural capital through Bernstein's framework on the invisible pedagogy and mechanisms of reproduction employed by the mother. In order to deconstruct the various mechanisms of reproduction, it will be necessary to understand the various resources that the mother brings to the household and this will be largely developed by drawing on Reay's (1998) framework of mother's

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work in the constitution and transmission of cultural capital.

1.3.   Rationale for the study

The role of the family in the transmission of economic, social and cultural capital, which guarantees success in education and employment has been acknowledged and examined in great detail. However as the review of research and the theoretical framework of this study suggest, within this unit of the family, the work of the mother towards the creation and transmission of cultural capital has not received enough attention. This research study is thus important for two reasons. On the one hand, it offers empirical possibilities for studying and deconstructing the intricacies of the mother's work within the household with regard to education of children and on the other hand, it has contemporary relevance as increasing deregulation of the economy and scarcity of jobs in this era of globalisation are leading the anxious middle classes to seek and adopt new measures of tackling the stress related to education and employment. Within this larger narrative of new practices adopted by the middle classes to ensure success associated with education and subsequent employment in high-paying jobs in the private service sector, the role and work of the mother is gaining salience. The multiplicities of the micro-practices of 'mothering' have not been explored in much detail in the Indian context and this study is one attempt in that direction.

1.4.   Research Questions

1.   What are the practices around the schooling of children in 'middle class' families that have been documented in research/studies?

- Are there variations in practices across 'middle class' fractions
- How have these practices changed in the pre-post globalisation period?

2.   Within this domain of 'middle class' family practices what is the role and work of mothers in the schooling of children? How have these changed over time?

3.   What are specific practices around the schooling of children in a selected sample of professional 'upper middle class' families in a residential area in Delhi?

4.   What is the nature of work that mothers are involved in in relation to the schooling of children in these families? What roles do other members of the household play in the education of children?

5.   Are there differences in the ways in which mothers engage with a son as against a daughter, especially with regard to schooling and 'future planning'?

6.   How do working and non working mothers differ in their involvement/managing of 'work'

around children's schooling?

7.   What are the various social networks that the 'middle class' mother has access to in relation to the family, school and community to effectively plan the educational future of her children?

8.   Are there constructions/discourses of 'good mothers' and how does this influence the work of the middle class mother in relation to schooling?

9.   How do mothers reflect on changes in 'mother's work' in relation to schooling across a generation – i.e. as they look back on the labour of their own mothers?

1.5.   Objectives

1.   To examine the practices around the schooling of children in 'middle class' families that have been documented in research/studies.

- To understand variations in practices across 'middle class' fractions
- To study changes in practices in the pre-post globalisation period.

2.   Within this domain of 'middle class' family practices, to study the role and work of mothers in the schooling of children and how these practices have changed over time.

3.   To study the specific practices around the schooling of children in a selected sample of professional 'upper middle class' families in a residential area in Delhi.

4.   To study the nature of work that mothers are involved in in relation to the schooling of children in these families.

5.   To study the roles of other members of the household in the education of children.

6.   To study if there are differences in the ways in which mothers engage with a son as against a daughter, especially with regard to schooling and 'future planning'.

7.   To study if working and non working mothers differ in their involvement/managing of 'work' around children's schooling.

8.   To study the various social networks that the 'middle class' mother has access to in relation to the family, school and community to effectively plan the educational future of her children.

9.   To explore constructions/discourses of 'good mothers' and how this influences the work of the middle class mother in relation to schooling.

10.   To understand how mothers reflect on changes in 'mother's work' in relation to schooling across a generation – i.e. as they look back on the labour of their own mothers.

1.6.   Methodology for the exploratory study

In order to understand mother's roles and work in relation to the schooling of children in the larger context of micro-practices of 'middle class' families an exploratory study was carried out in South Delhi. Using the snowball technique, 'upper middle class' families engaged in high-end professional occupations were identified. Twenty families from which at least one parent engaged in these professions and a child in primary school was selected. In-depth interviews were carried out with the mothers on a range of themes around the practices of the mother related to the education of the child including a range of co-curricular activities, sports and hobbies within and outside the school, as well as the routine and pattern of her engagement with other members of the household, community and school with regard to education and 'future planning'. Both working and non-working mothers were part of the sample in order to examine if there were any differences between these two groups with regard to their work in relation to the schooling of their children. The study will focus on the range of academic resources that the mother brings to the household and also reflect on changes in 'mother's work' in relation to schooling across a generation – i.e. as they look back on the labour of their own mothers.

1.7.   Overview of Chapters

The second chapter sets the context of the middle classes in India focussing on the family and the varying practices and investment in education that help reproduce their status quo. It begins with a larger discussion on the sociological constructs of the 'middle class' and then proceeds towards examining the varying trajectories of its constitution and composition in India vis a vis Europe. The heterogeneity of this class in the Indian context and transformations across periods of time from post-independence to the present context post the neo-liberal reforms forms a large part of this chapter. It highlights the difficulties posed towards defining this amorphous class and focuses attention on the upper elite fraction of this class composed of a high-end professional work-force who have come to embody the new globalised middle class. Large-scale data studies indicate that this population is mostly from an upper-caste background, of Hindu denomination, with English higher education credentials and employed in professional occupations (doctors, engineers, lawyers, management and finance).

The mobility and success of this fraction is linked strongly to the nature and investment of the family in the education of the children and in turn points to the early work of the mother in the

socialisation of the child. The role and work of the mother in processes of socialisation and education of children has evolved with changes in familial structures and the entry of women into the work force. It elaborates on the historical changes in the Hindu 'middle class' family drawing attention to the changing role and labour of the mother.

A field-study was conducted in South Delhi where interviews were conducted with 20 'upper middle class' families with children enrolled in primary school. The larger context of the study and the findings form the subject of the third and fourth chapters. The methodology for data analysis is qualitative and the chapter discusses the findings thematically based on key aspects of 'mother's work'.

The broad findings from the study on the role of the family, most notably the mother, in processes of social reproduction will be discussed in the conclusion. The family is central to how the middle class is constructed and reproduces itself. The emerging opportunities that this fraction is able to capitalise on are in turn linked to the early micro-practices of socialisation within the family. The aim of the conclusion is to link these observations to the meticulous planning of the middle classes in the education of their children.

Chapter 2: The Middle Class Family, Mothers and Education of Children

2.1.   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to deconstruct the category of the 'middle class' sociologically and historically and then locate it within the context of India focussing mainly on the changes within the 'middle class' Hindu family and the role and labour of the woman within the household. As noted, the 'middle class' is a heterogeneous category and the chapter will seek to define the privileged upper fraction of the 'middle class', which is the focus of this research study.

The first part of this chapter will discuss certain sociological interpretations of defining the 'middle class', and then move towards understanding and comparing this social group in the socio-cultural contexts of Europe and India. Where class itself was a complicated concept to deconstruct in the western socio-economic milieu, in India categories of caste, religion and ethnicity superimposed themselves on class. What came to be known as the 'middle class' in India was in itself a very microscopic and heterogeneous entity. In fact several scholars avoided the usage of a single class and refereed to the social group in the plural (Deshpande 2006).

The second part of this chapter will trace the changes that took place in the consolidation and composition of this class post-independence to the period post the neo-liberal reforms. The section will focus on framing the 'new middle classes'[ii] who emerged post liberalisation. There exist multiple methods to defining the 'new middle classes' based on indicators of income, education, employment, caste, religion and region. The third section of this chapter will traverse a range of arguments on the complexities related to defining these emerging middle classes and an attempt will be made to limit the scope of the discussion around what has been broadly termed and understood as the urban, educated, professional, 'upper middle class'[iii] fraction of this social group.

Post the larger engagement with the middle classes the chapter will then move towards a discussion on the Hindu 'upper class'/ upper caste family. The following sections will examine briefly the historical changes that led to the education and remoulding of the social position of women vis a vis the home and the outside world. It will bring to attention the unit of the family and its work towards transmission of 'cultural capital'[iv], thus enabling the reproduction of social status. The home

continues to remain a complex terrain to be negotiated by the woman despite larger changes facilitated by both post-independence policy on the role of woman's education and employment and women's movements. The role and work of the mother has constantly evolved with structural changes in the economy and the sections will elaborate on these changes and examine the nature and constitution of the mother's work in the present time.

2.2. Historical antecedents to the 'middle class': Europe and India

The origins of concern with 'class' and with 'class society' are to be traced to the 'great transformation' in the European societies, which saw the decline and final disintegration of feudalism, and its replacement by a new social and economic order (Giddens 1981: 82). In deconstructing the sociological connotations to the 'middle class', Giddens (1981) draws on both Marx and Weber's works on class structures in capitalist societies in Europe. Where Marx considers the 'middle class' as elements belonging to the upper class society in a feudal set-up, in the case of a post-feudal society he draws attention to the petty bourgeoisie or small property owners as possible members of a 'middle class'. According to Giddens, Marx failed to develop a much more complex place for the 'middle class' as an intervening class within a single system of classes. He ends up emphasising a more simplistic dichotomous class structure where one class had the ownership to the means of production and another class did not.

Weber, on the other hand, seeks to identify 'class' as a sociological category beyond the divisions of interest that a market society is likely to bring about. He illuminates two aspects to the defining of the 'middle class' apart from ownership of property – the possession of educational qualifications leading to a 'marketable skill', which allowed differentiation among those not owning property and the idea of 'closure' and its links to maintaining and reproducing intergenerational mobility (Giddens 1981: 100-103).

In a post-feudal, industrialising society, new jobs called for specific skills thus leading to an expansion of educational institutions. Educational qualifications, allowed certain members to sell their labour power within the realm of certain professions differentiating them from a larger working class that was uneducated. While these 'middle class' members need not necessarily own property, these educational qualifications would allow them to secure economic returns other than income. These included principally, security of employment, prospects of career advancement, and

a range of 'fringe benefits', such as pension rights, etc.

Weber emphasises the idea of closure: the degree of 'closure' of mobility – both intergenerationally and within the career of the individual - in facilitating the formation of identifiable classes (Giddens 1981: 107).

> For the effect of closure in terms of intergenerational movement is to provide for the reproduction of common life experience over the generations; and this homogenisation of experience is reinforced to the degree to which the individual's movement within the labour market is confined to occupations which generate a similar range of material outcomes. In general we may state that the structuration of classes is facilitated to the degree to which mobility closure exists in relation to any specified form of market capacity.

Educational qualifications lead members to take up certain jobs, which in turn lead to the creation of a certain life experiences, marking a sense of 'closure' or exclusivity from other classes. These individuals then capitalise on their material and social resources to reproduce their life experiences across generations.

The third and final source of the proximate structuration of class relationships is that originating in the sphere of consumption rather than production. For both Marx and Weber, 'class' is a phenomenon of production: relationships established in consumption are therefore quite distinct from, and secondary to, those formed in the context of productive activity. There is no reason to deviate from this general emphasis. But without dropping the conception that classes are founded ultimately in the economic structure of the capitalist market, it is still possible to regard consumption patterns as a major influence upon class structuration (Giddens 1981: 109).

Giddens (1981: 109) notes that "Weber's notions of 'status' and 'status group' confuse two separable elements: the formation of groupings in consumption, on the one hand, and the formation of types of social differentiation based upon some sort of non-economic value providing a scale of 'honour' or 'prestige' on the other". He writes:

> While the two may often coincide, they do not necessarily do so, and it seems worthwhile to distinguish them terminologically. Thus I shall call 'distributive groupings' those relationships involving common patterns of the consumption of economic goods, regardless of whether the individuals involved make any type of conscious evaluation of their honour or prestige relative to others; 'status' refers to the existence of such evaluations, and a 'status group' is, then, any set of social relationships which derives its coherence from their application.

Giddens (1981) points to two aspects of consumption here – the first one is a simple proposition which distinguishes 'classes' based on their overt patterns of consumption, the second premise takes the first idea further by emphasising connotations of social differentiation among these patterns of consumption within a more non-economic framework associated with concepts of 'prestige' and 'honour' linked to 'status'. While there are occasions for consumption patterns to overlap and intersect among the heterogeneous 'middle class', what he emphasises is how choices of consumption relate to the creation and perpetuation of certain evaluations between fractions of the 'middle class'. Where 'status' refers to the existence of such evaluations, 'status group' is narrowing the definition by looking at comparable aspects of this larger idea of 'status' between two or more fractions.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the historical context for the origin and emergence of the 'middle class' and draw links to the role of education in the creation, consolidation and perpetuation of this class and in particular the upper middle class fraction.

Moving ahead from Marx and Weber's frameworks of understanding what constitutes the sociological category of the 'middle class', it will be interesting to unravel the processes that led to the emergence and evolution of the middle classes in Europe. It becomes necessary to begin with this phenomenon, because most studies on the formation of the 'middle class' in India refer to the European experience as a benchmark for both processes of creation and comparison.

Kocka (1995: 797) links the European tradition of self-governed towns, the rise of capitalism, and the impact of state formation as decisive factors in the creation of the 'middle class'. Pointing to the distinctions in the evolution of the 'middle class' across Europe, he writes:

> In England and Switzerland feudal structures had broken down much earlier. In the north they had hardly existed. In Russia and other parts of the east the feudal dissolution would happen much later, after the Crimean War. But in most of Europe the old order was largely brought to an end between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, either by revolution as in France or by gradual, protracted reforms-and revolution-as in most parts of Germany.

Unlike the West, where the middle classes emerged endogenously as a result of significant changes in the forces and relations of production, the origins of the middle classes in countries with a colonial history are much more complex. Mishra (1961) observes that institutions conducive to

capitalist growth were not lacking in India before British rule. "Indian artisan industry and occupational specialisation were very highly developed. Merchants were organised in guilds designed to regulate prices and to protect trading rights against the interference of royal officials and landed magnates. These were comparable to medieval European trade associations which exercised a great measure of autonomy in the regulation of commerce" (Mishra 1961:7).

However, the reason why capitalism did not take the same form in India as it did in Europe is linked to political and social systems, which were founded on strong caste affiliations. Occupational specialisation arose from hereditary callings, not from higher education or research, which remained literary in emphasis and divorced from the pursuits of applied skills and sciences. Access to any form of education remained restricted to a miniscule population of literary castes at the upper end of the social ladder. The 'middle class,' thus largely remained divided into water-tight status groups according to the caste to which they belonged. They could not form themselves into an overarching 'middle class' social order comparable to that of Western countries (Ibid: 9).

The ideas and institutions that led to the creation of a 'middle class' social order in the West were imported into India with the coming of the British. Deshpande (2006) observes that, "in India, the emergence of this group was related (among other things) to the creation of multiple and 'function-less' intermediary rights in land, the need for subaltern administrative-professional functionaries to assist in colonial governance; and the advent of western-style educational institutions." (pages 215-216).

According to Joshi (2010: xviii), "the middle class in colonial India was not a social group that could be classified as occupying a median position in terms of standard sociological indicators of income, consumption, or status". He writes:

> Though usually not from the traditional landed aristocracy, there is little doubt that the people who came to term themselves middle class were from the upper rungs of Indian society. In fact, measured by any set of objective indicators such as income, consumption, occupation or even education, the social groups described as middle class in colonial India were in the top two deciles of the population…Most of them were male, upper caste Hindus, ashraf (high-born) Muslims, or other such high-status groups, and many came from so-called 'service communities,' that is, from families and social groups who had traditionally served in the courts of indigenous rulers and large landlords.

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Characteristically heterogeneous, Mishra (1961: 11) provides a detailed examination of the various segments within the 'middle class' across time frames spanning from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century. He notes the distinctions pertaining to education and occupation among the commercial, industrial and literary groups within the middle class pointing out that the literary groups largely comprised of members from the upper caste communities who had a background of traditional literary education.[v] He observes:

> The traditional Hindu bias against industrial occupation and the administrative requirements of Government led to the whole educational machinery being geared to satisfy the needs of the public service and had the effect of perpetuating the old emphasis on literary education as a virtual monopoly of the upper castes of Hindu society. The development of the country's economy thus long remained the main concern of Europeans. The educated class of Indians who emerged as a result of British educational policy cared more for position and influence in the civil service and councils than for mass education or economic development. New business classes did grow, but not so rapidly as the literary classes. By virtue of their traditional superiority of caste, intellectual pursuits, and political influence, the latter continued to dominate the former except in recent decades during which Indian business had begun to assume a professional character. The respect attaching to higher education and professional skill was gradually imparting to money power a social status which it did not enjoy before.

Thus, "from the circumstances of their growth the members of the educated professions, such as government servants and lawyers, college teachers and doctors, constitute the bulk of the Indian middle classes" (Mishra 1961:12)[vi].

However, as Joshi (2010: xix) affirms, "it was not simply similarities in education, occupation, or profession that made a middle class in colonial India". He sees them as a social group that was actively engaged in the creation of a certain cultural identity as well, an identity which sought to distinguish them from other social groups both below and above. One important aspect of this identity was religion which played a complex role in the formation of the 'middle class'. The formation of the upper tiers of this class was often marked by the exclusion of Muslims, in part because Muslims were slower than Hindu elites to invest in English (Fernandes 2006: 9). There were fewer Muslim recruits in the Indian Civil Services, but these comparisons need to be comprehended keeping in mind regional variations in the Muslim population across the country. The class and caste composition of Muslims differed across the country. In some areas such as the United Provinces, the ambitions of the new colonial Muslim classes, often having a landed aristocratic past, were not distinguishable from those of the upper caste Hindu middle classes.[vii]

Apart from socio-economic, cultural and religious distinctions among the middle classes, Fernandes (2006: 5) notes that British educational policy marked the evolution of the 'middle class' spatially as well.

> Colonial educational policy concentrated on Presidency towns such as Calcutta and Bombay intensified the strength of the middle class in these towns. English education was a distinguishing feature of the colonial middle class that set this new social group in an uneasy relationship both with traditional elites as well as with other less privileged segments of the middle classes, particularly the vernacular, lower middle classes. These rising groups became actively invested in the reproduction of the language of colonial rule because their socio-economic position rested on the social, cultural, and economic capital associated with colonial educational training and state employment.

The middle class in the early decades of post-independence India was shaped by a continued strong dependence on the state. Earlier colonial linkages between the state and middle class that were created through educational policies and state employment were expanded through the state-managed model of economic planning and development. This trajectory of state supported growth reached a prominent juncture in the 1990s, where economic reforms emphasising liberalisation and globalisation led to new changes for the middle classes (Fernandes 2006: 20).

2.3. Post-independence to the period post the neo-liberal reforms

The larger Nehruvian discourse which emerged post-independence embodied the ideals of socialism and sought to address concerns of poverty and development through practices and policies that reflected a modernist outlook. This thrust towards the use of education, science and technology in shaping meta-narratives of nationalist development interlinked and corresponded to urban 'middle class' aspirations as well. (Fernandes 2006: 20-21)

Where the rhetoric was to address the poor, the trajectory of policies by the State as Fernandes (2006) reveals moved towards facilitating the growth of a diverse 'middle class'. Investment in primary education and health was a fraction in comparison to the expansion of State-subsidised higher education, which went on to play a central role in shaping 'middle class' formation.[viii] She writes that "the crux of the relationship between state and class that was consolidated in the early decades of independence did not merely rest on an external relationship of patronage. Rather, it rested on the ways in which the middle class both benefitted from specific forms of support from state-led development and simultaneously were incorporated into the institutional and economic

apparatus of a rapidly expanding set of state structures at both the local and national levels" (Fernandes 2006: 21-22).

"The role of professional 'middle class' and white-collar workers in controlling networks of patronage through the distribution of economic resources and benefits transformed this section of the 'middle class' into one of the "dominant proprietary classes" that shaped the state-directed model of Indian political economy".[ix] (Ibid: 23) As diverse segments of the 'middle class' became dependent on the State through means of employment, it led to identifying themselves as workers and addressing concerns through political means as well. Fernandes (2006) notes the rise of trade-union activity in multiple sectors (banking, insurance and airlines) and emphasises on the various means through which the State sought to cater to and mediate the diverse demands of the middle classes. There was a clear distinction among the various segments of the 'middle class' based on class, caste, religion and ethnicity and "segments of the 'middle class' that were not able to gain access to stable employment grew increasingly dissatisfied and pressed the State for quotas for middle class jobs, often through anti-migrant "sons-of-soil" movements".[x] (Ibid: 25)

The political dynamics surrounding 'middle class' concerns of employment, reservations and civic order reflected the varied ways in which the interests of the middle classes shaped broader trends in contemporary Indian politics. This can be seen in a range of examples from organised middle class resistances to the Mandal Commission recommendations for caste-based reservations that arose in 1980, growing urban middle class support for the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) and its Hindu nationalist agenda, and internal tensions and competition between the rising Hindi-speaking middle class and the English-educated middle class that have led to the rise of regionally based political parties. (Fernandes 2006: 26-27)

By the mid-1980s, there was a growing sense of discontent among the middle classes with regard to the State-led model of development and "India's move towards economic liberalisation in the 1990s did not simply bring about changes in specific economic policies – it set into motion a broader shift in national political culture". (Ibid: 29)

Heralded by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the 1980s, "he brought with him a vision of a modernising Indian nation that would rest on the fruits of high technology, managerial efficiency,

and global economic competitiveness". (Ibid: 35) Noting the changes in the patterns of consumption, Fernandes (2006: 86) cites Adams (1990):

> From 1965 to 1980 consumption grew by only 2.7 per cent a year. Investment rose by 5.0 per cent and government spending by 6.3 per cent annually. Gross domestic product (GDP) grew at a modest 3.7 per cent. After 1980, consumption grew by 4.9 per cent a year, while investment rose at a rate of only 3.7 per cent; GDP growth was 4.6 per cent annually. The surge in consumption thus appears to have contributed to sustaining the nation's rapid economic growth after 1980.

Such shifts in consumption reflected a transition with deeper political implications. The State began to tailor its policies to suit the aspirations of this distinctive 'middle class' who came to be defined by certain consumerist lifestyles. There was a proliferation of a range of luxury goods such as mobile phones, washing machines and televisions in the market and the mass media fuelled desires through images that linked the possession of certain commodities as markers of new status among the 'middle class'. (Ibid: 38)

Macroeconomic changes created new patterns of consumption that led to a significant transformation in both the composition and culture of the middle classes in the country. On the one hand certain sections of the older traditional 'middle class' let go off their past cultural strictures on consumption, which embodied both Nehruvian State socialism and Gandhian ideals of austerity and on the other hand larger political and economic changes sanctioned the membership of certain marginalised groups within this diverse domain of the 'middle class'. The process homogenised certain practices of consumption across class fractions within the 'middle class' and at the same time amplified certain cultural differences among the fractions as well (Fernandes 2006: 30). This facet of 'cultural difference' among the middle classes is difficult to deconstruct but can be understood as varying stocks of economic, social and cultural capitals possessed by the different fractions that are in turn mediated by complex variables of caste, class, education, employment, religion, gender and region.

Saavala (2010: 8) notes that, "people identifying as 'middle class' do not form a 'class for itself', meaning that they do not form a socially cohesive layer in economic relations that is conscious of its shared interests and could act collectively to enhance its interests in economy and society". 'Middle class' realities in India and in Asia beyond are much more than the class struggle between

the owners of capital and those who depend on selling their labour power. It is the struggle between the various layers of 'middle class' – the vigorous struggle for social belonging (Ibid: 8).

It is often assumed that the opening up of the economy since 1991 "has resulted in a massively expanded, homogenous mass of wealthy, Indian middle classes who have been the principal beneficiaries of liberalisation, profiting immensely from the new opportunities for education, jobs and consumption" (Scrase and Scrase 2009). The image of this 'new middle class' is marked both by its local urban origins and by its global aspirations of economic and cultural achievement (Fernandes 2006: 32). The fraction of the 'middle class', which has been successful in reinventing itself to adapt to and utilise the benefits of the liberalisation process and hence maintain and consistently reproduce its status quo are a miniscule segment of the diverse 'middle class' population. This tiny group of the 'middle class' often ends up representing an idealised national standard that other fractions of the social group can aspire to and potentially achieve through practices of consumption (Ibid: 32).

Two prominent markers of this tiny population are their English education and predominance in professional, salaried, service sector employment. While various sectors (medicine, education, civil services, the police etc.) come under the control of the State (central and state governments) and form a significant source of employment for diverse sections of the 'middle class', Saavala (2010) elaborates on the socio-economic and political developments in the global sphere that have caused significant structural changes in employment where the privately managed service sector is gaining salience (page 10). Using data from the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) Sridharan (2004) in an article on the sectoral and occupational composition of the 'middle class' notes that "the percentage of all workers falling into the categories of professional, technical and related, administrative, executive and managerial, and clerical and related, has increased substantially between 1977–78 and 1999–2000. This increase has been particularly marked in urban areas, and has accelerated since 1987–88. These categories of non-manual workers in urban areas increased from around 21% in 1977–78 to around 27% in 1999–2000." (See Annexure B, Table 1).

He also goes on to show that public employment in the post-reform period has declined slightly from 19.06 million in 1990–91 to 18.77 million in 2001–02 (see Annexure B, Table 2). This decline has been largely due to recruitment freezes and voluntary retirement schemes in public enterprises,

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not closures of public enterprises, layoffs, or privatisation. Private employment in the organised sector, however, has increased slightly from 7.676 million in 1990–91 to 8.432 million in 2001–02 (it having peaked at 8.748 million in 1997–98) (Sridharan 2004: 418-419).

A large chunk of these new economy jobs in the privately managed service sector, Fernandes (2006: 95-96) notes are of a managerial-professional nature and access to these is mediated by English education. She writes:

> Linguistic self-identification as "middle class" in the English public sphere marks this identity with a distinction that simultaneously distances this group from indigenous social strata and places it in a contradictory relationship with the external world. On the one hand, this global relationship places the new middle class in a role of national leadership; that is, it is seen as the social group that can steer the Indian nation through the shifting terrains of globalization. On the other hand, the cultural-linguistic distancing between the new middle class and indigenous elites and subordinated social groups complicates the claims the middle class makes of national representativeness.

Thus this English identity intrinsically marks this hegemonic model of 'middle class' identity with a relationship to an outside, an external world that is represented alternatively in varying contexts as Westernized, Western, or global (Ibid: 69). The next section seeks to deconstruct this privileged fraction of the 'middle class' along variables of income, education, employment, caste, religion and region in order to understand certain socio-demographic specificities of this segment.

2.4.   Defining the 'upper middle class' fraction

As a social group which dominates and in turn influences State policy discourse in the country, the 'middle class' have long been a subject of interest and have been dissected along several parameters to generate large-scale data that can provide some overarching characteristics of the diverse fractions that make up this class.

Quantitative studies that have been conducted over varying periods of time using different methods of collection, time and again, highlight the difficulty in generalising on the 'middle class'. Using data computed by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) on income between 1985 and 2000, which grades 'middle class' fractions along varying income brackets, Fernandes (2006) shows that the percentage of 'middle class' households more than doubled from 6.9 per cent in 1985 to 15.44 per cent in 1999-2000 (see Table 1).

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Table 1: Distribution of households by income in India, 1985-2000 (in percentages)

Class Segment	1985-86	1989-90	1992-93	1995-96	1998-99	1999-2000
Lower (<= 35,000)	65.2 %	58.8 %	58.2 %	48.9 %	39.7 %	36.37 %
Lower middle (35,001-70,000)	25.2	26.9	25.4	30.7	34.5	34.20
Middle (70,001-105,000)	6.9	10.1	10.4	11.9	13.9	15.44
Upper Middle (105,001-140,000)	1.5	2.7	3.7	5.0	6.2	7.10
High (> 140,000)	1.1	1.4	2.3	3.5	5.7	6.89

(Fernandes 2006, page 82 uses data from NCAER 2002. Data for periods between 1985-86 and 1998-99 are at 1998-99 prices, with income cut-off points adjusted for inflation.)

Based on the distribution of households by occupation of the head of household (see Table 2) the NCAER data suggests that a substantial proportion of the 'lower middle', 'middle', and 'upper middle classes' are classified as salaried earners (monthly and annual salary earners) and professionals, and that this proportion increases with an increase in income bracket (see Table 3). While the category "salaried workers" also includes working class individuals (for instance in the manufacturing sector) that would constitute a significant portion of the 'lower middle' and 'middle class' salary categories, the data provides a set of parameters for assessing the size of salaried and professional 'middle class' individuals that either fall within or would be potential aspirants to an emerging new middle-class identity. The NCAER report (2002) specifically associates these segments with the expansion of the services sector in the 1990s and shows that 30.98 per cent of the income group defined as 'middle class' is comprised of salary earners (see Table 3) (Ibid: 83-84).

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Table 2: Distribution of households in class segments by household head's occupation in India, 1999-2000 (in percentages)

Head of household's occupation	Lower	Lower middle	Middle	Upper middle	High
Housewife	29.99 %	35.88 %	19.62 %	9.08 %	5.42 %
Cultivator	38.31	36.48	13.32	6.19	5.69
Wage earner	56.25	33.81	8.41	1.08	0.46
Salary earner	14.91	33.29	24.12	13.22	14.47
Professional	6.23	16.72	23.62	25.32	28.11
Artisan	32.51	39.56	20.87	10.11	9.64
Petty shopkeeper	23.50	36.00	20.74	10.11	9.64
Businessperson	0.42	4.48	23.35	33.07	38.68
Others	26.41	30.59	21.39	11.99	9.63

(Fernandes 2006, page 83, from NCAER 2002. See Table 1 for income brackets that define class segments)

Table 3: Proportion of salary earners in each class segment (all India)

Class Segment	Percentage of salary earners
Lower	8.13 %
Lower middle	19.30
Middle	30.98
Upper middle	36.97
High	41.65
All	19.84

(Fernandes 2006, page 84, Source NCAER (2002). See Table 1 for income brackets that define class segments)

A more complicated and very revealing deconstruction of the middle classes is along variables combining caste, education, employment and religion. Tables 4 and 5 are used here to show the complexities of the composition of this social group along indicators of caste, education, employment and religion. Larger macroeconomic changes that have led to a rise in private sector employment show that the section of the 'middle class' that is moving towards these jobs in this sector come from an upper-caste background. Fernandes (2006) emphasises that "the reliance of lower caste groups on state policies and state employment in gaining access to middle class membership has intensified the upper caste characteristics of new middle class employment in private-sector, white-collar employment" (see Table 4).

Table 4: Caste and middle-class white-collar employment (in percentages)

Social group	Proportion of social group in sample	Education above high school	Occupation in white-collar employment
Upper castes	24.8 %	44.1 %	53.3 %
Backward castes	39.3	34.6	26.6
Dalits	19.7	11.7	9.2
Tribals	9.7	4.0	3.4
Muslims	6.5	5.6	7.5

(Fernandes 2006, page 105. Uses data from Sheth 1999b, page 355, based on a survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, June-July 1996.)

Deshpande (2003) presents a more detailed caste/community composition of the top five and 15 per cent of the Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure distribution (MPCE), 1999-2000, to argue that despite all efforts at affirmative action, upper caste Hindus, who form only about 37 per cent of the urban population, are almost two-thirds of the top five per cent of urban India at the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Table 5).

Table 5: Caste/community composition of top 5 and 15 per cent of MPCE distribution 1999-2000, index of over/under-representation

Caste and community groups	Rural India		Urban India	
	Top 15 per cent	Top 5 per cent	Top 5 per cent	Top 15 per cent
All ST	51	38	38	62
All SC	58	49	49	38
UC-Muslim	69	50	50	44
All OBC	89	78	78	62
UC-Hindu	172	200	200	164
UC-Christian	308	438	438	308
UC-Sikh	346	497	497	188
UC-Others	240	335	335	179

Note: Index = Share in Percentile Group divided by Share in General Population, multiplied by 100 and rounded off. MPCE = Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure. Figures in brackets in Urban top 5 per cent column are per cent shares of each social group in the population of that percentile group.
Source: NSSO Consumption Expenditure Survey, round 55. MPCE at current prices

(Source: Deshpande 2006, page 230, extracts and tabulates data from NSSO survey round 55)

Moving further to locate the middle classes regionally along rural and urban dimensions, he notes that the most significant over-representation of the class is in the North-West region, whose share of the affluent population seems to have jumped in the 1990s (see Table 6).

Table 6: Regional composition of top 15 per cent of All-India MPCE distribution Index of over/under-representation (Share in top 15 per cent divided by share in national population)

Regions	Index of regional representation (Rural)				Index of regional representation (Urban)			
	1983	**1987-88**	**1993-94**	**1999-2000**	**1983**	**1987-88**	**1993-94**	**1999-2000**
Himalayan	150	184	153	227	113	122	145	114
North-West	238	262	259	316	171	178	196	178
North-Central	66	72	76	65	55	56	56	55
Central	101	94	102	78	75	88	66	62
West	103	95	103	123	124	120	131	126
South	120	115	118	122	96	91	83	104
East	75	68	62	54	100	99	103	81
North-East	95	112	79	74	86	106	100	101

Note: Himalayan = J&K+HIM+UTN, North-West = PUN+HAR+CHN+DEL, North-Central = UP+BIH, Central = RAJ+MP+CHT, West = GUJ+MAH+GOA, East = WBN+ORI+JHR, North-East = ASM+ARUN+MEG+NAG+MAN+MIZ+SKM+TRI, South = AP+TN+KER+KAR+PON+ANI+LAK
Source: NSSO Consumption Expenditure surveys, rounds 38, 43, 50 and 55.

(Source: Deshpande 2006, page 233, extracts and tabulates data from NSSO survey rounds 38, 43, 50 and 55)

Constructions of caste among the middle classes residing in urban areas in the country, as Sheth (1999: 2508-2510) elaborates have also significantly changed. There has been a drastic remoulding of caste perceptions among the marginalised groups that have been able to gain 'middle class' membership through affirmative action policies. The emerging stratificatory system, he notes, merges the old status system and the new power system. Difficult to be described in either caste or pure class terms, membership to the 'new middle class' is associated with new life styles (modem consumption patterns), ownership of certain economic assets and the self consciousness of belonging to the 'middle class'. As such, it is open to members of different castes - which have acquired modern education, taken on traditional occupations and/or command higher incomes and the political power - to enter this middle class.

Crucial to the formation of the 'new middle class' is the fact that while using collective resources of their castes, individuals from all castes entering it undergo the process of classisation; (a) they become distant from ritual roles and functions attached to their caste, (b) acquire another, but new, identity of belonging to 'middle class', (c) their economic interest and life style converge more with other members of the 'middle class' than with their non-'middle class' caste compatriots. There thus

occurs a certain secularisation of caste, which has reduced caste to a kinship-based micro-community, where members of different castes form themselves into horizontal social groups and increasingly compete for entry into the 'middle class' (Sheth 1999: 2508-2510).

What such large-scale data and observations on the new configurations of caste seem to indicate is that the 'upper middle class' fraction of the social group are upper caste, mostly Hindu, employed in professional occupations in the privately managed service sector and reside in urban areas of the country, especially those urban hamlets in closer proximity to key metropolises. Education, especially English education, seems to play a key role in both the construction and reproduction of the social position of this elite fraction (Upadhya 2008, Vincent and Menon 2011).

These inter-connections between investment in English medium education and ensuing mobility and success for this 'upper middle class' fraction also needs to be located with respect to the family and the elusive micro-practices within this unit that conserve certain advantages. These micro-practices, again, need to be deconstructed with regard to the education, role and work of the women, most notably - the mother within the household (Nambissan 2010). In order to establish these pertinent links, it becomes important to examine the historical conjuncture which led to the emergence and formation of the Hindu 'middle class' family. These processes need to be simultaneously comprehended with the debates that followed regarding education of women and the reformulation of the Hindu upper caste/ 'upper middle class' household. This role and labour of the 'upper middle class'/upper caste mother has not remained stagnant and has changed across periods of time. It is this work by the mother for the children within the 'upper middle class' household that begins very early on that forms the foundation to the success of this segment in education and later service-sector employment. They are consciously moulded to imbibe certain values and practices that give them an edge over their counterparts much earlier in life.

2.5.   The domestic household: Education and the women's role within the family
The colonial interface not only economically reconfigured aspects of a traditional social order but also brought forth new questions concerning values of modernity and progress. For the western educated individuals of the 'middle class' there was a constant tussle between accepting indigenous and liberal western values. As Chatterjee (1989: 622) observes "apart from the characterisation of the political condition of India preceding the British conquest as a state of anarchy, lawlessness and

arbitrary despotism, a central element in the ideological justification of British colonial rule was the criticism of the "degenerate and barbaric" social customs of the Indian people, sanctioned, or so it was believed, by their religious tradition." He writes that "by assuming a position of sympathy with the unfree and oppressed womanhood of India, the colonial mind was able to transform this figure of the Indian woman into a sign of the inherently oppressive and unfree nature of the entire cultural tradition of a country" (Ibid: 622).

The social reform movement in the early 19th century which drew from this colonial understanding of the degraded position of Indian women due to oppressive social customs and traditions sought to ameliorate their conditions. There was considerable debate among the social reformers with different ideological orientations regarding education as an instrument for changing women's subordinate status in society. Cultural revivalists perceived women as the custodians of tradition and the family. Women's education was seen essentially as a means of strengthening traditional Indian culture and values to resist westernisation. The liberal social reformers advocated limited education for girls to make them enlightened companions for the emergent class of westernised men from upper castes and efficient mothers for the next generation. It sought to construct a reformed tradition and defend it on the grounds of modernity. (Chatterjee 1989:622-623)

Various issues concerning women gained focus in the early nineteenth century. This included widow remarriage, age of consent debates and discussions pertaining to regressive social practices of child-marriage and Sati. However, since this chapter seeks to develop on the reformulation of the 'middle class' family, the discussion will remain limited to these concerns specifically.

In a deep-rooted patriarchal society such as India, the sexual division of labour conformed to traditional customs that saw women exclusively engaged in managing household affairs and bringing up children. The task then of reforming this private sphere of the household was a complex process as Chatterjee (1989) notes that the biggest fear was that education would create a certain westernised woman who would despise house-work. For the social reformers, thus, there were two issues to address: one was to justify the need of education for women and two was to formulate an adequate curriculum that would address the concern of education within certain parameters that emphasised the woman's traditional duties. With regard to the first concern, Chatterjee (1989) elaborates on the ways in which the project of social reform regarding education for women

interlocked with the uprising idea of nationalism. There was a distinct separation between the 'public' and the 'private', where the woman came to embody the cultural and spiritual sanctity of the home. He notes that "the new norm for organizing family life and determining the right conduct for women in the conditions of the modern world could now be deduced with ease. Adjustments would have to be made in the external world of material activity, and men would bear the brunt of this task. To the extent that the family was itself entangled in wider social relations, it, too, could not be insulated from the influence of changes in the outside world. Consequently, the organization and ways of life at home would also have to be changed". (Ibid: 626-627)

With regard to West Bengal, especially Calcutta where a significant population of the *Bhadralok* (the Bengali middle class) resided, there is much literature on the processes of education of women. Walsh (2004: 1-2) analyses a range of educative literature and teaching materials in Bengali that were written by men for the education of women. She writes that, "in the reformulation of Hindu women and the domestic world that resulted, there was no area of life so trivial that it was not addressed, no family relationship so intimate and spontaneous that its interactions did not have to be rethought and reconsidered". She writes:

> Advice literatures make clear that Indian debates about how to become modern went far beyond the introduction of a new language (English), the latest Enlightenment ideologies (rationalism, nationalism, market economics and so forth), or imperial economies into the Indian subcontinent. The "naturalization" of a global domesticity as the only "civilized" way to behave meant that colonized people in India (as all over the world) needed to think about all of daily domestic life and its intimate family relationships. They needed to think about how they brushed their teeth and whether their bowel movements were daily and regular, about how to organize a home, and what kind of relationship a wife should have with her husband. They needed to move practices associated with home and family life out of the unconscious depths of collective social identity and up into conscious consideration.

However, these changes with regard to the education of women were not uniform. Not all families were keen to educate the women in their household. Also, women were not passive agents in this process of reform spearheaded by men. Kosambi (2007) emphasises that history needs to acknowledge "women's equally important participation in making these reform initiatives successful through the exercise of their agency, often despite great personal hardship" (page 12). Sarkar (2001) notes the personal struggles that Rashsundari, an upper caste, affluent gentlewoman, who published the first autobiography in Bengali faced with regard to education. She notes that education brought a new sense of perspective to Rashsundari as she began to understand her socio-

economic position within the family and her heavy unpaid and often unacknowledged labour within the home.

Education of women also brought new changes to the structure of the family. Walsh (2004: 4) observes that western educated men were keen to separate from the constraints of a joint family household, which was the norm among most traditional upper caste Hindu households, and set up a nuclear living arrangement. Where in a joint family set-up, the position and work of the various women members was defined within a traditional social code where older women dominated their younger counterparts, in a nuclear unit – there was a clear demarcation between the role and work of the male member vis a vis the female member.

However, irrespective of the structure of the family, the work of the women within the household largely conformed to a traditional understanding where women were to take care of the household and the children. In a joint family, there could be a distinct division of labour among the women and household-help with regard to care and education of children. Kumar (2007) argues that mothers or surrogate mothers of the family were engaged in the work of mothering through which "they actively chose and laboured for a new education for their sons, and occasionally daughters" (page 134). This productive labour, she goes on to add, went beyond physical reproduction and nurturing to social and cultural reproduction, which led to the creation of a new historical subject.

Before the setting up formal schools for the education of women, upper caste/middle class girls received a certain religious, vernacular, indigenous education, which Kumar (2007) observes played a crucial role in the education and socialisation of the child. Through a study of some of the autobiographies of prominent social reformers she finds that their mothers played crucial roles in informing their understanding of indigenous literature and culture. These reformers' 'public' education in modern, English medium schools was supplemented by a 'private' vernacular education as well.

Kumar (2007) thus notes that the work of the mother with regard to the education and socialisation of the child has not remained static. There was a certain ethic to the work of the mother towards the education and socialisation of children before the coming of the British and this role and work has subsequently been evolving.

2.6. Changing contexts of women's work: Post-independence to the present scene of globalisation

Post-independence the Indian state has carried forward this agenda of education for women within the larger framework of creating 'good mothers' who would then produce good citizens.[xi] In the context of the welfare state in U.K., David (1980: 4) notes how "parenting and especially mothering, has developed and been regulated by the State with respect to child-rearing and ultimately the formal education system". She argues that, "the family and the education system are used in concert to sustain and reproduce the social and economic *status quo*. Specifically, they maintain existing relations within the family and social relations within the economy – what has sometimes been called the sexual and social division of labour" (Ibid: 1).

Mukhopadhyay and Seymour (1994: 4) observe that education of women in India cannot be separated from "the private world of kinship and family that women are assumed to inhabit" (page 1). They argue that in India there is an ongoing tension between macrostructurally-generated pressures that increase the desirability of education for women and microstructurally-generated pressures that constrain women's education in order to preserve a set of social institutions and associated beliefs that they refer to as patrifocal family structure and ideology.

> As in most intensive agricultural, socially stratified, state-level societies, there have evolved in India a set of predominant kinship and family structures and beliefs that give precedence to men over women – sons over daughters, fathers over mothers, husbands over wives, and so on. While more pronounced among upper castes and classes than lower status ones and while more predominant in North than in South India, these male-oriented structures and beliefs, we suggest, constitute a socio-cultural complex that profoundly affects women's lives and, hence, their access to education and educational achievement.

Choices with regard to education are planned from an early age onwards and the family actively dictates terms regarding future options at the higher educational level. For upper caste/ 'middle class' girls professional pursuits have to also comply with their community's perceptions of respectability. Popular 'respectable' options include teaching, nursing and medicine. Jobs in the government sector are also preferred for their guarantee of economic security.[xii] However, perceptions of 'respectability' associated with professions have also evolved over periods of time as Kothari (2011) observes in a study on the impact of economic reforms and globalisation on the lives of urban middle class women.

Noting the transitions in education and opportunities available for women, she finds that there are differences in the ways in which women employed strategies with regard to education post-independence in comparison to the strategies employed today. She studied two generations of mothers and daughters to show that mothers of the post-independence period consciously worked towards providing better opportunities for their daughters ensuring that they took up professional employment in emerging fields such as IT and computer science. Investment in English medium education and private professional higher education improved the daughters' chances in securing highly qualified husbands with professional occupations as well. She suggests that with each generation, the stock of economic, social and cultural capitals was suitably adapted by the middle classes to meet the contextual demands of the time.

The daughters in Kothari's (2011) study, in turn, employed diverse strategies to secure the educational and professional future of their children. The most dominant discourse throughout her study is the active role of women in processes of socialisation and education. Where in the colonial and post-colonial contexts, there has always been some muted acknowledgement of the role and labour of the women within the home with regard to processes of socialisation, this role and labour is gaining new meaning and visibility in the post-globalisation context specifically with regard to education as the traditional 'middle class' stronghold of government sector jobs is drastically reducing. The 'middle class' is looking to the private sector to cater to its aspirations for upward mobility as the 'national' economy no longer seems sufficient and members are keen to set their sights towards greener pastures abroad. In this regard, English medium education and the role and work of the mother towards preparing the child for future success in white-collar employment has received renewed attention.

Theories of social reproduction have always stressed the role of the family in the transmission of cultural capital, but in the present context of cut-throat competition fuelled by increasing marketisation of education, there has emerged an influential discourse in the West with regard to the practices of mothering and the duties of a 'good mother'. The state, the schools, the media and a diverse set of experts including doctors, writers and actors have contributed towards building an impossibly unachievable image of a 'good mother'. (Vincent 2010)

Drawing from Hays (1996) description of 'good mothering', Vincent (2010: 110) based on a study

in U.K. writes that the current normative understanding is an "an approach that is child-focused, with the mother having the responsibility to care, both intensively and extensively, for all aspects of the child's physical, moral, social, emotional and intellectual development. Intensive mothering, according to Hays (1996: 46), is an 'expert-guided and child-centred', 'emotionally absorbing, labor intensive, financially expensive' ideology in which mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture and development of the 'sacred' child, and in which children's needs take precedence over the individual needs of their mothers".

There is not much research in this area but one interesting study to corroborate this new ideology of mothering with specific focus towards education in the Indian context is Donner's (2005) study of 'middle class' mothers in Calcutta. In Donner's (2005) study in Calcutta, even though the extended family structure still remains predominant, there is an interesting change in the role and work of the women members within the household. The English educated mother has a high status within the household and her work is largely directed towards preparing the child for school, managing issues of home-work and maintaining good relations with the school and community in order to create and sustain valuable social networks that would benefit her children's future mobility. Her earlier responsibilities towards managing the household have been delegated to other members such as the mother-in-law or the household-help.

She offers interesting insights into the processes through which cultural capital is transmitted within the home, examining how English educated mothers bring certain resources to the household which aid in planning the educational trajectories of their children. She notes the clear advantage that children with English educated mothers have over children with vernacularly educated mothers. Her sample is largely 'middle class' with some members from lower-middle class sections. These differences thus highlight intra-class differences with regard to education. While education is central for the 'middle class' in general to reproduce their status-quo, privileges need not be uniform within this class and the processes through which they address concerns regarding education need not be homogenous.[xiii]

What Donner's (2005) study indicates is the increasing anxiety among parents and the work of the mother to invest in the education and building of 'cultural capital' in the child as a concerted process to secure success in school, higher education and service sector employment. Not just any

school is chosen, as Vincent and Menon's (2011: 65) study on strategies among 'middle class' parents in UK and India suggests. Their study notes the cut-throat competition among 'upper middle class' fractions in securing admission to elite private schools in Delhi. Drawing from Waldrop's (2004) study on school networks, they highlight that the admission criteria used by schools mostly focuses on shared values between parents and the school, a process that eliminates children from other backgrounds.

The school is viewed as a key site to build a range of capitals as parents actively engage to build resources and networks for their child within the family, across the peer circle and most importantly within the school as they engage with teachers and management on a range of issues concerning the academic performance and the overall development of their child as ascertained through participation in a range of extracurricular activities and sports (Ball 2003).

The parent most responsible and involved in these efforts of 'concerted cultivation'[xiv] is most often the mother, with some support from her extended family. Drawing from Lareau's (2002) study on class-related differences in child-rearing practices between white and black families in the States, Vincent and Menon (2011) emphasise the processes through which the class position of the mother influences her practices of mothering. It is a certain type of mother coming from a certain class position equipped with a range of resources, who manages to efficiently plan the routine of her child, gather enough information on the 'best' schools and successfully navigate the terrain of school and higher education, mapping every possible hurdle to be crossed successfully in order to secure a coveted future. There are a range of activities, which comprise the mother's work in the 'concerted cultivation' of the child. These include the organisation of the daily routine, enrolling the child in an array of extracurricular activities, monitoring the child's access to information through various mediums of communication, actively engaging with the school and the child's peer circle to build a variety of networks. The role and work of the mother is informed by larger prominent discourses on parenting, which stress on the need to constantly update information on the 'right' parenting practices from a range of experts such as journalists, doctors and teachers. Apart from more immediate sources of information, the work of the mother is also influenced to a great extent by her own experiences and engagement with her parents as a child.

The 'upper middle class' mother is seen to play a central role in the project of the middle classes to

create and maintain class boundaries through education to preserve and protect social privilege. In order to understand the range and depth of the 'upper middle class' mother's engagement in the 'concerted cultivation' of the child to secure success in education and employment an exploratory study was conducted in Delhi. This exploratory study will form the subject of discussion in the following third and fourth chapters.

Chapter 3: Practices of 'mothering' among the 'upper middle classes' in South Delhi

In order to understand the mother's roles and work in relation to the schooling of children in the larger context of micro-practices of the 'upper middle class families' an exploratory study was carried out in South Delhi. The first part of this chapter will provide a broad context of the field of study. Post locating the field of study, the chapter will progress to discussing the methodology and elaborate on the middle classes in the sample.

Seven broad themes emerged during the course of data analysis. These included: (i) the mother and the larger family's role in organising the routine of the child, (ii) various means involved in building the 'cultural capital' of the child, (iii) links between the family and the school, (iv) building social networks for the child, (v) emerging discourses on 'mothering'/ 'parenting' which included the mothers' engagement with parenting literature and child experts, (vi) the notable changes in the processes of 'mothering' across generations and the final theme (vii) addressing a range of aspects related to gender that emerged separately in the previous six themes. The first four themes will be discussed in this chapter and the next three themes in the following chapter. The main thrust of these seven broad themes was to examine the range of patterns that emerge in the practices of mothering across the sample.

3.1.   Field of Study

The diverse professional and social composition of the city of Delhi has been attributed to factors of immigration influenced by the partition and the processes of urbanisation, which led to the setting up of industries and government enterprises in and around the city post-independence (Rao and Desai 1965). Developed as an urban cosmopolitan capital, Delhi is home to a varied group of middle classes engaged in a range of service sector occupations in government and private enterprises.

According to the Census 2011, Delhi has a population of 1,67,53,235 residents and a total literacy rate (above 7 years) of 86.34 per cent. The city is divided into nine administrative regions with the New Delhi administrative region having the highest literacy rate of 89.38 per cent and the North

East administrative region having the lowest literacy rate of 82.8 per cent (see Annexure C, Table 1).

In order to get a broad overview on the educational and professional composition of the 'upper middle classes' in the city which is the subject of this research study, data on the top 10 percent (all households category) and five percent of the population was extracted from the 66th round of the National Sample Survey (NSS) on household expenditure for the year 2009-10. It was seen that professionally, 69 per cent of this sample were involved in self-employed or salaried occupations. An interesting observation with regard to women was that 71 per cent of the women are involved in domestic duties. Among the top five percent of the sample, 60 percent of the women were involved in household duties. Coming to the educational profile of the population, it was noted that among the top five percent of the population, 64 percent of the men had completed graduation and 55 percent of the women had completed graduation. These high percentages highlighted the increasing importance accorded to education among the upper fraction of the middle classes in Delhi (see Table 7).

Table 7: Employment and educational profile of population in Delh

Activity Profile/Level of education	Description	Age 15+			
		All Households		Top 5 % Households	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Activity Profile-Principal and Subsidiary status workers	**Self-Employed**	32 %	2 %	17 %	1 %
	Salaried	37 %	6 %	22 %	0 %
	Casual Labour	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
	Unemployed	2 %	0 %	15 %	0 %
	Students	19 %	15 %	31 %	27 %
	Domestic Duties	0 %	71 %	0 %	60 %
	Rentiers/Pensioners etc.	4 %	2 %	11 %	8 %
	Disabled	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
	Others	1 %	4 %	4 %	4 %
Education Profile	**Not literate**	7 %	18 %	0 %	0 %
	Informal schooling	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
	Below Primary	2 %	4 %	1 %	0 %
	Primary	11 %	12 %	2 %	0 %
	Middle	16 %	11 %	3 %	5 %
	Secondary	20 %	16 %	4 %	12 %
	Higher Secondary	20 %	16 %	10 %	13 %
	Diploma	2 %	1 %	3 %	5 %
	Graduation	19 %	19 %	64 %	55 %
	Post Graduation	3 %	3 %	13 %	10 %

(Source: NSS 66th Round data on household expenditure for the year 2009-10)

Examining this data on the educational and professional profile of the top 10 per cent of the population alongside socio-religious indicators, one noted that among the top five percent of the households there was a predominant representation of the Hindu (other castes) community (see Table 8).

Table 8: Religion/Caste profile of the population of Delhi

Population	All					Top 5 percent of households		
	ST	SC	Hindu (Non SC/ST)	Muslims	Others	SC	Hindu (Non SC/ST)	Others
Male	0%	15%	68%	15%	2%	3%	91%	6%
Female	1%	16%	69%	12%	2%	3%	91%	6%

(Source: NSS 66th Round data on household expenditure for the year 2009-10)

What we note from these chosen aspects of data (education, profession and socio-religious indicators) in the context of Delhi was a certain corroboration with the larger focus of the study which has discussed the advantages of the 'upper middle classes' with regard to education and employment.

The aim of this study then was to link this evident propensity for fractions of the 'upper middle classes' to succeed in education and employment to notable micro-practices within the household. The various processes through which the mother and the extended family socialise and engage with the child's education has been explored here through a small-scale study involving 20 mothers residing in different areas of South Delhi. South Delhi was chosen for both convenience and the fact that the city's (and some of the country's) 'best' schools were located in this broad demographic region. Thus the families who resided in South Delhi were in many ways the cream of the city's 'upper middle classes'. Majority of the families in the study resided in Vasant Kunj and the adjoining areas of Vasant Vihar and Munirka enclave and had their children enrolled in private schools in the city (see Annexure C, Table 4).

Two important educational policy developments need to be briefly elaborated on. One development concerns the changes in the nursery admission process, a policy development specific to the city of

Delhi, which led to the implementation of a standardised point-scale system for admission to private recognised schools in the city in 2008. The second concerns the controversial 25 percent clause for reservation for children from the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) in private schools as outlined in the Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE) passed in 2009. The judgement regarding the nursery school admission process ended a range of individual practices of admission followed by private schools, which involved conducting long-drawn entrance exams for parents followed by interviewing the child. Due to the individual and often biased nature of these processes, the Delhi High Court judgement called for the creation of a certain uniform system. The point-system basis of admission takes into account a range of criteria including distance of the school from the place of residence of the family, an older sibling already studying in the respective school and the parents' school alumni background (Report of the Committee on Pre-primary and Pre-school Education in Delhi). The 25 percent reservation clause of the RTE touched a sensitive chord among the middle classes in the city. It brought new focus to the much acknowledged fact that several top-end private schools in the city were elite spaces accessed by a privileged few.

Both these educational policy developments created wide ranging 'complications' for the 'upper middle classes' in the city for whom education is an important investment to accumulate and mould a range of capitals (economic, cultural and social) to secure their childrens' future. Education is the domain where battles among the 'upper middle class' fractions play out as certain fractions capitalise on their range of resources to ensure the entry of their children to the 'best' schools, while other fractions are left with taking up school options lower on the list. The diverse processes through which some 'upper middle class fractions' access entry into the 'best' schools will be examined as one of the central themes in this research study.

3.2. Methodology and sample of the study

Highly educated and professionally employed (doctors, lawyers, engineers, management and finance) families were the sample for this study. Broader connotations that define class such as higher education, professional service sector employment in the private sector and residence in certain elite areas in South Delhi were kept in mind rather than caste while selecting the sample. As noted in the NSS surveys and other research studies on the socio-economic and religious composition of the middle classes, 'upper middle class' sections were predominantly Hindu.

Twenty mothers were selected through the snow-ball sampling technique (i.e. mothers were

approached through references of acquaintances and through the references of mothers who were already interviewed). The form of the family in this sample was largely nuclear in structure, i.e. parents and their children. There were five families with an extended living arrangement with at least one set of grandparents residing with the family.[xv] Eighteen families had one or both set of grandparents residing in close proximity within or around the National Capital Territory (NCT) (see Annexure C, Tables 2 and 6).

At least one of the parents in these families was employed in a high-status service sector job and had children enrolled in primary school. The age-group of the children in the sample was largely between 6 and 12 years of age, although in some families there were slightly older siblings in secondary school or slightly younger siblings in nursery. These variations brought more diversity and complexity towards understanding the families' engagement with the children (see Annexure C, Table 4).

The interviews were conducted with the mothers in these families as the focus of this study is to examine their work and engagement with the education and socialisation of the children. Both working and non-working mothers were part of this sample in order to examine significant differences in their 'mothering' practices. The interviews were of an in-depth nature based on structured interview schedules carried out over a period of two months. The span of each interview varied between one and two hours.

3.3.   The middle classes in the sample

The socio-economic profile of the city of Delhi has been briefly elaborated earlier. As the country's capital and one of the most important metros, the city has a diverse group of middle classes drawn from various parts of the country employed in a range of occupations in both government and private sectors. The sample for this study, as has been discussed briefly earlier, has been largely restricted to those families who have higher education credentials, are professionally employed, are residing in South Delhi and have at least one child enrolled in primary school.

This section elaborates on the educational and professional profile of the families in the sample, their caste, religion, regional and linguistic backgrounds, details on their children and the respective schools they are enrolled in and a broad overview of the educational, professional and residential

profile of the grandparents. The overview on the educational and professional profile of the grandparents will help distinguish the differential class origins of the families in this small sample.

(i)   Professional profile of the parents

All the fathers in the sample studied worked full-time and were employed in a range of professional occupations in the private sector (see Table 9). The highest income range by occupation was noted for fathers employed in management, with a minimum salary of Rs. 12 lakhs per annum and a maximum salary up to Rs. 1 crore per annum. They were highly qualified and all of them had completed their graduation.

Table 9: Educational and professional profile of fathers

Profession		Total number	Education	Work schedule	Income range#	Families in the sample
Doctor*	Private	2	MBBS, MD; BDS, MDS	Full time	Approx. 24 lkhs per annum	A, S
Engineer**	Private	4	BE, BArch	Full time	7.2 lkhs – 30 lkhs per annum	B, C, K, L
Mgmt***	Private	10	BA/BSc/BHM/ BE, MSc/MA, MBA	Full time	12 lkhs – 1 crore per annum	D, E, F, G, I, M, N, O, P, Q
Lawyer	Private	2	BA/LLM, LLB	Full time	Approx. 50 lkhs per annum	H, J
Chartered Accountant	Private	2	BCom/BSc, CA	Full time	Approx. 15 lkhs per annum	R, T

*Includes dentists, **Includes architects, ***Includes investment bankers, management consultants and other corporate professionals employed in industry, software, finance, animation and communications. #The income stated is a rough amount without income tax considerations and does not include other material assets (land, property, financial sources) which the family may possess independently or through inheritance. For a detailed profile of the families in the sample, check Annexure C, Tables 2, 3 and 5)

All the mothers in the sample were highly educated having completed graduation. Some of the mothers had a range of professional qualifications as well (see Annexure C, Table 3). However, not all the mothers who were professionally qualified opted to work outside the home and even if they did work outside the home, not all of them worked full-time. The mothers who were working outside the home were engaged in a diverse range of professions. The sample indicated that there were five mothers who worked full-time, ten mothers who worked flexible hours and two mothers who worked part-time. Of the mothers who worked flexible hours, three mothers were primarily home-makers who worked when they were free from commitments towards their children. The

highest income range by occupation was noted for mothers employed as doctors and architects with a minimum salary of Rs. 3 lakhs per annum and a maximum salary up to Rs. 30 lakhs per annum (see Tables 10 and 11).

Of these 20 mothers, eleven mothers had experienced changes in their career with the coming of children (see Table 11). They had either changed their job timings to accommodate taking care of their children, taken up a lesser demanding job or quit the job altogether to focus on family. Eight mothers in the sample managed to continue with their career even after having children. This was made possible by the support of their extended family, which will be discussed in the next section. Three mothers were presently home-makers with two of them having quit their jobs to focus on their children. They were open to working outside the house if the job allowed them flexible working hours to focus on their family. What is important to note with regard to all the mothers in the sample studied is that their engagement with their profession was linked to both the family support systems available and the needs and demands of their children.

Table 10: Educational and professional profile of mothers

Profession		Total number	Education	Income range#	Families in the sample
Doctor*	Private sector	5	MBBS, MD; BDS	3 lkhs – 30 lkhs per annum	A, B, D, N, S
Architect	Private sector	2	BArch	24 lkhs – 30 lkhs per annum	K, L
Home-maker		3	BA/BCom, Professional Diploma courses, MA	No income stated	E, J, P
Varied**	Private sector	10	BA/BSc/BEd, Professional Diploma courses, MA/MSc/MBA	4 lkhs – 15 lkhs per annum	C, F, G, H, I, M, O, Q, R, T

(*Includes dentists, **Varied includes school teachers, journalist, management professionals and other part-time occupations. #The income stated is a rough amount without income tax considerations and does not include other material assets (land, property, financial sources) which the family may possess independently or through inheritance. For a detailed profile of the families in the sample check Annexure C, Tables 2 and 3)

Table 11: Work patterns of the mothers

Work schedule	Changes in work patterns			Total Number	Families in the sample
	Taken maternity break but largely constant	Changes in job or job timings/Quit for children	Never took up job		
Full time	3	2		5	B, C, D, I, N
Flexible	5	2		7	A, G, H, K, L, M, S
Home-makers with flexible work schedules		3		3	F, Q, T
Part-time		2		2	O, R
Home-makers		2	1	3	E, J, P
Total	8	11	1	**20**	

('Full-time' refers to regular working hours, 'Flexible' refers to the independence that the mother has to shift between her professional and family commitments, 'Part-time' refers to the mother working only during some specific hours of the day in order to focus on her family commitments. For details check Annexure C, Table 5)

(ii) Caste, religion and regional profile of the families

The families in the sample were predominantly Hindu and upper-caste in composition (see Annexure C, Table 2). Only one mother in one family was Muslim by religion (Family O). There was only one family in the sample that was lower-caste (Family M). Majority of the families in the sample had married within their caste (13 families). Inter-caste marriages were largely between members belonging to upper-castes. The only lower-caste family in the sample had had an inter-caste marriage.

Majority of the families in the sample hailed from the northern part of the country, with members who were natives of Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Jharkhand or Bihar. There were six families where both parents were natives of Delhi and two families where at least one parent was a native of Delhi. There were three families whose members were natives of West Bengal or Orissa. Only one family in the sample hailed from the southern part of the country. All the families in the sample used English as a language of communication within their homes. There were only three families where the mother-tongue was used as a medium of communication with children (see Annexure C, Table 2).

(iii) Profile of the children and the schools

Families with children enrolled in primary school (age group 6 to 12 years) were selected for the study. There were three families where one of the siblings was slightly older, enrolled in secondary school, and three families where children were enrolled in nursery (see Annexure C, Table 4 and

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Table 12). They were small families with a maximum of two children. Six families had only one child. There were varying age-gaps between the children in the families with two children. There were 11 families having a short age-gap varying from two to five years. In two families there was a slightly larger age-gap between the children and in one family the children were a pair of fraternal twins (see Annexure C, Table 4).

Table 12: Age profile of children

Age group (years)	No. of children in the sample
4-6	8
7-12	22
13-15	3
Total	**33**

(For details see Annexure C, Table 4)

All the children in the sample were enrolled in private schools under the CBSE Board (see Annexure C, Table 4). Of the 20 families, nine families had children enrolled in private schools that had been ranked among the top ten 'best' schools in the city for the year 2010 by the Hindustan Times-C Fore survey[xvi] (see Table 13).

Table 13: School related information of children

Schools enrolled	Ranking	Families in the sample
Shri Ram School	**1**	Q
Springdales	**3**	R
DPS, East of Kailash	**4**	E
Mothers International	**5**	J, K, L, M
Sanskriti	**7**	O, P
Modern School, Vasant Vihar	22	I
Amity International, Saket	23	A
Birla Vidya Niketan	33	C
DPS, Vasant Kunj	35	D
The Indian School	40	T
KR Mangalam World School	43	F
Tagore International	49	S
Mirambika (up to Class VIII, linked to Mothers International)	Alternative School – No rank	G, H
Ramjas School	No rank	N
Amrita Vidyalayam	No rank	B

The conception of 'best' in terms of choices of schools is relative. A range of parameters constitute

standards scales that are applied across schools in the country to ascertain the 'best' schools. These standards in themselves are not the best indicators of the qualitative intricacies that govern the teaching-learning processes in schools but point to certain general aspects that help inform parents' judgements on choosing schools for their children. Newspapers and news-magazines bring out regular reports and features during the time of school and college admissions ranking schools and colleges across the country. There is a range of information on schools, their infrastructural provisions and management to attract parents during the school admission process. This information is in turn mediated by the parents' own personal beliefs of what schooling must help achieve for their child. Not all parents are open to alternative schools and many emphasise certain structured aspects of formal schooling as being essential towards training the child to face competition and stress in later life.

There were some indications from the responses of the mothers which highlighted differences in pedagogy across schools in the sample. Amity International, Birla Vidya Niketan and Delhi Public school strongly emphasised academics and school work. These schools conducted tests on a regular basis. The mothers with children enrolled in these schools mentioned that they weren't worried about their children's academic performance as the school ensured that the children performed well. From this sample of four mothers, Mother D's daughter was just in Class I. She was not yet exposed to the rigours of exams but it was important to note that the mother mentioned that the reason she opted for Delhi Public School was because of its high reputation in academics. She stated that this could be seen from the number of students who secured high marks in the Class X and XII Board exams.

At the other end of the spectrum was alternative school Mirambika. With an extremely relaxed and innovative teaching-learning environment with a very small student population, the school did not conduct exams and allowed students to explore their subjects of interest at their own pace. Not all mothers in the sample were comfortable in enrolling their children in such a radically different school environment, which had little or no trappings of formal structured schooling. The school is under the administration of the Shri Aurobindo Educational Society and has links to Mothers International school.

Somewhere in between the academic rigour of Amity International, Birla Vidya Niketan and Delhi

Public School and the liberal space of Mirambika school were schools such as Mothers International, Sanskriti and Shri Ram School. In a number of media reports ranking schools, these three schools figured in the top ten list and were highly sought after options during the school admission process. However entry to these schools as will be examined was not an easy process.

From the range of responses, the most popular choices were Shri Ram School and Vasant Valley school. Mothers International and Sanskriti schools were the second most popular choices followed by Sardar Patel Vidyalaya and Delhi Public School, RK Puram (see Table 14).

Table 14: Families' choices of 'best' schools in Delhi

'Best' schools (arranged in descending order)
Shri Ram School (11)
Vasant Valley (11)
Mothers International (6)
Sanskriti (6)
Sardar Patel Vidyalaya (4)
DPS RK Puram (3)
Springdales (2)
Amity International (1)
Heritage School (1)
Tagore International (1)

(The number in brackets indicates the number of times the school was mentioned as a choice by a family in the study)

(iv)   Differential class origins of families

All the families in the sample had higher education credentials and were professionally employed in the private sector. While they were seemingly similar with regard to their education, income and occupation, some information on the grandfathers' (i.e. the child's grandparent and taking both maternal and paternal grandfathers) educational and professional backgrounds was able to hint towards differences in the class origins of the families. All the families here were 'upper middle class'. However, their entry into this fraction was not uniform across the sample and it is through an analysis of the grandfathers' educational and professional background that one can determine their trajectory into the 'upper middle class' fraction. Nine mothers and eight fathers in the sample had fathers who were professionally educated and employed in the high-profile government sector. Four mothers and four fathers had fathers who were employed in the high-profile private sector. These families had certain privileges of resources that they easily capitalised on when compared to other

families whose parents were employed in lower-rung government positions or were self-employed (see Table 15). The manner in which these class distinctions play out with regard to practices of 'parenting'/ 'mothering' and access to elite private schools will be examined in the following section. Also, a similar analysis on the educational and professional background of the maternal grandmothers to understand not only distinctions in the class origins but also how these class differences influence 'mothering' practices will be examined under the section on transitions in practices of 'mothering'.

Table 15: Tracing class origins of parents by grandfathers' professional profile

Grandfather's profession#	Mother's profession*					Father's profession*					
	D	A	HM	V	Total	D	E	M	L	CA	Total
Government (High profile)	2	1	1	5	**9**	1	3	3		1	**8**
Government (Varied)	2			3	**5**	1	1	2	1	1	**6**
Private (High Profile)		1	2	1	**4**			3	1		**4**
Private (Varied)	1			1	**2**			2			**2**
Total	**5**	**2**	**3**	**10**	**20**	**2**	**4**	**10**	**2**	**2**	**20**

(*The professions have been detailed in Tables 11 and 12. # Government (High Profile) refers to civil servants, high-ranking defence officers and professionals employed in government enterprises, Government (Varied) refers to low-ranking government and defence employees, Private (High Profile) refers to professionals employed in well-known private companies or running their own private enterprises, Private (Varied) refers to a range of private self-employed occupations. For details check Annexure C, Table 10)

3.4.   Organisation of daily routine

(i)   The role of the mother

The routine set by the mother and the larger family was influenced by the school schedule of the child. Good performance in school as being the first step towards securing future success in higher education and professional employment was the driving force for the 'upper middle class' mothers in this sample. The process of organising the daily routine included a host of activities: keeping track of the child's school related home-work and extracurricular activities, monitoring the child's informational resources, the child's daily nutritional, health and emotional needs, dropping and picking up the child from the various extracurricular commitments, coordinating the child's various social engagements and building the child's peer circle. The mother was primarily engaged in carrying out these activities and where she could not be present due to her professional commitments or other reasons she ensured the presence of a close family member or a trusted

household help. Tasks related to the upkeep of the house – cooking and cleaning were largely taken care of by the household help and in some cases by members of the extended family. The mother's contribution to these tasks was mostly supervisory as she focussed her whole attention on the child and his or her school and extracurricular engagements (see Annexure C, Table 5).

Of the mothers who worked full-time two mothers with young children had very strong family support systems which allowed them their professional commitments. The other three full-time working mothers had children who were much older and required less supervision than mothers with younger children. The older children of these full-time working mothers were much more independent in their routine. Two of these full-time working mothers had full-time household assistance as well. This ensured that certain physical needs of the children such as meals and basic attention were taken care of.

A consistent pattern with regard to the mothers who worked flexible hours was that they ensured that their work day ended around the same time as their children finished school. One could note a pattern of ending the work day by noon or lunch time so that they could be home to attend to their children. If they did go back to work, they ensured that it was at a time when the child was occupied with other activities. Four of the mothers had joint enterprises/practices with their husbands, which allowed them to set their own schedules with regard to work. Their offices were situated either very close to their residences or were set up within their home itself.

The two mothers who worked part-time had fixed timings during the week when they worked. There were only three mothers in the sample who did not work outside the home. Their schedules matched exclusively with that of their children. These mothers had a lot of time on their hands and when they were not involved with the children, they were engaged in leisurely activities such as meeting up with friends, exercising at the gym and coordinating and supervising a range of house related chores such as buying groceries, paying the bills and other bank-related work.

(ii)   The role of the father
Their engagement with their children was more time-bound during the week due to their work commitments and was a little relaxed during the weekend. There were four fathers in the sample who worked full-time on Saturdays as well. One father worked overseas, which kept him away

from the family over extended periods of time. The mother mentioned that when he returned home he spent a lot of time with the children (see Annexure C, Table 5).

The fathers' engagement with their children was casual and unorganised as they played games and enquired about school and other interests. Based on the mothers' responses there were only three fathers in the sample who assisted with the child's school-work (Father E, Father L and Father R).

(iii) The extended family

Relatives were a great sense of support for the family and most notably the mother as this afforded her the choice to rely on a close and trusted family member on occasions where she could not be physically present for her children and also pursue her professional aspirations. Of the 17 families that had at least one or both sets of grandparents residing in Delhi, Gurgaon or Noida, five families had an extended living arrangement where the grandparents were residing with the family in the respective home itself (see Annexure C, Table 6).

There were varying levels of engagement by the grandparents (maternal or paternal) and other extended family members with the children. In a very few cases, the extended family was involved in a hands-on process in the supervision, care and educational needs of the child. From the sample studied, the extended family members of four families were involved more closely in the daily routine of the children. The professional commitments of Mother D and Mother N were possible because of the available family support systems (for Mother D her parents and for Mother N her in-laws). For Mother O, her choice to work part-time was facilitated by the support accorded by her in-laws who lived very close to her residence. Her sisters-in-law or her mother-in-law looked after her daughter till lunch-time when she returned from work. They picked the daughter up from the bus-stop and engaged her till her mother returned home. In the case of Family S, the paternal grandfather who resided with the family supervised the physical needs of the children as the parents had a hectic independent medical practice.

In most other cases, the grandparents filled in as substitutes due to certain other unavoidable commitments of the mother. For Mother M, her parents helped her out by dropping or picking up the children from their extracurricular sessions. This happened very rarely as on most occasions it was the mother who made it a point to drop and pick up the children from their sessions. When

Mother H had certain household errands or bank work to attend to, she ensured that her children had a stop-gap arrangement at her parent's residence. In the case of families P and Q, the paternal grandmothers occasionally supervised the cooking. For families E, F and J, the grandparents' homes became easy recreational spaces for the children who were bored with their routines at home.

Patterns where the older sibling helped or supervised the younger sibling were rare. There were only three cases – Family H, Family M and Family Q. In Family H, the older daughter helped the younger son with his school work on occasion when the mother or father were engaged, in Family M the older son assisted the younger daughter with using the computer and in Family Q, the older son supervised the TV viewing habits of the younger son.

(iv)   Household help

All the families in the sample studied had household help for a range of purposes but most notably for cooking and cleaning (see Annexure C, Table 6). An important pattern that emerged from the sample was that mothers were increasingly delegating household tasks to maids and help thus managing to schedule more time for their children and their larger family. This pattern is noted across the sample irrespective of whether the mother worked outside the home or not. Their role with regard to household chores was more supervisory and there were only six mothers who stated that they were personally involved in cooking meals while the maids only helped with other menial tasks of cleaning and cutting the vegetables (Mother C, Mother H, Mother K, Mother N, Mother R and Mother T).

Apart from cooking and cleaning, some families used help for supervising young children as well. For families E, L O and S, household help took the children to the park and also supervised their activities around the house in the absence of the mother. In the case of Family B with a very young second child, the mother's niece who looked after the household chores also played substitute mother.

3.5.   Building 'cultural capital'

Middle class families are endowed with various resources of economic, social and cultural capitals. This allows them to utilise various capitals at different points in time to ensure that there are no breaks in the transferring of capitals across generations which ensures the smooth process of social

reproduction (Bourdieu 1986). The families in this sample as was noted do not merely send their children to high-end private schools, which have varying fee charges for a number of services within the school, but also make conscious efforts to build the 'cultural capital' of the child through enrolling him or her in a range of extracurricular activities. This section examines two sub-themes: it analyses the range of financial expenditure on the children: both within the school and outside and then moves towards examining the pattern of extracurricular activities among the children in the sample. There is a continuous effort to ensure that the child is exposed to the 'right' sources of information and is provided abundant opportunities to develop his or her 'innate' talents and interests. These include the child's reading habits, television and internet usage, choice of games and sports and extracurricular activities.

(i) Within school/Outside school

Different private schools have varying charges based on the services provided. Based on the families' responses on the range of expenses, approximate expenditures by families within the school and outside the school for the past year were calculated (see Annexure C, Tables 7 and 8) [xvii]. A range of components comprise 'school expenditure' such as school tuition fees, admission fees, annual charges, development charges, food charges, school books, school stationery, computer charges, transport charges, extracurricular charges within the school and outings and trips from school. Similarly a range of components comprise 'outside school expenditure' such as extracurricular charges outside school, books, videogames, toys, stationery, tuitions and outings and trips with family. These components of expenditure were not uniform across the sample and wherever information was provided expenses were tabulated accordingly.

It was noted that with regard to both 'school expenditure' and 'outside expenditure' the maximum number of families had a spending range between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 1,25,000. There were 15 families who spent between a range of Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 1,25,000 with regard to 'school expenditure' and 11 families who spent between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 1,25,000 with regard to 'outside school expenditure'(see Table 16).

Table 16: Range of expenditure by families within the school and outside

Range of expenditure (in Rs. per annum)	School expenditure		Outside school	
	Total	Families in the sample	Total	Families in the sample
5,000-25,000	0	-	4	B, D, N, T
25,000-1,25,000	15	A, B, C, D, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, T	11	A, C, G, H, J. K, L, O, P, Q, S
1,25,000-6,25,000	5	E, F, I, Q, S	5	E, F, I, M, R
Total	20		20	

(For details see Annexure C, Table 7)

Apart from expenses stated by the families, fees stated by the schools in the sample for the past year were also tabulated. One noted that for a majority of the schools in the sample (eight schools), the approximate school fees for a year remained within the range of Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 1,00,000. The highest school fee was stated by Shri Ram School, which according to Hindustan Times-C Fore educational research agency ranking for the year 2010 was the best school in Delhi. The high fees in some ways alludes to the exclusive and elite character of the school affirming that there are very few families who can afford such schooling for their children (see Table 17).

Table 17: Range of school fees for private schools in the sample

Range of school fees	Private schools in the sample	Total number of schools	No. of children
Rs. 10,000 – Rs. 50,000	Amity International, Ramjas School, Springdales School	3	5
Rs. 50,000 – Rs. 1,00,000	Birla Vidya Niketan, DPS Vasant Kunj, DPS East of Kailash, KR Mangalam World School, Mirambika, Mothers International, Tagore International and The Indian School	8	20
Rs. 1,00,000 – Rs. 1,50,000	Modern School Vasant Vihar and Sanskriti	2	5
Rs. 1,50,000 – Rs. 2,00,000	Shri Ram School	1	2

(For details see Annexure C, Table 8. One school did not provide details.)

While this pattern of expenditure cannot comment on the more complex historical cultural and social privileges of the families in the sample, this process points to one aspect of how these families actively convert economic capital to build cultural capital in their children. The various means of investing to build cultural capital among the children is examined in the next sub-section which dwells on the families' organisation and supervision of children's leisure time.

(ii)   Reading/TV/Internet/Playtime/Extracurricular

Parents believe that there are several facets to building the personality of the child and this begins with the child's exposure to a range of informational sources and engagement in a range of extracurricular activities and sports. The interviews suggested patterns regarding TV watching, computer usage, reading and extracurricular activities across the sample. There is a conscientious monitoring with every access to information as parents make decisions on what is 'right' for the child. Every source of information has a certain value attached to it. Mothers were encouraging of children reading and engaging in productive extracurricular activities like games, sports, art and craft, music and dance. They were less encouraging of children watching TV and playing videogames. They consciously monitored the child's access to these sources of information, guiding the child towards pursuits they approved sometimes with a strict attitude of control.

TV watching: TV watching was characterised by a certain access and control mode. Most of the children in the sample were allowed some form of access to the TV but parents or older members of the extended family controlled the channels the children watched. The choice of channels was severely limited as parents imposed their opinions on what children should watch. This control over TV watching however diminished as the children grew older. Families with adolescent children in the sample watched more varied channels than those with younger children only (see Table 18).

Table 18: TV watching habits among children

TV watching habits	No. of children in respective age group		Families in the sample	Programmes
	4-11 yrs	**12-15 yrs**		
Access with limited control	16	11	A, C, D, E, F, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T	Cartoon channels, National Geographic, Discovery, varied English and Hindi channels, Sports
Strict control	4		J, K	CBeebies (BBC Children's channel), 'Art Attack' on a cartoon channel over the weekend, some children's DVDs
No access at all	1	1	B, G	G allows daughter to watch select children's movies/programmes on laptop
Total	21	12		

Of the 20 families, 16 families responded that they allowed their children to watch cartoon channels and some informational channels such as National Geographic and Discovery. Of these 16 families, five families with adolescent children watched channels other than what younger children in the sample watched. These channels included varied English and Hindi channels broadcasting a range of sports, movies and programmes with adult content. The mothers of these adolescent children had

varying opinions on their children's freedom to watch programmes with adult content. Where mothers C and R were confident of their daughters' choices, mothers F, I and Q were unsure and stated that it was not possible to impose control on growing children as this would lead to trust issues within the family. Mother F did not find any problems in controlling her children's access to television through channel locking software. She thought it was an appropriate means to shield her children from objectionable content on TV.

> *Mother C noted: "My daughter has very controlled TV watching habits. If she has finished her homework then she watches a particular serial…We don't have to tell her not to watch. We know that she would exercise control on her own".*

> *Mother F noted: "Channel locking unfortunately, no…because I have ICTV it doesn't allow locking channels…When I had Tata Sky, I used to lock channels. HBO, Star Plus, Star Movies. Now especially there is a problem, even though I'd like to do that".*

Among these families with adolescent children, a pattern of dominance was observed between adolescent children and their younger siblings. The older child often controlled the TV and this gave the younger child access to some adult content.

Two families had very strict control over TV watching, allowing their children to watch only select programmes. Families J and K allowed their children to watch only select programmes on TV over the weekend. The remaining two families in the sample did not allow their children to watch TV at all. Mother G had very strong opinions on the content of television programmes and their influence on young children while Mother B stated that her son had started exhibiting strong signs of aggression which led her to ban television watching in the house altogether. Mother G allowed her daughter to watch select children's programmes and movies on her laptop, often scheduling her daughter's time in these engagements.

> *Mother G noted: "She watches movies on my laptop, not TV…Even movie watching is scheduled. For example: when she was ill, she could watch movies…One movie in a week or one movie in a fortnight".*

Computer/Internet usage: A strong pattern of supervision by parents was noted across the sample with regard to computer usage and access to the Internet (see Table 19). Supervision here refers to mothers/parents monitoring the children's access to internet, ensuring that it is largely used for educative/informational purposes. Of the 20 families, 14 families responded to supervising their

children while using the Internet. Three families mentioned having installed Internet supervisory software such as the NET Nanny, which filtered Internet history for objectionable content.

Table 19: Internet access among children

Internet access	Total number of families	Families in the sample
Access with supervision	14	A, D, E, G, H, I, J, K, L, N, O, Q, R, T
Strict supervision with NET Nanny	3	F, M, P
No supervision	2	B, C
No use of Internet	1	S

Two families noted no supervisory control over the use of Internet. While Mother B was not very aware of what her son used the Internet for and merely mentioned that he played games online, Mother C stated that she trusted her daughter's choices and did not feel the need to supervise her online usage.

The purposes for using the Internet by the children in the sample had some broad differences. Younger children were allowed to access the Internet only for school work while older children used the Internet for more than school work. They had email and Facebook accounts and downloaded movies and music. The Internet for the adolescent children in the sample was an extended means of keeping in touch with their circle of friends. This extensive use of the Internet also posed worries for some parents. Like television, Mother F felt that the internet also needed to be monitored to ensure that her children were not privy to objectionable content. Her daughter had begun to question her authority with regard to controlling her access to the internet as she wanted to be socially active on Facebook.

> Mother F noted: "NET Nanny yes…I have NET Nanny on my laptop also…I also feel NET Nanny is a good thing. I also believe in locking channels and using these softwares…For my daughter, initially I used to tell her this is a safety system. All this virus shouldn't come into my system…And also she did understand that…then she couldn't open a social site… and then I had to explain that are certain things not good for children to watch".

Extracurricular activities/Playtime: Families had enrolled their children in a range of extracurricular activities, which they believed would be beneficial not only as productive usage of leisure time but also contribute towards building mental, creative and physical faculties (see Table 20). Here extracurricular activities involving sports and games were seen as developing the child's physique and contributing towards developing a sportsmanship spirit, creative extracurricular

activities such as dance, music, playing musical instruments and art and craft were seen as developing in the child an appreciation for all things cultural and extracurricular activities such as creative writing classes, chess, Abacus and Ku-Mon maths classes were seen as contributing towards building the intellect of the child, helping him or her grasp abstract or mathematical concepts early on in life. These skills would be especially beneficial to the child in higher classes when education became more academically oriented. Proficiency in Maths and Science were also seen by parents in the sample as beneficial in terms of more lucrative choices at the higher education level.

Children in the sample engaged in a range of activities not only through the week but also over the weekend. With regard to the pattern in the involvement in extracurricular activities, one noted that children in the age group 6-12 had the most actively planned days. For children younger than this age group, one observed that families had still not enrolled them in organised activities and allowed them more unorganised play. With regard to the adolescent children in the sample, one found that families began to emphasise academics over extracurricular activities. Children in higher classes had more school work and thus there was a conscious cutting down on extracurricular activities.

Boys were more engaged in physical activities than girls in the sample studied. Where boys played a variety of sports – football, soccer, cricket, tennis and badminton, there were few girls who played sports. Mother E stated that she was very active in sports during her school years and encouraged her daughter as well.

> *Mother E noted: "I was a complete sports child in school. I represented Calcutta in swimming. I played shotput, basketball…so I've been inclined to sports and I see my daughter also inclined to sports".*

Most girls were engaged in unorganised play, light physical activity and creative pursuits such as art, music and dance. The youngest boys in the sample played in the park and were engaged in unorganised physical activity. They had not yet been initiated into organised sports by their families.

Table 20: Patterns in extracurricular activities across age-group in the sample

Age	Total number of children	Families with children in respective age	Boys	Girls
4-5	3	L, N, S	None	None
6-12	27	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, T	Soccer, drawing, skating, tennis, swimming, Taekwondo,cricket,chess tabla, English creative writing class, Abacus, football, Ku-Mon maths classes, drums, piano, dance	Dance, classical music, swimming, drawing, soccer, Bharatnatyam, Julia Gabriel speech and drama classes, Kathak, skating, Ballet, special writing classes, piano, Odissi, pottery, guitar, basketball
13-15	3	I, R, Q	Soccer	Guitar, rhythm classes, Kathak

Books/Toys: There was a conscious effort to build reading habits in the children from a young age itself. The nature and medium of reading material used by families in the sample studied indicate a strong preference for English informational books, popular story books and novels by popular Western and some Indian-English authors. The purpose for encouraging reading was two-dimensional – it was to build English vocabulary and language usage apart from general knowledge (see Table 21).

Table 21: Range of books/novels

Informational books	Tell Me Why series, Time/Life series, books on moral habits, puzzles
Fiction (British/American English and Indian English)	Princess Diaries, Twilight series, Diary for a wimpy kid, Enid Blyton, Nancy Drew, Judy Blume, Geronimus Stilton, Amber Brown, Harry Potter, Roald Dahl, Magic Treehouse, Asterix, Tintin, Percy Jackson, Artemus Fowl, Hardy Boys, Topsy and Tim series, Franklin books, Chetan Bhagat
Indian mythology/regional/vernacular fiction	Mahabharata, Panchatantra, Ramayana, Amar Chitra Katha, books by Eklavya, Tulika, Tara and Katha publications, Hindi books published by National Book Trust, Chandamama, Champak

The choice of authors seemed to lean towards Western popular authors on most accounts with some families mentioning that their children read books by Indian authors writing in English as well. Reading of vernacular literature seemed near absent among the children. Only five families mentioned that they bought their children Hindi storybooks, novels and English publications of Indian folktales and moral stories published by Amar Chithra Katha. Family G and Family J were very conscious of what reading material they introduced to their children. Both mothers made active efforts in bringing a range of reading material discussing varied cultures and moral concerns. They bought books by niche Indian publishers Tulika and Katha, known for their endeavours in Indian vernacular literature.

An interesting observation with regard to reading habits came from Mother M. She noted that she started reading out to her son when he was just two years old. She made a conscious effort to read to him for an hour daily from a set of books called the 'Time/Life' series. She credited a lot of her son's present academic success in school to this past intense exercise of reading to him daily. In her opinion, the process built his vocabulary and numerical skills. As a Maths teacher, she constantly devised a range of interesting Maths based riddles and puzzles for her children to solve. Two families (Family B and Family E) mentioned that their children had very poor reading habits. Where Mother E encouraged her daughter to read but found her interest lacking, Mother B did not make any such effort.

Mother K noted: "I'd rather integrate reading books rather than watching TV. My daughter is an avid reader. She is reading like anything and she is excited. And she is able to read a lot now. Books are something I spend a lot on. Viraj is very interested in science. I have a huge collection of the 'Time/Life' and 'Tell Me Why' series".

Families bought a broad range of toys and sports equipment (see Table 22). One found that videogames and sports equipment were popular with the boys in the sample. Some families mentioned buying dolls and soft toys for their young daughters. Only Mother H stated that her son had asked her for a kitchen set, a demand that varied when compared with other boys in the sample.

Table 22: Range of toys/games

Range of toys/games	Videogames, Computer games, Beyblades, Train set, Barbie, Remote cars, Legos, Pictionary, IPL cricket cards, Chess, kitchen set, Monopoly, soft toys, hand puppets, Snakes and Ladders

3.6.   Family-School Links

The performance of children is strongly linked not only to the social and cultural resources they bring with them into the domain of the school but also mediated by the engagement of their families with the school. Increasing studies point to the unquestionable link between family involvement within the domain of schools and the academic success of children. The role of the family in the education of its children begins early. It is not only governed by the conscious processes within the household but also involve the various means through which families are involved in choosing the 'right' school for their child. Before entering into prestigious schools, children are enrolled in elite play schools (or pre-schools), which prepare them early on in not only language and numeracy skills but also formal codes to navigating school processes.

In an urban metropolis like Delhi, entry into prestigious private schools is highly competitive. As mentioned earlier, changes in the nursery admission process and the passing of the RTE have created new anxieties for the middle classes in the city. Children of ten families in this sample gained admission to their respective schools through the diverse entrance exam/interview processes followed by private schools in the city before the Delhi High Court judgement of 2007. The judgement ended the range of individual processes of admission followed by private schools, which involved interviewing the child, and led to the evolution of the uniform point-system basis of admission. This point-system takes into account a range of criteria including distance of the school from the place of residence of the family, an older sibling already studying in the respective school and the parents' school alumni background. Fifteen families in the sample studied had children who gained admission through the point-system basis (see Annexure C, Table 9).

This theme looks at several processes of engagement of the family with the school. There are three sub-themes i) School Networks and Choices, ii) 'Good School' and 'Good Education' and iii) observations on the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (RTE). The first sub-theme begins by examining choices of pre-schools among the families in the sample and then moves towards finding links between these choices and admission to private schools in South Delhi. It analyses choices of schools among the families, dilemmas of changing schools, interaction with teachers and school management and the underlying presence of school networks. A part of this theme will also address the pattern of private tuitions among the children in the sample. This is followed by the second sub-theme which will elaborate on the perceptions associated with a 'good school', the values of 'good education' and the range of aspirations that education facilitates and shapes for the families in the sample studied. In some cases, some families associate a 'good school' with a 'good education', and on occasion directly associate a 'good education' with what it can bring for a child in the future, often linking 'education' and 'aspiration'. The concluding sub-theme will examine families' observations on the RTE, most notably the contested 25 per cent clause which requires private schools to reserve seats for children from marginalised sections.

(i)   School Networks and Choices

Choice of Pre-school: There is much heterogeneity in the range of pre-schools operating in the city. While it was not possible to segregate the data on pre-schools based on their diversity, one noted

that some pre-schools operated as chain-organisations with branches in several parts of the city while others operated as niche institutions located in certain areas exclusively. The operation and exclusivity of the pre-schools thus conveyed certain ideas of the curriculum followed. Pre-schools that operated as chain-organisations followed certain standardised formats while the niche pre-schools had individualised formats which allowed the child to explore and learn on his or her own, play in an unorganised manner and engage in a range of creative pursuits such as music, dance and art. Niche pre-schools in the sample which followed these methods of teaching include Navakriti (run by the Shri Aurobindo Education Society), Learning Tree, and Shishuvan (see Annexure C, Table 9).

The environment in these pre-schools trained children in certain key codes of conduct, which made them amenable for later admission to select elite private schools. In order to understand these subtle links between pre-schools and select private schools, it is important to examine the processes of entry into elite private schools through certain pre-schools in the sample studied.

Based on the ages of the children in the sample and keeping in mind the implementation of the Delhi High Court judgement of 2007 on nursery admissions the varying processes of entry were determined. This was then examined vis a vis the choice of pre-school and later admission into the respective private school to determine links. There was no pattern which could confidently link pre-schools and private schools. Only one definite link between pre-school Navakriti and private schools Mirambika and Mothers International could be established.

Families G, L and M had their children enrolled in Navakriti, which as a part of the Shri Aurobindo Education Society is linked to the well-reputed Mothers International school and the alternative school Mirambika. Their children went on to gain admission in Mirambika and Mothers International. Mother G, in fact, was keenly associated with the setting up of Navakriti pre-school. She was engaged in the pre-school throughout the time her daughter was enrolled there and had very good contacts with teachers at Mirambika school. While the ages of the children enrolled in Navakriti indicate that they were selected through the point-system, the process fails to highlight the already existing links of these families with the private schools much before the admission process. Family L and Family M had older children already studying in Mothers International, which eased the admission process of their younger siblings based on the sibling criteria in the point-system.

These older children gained admission through the exam-interview process that existed before the implementation of the point-system. Mother M specifically mentioned that she had enrolled her son in the popular Circle pre-school (which has branches in other parts of Delhi as well) because she had heard that they coach the children to crack the exam-interview process at Mothers International school.

> *Mother M noted: "School admission was a big thing. People told me that through Circle chances of getting into Mothers was higher. Most importantly, everyone told me that the principal there – she knew her stuff…The teachers were sensible..involved".*

One interesting observation with regard to pre-school choices is that of Family P. Settled in Singapore for a short while before moving to Delhi, their daughter was enrolled in the internationally renowned Julia Gabriel pre-school before being shifted to Kangaroo Kids pre-school in Delhi. Finally admitted to Sanskriti school through links, which will be discussed in much greater detail in the following section on parental networks and sources of information, Mother P noted that her daughter had gained immensely from her engagement at Julia Gabriel pre-school. In some ways, it had already grounded her in certain formal codes of conduct.

The only family who did not seem to have invested some thought in the process of scouting for pre-schools in the sample was Family B. Mother B had no recollection of the pre-school her son was enrolled in. She casually mentioned that it would have been a pre-school closest to the home she was residing in at that time. When asked if the pre-school helped in coaching her son for the later school admission process, she replied in the negative. Her engagement with the school admission process was a complicated affair as she was ill-prepared and uninformed.

Parental networks and sources of information: There were a range of resources that parents' pooled together to make an informed choice on the 'best' possible school for their child. Based on the array of responses by the participants in the study, the range of networks was broadly classified into five broad categories: (i) mother/parent ex-alumnus of school child is enrolled in (one of the criteria in the point-system instituted in 2007), (ii) high level family contacts, (iii) mother's networks within school (before admission), (iv) research information from internet/friends, limited research and (v) no research at all (see Table 23).

Table 23: Range of networks

Range of Networks	Families in the sample
Mother/Parent ex-alumnus of school child is enrolled in	D, J
High-level family contacts (Relatives in senior professional/bureaucratic positions)	E, O, P, Q
Mother's networks within school (before admission)	C, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, O, Q, R
Research information from Internet/friends	A, C, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, O, P, Q, R, S
Combination of networks (at least three)	J, O, Q
Combination of networks (at least two)	C, E, G, H, I, K, L, M, P, R
Limited research	N, T
No research at all	B

As has been discussed earlier, there were some children in the sample who gained admission through the exam-interview process and other children who gained admission based on the point-system. The purpose of the point-system in some ways was to mitigate the individualised discretions of private schools in the city with regard to the nursery admission process and bring a certain level of transparency to the process. However, what one noted was that the set of objective criteria in itself operated to privilege certain children from a certain class background over others. Thus children who had parents, who were alumni of premier private schools in the city or siblings already studying in a preferred private school, were already at a position of advantage over others who did not meet these criteria.

Also, schools did not exclusively operate on the point-system basis of admission. On many occasions parents set the groundwork for admission into premier private schools much before the admission process began. They visited schools, met teachers and called in favours from family members who were still in or had retired from senior professional/bureaucratic positions to ensure that their children got into their school of choice.

In the sample studied, families J, O and Q had the best combination of networks, which allowed them to gain admission for their children in Mothers International, Sanskriti and Shri Ram School. Mother J was an ex-alumnus of Mothers International, had good connections with teachers in the school and had done considerable research before the admission process. Mother O's father was a retired IAS officer, and this criterion gave her daughter considerable advantage in the admission process to Sanskriti school, which is an elite private school offering education to wards of the

officers of All India and Allied Services and Defence personnel. For both families J and O, the children were admitted through the point-system. While the process seemed to be a fair one, it covertly hid the advantages that these families already had at the time of admission.

Family Q's sons were enrolled in Shri Ram School. A well-known school run by the prestigious Shri Ram Group of enterprises, many respondents expressed great difficulties in securing admission for their wards in this elite school. When one examined Mother Q's networks, one observed that she had been closely connected to the school much before her marriage and birth of her children. Her father retired as a senior manager at the DCM-Shri Ram Group, she did her under graduation at Lady Shri Ram college, Delhi University and had been in touch with the principal of Shri Ram school much before marriage. Her sons were not admitted through the point-system but through the mother's personal connections with the school and the management.

A large group of mothers in the sample studied had networks within the school where their children were admitted. They also had done a great deal of research on the range of school options available. As an alumnus of Modern School Vasant Vihar, Mother K could have easily secured admission for her children in that school. However, she was keen on only Mothers International for her children.

> *Mother K noted: "Lots of things in the school have changed and the proportion of parents and their professional profile have changed totally. So when I started looking for Viraj (son), I knew that this was not an option that I was keen on. I am an alumni and it would have been easier but I didn't want to put him in that school. So the question was then what other? At that time I visited each and every school in the area. I went to the school, spent time on the grounds. For Viraj's admission, there was a big tension. We had written exam for both parents…multiple choice questions..100 word answers. I did all the things that I thought was required. People who were teaching there…I got information from other people in the education field. My biggest motivation was from the parents of the children going there. And the children themselves. I spoke to children from Class XI and XII…who were old enough to have an opinion".*

One noted that mothers C and R were teachers. Where Mother C was a history school teacher, Mother R had previously worked in Springdales as a French subject teacher before quitting to focus on her son's education. They had a great deal of awareness on the admission process and were well versed in the range of choices available for their children.

Like mothers O and Q, mothers E and P also had high-level family contacts, which ensured their

children's admission in some way. Mother E mentioned that her father-in-law who had recently retired from a very senior post in the Municipal Corporation of Delhi was influential in getting her daughter admission in Delhi Public School (East of Kailash). Despite the point-system, the pull of her father-in-law ensured admission to a well-ranked school.

> *Mother E noted: "You can't select. In Delhi, you cannot select. What happened was my father-in-law was with the MCD [Municipal Corporation of Delhi]. He was heading the MCD for a long time…high government post…My father-in-law knew the principal then. He went and spoke to her and she agreed".*

For Mother P, her daughter's admission was ensured through her father-in-law's connections as well. A retired IPS officer he had strong connections with Sanskriti school to ensure that his grand-daughter got admission there. The connection especially was of significance because Family P had moved to Delhi from Singapore and despite the parents being native residents of the city during various points of their life; the admission was secured through family contacts.

Mothers A, F and S did not have the same sense of resources as the mothers discussed above. They hadn't done much groundwork and had only sought out information online with regard to the range of school options. They had chatted with neighbours and friends but their research was inadequate when compared to the better networked mothers. Mother A noted that she had hoped that the point-system would secure her son admission to the well-reputed Delhi Public School Vasant Kunj. However, they faced great difficulties during the admission process and were finally left with only Amity International school, where their son had managed to gain admission through the point-system and without any donation. With some sense of despair, she mentioned that she knew families whose children had managed to secure admission in Delhi Public School Vasant Kunj, despite residing in a radius much further away from the school.

> *Mother A noted: "We tried in 25 schools. Out of the six schools, this seemed to be the only good option. The other schools we weren't very impressed. They were too new and we didn't know them. We applied…because…you know as middle class families you just don't get anywhere. Rather they didn't give feedback. They've given admission to people residing in Safdarjung Development Area (SDA)…we live closer, just 3 km away from DPS RK Puram".*

Mother F considered KR Mangalam World school for her daughter over Delhi Public School because she felt that the school would be better equipped with a range of material facilities. It had

just opened during the time of her daughter's nursery admissions and she felt the new environment would be a better option than Delhi Public School. However, she regretted her decision and has moved her daughter from KR Mangalam World school to another elite private school Step by Step located in Gurgaon from the present academic year. She does not consider the academics at KR Mangalam World school up to mark. Decisions regarding changing of schools will be discussed in greater detail in the next sub-section. Mother F also pointed to the fact that many of the elite schools were biased towards admitting children from a certain 'upper class' family.

> *Mother F noted: "Many of them focus on…take children from these high-end families. If it has to be business…you have to come from a very high-end business family. You can say posh fields, bureaucrats, parents in high posts, parents in specific fields…like artists…they don't entertain kids from business families…or you have to pay up a huge amount…we were asked for 4-5 lakhs from these top-end schools".*

Mother S did not have any specific memories of her engagements with the nursery admissions process. She mentioned that her daughter got admission in Tagore International through the point-system. She did not have any particular regrets with regard to this choice.

Mothers who faced the most difficulties during the nursery admission process were mothers N and T. Mother N had disturbing memories of her daughter's nursery admission process. She had recently shifted base to India from Japan where her husband was working and had no information whatsoever on the scene of school admissions in the city. Her sister-in-law and few relatives gave her bits of information but it did not really help her engage with complicated process or secure admission for her daughter to the school of her choice. She spoke of many well-reputed private schools asking for donation to secure admission and in the end was relieved when her daughter made it to Ramjas school without donation and solely on the basis of the point-system.

> *Mother N noted: "I had a terrible experience with my daughter…we filled at least 50 application forms. Point-system is really bad. Most of the schools asked for donation. We were totally against it. Even after proof, they asked for Rs. 12 lakhs. I don't want to name the schools but they were really high-end schools. Finally her name came only in Ramjas school".*

Mother T also commented on the range of difficulties she faced during the admission process for her son. She had very limited information on the admission process and her son managed to secure admission in The Indian School through the point-system. She had hoped to secure admission for

her son to the more reputed Mothers International school but her lack of networks and information restricted her in her choices.

> *Mother T noted: "We applied to many schools…we only got a call for Greenfields and Indian School. At that time, my older son was with me[2] and I didn't want to send Ekveer [younger son] far away. To get admission into a school really is an issue. We asked people but we but we have no options. Admission into a school in Delhi is really a nightmare".*

Of all the mothers in the sample, only Mother B had no range of networks. Her responses indicated that she made no effort to gather information on the admission process or lay the groundwork like so many other mothers in this sample. Her choice of Amrita Vidyalayam for her son seemed arbitrary without much thought or consideration.

Changing schools: Once the children were admitted to a certain school, families still kept their options open with regard to changing schools in the event that they were dissatisfied with the range of facilities offered by the school or they inferred a sense of deterioration in the quality of teaching (see Table 24).

Table 24: On changing schools

Range	Total number	Families in the sample
Considering options for changing schools	5	A, E, F, H, T
Not keen on changing schools	12	B, C, D, J, K, L (older son), M, N, O, P, Q, S
Ambiguous	3	I, L (younger son), R

There were five mothers who were keen on shifting their children to other schools if opportunities presented themselves. The range of reasons for shifting schools however was diverse. Mother A noted that she was dissatisfied with the school's engagement with her son. When her son was younger, some teachers had diagnosed him with attention deficit disorder and asked for him to be sent for special education classes. The mother found this diagnosis alarming and intervened with school authorities on the issue. She mentioned that during that time she was eager to shift her son to Sanskriti school as she had heard that the school had a more relaxed learning environment than Amity International school.

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[2]Mother T had an older child with disability who passed away recently. The reference to the older child here is to him.

Mother A noted: "Till the second standard I was looking for options…I was trying for Sanskriti but they generally take children of IAS officers. Also it was the middle of the school session and there was no vacancy".

The class background of children in Delhi Public School (East of Kailash) worried Mother E. She complained on many occasions about the 'middle classness' of the families sending their children to the school and was keen to shift her children to either Shri Ram School or Vasant Valley school. She had many friends whose children went to these schools and she felt that the background of the children in these schools matched her family's background.

Mother E noted: "I was very keen on Shri Ram…because the kind of mindset I follow…is more of the Shri Ram parents. I find DPS very middle-class…very 'padai' oriented…need to do a little more than focus on education. The child should have a balance of both. I have only two to three friends in this school and that is it".

Mother F as mentioned in the earlier sub-section had recently shifter her daughter to Step by Step school in Gurgaon from the present academic year. Deeply dissatisfied with the academic atmosphere in KR Mangalam World school, she felt her daughter would gain a better environment in Step by Step school. She mentioned the deteriorating standards of education in KR Mangalam school post the change in management. Mother T was completely dissatisfied with the academic environment in The Indian School and was looking at every possible opportunity to shift her son to Tagore International school or Mothers International school.

Mother T noted: "Yes, we are trying…Mount Carmel, Tagore International or Mothers International…Mothers is good. Vasant Valley is also good but it is too expensive. Price wise we are not happy. We can't spend so much of money per month on our child. At the end of the day, whichever school you send your child to you have to sit with your child".

The children of Family H were enrolled in Mirambika school, which had classes only up to the VIII standard. Mother H noted that she would shift her children to Mothers International school after they completed VIII standard at Mirambika school.

There were 12 mothers who were not keen to change the schools their children were enrolled in. Mothers B and N seemed indifferent to concerns regarding quality of education while the other mothers were very satisfied with the quality of education in the respective schools their children were enrolled in.

Mother B noted: "We just wanted the school to provide basic requirements. It also depends on what the student does. We are confident our son will do well in this school".

Mother N noted: "Ultimately I don't think the school matters. Ultimately aap ka ghar ka environment kaisa hain...bacchon kaise brought up karte hain. Unko padna hain, nahin padna hain...wohi matlab rakhta hain"[Ultimately I don't think the school matters. Ultimately it is the home environment and how you bring up the child that matters. Whether they want to study or don't want to study, that is what matters].

Mother C noted that while she was not completely satisfied with the school her daughter was enrolled in, she was not keen to shift her from the school as she was doing extremely well there.

Mother C noted: "They should make her very sporting where she can take success and failure in the same stride...she becomes very disturbed the moment she gets to know she has not gotten 18 out of 20 and has gotten 15 instead. She will make stories, saying mamma this happened that is why, the teacher is to be blamed...so and so is to be blamed, the question is to be blamed...you know she tries and finds scapegoats which I do not like. I feel that you have not done that, you are responsible I don't know sometimes my ideals of what a school must be and the school's practices clash. In any case, she is doing very well here so we aren't keen on changing her school".

Mothers I and R were ambiguous about changing schools. Mother I mentioned that she would consider the option if academics suffered in Modern school at the higher stages and Mother R noted possibilities of shifting her son to Shri Ram School if it helped him gain better focus and direction. An interesting observation with regard to changing schools came from Mother L. She was satisfied with Mothers International school for her older son. However, she felt that her younger son would require a more disciplined environment. She was open to sending him to Boarding school if necessary.

Mother G was completely opposed to formal organised schooling. She noted that she would consider other alternative schools or Open schooling for her daughter once she finished Class VIII at Mirambika school.

Engagement with teachers and management: Parents not only take an active interest in the academic and extracurricular progression of their child but also actively engage with teachers and management within the school to vocalise their concerns and influence school policy. Regular meetings with the teacher (Parent-Teacher Meetings (PTM)) and engagement with forums such as

Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) are important indicators of parental involvement in children's school life (see Table 25).

Table 25: Attending Parent-Teacher Meetings (PTMs)

Range	Total number	Families in the sample
Only Mother	12	A, D, E, F, I, K, N, O, P, Q, R, T
Only Father	2	B, C
Both Parents	6	G H, J, L, M, S

In the sample studied, a certain gendered pattern emerged with regard to the PTMs. Mothers were mostly responsible for attending PTMs and there were very few fathers in the sample who took up this responsibility. In a small number of families in the sample both parents attended the PTMs. The general pattern of mothers attending PTMs concurred with gendered perceptions of how education of the child was largely the responsibility of the mother in the family. As greater number of fathers had full-time jobs with erratic working hours, the responsibility for engaging with the school fell on the mother.

The two rare cases where fathers attended the PTMs were linked to certain other complicated concerns. Father B had a full-time job but as the owner of his private enterprise he exercised some flexibility of working from home on some occasions. His wife, Mother B was a full-time gynaecologist with erratic working hours. Thus in this case, the father was in a relatively better position to attend the PTMs of his son. Mother C attended her daughter's PTMs for a while before she got into an argument with the class-teacher, which questioned the class-teacher's competence. Worried that the incident would affect her daughter's progress at school, she consciously decided to stop attending PTMs and delegated the responsibility to her husband.

In the small sample of six families where both parents attended the PTMs, a common response by the respondents in the study was that the fathers were keen to participate in the school affairs of their children in whatever capacity possible. Conscious of their erratic working hours, they saw their engagement in school affairs as an important part of their responsibility as a parent. For families G and H, Mirambika school policy also made it mandatory for both parents to attend PTMs.

Table 26: Awareness on Parent Teacher Association (PTA)

Range	Total number	Families in the sample
Knows parent representatives on PTA but not active	13	A, C, D, E, F, I, J, K, L, M, P, R, T
Active with PTA	4	G, H, O, Q
Unaware of PTA or parent representatives	3	B, N, S

It was observed that 13 mothers in the sample were aware of the existence of the forum and had links with parent representatives. Though they were not formally engaged or active on the forum, they had an awareness of how it functioned and what were its responsibilities. Four mothers were active members of the PTA in the respective schools their children were enrolled in. Mothers G and H noted that since the student population in Mirambika was small, parents were well connected and actively participated in the PTA. Mother O was a parent representative for her daughter's grade and had good links with teachers and senior management in Sanskriti school. The most active mother on the PTA was mother Q. She had been a parent representative for her son's grade at the school level and had also engaged as a parent representative on the Higher Executive Committee Board of Shri Ram School (see Table 26).

There were only three mothers in the sample who had no knowledge of the existence and functioning of the PTA in the respective schools their children were enrolled in.

Academic support/Tuitions: Some families also sent their children for private tuitions outside school for subjects they believed their children needed extra coaching in or to substitute for the inadequacies of teaching in school (see Table 27). Of the 20 families, there were five families who sent their children for tuitions. The youngest child to go for tuitions was from Family S. Their seven year old daughter had a tutor who helped her with all her school work as her parents had a busy independent medical practice. One noted a larger propensity for adolescent children in the sample to attend tuitions, perhaps indicating the strong emphasis on academics among the 'upper middle class' families in the sample.

Table 27: Patterns in taking tuitions across age-group in the sample

Age	Families with children in respective age	Tuitions outside school	
		Boys	**Girls**
4	L, N		
5	S		
6	D, E, K, P, T		
7	G, H, J, M, N, S		S: Tuitions all subjects
8	A, E, F, I, O, P		
11	K, L, M, Q, R	R: Tuitions for all subjects, Q: Tuitions for Maths and Science	
12	B, C, F, H	B: Tuitions for all subjects	
13	I		I: Tuitions for Maths and Science
14	R		R: Tuitions for Maths and Science
15	Q	Q: Tuitions for all subjects	

(ii) 'Good School' and 'Good Education'

Here 'good school' refers to the perceptions of the respondents on the institution and what it must provide it terms of infrastructural facilities and related qualitative aspects of learning. 'Good education' refers to broader values that respondents' associate with schooling and its influence on a child's life.

Table 28: On 'good school' and 'good education'

Range	Total number	Families in the sample
Distinct perceptions on 'good school' and 'good education'	12	C, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, Q, T
'Good school' and 'good education' as synonymous	8	A, B, D, J, K, P, R, S

There were 12 mothers in the sample studied who had distinct perceptions of the school and the nature and value of education. The responses of the mothers were diverse in what they understood a good school ought to provide for their children (see Table 28). Their demands from a 'good school' included not only the provision of state-of-the-art facilities and technological aids but also the presence of competent teachers and a principal with strong leadership qualities. This ideal

combination of quality staff and infrastructural facilities was to in turn work to bring out the best in their child – building communication skills, proficiency in English, grounding them in academics and building their extracurricular repertoire thus facilitating holistic development.

> *Mother F noted: "No school can be perfect…the management's focus should be on the growth of the school not in terms of money but in terms of giving education…important method of teaching, focussing on materials of buildings, having good experienced teachers. It has to be a good management to work towards these. Strong principal who knows how to manage the teachers…knows how to get work out of them. How to maintain the discipline of the school". Mother T noted: "Conversation in English…value system should be there. Not just hi-fi thing. Extracurricular activities should be there…the school should be able to identify what the child is good at. Studies are not everything".*

Only one mother, Mother L commented on the parent profile of the children enrolled in a respective school as being an important criterion in assessing the school's reputation. She had a low opinion of those schools which enrolled children coming from business families. The observation was noteworthy in the sense it was reflective of how conscious the mother was with regard to her children interacting with children coming from a similar cultured class background as her own.

There was a certain convergence of opinions across the sample as many emphasised education as providing a core set of moral values, which encouraged individual growth and development and helped in honing the child's best abilities. The form of education was also alluded to as one that encouraged experiential or practical learning.

> *Mother A noted: "Education should be practical. The child should be taught in a practical manner rather than mugging up. Too much of rubbish is being taught. I can see that. EVS [Environmental Studies] in the smaller classes should be taught in a practical manner. There is just too much of everything. Teachers are overworked and children are overworked".*

There were eight mothers in the sample who saw 'good school' and 'good education' as synonymous categories. Their opinions converged with what the other 12 mothers in the sample distinctly described as 'good education'[3].

> *Mother H noted: "Education should include value education also. Rather than scoring 90*

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[3]It is important to note here that the researcher has tabulated the respondents' first and most immediate responses to questions concerning 'good school' and 'good education'. The idea was to see how respondents understood these distinctions on their own. There were respondents who saw these distinctions as being superfluous and often asked the researcher why she was repeating questions. The sample of respondents who saw these categories as synonymous were lesser than those who saw them as distinct.

percent…it should be value oriented, spiritual in nature. It should give you the understanding of a relationship, social set-up, how to behave with your family, with your friends circle, with your employees, with your boss…"

Mother J noted: "I would just want that they remain grounded…Good moral values. They should be confident. Be happy with whatever decision they take. And I want an atmosphere for academics. The discussion should be healthy and constructive when they are talking to each other…not we went to so and so place for vacation…my mother bought so and so shoe. The discussion must be much more than that".

Mother K noted: "Good values. I know it is very easy and good to write on a piece of paper but very few schools are able to do that today".

(iii)   'Aspirations': Are there any links between the kind of education the respondent seeks to acquire for her children and the future that she hopes to mould for them in the process?

Table 29: On 'Aspirations

Definitive ideas of 'good professions'	Professional/Technical	A, D, H, L, M, O, S
	Arts/Humanities	Q, R
	Management	E
	No definitive ideas	B, C, F, G, I, J, K, N, P, T

There were ten mothers in the sample who expressed certain definitive ideas of what they perceived as 'good professions' and what they hoped their children would take up in the future (see Table 29). Seven mothers in the sample hoped their children would pursue technical or professional disciplines in the future.

Mother H noted: "They should do it with the full conviction rather than you know doing this and leaving…doing that and leaving…I don't want that…they should be focussed enough. I've seen it in their school only…a girl decided not to study further. She said I want to do ballet. And I was amazed ki if you can decide at that age means you are quite clear…she is doing her graduation from Open school…but still I feel that initial education one should have".
Mother L noted: "They grow up with IITs and IIMs. That is there at the back of my mind…I do have this thing about my son going to a very good University abroad…and studying well… and studying till whenever he wants to".

Mothers Q and R with much older children were confident that their children would take up arts or humanities courses. Mother E whose children were still very young was extremely dismissive of alternative careers and strongly hoped that her children would study finance or management.

Mother E noted: "She [daughter] is an art/craft child. But I would be more interested in her

doing financial. Art and craft can keep happening as a hobby. It will have to be management".

The remaining ten mothers in the sample were ambivalent about what they believed their children would pursue in the future. They had no definitive ideas about 'good professions' and were open in some way to their children taking up alternative careers. Their children were still very young and their answers could be more momentary than planned or well considered. From these ambivalent set of mothers, mothers B, N and T seemed indifferent to planning the future of their children and were open to their children taking up alternative careers.

Mother N noted: "Yes, definitely. My father-in-law was part of a drama troupe. When he was young he was a very good singer. We have no problems with our children taking up alternative careers and all…my father-in-law plays the guitar very well. My husband is a very good singer".

Mother C was very encouraging of her daughter's skill as an Odissi dancer and was hopeful that she would make her hobby her career choice. Mothers F, I, J and K had a good deal of knowledge on the range of service sector professions but were not keen to comment on what they felt would be the 'right' choice for their children. Mother J mentioned that her children had the best resources at their disposal. They could choose to take up either a professional or an alternative career and succeed at it. Mother G refused to comment on what she felt her daughter would pursue in the future. She was opposed to imposing her choices on her daughter and said that she would encourage any choice of hers even if it was not a mainstream or a financially secure option. For mother P, it was important that her children complete basic graduation. She was open to any disciplinary choice and noted that after completing graduation they were free to take up any profession – mainstream or alternative – that appealed to them.

(iv)   Observations on RTE

This final sub-theme will examine the range of observations by the respondents on the RTE, most notably the clause advocating 25 per cent reservation for economically weaker sections in private schools.

A landmark judgement, which seeks to make the State accountable to a large and diverse marginalised population in the provision of elementary education, the 25 per cent reservation clause in this Act has been met with much opposition by sections of the middle classes who view it as

encroaching upon their private, privileged spaces of education.

Table 30: On the RTE

Aware of RTE	Sceptical	C, E, F, G, L, O, Q, R
	Positive	I, J, K, M
	Unaware of RTE	A, B, D, H, N, P, S, T

There were 12 mothers in the sample studied who were aware of certain general features and implications of the Act (see Table 30). Of these 12 mothers, eight mothers were sceptical of its intentions. As a school teacher who was involved in teaching students in government schools at some point in her career, mother C believed that the Act was a farce and would in no way bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

> *Mother C noted: "As a teacher…I know the inside story…It is just a farce. What is 'Right to Education without providing the adequate facilities? I've seen queues of parents outside schools during the admission process. There is so much anxiety…there is no transparency in the admission process… Where is it working? Like, I don't know on what basis they are giving…everywhere it is known that a lot of donation is being taken…So actually who is finding the 'Right to Education' useful…only those who are rich".*

Six other mothers in this sub-sample of sceptical respondents believed that children from the economically weaker sections could in no way cope with the academic pressures of studying in an elite school. They lacked the resources and would always feel conscious of their social position vis a vis other children in their class. Mother G saw the Act as an authoritarian measure by the State to control education and standardise its dissemination.

> *Mother E noted: "We don't mix around with these parents. We try and encourage our children to not mix with them either. If the EWS child is okay and good…then maybe…My friend in Shri Ram was telling me that an EWS child who used to be dropped and picked up from the school by his father on a scooter had a terrible time at school. For two years the child didn't make a single friend and then he left the school. Because the children realised that the child came to the school on a scooter. In Shri Ram they notice, in DPS they don't really notice".*

Four mothers from this sample of 12 mothers expressed positive observations with regard to the Act. All of them believed that there were possibilities of invoking the Act for bettering the opportunities of the marginalised sections. Mothers I and K noted that it was important for teachers to be sensitised to the cause of education of children from marginalised sections. In her voluntary experience of teaching students from economically weaker sections at Mothers International school,

Mother J noted that she did not find any cognitive differences between those from a poorer background and those from a much more privileged household. She expressed great hope in the 25 per cent reservation clause and believed it would give some deserving students good opportunities. Mother M believed that the Act would allow children from different social backgrounds to mingle and learn from each other.

Mother J noted: Initially my reaction was that those kids won't fit in with our kids. They will have a lot of issues…not only academically but also socially…I had my reservations on how successful this will be. Then when I went for voluntary teaching to the school…I realised some of these kids were so talented…so I felt that even if one or two of these 30 students became successful…it was still worth it…the principal discussed the concept of inclusion with us…if children don't come with baggage from home…it is very much possible for children to adjust with each other. The change will not come all of a sudden…not after one year…maybe 10 or 15 years…"

There remaining eight mothers from the sample studied were unaware of the Act and its implications.

3.7.   Social Networks

Social capital as conceptualised by Bourdieu (1986) refers to a range of relationships both within and outside the family, which build varied resources for children with regard to education and other opportunities. The process of building and maintaining relationships requires a good deal of patience, time and effort as mothers constantly invest in their children's friends and their own friend circle. The privilege of certain associations and engagements has a long-term pay-off for many 'upper middle class' families as they coordinate a range of social outings constantly to ensure that their children build their cultural capital through certain social networks. As Ball (2003) notes that it is through the activation of social capital and engagement in certain adult networks that many children are exposed to a range of choices that they can exercise with regard to education and employment.

Responses on social outings and networks were categorised under three sub-themes for convenience: i) Weekends, ii) Vacations and iii) Association memberships. Within the vacations sub-theme, the intensity of travelling engagements with family and friends will also be evaluated. What this engagement hints to is the subtle processes through which families not only solidify their own social commitments with their friends and build new relationships with their children's friends'

families but also in the process create early social networks for their young children as well.

(i)   Weekends

With regard to the nature of social outings over the weekend, mothers in the sample mentioned a range of activities which included sight-seeing around the city, visiting immediate and extended family, engaging in cultural and children's programmes, frequenting parks and taking part in heritage walks around the city (see Table 31).

Table 31: Over weekends

Outing options over the weekend	Total number	Families in the sample
Sight-seeing around Delhi	20	All 20 families
Visiting family in the city	18	A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S
Cultural outings	8	G, J, K, M, O, P, Q, N
Children's programmes	7	G, J, K, L, M, O, P
Parks	6	J, K, L, O, S and T
History/Heritage walks	2	G, O

There were qualitative differences in the nature of leisure activities among the families in the sample studied. For almost all the families in the sample, sight-seeing over the weekend was a common answer. However, there were only select mothers in the sample who elaborated on the diverse range of activities that they engaged in. These mothers were well aware of the necessity of broadening their children's social and cultural awareness by engaging them in select leisure activities. In this process, the families sought to build among their children an aptitude for discerning certain forms of leisure and entertainment over others.

There were eight mothers in the sample who mentioned taking their children to cultural programmes which included art exhibitions and music concerts. With regard to music concerts, mothers G, J, K and M were particular about introducing their children to classical music and ghazals, while Mother Q noted that her sons enjoyed English rock music. From these eight mothers, only Mother N mentioned taking her children to Hindi plays conducted at regular intervals at the National School of Drama. What is important to note however is that her engagement with such cultural activities happened only during the time her husband was home on vacation. As has been noted earlier, her husband worked overseas in Japan and visited the family for short breaks.

> *Mother N noted: "Environment is also different now. Everybody talks about hum yahan gaye the..wahan gaye the. Kids might get a complex that we don't take them out. That we don't*

have time for them."[Environment is also different now. Everybody discusses the places they visit. Kids might get a complex that we don't take them out. That we don't have time for them.]

Seven mothers mentioned enrolling their children in art and craft workshops and taking them out for a range of children's programmes such as plays and related informational discussions on history, art and culture. Mother J noted how her children enjoyed a particular workshop on the history and culture of Delhi immensely. The workshop encouraged her children to pick up books and surf the Internet to learn more about the city.

Mother J noted: "There is a lady who conducts history workshops. I know a lot of kids who go there because their parents push them to. But I know my kids love these workshops… sometimes I go…sometimes my husband goes with them. They've been doing this since they were 5 or 6 years old".

Mother K spoke about making a tour of the important monuments around the city for her son's school project. Mother M's husband was a photography enthusiast who involved his children in his hobby and often took his children to popular sites around the city. Mother L's husband conducted informal art workshops for her sons and their friends at home. There was a great sense of overlap between these set of families who engaged in cultural and children's programmes. There were only two mothers in the sample studied who mentioned taking part in heritage walks around the city during winter. This was apart from casual, unorganised outings to popular monuments and sites around the city. Parks were also a popular option for families with six mothers stating taking their children to the park over the weekend.

(ii)   Vacations

Summer vacations were also carefully planned affairs for some families. They visited their native home-towns and travelled to different sites and places around the country and abroad (see Table 32). For many families, these trips were not solitary engagements as they involved their extended family, close friends and even on occasion their children's friends' families.

Table 32: Sites visited by families over vacations

Range of sites visited	Singapore, Dubai, Thailand, USA, Kathmandu, Malaysia, UK, Europe, Goa, Jaipur, Mumbai, Bangalore, Chennai, Native places, Religious sites

Travelling to sites close to Delhi, such as popular hill-stations, and to other destinations around the

country, apart from visiting native home-towns was common across the sample studied. There were 11 families in the sample who had travelled to at least one destination abroad. Three mothers (G, K and P) in the sample studied mentioned travelling to sites in the country that were not commonly visited by tourists. Mother G spoke about taking her daughter on eco-friendly tours that would help her understand the importance of environment and conservation.

> *Mother G noted: "We try places which are eco-tourism sort of places. One they are responsible to the place and usually a small place which somebody owns…I find it more personal. I don't take her to large hotels. This is a political stance".*

The North-East and the Himalayas were sites that Family K had recently visited over the past year. Mother P regularly took her children to a village site in U.P., where her in-laws had set up a primary school. She thought it important to introduce her children to the stark differences in rural and urban life in order to make them understand their privileges.

> *Mother P noted: "The kids have never seen a village. It is actually quite amusing as to what Meghna [daughter] thinks of a village. She has picked up a lot of her understanding from other people…Will the house be made of cow dung? Will she have to wear a lehenga? It isn't that I will be completely compromising on comfort. I do hope to give them basic facilities there but the idea is to introduce them to real India".*

The range of involvement of the family with their extended family, close friends and children's friends' families during these trips was tabulated based on the mothers' responses. A family that made trips with their extended family, close friends and children's friends' families was rated 'high' in their social engagements, while a family that made trips only with their extended family was rated 'low' (Table 33).

Table 33: Travelling patterns of families

Travelling patterns	Total number	Families in the sample
High engagement (With extended family, with close friends and with children's school friends' circle)	7	G, H, J, L, M, O, Q
Low engagement (With extended family)	5	B, D N, S, T
Very low engagement (Family does not travel with extended family or friends)	1	C

Based on this tabulation, it was noted that seven families had high range of social engagements when compared to families B, D N, S and T. The only family that did not travel with extended

family, close friends or children's friends' families was family C. They stood out in the sample studied as a family that was very self-involved and self-sustained not choosing to invest in making friendships at their daughter's school or at their own professional spaces. Mother C noted on many occasions that her daughter did not have many friends either at school or in her residential area. She was very independent and kept to herself most of the time. The daughter, according to the mother, was a high-achiever at school doing very well both academically and in a range of extracurricular activities as well.

> Mother C noted: *"She [daughter] has those friends jinke sath vo over the phone she can talk about studies, school me kya huya and she gets along very well with the boys in the class kyoki unke sath they dont talk those 'girl talk' that she avoids, so unke sath iska jyada chalta rahta hai than girls. But as such koi steady friend she does not have".[She has those friends with whom she can discuss studies…she gets along very well with the boys in the class because they don't indulge in 'girl talk', which she avoids, so she gets along better with the boys than the girls. But as such she does not have any steady friend.]*

(iii)   Association memberships (Professional and Social)

Most families in the sample had links with professional associations rather than social bodies (see Table 34). Based on the professional diversity in the sample, five categories emerged.

Table 34: Professional associations/Social associations/RWA

Professional/Social/RWA	Families in the sample
Medical	A, B, D, N and S
Law	H, J
Architecture	K, L
Communications	Q
Chartered Accountants	R, T
Social associations	F, M, C, O
RWA	B, F, H, K

Five families had links with medical associations. From this sample of families associated with medical associations, families A and N had links with dentistry bodies. Families H and J were linked to the Bar Council of India, as both fathers were lawyers. Families K and L had links with the Council of Architecture and family Q had links with the Press Council of India as the father was a corporate public relations professional. Families R and T had links with the Institute of Chartered Accountants.

Only four families in the sample mentioned having links with social associations. Father M was a

photography enthusiast who was involved with the Delhi Photography Club. Mother C noted that she had recently enrolled her daughter in the DDA Sports Complex close to their home. Families F and O had a range of memberships with sports and social clubs in Delhi. Apart from professional and social associations, there were four families in the sample studied who stated some formal and social engagement with their neighbouring Resident Welfare Associations (RWA). All families by default have formal associations with their neighbouring RWAs, but these families specifically mentioned taking part in their meetings and social activities. While the children were too young to benefit from their parents' professional contacts, the involvement of their parents in certain key professional bodies was an advantage they could capitalise on at a later stage.

The engagement with these professional and social bodies helped build the range of social and professional contacts of the families and also created an easy reserve of information and access to a range of opportunities for the children.

Where this chapter has examined the nature of the engagement of the mother and the extended family with the child within the home, the school and outside the school, the next chapter will focus on discourses and transitions in 'mothering' practices and conclude with some observations on gender in the 'mothering' practices of the families in the sample.

Chapter 4 Discourses and transitions in 'mothering' practices

The last chapter has focussed on the more tangible aspects of how the mother and the extended family were involved in organising regular routines for the child within and outside the school and the conscious processes through which they build the cultural and social resources of the child. The aim of this chapter is to examine patterns on the discourses and transitions in practices of 'mothering', which emerged in the sample.

4.1. Discourses on 'mothering' and the larger family

This theme sought to examine observations on the role and work of the mother and the larger family in bringing up the child, perceptions on qualitative differences between working and non-working mothers in their investment of time on their children and the mothers' engagement with parenting literature and child experts.

(i) 'Good mothers' and 'mothering'

The range of responses in the sample studied on the role of the mother in the child's growth and development converged along a general construct of the mother as the primary care-giver of the child. The individual who was most responsible for not only meeting the child's physical and emotional needs but also in the process conscientiously building the child's value system (see Table 35). The emphasis on the mother as being central to meeting the child's emotional needs and developing and constantly keeping open channels of communication was noted by 14 mothers in the sample. Five mothers highlighted the role of the mother in defining the value system of the child.

Table 35: On the role of the mother

Range	Total number	Families in the sample
Emotional needs and communication	14	C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, T
Building value systems	5	A, B, O, R, S

Mother I noted: "Physical needs nowadays can be fulfilled by domestic help or even grandparents but as long as emotional needs are concerned…the mother is very important. Mother is the only person who puts needs of the child first as compared to the others. There are a lot of things the child can share only with the mother. A lot of comfort the child derives from the presence of the mother which she will not get from anybody else".

Mother O noted: "Mother's role is different. It is defined with more tender care and sacrifice…warmth. A good mother is typically somebody who can put herself a little behind… the mother-child bond really makes a lot of difference to the emotional centre of the child. To how the child grows up, to the value systems…very very important part of bringing up the child…it is difficult to remove the mother itself because in Indian systems the family is always there…so you don't know where your role ends and where the family's begins…but I do feel that it is very important for the child to have that one person who supersedes everything… mother to have the central point of power regarding decisions regarding the child".

Mother R noted: "Definitely mothers are very important. Aaj ke time main jis type ka outside world hain usme agar bacchon ko protect kar sakte hain to mother ki views, mother ki jo style of teaching at home, ke kis tara se bacche ko behave karna hain, usko to maa hi sikha sakti hain aur koi nahin…I've seen many ladies who are busy in their kitty [parties]…bacchein aaye, khaana khaaya pata nahin, koi matlab nahin, mother ka role hain hi hain…infact I feel father ka role se bada mother ka role hain…bada karne main…acchein sanskaar batana…par problem kya hoti hain ki mother ko kabhi uska award nahin milta hain. If child is good, bolte hain baap ka beta hain…agar kharab to mother ne kucch seekhaya hi nahin". [Definitely mothers are very important. In this time and age, if there is anything that can protect the children it is the mother's views …I've seen many ladies who are busy in their kitty [parties] …they have no care or concern for what their children do…the mother definitely has a role to play, infact I feel the mother's role is greater than the father's role…especially in building value systems…but the problem is no one acknowledges the mother. If the child is good, they say he is the father's son…if he is bad, then they say the mother hasn't taught him anything.]

From this sample of 20 mothers, one mother had adopted a child (Mother G). In her responses she tried to present herself as more calm and reasonable in the engagement with her daughter as opposed to biological mothers. She was an older parent and sought to demonstrate that her knowledge of parenting was more rational than the more experiential knowledge of women who had given birth and were raising their children. However, her observations on her role as a mother did not match with her actions as a mother. She appeared to be just as anxious and 'controlling' of her daughter's life as the other biological mothers in the sample.

Mother G noted: "No, I must tell you she is adopted. We brought her home when she was four months old…we were actually enjoying her…we are older parents…it hasn't anything to do with our identity…a good parent is someone who should just let the child be…someone who is very centred, who is very happy with himself, who has a high concentration…who knows himself…makes conscious decisions for himself and not for the child. The child automatically knows…if you are feeding or carrying the child, it could be different right. I don't think so… but I won't know how it would be if you carry the child for nine months and are feeding. I also think it is one of the reasons for mothers to be neurotic…somehow you know if she does something wrong it is your fault you know…"

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(ii)   The larger family

Mothers saw the extended family unit as providing a sense of security and moulding the identity of the child. Some of the key values that the mother hoped the child imbibed from the larger family included tolerance, principles of sharing and respect for other individuals in society. Nine mothers noted the role of the extended family in building values of tolerance and respect among the children. The sense of security and support derived from the extended family were mentioned by seven mothers in the sample.

Mother I noted: "Helps the child identify himself. Gives him or her a sense of security…that you are connected to so many people and the people who are concerned about him or her…it also matters a lot for children to see that my father is not the ultimate authority. That there is someone above my father…like a grandfather…makes the child feel normal and connected with society".

Mother O noted: "You [the mother] have to be able to give and take. But you need to understand that it is something you will have to adjust with considering the emotional support the child gets from the family. A lot of security comes to the child…I also have an aunt, uncle, a grandfather and a grandmother. If you have a larger family involved, then you know the child would be a happier child".

Mother R noted: "Aaj kal bacchon main ek individual thing aa gayi hain…apne kamrey main rehna hain…akele rehna hain…not bothered kaun aaya..pehle hum bade hone par bhi… paapa kehte the ki kisi ki shaadi ke liye jaana he, naa jaan hain…we used to go…ab to who system ek dam khatam hota jaa raha hain. And we have to make sure that the system remains…aaj kal agar bhai-behen alag-alag kamrey main reh rehein hain…he is not bothered what she is doing, she is not bothered what he is doing…interaction hona…family members ke saath attached hona bahut zaroori hain…Anushree [daughter] was very lucky ki uske nana-naani ne bahut pyaar diya…utna shayad hum Bhavesh [son] ko nahin de paaye jitna humne apni daughter ko diya…sari initial padai karvana nursery ki…chahe meri Mummy ko utna nahin aata tha…wo karathi thi…wo ab bhi Anushree yaad karti hain ki nana-naani uske saath lage rehta the har dam". [Nowadays, there is an individual streak in children. They want to stay in their room, stay alone…aren't bothered about who visits…earlier even when we were much older…if our father asked us to attend someone's wedding…we used to…now that system is ending. And we have to make sure that the system remains…if nowadays brothers and sisters are living in separate rooms…he is not bothered what she is doing, she is not bothered what he is doing…it is important to have interaction and be attached to family members…Anushree [daughter] was very lucky that she was able to get enough love and attention from her grandparents…I doubt we were able to give that level of attention to Bhavesh [son]…Anushree's initial studies were taken care of by my mother…even now Anushree fondly reminisces that it was her grandparents who were with her throughout.]

i)Work and care of children

It has been largely pointed out that choices of working outside the home for women are influenced

by the presence of support systems (extended family and household help) and the needs and demands of their children. The focus of this sub-theme was to examine views among the mothers on qualitative differences between working and non-working mothers in their investment of time on the care of their children. Were their observations linked to their subjective positions of working or not working outside the home and other patterns of changing career choices post-marriage and having children?

Across the sample, taking the present work schedules and brief information on changes in career patterns of the mothers into consideration, no consistent pattern was found with regard to mothers' perceptions on whether they believed there were qualitative differences between working and non-working mothers in their investment of time on their children (see Table 36).

Table 36: Perceptions on investment of time on care of children

Work schedule	Perceptions (Families in the sample)		Total number
	Yes	No	
Full-time	D, N	B, C, I	5
Flexible	F, G, K, Q, T	A, H, L, M, S	10
Part-time	O	R	2
Home-makers	J	E, P	3

Of the five mothers who worked full-time, two mothers believed there were differences while three mothers believed there weren't. What is interesting to note here is that both mothers D and N have family support systems in place to take care of their young children, however both of them expressed a certain sense of guilt in working full-time. Mother D asserted that she could work such erratic hours only because she had the support of her parents in taking care of her young daughter while Mother N noted that as a full-time working mother she often felt guilty in not being able to spend enough leisure time with her children. For Mother N, her husband also worked overseas which meant that her in-laws were indispensable for addressing the physical needs of her children. Her transition to working full-time was also a recent phenomenon as she hadn't worked post-marriage but only after moving to India after the birth of her first child.

> Mother D noted: *"My mother provides a range of things: love, care, time, food, comfort, encouragement, support in whatever I have done and wanted to be…even now the support she is giving me post marriage and after my baby so that I could do well in my career…I don't think mothers compromise on the quality of care the child is getting. And if they feel they are not getting the support from home…they'll leave their job".*

The other three mothers in this sub-sample of full-time working mothers had children who were much older and independent.

From the sub-sample of 10 mothers who worked flexible hours, there was a clear split in the responses with five mothers expressing there were qualitative differences and the remaining five mothers believing there weren't. From the sample of five mothers who believed there were qualitative differences, mothers F, G and T had changed their career patterns to focus on their children. Mother F had worked in several organisations before quitting to focus on the educational needs of her children, Mother G had quit a prominent managerial job post adopting a daughter and Mother T worked a range of jobs only during the time her son was occupied with other activities.

> *Mother A noted: Earlier the priority was the kid…but now you want to make something of yourself also…But yes I do keep discussing with myself…arguing with myself…that right now my priority is with him [son]. And if I can work without compromising on looking after him, I'd rather do that".*
>
> *Mother B noted: "Most of them [non-working mothers], I think, they are wasting their time… but not all…I mean…they spend their time taking their frustrations out on their children…it is not easier today but I think it is better. If you are active, you are dealing with people…you will grow more".*
>
> *Mother G noted: "Huge difference. I think they are worlds apart. Life is so spontaneous when you are not working. I think it is very stressful for working mothers and I think most working mothers want to be the best both at work and at home…it is ridiculous…you have to have the perfect child, the perfect house…be the perfect wife…have a great career…I don't think you can do all of it".*

Again, there was a clear split in the responses between the two mothers who worked part-time. Mother O who changed her work schedule post having her daughter felt that there were qualitative differences between a working and a non working mother in the investment of time on her children. She felt that a full-time working mother would not have the energy levels to meet the demands of her child. On the other hand, Mother R who had quit her job as a French subject teacher at Springdales to focus on her son's education felt that there were no qualitative differences between a working and a non working mother. She believed it depended on the mother's routine and priorities and if a mother did make changes in her professional life for her child, they were due to certain individual concerns. As a general observation, she did not believe such differences operated.

Mother R noted: "Mujhe to aisa nahin lagta. Maine to bahut kuch parents dekhe hain working ho kar they are equally concerned with the kids. Unko ye zaroor rehta hain ki they don't have enough time. In fact they are more concerned because they feel guilty because they are not giving time".[I don't think so. I have seen many working parents who are equally concerned about their children. I think they do feel that they aren't able to give them enough time. In fact they are more concerned because they feel guilty because they are not giving time.]

Of the three mothers who did not work outside the home, two mothers did not believe there were qualitative differences between working and non working mothers in the investment of time on their children. This was an important observation coming from a set of mothers who consciously chose not to work outside the home in order to focus on their children's needs. At some level their answers were informed by not only their own individual experiences but also the experiences of their friends – mothers who worked outside the home and managed to give enough quality time and care for their children. Mother E mentioned that she was keen to look for a job with flexible working hours. She felt that children with mothers who did not work outside the home tended to be very dependent. Mother J strongly believed that there were differences. She noted that there were differences in the levels of communication between children whose mothers worked outside the home and those who didn't. She felt that the role of a mother with regard to the needs of her child constantly evolved. From basic physical needs at a young age, their demands became more emotional and complex as they grew older. It was thus the job of the mother to be there for her children throughout these changing phases.

(iv)   Seeking expert guidance

It was noted that practices of 'mothering' in the research study were informed by a range of informational sources. The mother referred to magazines, newspapers and self-help books apart from seeking the advice and counsel of close family members and other experts to perform her role and responsibilities towards her children in a much better fashion (Table 37).

Table 37: Range of sources of information

Range of information	Total number	Families in the sample
Self-help books/Parenting magazines	12	A, B, F, H, J, K, L, M, O, P, Q, T
TV shows/discussions	4	F, M, Q, T
Extended family/Other sources	5	A, D, E, F, K
Combination (Self-help books/TV/Other sources)	1	F
Combination (Self-help books/TV or Self-help books/Other Sources)	5	A, K, M, Q, T
Not referred at all	6	C, G, I, N, R, S

A notable pattern among the mothers in the sample was the increasing relevance on self-help books, parenting and health magazines. Twelve mothers reported reading or keeping in touch with discussions on parenting, four mothers noted watching programmes on child care and five mothers stated that they discussed issues of parenting with their extended family and other experts such as doctors and child psychologists. Some mothers combined a range of informational resources as well – reading parenting literature, watching programmes on child care and seeking the counsel of extended family members and experts. There were six mothers in the study who stated that they had not referred to any source of information on parenting.

The purpose of engaging with these various sources for the mothers was to not only better inform their practices but to also be aware of the range of concerns that parents have with regard to child rearing and to build a broader support base extending from family to friends and other experts.

Mother F noted: " 'Mother and Child', 'Care', 'Dr. Spock', 'What to expect when you are expecting'…I read from books, consulted doctors…information from my mother and friends who have children…it was a mixed thing…I also attended a maternity discussion organised by 'Mom and I' [maternity clothes store]…they had formed a group of expecting mothers…we met once a week to discuss a range of issues…they would call guests…a paediatrician, child psychiatrist and others to talk".

Mother H noted: "Parenting magazine…one or two books while expecting…they have some good articles. My son had a skin problem. I found a relevant article that was very informational and I followed the advice given".

Mother Q noted: "Reading on children makes you understand what the child is going through, especially during the adolescent period…sudden bouts of anger, depression…it helps you guide them correctly".

4.2. Exploring transitions in practices of 'mothering'

The subject of this theme was to explore and compare the range of differences in the practices of

'mothering' across two generations: the mothers' experiences in comparison with their own mothers' (child's grandmother) experiences. Apart from comparing and examining differences between mothers and maternal grandmothers in choices towards working outside the home and managing the home, a sub-theme also seeks to compare the mother's recollections of her father's (maternal grandfather) role in her childhood with her husband's present role in the life of their children.

(i)   Between two generations: Mother and maternal grandmother

A majority of the respondents' mothers were home-makers (12), with only eight respondents' mothers having worked outside the home (see Table 38 and Annexure C, Table 10).

Table 38: Patterns of employment of mothers and maternal grandmothers

Maternal grandmother's profile	Mother's profession*				
	D	A	HM	V	Total
Working outside home#	1	2	1	4	8
Home-maker	4		2	6	12
Total	5	2	3	10	20

(*The professions have been detailed in Tables 11 and 12 in Chapter 3. #Some of the maternal grandmothers were engaged in a range of professions outside the home, which included school teachers, receptionist, fashion designer and social work. For details check Annexure C, Table 10.)

There were six mothers who continued to focus on their homes just as their mothers. Of these six mothers, mothers E and F had careers outside the home, which they gave up to focus on their children's needs exclusively. Mother R also quit her job as a school teacher to focus on her son's education. She worked as a part-time French tuition teacher from home. Mother T also worked as a part-time tuition teacher with flexible timings from home. Mother Q had recently set up an independent dance school. However, she exercised flexible timings to give priority to her work at home. It is interesting to note here that respondent Q's mother also started working outside the home much later on in life. Mother J was the only mother in this sub-sample of six mothers who hadn't worked outside the home.

Two cases in the sample studied exhibited different transitional patterns. The mother of respondent P worked as a fashion designer while Mother P herself did not choose to work outside her home. In some ways Mother P explains her choices as being more governed by her children's life. She

reminisced that her mother was much more independent in her career choices and was encouraged a great deal by her father. She noted that her childhood was more carefree and unorganised in comparison to her children today. Another case is that of Mother G. Her mother worked her way up to become a school principal and had a very active professional life throughout the course of bringing up her children. She did not give up her work for home. Mother G, on the other hand, recently quit her high-professional career to focus on her daughter. She worked as a freelance journalist from home. For Mother G there were significant differences in circumstances which influenced very different life choices for her mother, in comparison with her own. One of the main reasons for the respondent's mother to have an active professional life was related to the illness of the respondent's father. A schizophrenic patient he could not keep a job and needed a lot of medical attention. The responsibility of caring for the household and making ends meet was borne exclusively by respondent G's mother.

Mother A noted: "It has become tougher. Those times working mothers would still have day to day shifts. Evening 5'o clock they'd be back…they'd be teachers…now women are looking for different kinds of work…like corporate jobs…give good returns…you need to keep in mind what you are compromising on".

Mother B noted: "Work is very different…my mother works on the farm…she has cattle and all. And here we are far away from the natural habitat…we used to study on our own…help out in house-work…"

Mother E noted: "You are at it with the children…follow up with the school what is happening…homework what is happening…you have to be at it…you have to keep following up…aap padai kaise kar rahe ho…baaki bacchein kaise kar rahe hain…where is the child lacking…it is all follow up, nothing else…my mother was very chilled out…khoob khelo… khoob ye karo, wo karo…and we used to do padai also. I think I was good at studies so she also never really bothered so much. And that time it used to be more extracurriculars…used to be more play…now there is more exposure…more competition…"

Mother G noted: "When I was younger and my mom was working…I would never bother her…she didn't know anyone in my life…she didn't know who I was friends with…who I wasn't friends with…I was always worried about…she has to come back home on time, have her milk on time, do her accounts…in many ways the child is making adjustments for the parent all the time…"

Mother H noted: "My mother was a full-time home-maker…but as my father was posted…she had other responsibilities in the house…securing everything for the household…taking care of the kids…her whole interaction with the school wasn't that much…"

Apart from differences in working patterns between generations, there were some significant

observations by the respondents on the variations in the practices of 'mothering' across generations. Three notable observations emerged from the range of responses by the mothers in the sample: (i) increased engagement in managing the child's academic and social life, (ii) delegation of household work and (iii) differences in emotional proximity with the child. All the mothers in the sample studied, whether working or not working outside the home, seemed to perceive their life and their continuous engagement with their children's school and social life as hectic and stressful.

There were eight respondents in the sample who noted that in comparison with their mothers, they were much more involved in their children's academic and social life. They had to constantly organise their routines and social engagements to ensure that their children were always occupied in productive activities. Respondent E noted with some sense of regret that her mother was not as informed as her. Had her mother been a more involved parent she could have had more information and guidance to make better choices.

> *Mother E noted: "I did not get the proper guidance. I could have done really well had I the proper guidance. I keep telling my mom…had you been more guiding I would have done much better than what I am today. So that it is definitely not there with my children… I am very particular that these children are doing everything and you know focus is there and they are doing it properly. It is such a competitive world now…nobody discusses anything…we see this a lot…"*

Respondents F, I, O and P found that their engagements with their children were more demanding in comparison with their own mothers' engagements with them and their siblings. Due to the constant organisation and supervision of work and play, Mother I felt that children nowadays lacked the imaginative capacity to engage themselves on their own. Mother O believed that there is a great amount of stress in managing the child's social calendar today. Respondents H, M and R believed that their mothers' engagements with them and their siblings was restricted to more basic concerns such as health and discipline. However, today the mother's role transcended looking into just physical needs and included active engagement in the child's school work and playing efficient manager in supervising household affairs.

> *Mother H noted: "We had a lot of time to play. Nowadays everything is so fixed…the free time is very less…I've felt that whatever I have learnt in my life is because of that free time. One thing is the security preference…like nowadays I cannot send my kids to the neighbourhood or anywhere without parent supervision…earlier it wasn't like that. We used to walk 3km..5km without supervision…"*

Mother I noted: "Nowadays mothers are more involved in the studies, in the teachers, teacher ne kya bola…aise kyun bola…every micro detail of the child the mother is more involved in and is ready to take it up with the concerned authority if need be. Earlier the general idea was that children would sort it out…children will learn as they grow up…nowadays children are leading more structured lives because the parents have to decide that the child will do this and this from this point of time to this point of time. I take my son for cricket coaching. Earlier it was unheard of…he'd go and play in the park or jahan cricket match chal raha hain…but nowadays things are more organised and there is more focus on structured extracurricular activities which was not there earlier…Another difference is earlier the social network of the child used to be linked to the parents. Your friends used to be your parents' friends' children…but nowadays children have their own social life and parents adjust their social life according to theirs which was not there earlier…"

As seen earlier, household work such as cooking, cleaning and running of errands was delegated to maids and other employed staff. This was another difference noted by five mothers in the sample studied. They felt that this delegation of tasks eased their workload considerably allowing them to focus their energies completely on the child. They noted that for their mothers the choice of delegating household work to maids was unthinkable. While one reason could be that there wasn't easier accessibility to household help then but another important reason was linked to the respondents' mothers' own perceptions of a 'good wife' and a 'good mother'. The earlier generation of mothers believed that delegation of work to others was a shirking of one's responsibilities.

Mother I noted: "We have more help…we have lesser expectations from ourselves…in the market more readymade things are available…we can get food from outside…"

Two respondents noted some differences with their mothers with regard to the emotional proximity with their children. Mothers K and M felt that they had an easier and relaxed relationship with their children in comparison with their own relationships with their mothers. Mother M specifically noted that as a child she hesitated to discuss her problems with her mother as she felt there was a generational distance between them. However, she does not find the same insecurities with regard to her children, who she believed communicate with her much more easily and readily.

(ii)   Comparing roles: Maternal grandfather and Husband

Mothers also compared the roles and engagement with family between their fathers and their husbands. Thirteen mothers noted that their fathers spent more time with them during their childhood and did not have as hectic or erratic a working schedule as their husbands.

Mother A noted: "Fathers have become more stressed right now…their roles haven't really changed as much…their time with the child has always been after coming back from work".

While mothers noted that their fathers had more time to spend with them than their husbands did with their children, many of the mothers reminisced sharing a formal and distant relationship with their fathers in comparison with their children who shared a warm and friendly relationship with their fathers (respondents' husbands). This was an interesting paradox as fathers in the present generation not only shared a warm and friendly relationship with their children but were keen to spend time with them. However, the nature of their professions did not permit them the time to develop this bond with their children.

Nine mothers noted that they shared a formal relationship with their fathers in comparison with their children who had a relaxed and friendly relationship with their husbands. The job profile of Mother N's husband has been alluded to in many sections in this chapter. He was the only father in the sample studied who worked overseas and visited his family for certain short periods of time. Mother N noted that she shared a very formal relationship with her father even though he was more present and available in comparison with her husband. However, she found that even though her husband could manage to spend very little time with their children, he was extremely friendly and patient with them.

The erratic schedule of work which prevented fathers from spending enough time with their children was not observed with every family in the sample. Two mothers K and S had joint enterprises with their husbands, which meant that their husbands could exercise more flexible timings if need be and could spend more time with their children on certain occasions. Mothers B and H had fathers who were posted with the Army and stayed away from home for long periods of time. Due to the nature of their fathers' professions they did not share a very close relationship with their fathers. They believed that their children on the other hand shared a much warmer relationship with their husbands, who were more present and available when compared with their fathers.

Only one mother, Mother L, noted no significant differences between the role and engagement of her father in her childhood and that of her husband today in the life of their children. She found both of them to be immensely supportive and friendly. The only difference she stated was that her

husband involved himself in household tasks, something that her father didn't.

4.3. On Gender

Gender is a key organising principle in Indian households. 'Upper middle class' families have a history of high education among women but their perceptions with regard to the roles and aspirations of women are still mediated by more traditional understandings that emphasise the home as being the first priority. The aim of this final theme is to collate observations on gender that have arisen in many of the themes discussed above. It examines questions of gender specifically with regard to (i) mother's engagement with children, (ii) aspirations for daughters' future. The choices that women make with regard to education, leisure and employment are in many ways influenced by the processes of socialisation within the household.

(i) Engagement with children

The mother's attitude and responsibilities towards her children remained the same irrespective of the sex of the child. All mothers and their extended families took into account both the children's needs and demands irrespective of the sex of the child.

There were some concerns regarding puberty which some mothers (with older pre-adolescent/adolescent daughters and sons) expressed. These concerns were common across the sample as mothers grappled with questions concerning changes in the body and means with which they could engage their children without making them feel uncomfortable. The mother became the focal point in the communication process for both daughters and sons with regard to questions regarding the body.

There was some broad pattern regarding gender among the children in the sample with regard to their choice of extracurricular activities, toys and engagement in sports. While there were a small number of girls in the sample who played organised sports, one noted that this trend was predominant among the boys in the sample.

With regard to extracurricular activities, one noted a mix of choices between both boys and girls. However, there was some pattern which indicated that boys were engaged again in more physically oriented activities while girls were involved in more creative pursuits such as music, dance, arts and

crafts (see Table 22).

(ii)   Aspirations for daughters' future

An attempt was made to understand if mothers had certain fixed notions of what they felt women should pursue professionally in the future. The question was two-fold. At one level it interrogated a general perception on women working outside the home. Through this general question, a subjective position was also being examined as these women reflected on aspirations for their own daughters. Mothers in the sample who did not have daughters also answered this question.

There were 16 mothers in the sample studied who believed that women could work outside the home provided they had sufficient support systems and did not compromise on their family commitments. This sub-sample of women included mothers who were working and not working outside the home. There is an overwhelming acknowledgement that family must be central priority for women when deciding on options of work. Some mothers (mothers A, C, I, M and S) gave responses that articulated a certain sense of agency which differentiated them from the other set of mothers in this sub-sample. They did not see working outside the home as only a secondary option exercised after the woman's primary commitment to the family but a conscious choice which allowed the woman to carve an identity for herself and be financially independent. They thought it as very important for women to pursue lives outside the home rather than merely consider it as a secondary option after taking care of family responsibilities. There is a subtle distinction in their positions when compared with the other mothers in the sub-sample. It is not that they did not place a high value on the family, but they were willing to organise their lives to ensure that an optimum balance is achieved. When asked to reflect on their position with respect to their aspirations for their daughters the mothers in the sample who had daughters did not change their answers from their previously articulated subjective positions. Mothers C and E emphasised 'respectable' career options for their daughters. Mother E noted that she would not encourage her daughter to take up modelling or enter the film industry, choices that she thought would jeopardise her family's social standing.

Two mothers (mothers P and Q) were ambivalent in their responses. They seemed to believe that there was a certain independent choice that women could exercise with regard to working outside the home, which need not be influenced or dominated by her commitments to her family. What is

interesting to note is that both these women were not involved in full-time professions. Mother P was a home-maker and mother Q ran an independent dance school. Mother Q's work schedule was influenced by her family commitments.

Two mothers (mothers B and G) did not believe that family ought to influence women's choices in working outside the home. Both believed that women had their own set of aspirations and it was important to work towards achieving them. Mother G did not want her daughter to conform to gendered stereotypes. Again, her observation is interesting because she quit her high-profile management job to focus on her daughter.

> Mother I noted: "This is something that I realise now and when my mother used to say the same thing I used to feel she was being orthodox. It is a good advantage for women to have the option of flexy working hours if possible in whatever career they take…later they are the ones who will have to take maternity breaks to look after the children and even if nobody forces them…the maternal instinct is so strong that you want to spend time with the child and be part of their growing up years. Maybe in my heart if possible I would like her [daughter] to pick up a job or a career where she can have the option to work flexible hours…"

> Mother K noted: "All women are working today. Education is really high and you cannot afford to sit at home…but at the same time I am very clear…a woman should be ready to go up and down the curve as life takes you…only then can you have a fulfilling life…I will hope that Vidhi [daughter] has the ability to adapt and go with any situation up and down. Viraj [son] will have a more steady kind of life without those ups and downs…it depends on the child's personality as well…a boy may be very good with multi-tasking and a girl maybe shaky about doing more than one thing…"

> Mother N noted: "Ya, ultimately she has to take care of the family…family comes as the priority basis…for me it comes on the priority basis…"

An overarching observation across the sample with regard to daughter' aspirations seemed to convey the constant dilemma that most mothers faced with regard to work and family. They had aspirations to work outside the home but at the same time this aspiration had to be secondary to looking after the home and the children. There was some acknowledgement on how working outside the home moulded a sense of identity and brought financial independence, however this was observed among a very few women in the sample. Working outside the home was still framed as an engagement that was to bring in a secondary income and which kept one occupied when children were busy with other activities and pursuits. For most women in the sample, this dilemma could be resolved by choosing a vocation that would allow flexible working hours. Thus, when it came to

envisioning futures for their daughters they articulated the same concerns and anxieties that they faced in negotiating work and family.

The last two chapters have provided an extensive description of the range of practices and discourses of 'mothering' across a sample of 20 mothers residing in South Delhi. The concluding chapter in this study will elaborate and link distinctions in these patterns to differences in the class and habitus positions of the mothers in the sample. The chapter will link the distinctions emerging with regard to practices of 'mothering' among this small sample of mothers to the broader discussion on the middle classes and 'mothering' practices as being informed by class positions, which has been examined in the introductory chapters of this study.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The aim of this research study has been to examine and link the context of privilege among a fraction of the middle classes in education and employment to the range of micro-practices within the household, most notably the work of the mother and the extended family in the 'concerted cultivation' of the child. The study argues that this work that is conscientiously performed by the mother is informed by her class position and is complicated by a range of concerns as the highly educated and professionally qualified mother negotiates her professional ambitions and commitments with her responsibilities towards her child.

The introductory chapters in this study have sought to build a larger framework of the middle classes in India, tracing a history of their construction and emergence which was closely linked to the restructuring of the household and the role and work of the woman. Theories of social reproduction have emphasised the family as a central unit in the transmission of 'cultural capital', however there have been few studies that have examined the role and work of the mother in these processes of social reproduction. In the Indian context, the role of the mother and the family assumes a much more complex focus as structures of obligation and duty, governed by gendered strictures that locate the woman's role within the household, haven't completely given way to more self-sustained units where members further their individual aspirations. A number of studies indicate that the family continues to remain a strong influencing force in the growth and development of its members, moulding opinions on a range of choices from education to employment. The mother forms the locus in these decision making processes concerning education for the child at a young age. It is on the foundation of these concerted activities by the mother that a range of cultural and social resources are built for the child. These resources, in turn, are capitalised by the child at various junctures throughout the course of education, assisting, informing and guiding the child towards making the 'right' choices.

The discourse of 'right' choices has always been at the centre of discussions on the middle classes and their planned trajectories in life. However, in the present time, this gains more importance as forces of globalisation are restructuring the economy in complicated ways as jobs get cut in certain sectors and more niche jobs open up in private service-oriented sectors which demand a particular

set of credentials, most notably English based professional education. The array of job openings in this exclusive sector are few and far between and entry to them are mediated by cut-throat competition. The continuous source of anxiety that pervades the middle classes has now intensified not just between classes but most notably between class fractions within this broad heterogeneous category of the 'middle class' as well. It is in the backdrop of these anxieties with regard to securing a stable and well rewarding future that the micro-practices within the household need to be examined.

An exploratory study was conducted in South Delhi with a sample of 20 'upper middle class' families who had primary school going children enrolled in private schools. South Delhi was chosen for both convenience and for the reason that some of the private schools where the children from the sample studied were enrolled were regularly ranked among the 'best' schools in the country by a number of news magazines. The context of Delhi in this study also gains special relevance because of notable changes in the nursery school admission process that has sought to make the admission to private schools in the city through a uniform point system based on a range of criteria. These developments have brought a new range of 'complications' for the middle classes in the city whose entry to elite private schools is marked by anxiety and fierce competition.

Based on the exploratory study a range of observations across seven themes of mother's work - organising daily routine, building 'cultural capital', family-school links, social networks, discourses on 'mothering'/ 'parenting', exploring transitions in the processes of 'mothering' across generations and gender – was discussed in chapters 3 and 4. The aim of the analysis was to locate the patterns that emerged in these thematic discussions to more fundamental differences in the class and habitus positions of the respondents in the study. Did some mothers have better support systems in place that allowed them to better manage and organise the routine of their children's school and social life? Did certain experiences and resources provide them with better information to guide their decision making processes with regard to their children? Drawing from the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu (1997), which emphasises the role of the family in the creation of cultural capital, and Reay's (1998) study on the role of the mother in the constitution and transmission of cultural capital among children, it was seen that a complex combination of a range of resources and experiences moulded and informed the 'upper middle class' mother's work towards home and family in the sample.

It was noted that there were some mothers in the sample who had a better combination of resources and experiences in comparison with other mothers who were lesser equipped and informed. There were shades of distinctions with regard to the resources and experiences among the mothers in the sample studied. Across the seven themes, it was observed that some mothers were able to very conveniently combine their work schedules, resources and experiences to engage actively with their children and plan their school and social affairs effectively. Their children were enrolled in a range of extracurricular activities, they had substantial connections within the school, were socially active with both extended family, close friends and their children's school friends' families and had strong support systems (family and household help).

These mothers were extremely aware of the range of options available to their children and their possible outcomes. They consciously exercised those options that they understood would stand their children in the best steed. Some of these mothers were actively engaged in building 'good' reading habits in their children – consciously exposing them to select forms of literature and information that they believed would train them for a better future academically. They were very keen to ensure their children imbibed a certain culture of discernment from a young age itself. This was observed particularly not only in the context of reading habits but also in their varied social outings, where they were taken to cultural programmes, select children's workshops and heritage walks around the city. Apart from academics, they also sought to introduce them to a range of creative and physical activities to foster a sense of overall personality development. Their links within the schools of their children was also noteworthy as some mothers actively volunteered at the school and others had high-profile family contacts.

When examining the transitions in practices of 'mothering', again there were some interesting observations. Apart from respondent M's mother who had limited education which has been mentioned, even respondent H's mother had limited education. For both mothers H and M, there was no active cultural historical resource of 'mothering' to draw from. They have cultivated their present practices of 'mothering' keeping in mind the new demands of their children. For both these mothers, self-help books and magazines have been key extra resources in informing and guiding their 'mothering' practices.

Keeping these disadvantages in perspective there were other mothers in the study who have had active cultural historical resources to draw from. They have continued to build and replicate their parents' success with them through their continuous engagement with their own children. Apart from the more privileged mothers, there were other mothers in the sample as well who were not able to optimally organise their schedules and resources to provide the range of options that the privileged mothers could. These mothers did not have the depth of information or resources that the privileged mothers had. The little information and resources with regard to the competitive and elite nature of private education in Delhi that they did have was of recent acquisition and wasn't tempered with much thought and planning.

Those mothers who came from small-towns and were new to the experience of residing in a city like Delhi had no larger encashable networks like the privileged mothers in the sample. They were extremely unaware about the complexities of the school admission process in the city and did not have an established credible network to extract information to make better choices for their children. One mother (Mother B) was among the first generation of women in her family to be educated. She felt out of place discussing a lot of issues with regard to the education of her family members and found a vast cultural divide between those residing in the city and her native home in the hills.

One mother (Mother N) was residing in Japan with her husband and had returned to India post the birth of her first child. She was among the first generation of women in her family to work outside the home. She had very clear-cut perceptions on the role and work of women and associated her job as a practice that allowed her to bring extra income to the family. Her children were largely cared for by her in-laws in her absence. She had to often shoulder additional responsibilities as her husband worked overseas most of the year. Apart from extended family, she had no larger networks in the city. She was extremely conscious of class distinctions among families in Delhi and did not want to make much of an effort to mingle with other families or build networks at her children's school.

Another mother (Mother T) also came from a small-town and did not have the resources to build networks for son. Her husband was involved in his private practice full-time and the care of the household and the child was largely managed by her. She had no extended family in Delhi and kept

only a part-time maid for certain chores about the house. Apart from the lack of resources and information, this family had also passed through certain unfortunate incidents that had affected them emotionally. The family had an older child with disability who passed away two years ago. Mother T mentioned that with the older child around, she often had to focus her energies towards his care compromising on the care of the younger child.

Two mothers (mothers D and S) had a better combination of resources and networks than the other three mothers discussed above. They were native residents of Delhi and had completed a large part of their education from the city. However, they seemed somehow to be more focussed on their career at present and were willing to relegate the responsibilities towards caring for their children to their parents and other substitutes. Mother D's child was taken care of by her parents. She seemed extremely confident of this arrangement but what she did not take into account was that her parents did not have the information or resources to plan the best options for her daughter. There was a generational divide and the maternal grandparents cared for their grand daughter in an indulgent fashion rather than with a sense of discipline. Mother D noted that her primary concern at present was to start her independent practice and earn enough to buy a house in South Delhi. Once these targets were achieved, she could relax her professional aspirations and focus on caring for her daughter.

Mother S had a joint medical practice with her husband. She supervised the education of her children but was not actively involved in the process. She had in some ways outsourced her responsibilities to a full-time tutor who took care of the children's school work. Her father-in-law, who resided with the family, occasionally monitored the children's routine at home. While mother S worked flexible hours her engagement with her family was cursory in nature. She supervised the household help who cooked the meals and cared for her younger son and kept in touch with the full-time tutor with regard to her children's school progress but at no point was she completely involved in her children's school or social routine.

One observed a constant tussle within the mothers who were professionally qualified (dentists and doctors in this sample) to successfully balance both their professional commitments and family commitments. There was a persistent reiteration by these mothers to make the best use of their higher education (medical education is also among the most expensive when compared to other

degree courses) to not only build their professional credibility but also to be able to contribute generously to household expenses. Their role was not merely to bring in a limited secondary source of income or keep themselves occupied when their children were in school or engaged in other activities. It was also in some ways a comment about the discipline of some professions itself, as vocations such as medicine require a diligent sense of commitment that needs to be built over a period of time. It does not completely permit the individual the flexibility to schedule the work according to personal family commitments, unless it is an independent practice with sufficient support systems in place. This can be noted as most mothers who were dentists or doctors had independent practices, along with their husbands, or hoped to build an independent practice soon enough.

The nature of higher education and the purpose of higher education for women was also an important point of discussion in the research study. All the mothers in the study were highly educated but apart from the mothers who were dentists or doctors, few mothers found it necessary to actively pursue their vocation. Their vocation was a secondary priority that would keep them occupied and satisfy their personal aspirations but only after their family commitments. It was a more complex engagement with work itself as many mothers believed that their investment in their children was most important at a certain age, i.e. their children were going to require their presence and guidance the most at a young age. As they age, their care and investment in them would evolve as children became more independent and they could then move towards focussing on their career and other aspirations. However, this flexibility with career as has been examined above could not be exercised by those mothers who had medical education.

Gender was seen to mediate mothers' views on aspirations for their daughters' futures as well. Almost all of them believed that their daughters needed to adapt to situations at a later stage in order to successfully manage home and career. This pointed to a certain fixed perception of women's roles and duties and a conscious socialisation process that hoped the daughters would reprise their mother's roles in the future.

While there were some obvious class differences between the privileged and not so privileged mothers in the study if one were to compare their transitional shifts across two generations, especially comparing occupations and class positions of the parents, the greatest differences

between these two sets of mothers was due to the distinctions in their 'cultural capital', which as Bourdieu (1997) has noted is linked in complex terms with the possession and conversion of 'economic capital'.

While most mothers understood the general value of education as equipping their child in certain skills and attitudes that would allow them to secure a job in the future, there were few mothers who went beyond this very instrumental understanding of education and perceived it as a continuous process of investment and training that allowed one to mark oneself as 'culturally distinct' from another. Thus the privileged mothers in comparison with the other mothers at the lower end of the spectrum in this sample understood the 'cultural distinction' that education conferred on an individual and were actively engaged in moulding certain values of discernment in their children through the select range of activities that they exposed their children to.

The selection of families in this sample was consciously restricted to those belonging to the upper caste/class spectrum. However, one noted that while these families had distinct caste backgrounds their education and professional experiences brought a certain convergence of class backgrounds among them. Thus, the caste identities of these families were superimposed by their carefully cultivated class identities. This is particularly observed with regard to family M (the only lower caste family in the sample). An inter-caste marriage, where the husband and wife belonged to much lower castes, the mobility and dynamic transformation of identity in this family was interesting.

Mother M completely credited her present position to her education and will to want to make something of her life. Her husband was an ex-alumnus of the prestigious Indian Institute of Management Bangalore and a keen photography enthusiast. Their parents came from largely 'middle class' backgrounds where their fathers held lower rank positions in the Defence services and their mothers had limited education. They built their cultural resources through education, actively fashioning a new identity for themselves and their children. The high educational credentials of Mother M were particularly remarkable because she belonged to a state (Haryana) and a community, which did not encourage education for girls.

The constant dilemma of 'choice' and 'control', a trait characteristic of the middle classes, was noted on several occasions as families consciously planned their children's educational and social

engagements. There was a resigned sense of acknowledgement by many mothers in the study that their children were leading highly structured and stressful lives. However, most of them saw these changes and developments as necessary to tackle the increased sense of competition that marked spheres of education for the middle classes from an early age.

With regard to the nature of mother's work, most mothers agreed that their roles and engagement with their children have changed. 'Mothering' as has been examined in this study operates in a dispersed manner, with the mother supervising and coordinating a range of activities with the extended family and the household help. However, certain key aspects of this work such as those concerning the child's emotional needs, school, extracurricular activities and social engagements were carried out only by the mother. In some ways, there is an increasing focus of the mother's work towards specifically the education and socialisation processes of the child.

The choices that women in this study exercised with regard to this work could not merely be understood as an adherence to traditional constructions of the role and work of the mother with regard to her family, instead this 'choice' was a function of the mother's class and habitus position which allowed her the privilege to choose not to work and instead focus on securing the future of her child. There was a certain level of ambiguity as mothers negotiated their personal aspirations with their responsibilities towards their children. While in some ways, the responsibility of the household continued to be largely shouldered by the mother, there is a great change in the form of this responsibility. Mothers aren't concerned with the more physical or mundane tasks of house-keeping, instead as highly educated women equipped with enough information and resources they are actively planning the educational future of their children. They realise that the greatest investment towards the growth and development of the child is during the childhood and are thus reframing their career trajectories to ensure that they can provide the best for their child when they need it the most.

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ENDNOTES

[i] I use middle class in quotes to refer to it as a socially and economically diverse group, which is not capable of a singular definition. As the chapter progresses, I make note of the difficulties entailed in defining this group along indicators of income, education, employment, caste, religion and region.

[ii] I use the term 'new middle classes' as used by Leela Fernandes in her book, *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Ecconomic Reform*, published by Oxford University Press in 2006.

[iii] I use 'upper middle class' to connote a fraction of the 'middle class' characterised by very high disposable incomes, English educated, employed in professional high-status occupations (for example engineers, doctors, lawyers, chartered accountants and managers in corporations) in the privately managed service sector and most often belonging to the upper caste/class section of society. This fraction will be defined as the chapter progresses.

[iv] I use 'cultural capital' here drawing from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. (*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, published by Sage in 2000).

[v] Claude Markovits, in his essay 'What about the Merchants?: A Mercantile Perspective of the Middle Class in colonial India' (published in Sanjay Joshi's edited collection: *The Middle Class in Colonial India: Themes in Indian History*, published in 2010, Oxford University Press), notes that most studies on the 'middle class' in India focus on the Macaulayan framework of defining the 'middle class', as individuals who imbibed certain Western values through English education. He brings attention to what he calls the Kaleckian framework, based on the work of Polish scientist Michal Kalecki, whose ideas inspired economist K.N. Raj to understand the growth of intermediate regimes centred on a characterization of the 'petty bourgeoisie' as a particularly significant category in both economic and political terms in the Indian context. "The rise of this petty bourgeoisie was related to a particular form of the transition to capitalism which started in the eighteenth century before colonization but remained largely unrealized till the late twentieth century. Far from being a sign of triumphant modernity, the rise of this class was perceived by Burton Stein as emblematic of an arrested transition and of the kind of populist politics that it bred. This class was seen by Stein and others as a class in itself and not as a section of the bourgeoisie: it often frontally opposed the latter, but it was also in an exploitative relationship vis-à-vis the mass of the people" (Markovits 2010: 121). Conceptually, Markovits keeps these two 'middle class' fractions apart in terms of their growth and development, however he addresses certain points of overlap between these two fractions and points to the fact that they came from the upper castes in Indian society. Processes of colonialism bridged certain gulfs between these upper castes. Also, post-independence, many sections of the business community began taking to education to refashion their social status. The subject of this study, however, is the educated, upper 'middle class', falling under broadly the Macaulayan framework.

[vi] BB Mishra in *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* uses the term 'educated middle class' to signify the new groups of persons who received higher education through the medium of English and engaged in the various recognised professions that grew in modern times as a result of Western education and capitalist economy. He excludes those versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian although he acknowledges that the old literary castes of the country were the first to benefit from new developments under the British, but those who did so differed essentially in so far as their mental make-up, morality, and style of living were concerned (page 147).

[vii] Leela Fernandes (*India's New Middle Classes: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (2006), Oxford University Press) draws from the academic works of several scholars to note that members of the new colonial Muslim classes trained at institutions such as Aligarh College. She writes: "In the Northwest Provinces, 25 percent of Muslims were urbanized in contrast to 3 to 4 percent of Muslims in Bengal (Hardy 1972). Furthermore, as Mushirul Hasan (1997) has argued, the Muslim League's demands partly represented the fears of newly emergent professional groups in northern areas such as Uttar Pradesh and Bihar" (page 9).

[viii] Leela Fernandes (*India's New Middle Classes: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (2006), Oxford

University Press) cites Rudolph and Rudolph (1987: 298) to show that "in the first two decades after independence, growth rates in enrolment in higher education consistently outpaced primary education. In 1955-56, the percentage increase in enrolment growth rates in higher education was 74 percent, compared to 31 percent in primary education and 42 percent in secondary education. In 1970-71 the percentage increase in higher education was 67 percent, compared to 12 percent in primary education and 19 percent in secondary education".

[ix] Leela Fernandes (*India's New Middle Classes: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (2006), Oxford University Press) cites data from Potter's (1996) study to show that IAS/ICS was a popular option for English educated segments of the middle classes in the decades following independence. Through data on IAS recruitment from 1947 to 1981, she shows that there was a gradual decrease in the recruits from professional and service classes over the decades following independence. (page 23) These reasons are attributed to several policy changes that came into being from the late 1980s and which will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

[x] Leela Fernandes (*India's New Middle Classes: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (2006), Oxford University Press) cites Katzenstein (1979: 25-26) to show the rise in nativist claims on public sector jobs in Karnataka, Assam and Chota Nagpur. "The most politically salient of such movements was the rise of the Shiv Sena in Mumbai as this movement has had important national implications because of the role it later played in the rise of Hindu nationalism in the late twentieth century. While the Shiv Sena has now diverted its agenda more specifically toward an anti-Muslim Hindu nationalist project, its early rise was fundamentally linked to the politics of the urban middle class" (Fernandes (2006) cites Gupta (1982:57)). (page 25)

[xi] Post-independence the first concern for national leaders was to modernise the economy through large-scale investment in science and technology. Women's education also received attention during this time but before the 1970s, discussions largely focused on issues of differentiated curriculum built on traditional ideas that saw women as primary care-givers. National Committees headed by Durgabai Deshmukh and Hansa Mehta addressed these concerns but women's issues gained widespread attention only post the 1970s with the resurgence of the women's movement that saw a range of issues being brought into discussion in the public forum. Education was a central issue in the 'Towards Equality' report published in 1974.

[xii] Mukhopadhyay and Seymour (1994) note that behind the rising numbers of middle class girls entering vocational schools, polytechnics, and professionally-oriented universities in the 1980s was the view of education as enhancing a girl's ability to contribute to the economic well-being of her husband's family and perhaps even her own. The increasing attractiveness of "earning wives" (and daughters-in-law) was fuelled by rising housing costs in urban areas and middle class families' desire for upward mobility. A wife, particularly with a professional or technical job in the government sector, could offer her spouse and his family not only an increased income but access to housing, jobs, and other scarce resources. (page 15)

[xiii] Vincent, Ball and Kemp (2004) make interesting observations on intra-class differences with regard to education in London. They select samples from two middle class residential localities in London and through a comparative analysis show that while both samples value education, their methods of educating their children are different.

[xiv] I use the term 'concerted cultivation' as used by Annette Lareau in her study on class-related differences in child rearing between white and black families in the U.S.A.

[xv] Rao and Desai (1965) note that the composition of multi-member immigrant families in the city of Delhi (their study looks at a time frame between 1940 and 1957) has largely been extended in structure. Even nuclear living arrangements weren't entirely nuclear as families had extended family members living close by. This is corroborated by Shah (1968) who elaborates that the Indian family cannot be simply distinguished as 'nuclear' and 'joint' in type. Processes of urbanisation have led to changes in form and structure, but living arrangements are still characterised by a certain sense of obligation and duty to a larger set of family members apart from just those comprising the nuclear type. These duties transcend simple categorisations of living arrangements.

xvi The survey was conducted in three phases. In the first phase, schools were invited to provide information on academic and non-academic facilities, performance of students and profile of teachers. Sifting through this, research agency C fore shortlisted schools for the second round, in which a perceptual survey was carried out with a sample of 3,000 parents and teachers across the city's six zones: central, east, west, north, south east and south west. Sixty-two schools were part of the sample in this study. They were asked to assess these schools on a scale of 10 against parameters such as academic rigour, extracurricular activities, sports, competence of teachers, attention to students, value for money, innovative teaching, parental participation, infrastructure and facilities, safety and hygiene, life skills education and social accountability. The parameters were based on suggestions made by an expert panel comprising Prof. Yashpal, former Chairman of UGC, Shyama Chona, former principal DPS RK Puram, Ashok Agrawal, lawyer, Kiran Bhatty, National Right to Education Commissioner and Jitendra Nagpal, child psychiatrist. Results of the perceptual survey were combined with objective data from the first round to rank schools. In the third phase, C fore researchers visited the schools to conduct an audit and finalise rankings. Perceptual data scores were extrapolated for schools that did not participate.

xvii It is important to note that the fees stated by the schools did not completely tally with the expenses stated by the parents. This in some ways hinted at the extra costs borne by the parents with regard to schooling and also certain discrepancies due to errors in recounting/remembering past expenses.

Questionnaire for middle class families

1. Family details

a. Residential address:

b. Children

Child's name	Age	Class	School enrolled	Type of school: government, private, private aided	Distance of school from home (in kms)

c. Parents

Parent	Age	Edn	Profession	School(s) attended	College(s) attended	Office address	Full-time/ Part-time	Work timings	Avg income (per yr)

d. Form of family: (a) Nuclear: Parents and children

(b) Joint family

(c) Extended family: Parents, children and grandparents

(d) Nuclear family with grandparents/relatives living closeby

e. Extended family

Member's name	Age	Education	Profession	Residential address

Maternal grandmother			
Maternal grandfather			
Paternal grandmother			
Paternal grandfather			
Uncle (maternal)			
Aunt (maternal)			
Uncle (paternal)			
Aunt (paternal)			

2. Daily routine with the child

a.**Child and family members (weekdays)**

Family member	Child
Mother	
Father	
Grandmother (maternal)	
Grandfather (maternal)	
Grandmother (paternal)	
Grandfather (paternal)	

Relatives/friends	
Maid/household help	

b. Child and family members (weekend)

Family member	Child
Mother	
Father	
Grandmother (maternal)	
Grandfather (maternal)	

Grandmother (paternal)	
Grandfather (paternal)	
Relatives/friends	
Maid/household help	

3. Activities of the child (study, TV, play, leisure and nutrition)

(a) Study Time

1. Do you check your child's (children) school diary on a regular basis?

2. How do you help your child (children) with homework? Describe.

3. Is there some arrangement with your husband/other relatives with regard to helping your child (children) with homework?

4. Do you encourage your child (children) to read more/proceed to next levels in respective subjects/courses?

(b) TV Time

1. Do you allow your child (children) to watch television/movies?

2. If yes, is there some fixed time for watching TV?

3. What are the programmes that your child (children) watches on TV?

4. What channels do these programmes come on?

5. Do you shield your child from certain programmes/issues on TV?

6. Has your child asked you questions/doubts about certain

programmes/issues/objectionable content on TV? How have you handled these questions/doubts?

7.Is TV an important informational/recreational source?

(c) Computer/ Internet

1. Does your child use the computer/internet?

2.What does he or she use the computer/internet for?

3.Do you supervise his or her usage of the computer?

(d) Play Time

1.What games/sports does your child (children) play during their free time?

2.Is there some fixed time during the weekdays/weekend for games/sports?

3.Do you play with your child (children)?

4.Who plays with your child (children)? Does he or she play with other children from his/her school or from the residential area/neighbourhood?

5.Does your child (children) play with his or her siblings?

6.Where does your child (children) play? Park/ground in the residential area or elsewhere?

7.How important are games/sports for the holistic development of your child?

8.Are there differences between your daughter and son in their choices of sports/games? What are these differences?

9.Do you think girls and boys should be engaged in different recreational activities?

10.What toys/books do you buy your son/daughter?

(e) Vacations/Outings-Weekends/Extracurricular activities

Outings-Weekends

1.Do you visit family/relatives?

2.Where have you been sight-seeing around the city? **Museums:** NMML, National Museum, Railway Museum, Indira Gandhi Memorial Museum; **Monuments:** Qutub Minar, Red Fort, Raj Ghat, Jama Masjid, Purana Qila, Jantar Mantar etc.; **Theatres/Children's plays:** India Habitat Centre?

3.Do you go sight-seeing with your larger family-friend circle?

4.Do you eat out often?

Vacations

1.Do you plan trips to visit sites/regions in the country or abroad?

2.How often do you plan holidays with your family – Summer/Winter?

3.Do you travel with your friends or relatives during vacations?

4.Which regions/states in the country/or abroad have you visited?

Extracurricular activities

1.What hobbies does your child (children) have?

2.Have you enrolled your child (children) in any extracurricular classes? (Art,music, dance, sports, drama, environment, book clubs)

3.How do you encourage these hobbies?

4.Do you see some activities as being only suitable for girls, and others suitable only for boys?

(g) Nutrition

1.How conscious are you about the eating habits of your child (children)?

2.Does your family follow a fixed diet? Do you use packaged/processed food?

3.What does your child (children) take to school?

4.What is your conception of a balanced diet?

5.How concerned are you about discourses on rising obesity among children?

4. Interactions with the school

(a) Pre-school

1.Has your child (children) attended pre-school? Which pre-school?

2.What was the duration of the enrolment?

3.Why did you choose this particular pre-school?

4.Were you satisfied with the pre-school experience?

(b) Choice of school

1.How did you come to select this school for your child (children)?

2.Did you seek anyone's opinion in choosing this school for your child (children)?

3.What are the various facilities available in the school? Resident doctor, Counsellor, sports facilities, recreation centre, library, drama club?

4.Does the school offer transport facilities?

5.Does the school have individualised learning/creative spaces for children?

6.What are your expectations from this school?

7.Will you shift your child (children) from this school to another school at an older age?

8.If yes, what would be your reasons for making such a shift?

9.In your opinion, what are the best schools in the city? Why?

10.What is a 'good' school?

(c) Teachers and management

1.What is your relationship with your child's (children) school teacher?

2.How often does the school conduct Parent Teacher Meetings (PTM)?

3.Do you regularly visit PTMs?

4.Are you satisfied with the school's engagement with your child?

5.If you have complaints, how do you address them?

6.Does your child's (children) school have a Parent Teacher Association (PTA)?

7.How often are PTA meetings held?

8.Are you a part of the PTA at your child's (children) school?

9.Do you know other parents/teachers who are members of the PTA?

10.Are you aware of friends/relatives/colleagues whose children are in the same school as your child (children)?

11.Are you aware of friends or relatives who are working at your child's school?

(d) Information on Education policy

1.Are you aware of the 'Right to Education Act'?

2.What do you think is the significance of this Act? Do you see it as an important legislative measure?

3.Are you aware of the RTE provision of reserving 25 per cent seats in private schools for disadvantaged children? What is your opinion of this?

4.There is a general discourse surrounding the poor quality of education in government

schools, what is your opinion on government schools?

5. There is an increasing discourse supporting privatisation of education as a means of improving 'quality' in teaching and learning processes, what is your opinion on privatisation of education?

5. Social Networks

(a) Associations/Clubs/Committees

1. Are you or your husband or other family members' part of any associations/clubs/committees in your residential area or in the city? **(Public or private libraries?)**

2. Do you (or your husband or any family member) occupy a significant office of authority at any of these associations/clubs/committees?

3. If yes, what are your responsibilities as a member?

4. How often do you (or your husband or any family member) engage with these associations/clubs/committees?

5. What is the importance of being members of such associations/clubs/committees?

(b) Child's (Children) Friend circle

1. Who are your child's (children) friends?

2. Are your child's (children) friends from his or her school or from the residential area?

3. What are the sorts of social outings that your child (children) engages in?

4. Do you allow your child (children) to go for parties or get-togethers at his or her friends' houses?

5. Do you hold parties or get-togethers at your home for your child's (children) friends?

6. Is your child's (children) friends' part of the same groups/extracurricular classes that your child (children) is a part of?

6. Seeking expert guidance

1. Does your family go for regular health check-ups?

2. Do you take your child for regular health check-ups?

3. How comfortable is your child in discussing illness/health issues with you or the doctor?

4.Have you ever referred to self-help books on parenting?

5.If yes, how have they helped you?

6.There are numerous talk-shows and discussions today on television on 'good parenting'. Do you think these shows are useful or informative?

7.What is your opinion on 'good parenting'?

8.Who is a 'good' parent?

9.Who is a 'good' mother?

7. Aspirations for your child (children)

1.Do you have any specific plans for the future of your child (children)?

2.What sort of profession do you see your child in in the future?

3.Who are contemporary 'role models' for your child? Politics, films, sports, teachers, in the family maybe etc.?

4.Do you see different career paths for men and women?

5.Do you see different career paths for your daughter and your son? How important is marriage?

6.If your child (children) wanted to pursue music, dance or sports more actively in terms of a career rather than academics in the future, would you be supportive?

7.Do you see such alternative careers as being productive and secure?

8.What is your conception of a 'good' education?

9.What is your conception of a 'good' profession?

8. Tracing transitions in mothering (Family/Parenting strategies)

1.How different do you think your mother's role and work was from your role and work as a mother today?

2.How different do you think your father's role and work was from the role and work of your husband today?

3.Have you ever put your child (children) in a creche?

4.Do you see a difference between working and non-working mothers in their investment of time and care towards their child (children)?

5.Do you think it is easier for working mothers today?

6.Do you think the image of a 'working mother' has changed considerably today?

7.How important is the mother in child rearing?

8.How important is the family in child rearing?

9. Expenditure on child

Area of expenditure	Weekly (In Rs.)	Monthly (In Rs.)	Yearly (In Rs.)
School			
Admission fees			
Deposit			
Tuition fees			
Maintenance fees			
Exam fees			
Computer			

Sports			
Extracurricular			
Outings/Trips			
Tuition/support			
Others			
Toys			
Books			
Videogames			

Table 1: Percentage distribution of total employment by occupational division

Occupational Division	Rural					Urban				
	1977-78	1983	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00	1977-78	1983	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00
Professional, technical and related workers	1.5	2.1	1.7	2.3	2.1	7.3	8.2	8.0	9.0	8.9
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.9	1.4	3.0	4.0	5.0	5.9	8.4
Clerical and related workers	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	10.2	9.9	10.2	9.7	9.2
Non-manual workers	2.7	3.7	3.7	4.6	5.0	20.5	22.1	23.2	24.6	26.5
Sales workers	3.1	3.3	3.9	4.2	4.1	16.3	15.8	16.8	17.0	16.7
Service workers	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.0	2.5	11.0	10.4	9.9	9.2	9.7
Farmers, fishermen and related workers	82.4	79.8	75.1	76.7	74.2	13.7	12.7	10.7	10.7	8.3
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	9.3	10.8	12.7	12.4	14.2	38.5	39.1	38.5	38.7	38.9
Workers not classified by occupation	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	0.8	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total employment (million)	197.5	213.6	224.0	255.0	273.8	46.1	56.0	65.1	76.9	92.3

(Source: Sridharan (2004: 417), Tabulated data from *India Year Book 2001: Manpower Profile*, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Table 3.2.14, page 154)

Table 2: Estimated employment in Public and Organised Private Sectors (Thousands)

Year	Public sector		Quasi Government		Local bodies	Total public sector	Private sector	Total employment
	Central government	State government	Central	State				
1990-91	3,410	7,113	3,564	2,658	2,313	19,058	7,675	26,733
1991-92	3,428	7,190	3,554	2,839	2,198	19,209	7,846	27,055
1992-93	3,383	7,293	3,592	2,898	2,160	19,326	7,850	27,176
1993-94	3,392	7,337	3,566	2,948	2,202	19,445	7,930	27,375
1994-95	3,395	7,355	3,574	2,946	2,197	19,467	8,058	27,525
1995-96	3,366	7,414	3,538	2,920	2,192	19,430	8,511	27,941
1996-97	3,295	7,485	3,586	2,950	2,244	19,560	8,685	28,245
1997-98	3,253	7,458	3,536	2,925	2,246	19,418	8,748	28,166
1998-99	3,313	7,458	3,472	2,914	2,259	19,416	8,698	28,114
1999-00	3,273	7,460	3,413	2,913	2,255	19,314	8,646	27,960
2000-01	3,261	7,425	3,291	2,901	2,261	19,139	8,652	27,791
2001-02	3,195	7,384	3,195	2,824	2,175	18,773	8,432	27,205

(Source: Sridharan (2004: 418), Tabulated data from CSO, Monthly Abstract of Statistics Vol. 52, No. 12 (December 1999), page 5; CSO, Monthly Abstract of Statistics Vol. 56, No. 8 (August 2003), page 5. Note: (a) Totals may not tally due to rounding off; (b) Central government employment does not include the defence services.)

Table 1: Data on National Capital Territory and its respective districts

State/District	Population Size	Literacy Rate, 7+ years – Percent (Total)	Literacy Rate, 7+ years – Percent (Urban)	Literacy Rate, 7+ years – Percent (Urban Male)	Literacy Rate, 7+ years – Percent (Urban Female)	Sex Ratio – Females per 1,000 males - Total	Sex Ratio – Females per 1,000 males - Urban
NCT of Delhi	1,67,53,235	86.34	86.43	91.05	81.10	866	867
Central	5,78,671	85.25	85.25	87.6	82.6	892	892
East	17,07,725	88.75	88.74	92.46	84.54	883	883
New Delhi	1,33,713	89.38	89.38	93.04	84.83	811	811
North	8,83,418	86.81	86.85	91.03	82.04	871	871
North East	22,40,749	82.8	82.85	88.45	76.56	886	886
North West	36,51,261	84.66	84.91	89.84	79.19	862	863
South	27,33,752	87.03	87.06	92.24	81.02	859	860
South West	22,92,363	88.81	88.99	93.6	83.46	836	834
West	25,31,583	87.12	87.13	91.17	82.52	876	876

(Source: Census of India 2011)

Table 2: Socio-economic indicators of families in the sample

Family	Form of family	Religion		Caste		Region		Languages spoken**		Income		Stated jointly	Total
		M	F	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	School**	Home	Mother	Father		
A	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	Hindi, English			24 lkhs	24lkhs
B	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	Himachal Pradesh	Uttaranchal	English, Hindi	Hindi, English	18lkhs	18lkhs		36 lkhs
C	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	U.P.	U.P.	English, Hindi	Hindi, English	4.8lkhs	7.2 lkhs		12lkhs
D	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Kayasth	West Bengal	West Bengal	English, Hindi	Bengali, Hindi, English	30lkhs	25 lkhs		55 lkhs
E	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Khatri	Khatri	Punjab	Punjab	English, Hindi	English, Hindi			80 lkhs-1 crore	80 lkhs-1 crore
F	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Baniya	Brahmin	Punjab	Punjab	English, Hindi	English, Hindi			12 lkhs	12 lkhs
G	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	Karnataka	Tamil Nadu	English, Hindi	English	3.6 lkhs	36lkhs		39.6lkhs
H	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	Uttaranchal	Uttaranchal	English, Hindi	Hindi, English, Garwhali	5 lkhs	50 lkhs		55 lkhs
I	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Khatri	Khatri	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	English, Hindi	7 lkhs	14 lkhs		21 lkhs
J	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Khatri	Khatri	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	English, Hindi				50 lkhs
K	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Kayasth	Brahmin	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	English, Hindi			30 lkhs	30 lkhs
L	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Baniya	Kshatriya	Rajasthan	West Bengal	English, Hindi	English, Hindi			24 lkhs	24 lkhs
M	Extended	Hindu	Hindu	OBC	SC	Haryana	Uttar Pradesh	Hindi, English	English, Hindi	6 lkhs	15 lkhs		21 lkhs
N	Extended	Hindu	Hindu	Baniya	Baniya	Maharashtra	Delhi	English, Hindi	Hindi, English	3 lkhs***	15 lkhs		18 lkhs
O	Nuclear	Muslim	Hindu	Ashraf	Khatri	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	English, Hindi	15 lkhs	20 lkhs		35 lkhs
P	Extended	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	U.P.	Jharkand	English, Hindi	English, Hindi			80 lkhs	80 lkhs

Q	Extended	Hindu	Hindu	Kayasth	Khatri	Delhi	Delhi	English, Hindi	English, Hindi	3.6 lkhs	14 lkhs		17.6 lkhs
R	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Brahmin	Brahmin	U.P.	Bihar	English, Hindi	Hindi, English	4.8 lkhs		16.8 lkhs	21.6 lkhs
S	Extended	Hindu	Hindu	Baniya	Baniya	Delhi	Himachal Pradesh	English, Hindi	Hindi, English			24 lkhs	24 lkhs
T	Nuclear	Hindu	Hindu	Vaishya	Vaishya	Orissa	Orissa	English, Hindi	Hindi, Oriya, English			15 lkhs	15 lkhs
									Total income across sample				670.8 lkhs
									Average income across sample				33.54 lkhs

*As stated by the female participant (mother) in the study. This is a rough amount quoted by the participant (mother) without income tax considerations and does not include other material assets (land, property, financial sources) which the family may possess independently or through inheritance.

**English is the medium of instruction in the classroom while children may use both English and Hindi while conversing with their friends within the classroom and outside. There is a clear hierarchy in the use of language(s) by the family. One notes a clear preference for English among many families in the sample.

*** Participant is in receipt of a monthly student fellowship that would roughly total to Rs. 3 lakhs per annum

Table 3: Education and professional background of families in the sample

Family	Education		Profession		Profession: Govt/Pvt		School(s) attended		College(s) attended	
	M*	F**	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
A	BDS	BDS, MDS	Dentist	Dentist	Pvt	Pvt	Carmel Convent, Delhi	Naval Public School, Delhi and Greenfields, Delhi	Dental college in Mangalore	Dental college in Belgaum, Karnataka
B	MBBS, MD	BSc, MSc, Courses in software	Gynaecologist	Software Engineer	Pvt	Pvt	Gobind Bhalabh Pant School, Rampur, Shimla	Government school, Uttaranchal	Lady Hardinge Medical College Delhi, Kasturba Medical College Delhi	Almora College (MSc), Software courses in Delhi
C	BA History, MA History, BEd	BE Electronics	History teacher	Software engineer	Pvt	Pvt	Shyamaprasad Vidyalaya, school in Belgium	Ranchi Vikas Vidyalaya	Indraprastha College, Delhi University, BEd through correspondence Annamalai University	BE from a college in Nagpur
D	MBBS, MD	BA, PG in Animation/ Film making	Gynaecologist	Graphic Artist	Pvt	Pvt	DPS RK Puram	Raisinha Bengali School	Lady Hardinge Medical College Delhi, Safdarjung Hospital	Deshbandu College of Arts, Delhi University
E	BA, MA Psychology	BE, MBA	Home-maker***	Finance consultant	NA	Pvt	St Teresas High School Kolkata, St Annes Hyderabad	St Xaviers School Delhi	Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University	Delhi College of Engineering, Faculty of Management Studies Delhi University
F	BSc Chem (Hons), MCA (Correspondence)	BSc Chem (Hons)	Home-maker/Part-time in husband's enterprise	Manager, Trading and Textiles	Pvt	Pvt	DAV School Delhi, Hansraj Model School Delhi	Don Bosco School Delhi	Hansraj College, Delhi University	Hansraj College, Delhi University
G	BSc, MBA, Software courses Diploma	BSc, MSc Maths, MBA (Operations Research)	Freelance journalist	Mergers and Acquisitions, NIIT	Pvt	Pvt	St. Marys Bangalore	Private school in Chennai	St. Josephs College Bangalore, Xaviers Institute of Management Mumbai	Vivekananda College, Chennai, Guindy College of Engineering, Chennai, XLRI, Jamshedpur

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H	BSc, MSc Botany, Courses in IPR	BSc, LLB	IPR Scientist	Corporate Lawyer	Pvt	Pvt	KV (Garwhal)	Government school	Delhi University, South Campus	Sri Venkateswara College Delhi University
I	BSc, MBA	BE, Merchant Navy courses	Immigration Analyst, Canadian Embassy	Management head, Sodexo	Pvt	Pvt	Army Public School, KV Delhi	Ramjas School Delhi	BSc Delhi University, IIPM Delhi	Birla Institute of Technology, Gujarat, IGNOU Delhi
J	BCom (Hons), Diploma in Advanced Computing	LLM, LLB	Home-maker	Lawyer	NA	Pvt	Mothers International, Sarvodaya Enclave	Happy School	Jesus and Mary Convent, Delhi University	Delhi University. London School of Economics (LSE), UK
K	BArch	BArch	Architect	Architect	Pvt	Pvt	Modern School, Vasant Vihar	Air Force Bal Bharathi School, Lodhi Estate	School of Architecture, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	School of Architecture, Ahmedabad, Gujarat
L	BArch	BArch	Architect	Architect	Pvt	Pvt	KV, Delhi	St. Augustine's Convent, Kalimpong, West Bengal	Manipal Institute of Technology	Manipal Institute of Technology
M	BSc, MSc Maths	BA Eco/Pol Sci/Eng, MBA	Maths teacher with an E-learning group	Digital Business Head	Pvt	Pvt	KV	KV	University of Rajasthan, Queen Marys College University of Madras	University of Rajasthan, IIM Bangalore
N	BDS, Pursuing MDS	BA, MA Japanese	Senior research fellow in AIIMS	Manager, Tokai Rubber	Govt	Pvt	Sivaji Science College, Nagpur	Blue Bells School, Delhi	Sharad Pawar Dental College, Wardha, AIIMS Delhi	Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
O	BA Eco (Hons), MBA	BCom, MBA	Consultant	Consultant	Pvt	Pvt	Convent of Jesus and Mary, Delhi	Army Public School, Delhi	SRCC Delhi, NMIMS Mumbai	SRCC Delhi, IMT Ghaziabad
P	BA, Diploma in Fashion designing	BA Eco (Hons), MBA	Home-maker	Investment banker	NA	Pvt	St Annes School Mumbai, DPS Mathura Road, Delhi	Mayo College, Ajmer, Rajasthan	BA (Through correspondence), Pearl Academy of Fashion	SRCC, IIM Lucknow
Q	BA (Hons), Diploma in Marketing/ Advertising	BHM (Bachelor's in Hotel Management)	Home-maker/Dance classes for children	Corporate Public Relations	Pvt	Pvt	Convent of Jesus and Mary, Delhi	St. Xaviers, Delhi	LSR, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan	IHM, Delhi
								Ramjas School Delhi		

R	BA, MA Hindi, Diploma course French	BCom, CA, CS	French tuition teacher	Chartered Accountant	Pvt	Pvt	Shyamaprasad Vidyalaya Delh		Delhi University (through correspondence), Diploma course in Belgium	SRCC, ICWA
S	MBBS, MD	MBBS, MD	Psychiatrist	Paediatrician	Pvt	Pvt	DPS, Delhi	DAV School, Chandigarh	Government Medical College Patiala, AIIMS Delhi	UCMS Delhi, MAMC Delhi
T	BSc, BEd (Special Education), MBA	BSc, LLB, CA	Home-maker/Takes tuitions occasionally	Chartered Accountant	NA	Pvt	Cuttack government school	Government school Bhubaneshwar	Cuttack Ravenshaw College, Delhi University	BJB College, Bhubaneshwar

M* is Mother, F** is Father, Home-maker*** refers to women who work within the household

Table 4: On school related information

Family	No. of children	Details of children						Name of School	School Management	Board	Area of residence	Distance of school from home
		Age	Class	Gender	Age	Class	Gender					
A	1	8	III	M				Amity International, Saket	Private	CBSE, IB, IGCSE	Munirka Enclave	7-8 km
B	2	12	VII	M	2	Not yet enrolled	F	Amrita Vidyalayam, Saket	Private	CBSE	Mehrauli	4 km
C	1	12	VII	F				Birla Vidya Niketan	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	12 km
D	1	6	I	F				DPS, Vasant Kunj	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	3 km
E	2	8	IV	F	6	I	M	DPS, East of Kailash	Private	CBSE	Anand Lok	5-6 km

F	2	12	VII	F	8	III	M	KR Mangalam World School	Private	CBSE	Anand Lok	6-7 km
G	1	7	II	F				Mirambika	Private	CBSE	Sarvodaya Enclave	0.5 km
H	2	12	VII	F	7	II	M	Mirambika	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	7-8 km
I	2	13	VIII	F	8	III	M	Modern School, Vasant Vihar	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	5 km
J	2	7	III	M	7	III	F	Mothers International	Private	CBSE	Defence Colony	10-15 km
K	2	11	VI	M	6	II	F	Mothers International	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	10 km
L	2	11	VI	M	4	Nursery	M	Mothers International	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	6 km

M	2	11	VI	M	7	II	F	Mothers International	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	6 km
N	2	7	I	F	4	Nursery	M	Ramjas School	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	5 km
O	1	8	III	F				Sanskriti	Private	CBSE	Greater Kailash	15-20 km
P	2	8	III	F	6	I	M	Sanskriti	Private	CBSE	Vasant Vihar	5 km
Q	2	15	X	M	11	VII	M	Shri Ram School Vasant Vihar, Shri Ram School (Senior section) Gurgaon	Private	CBSE, IB	Vasant Kunj	5 km, 18 km
R	2	14	IX	F	11	VI	M	Springdales	Private	CBSE	Vasant Kunj	11 km
S	2	7	III	F	5	KG	M	Tagore International School	Private	CBSE	Shahpur Jat	7 km

T	1	6	I	M				The Indian School	Private	CBSE	Munirka	9 km

Table 5: Family routine

Family	Flexible/Part-time/Full-time		Work routine	
	Mother	**Father**	**Mother**	**Father**
A	Flexible	Full-time	10 am to 1 pm; then evening 5.30 pm to 8 pm (Mon-Sat)	7.30 am to 8.30 pm (Mon-Sat)
B	Full-time	Full-time	10 am to 12 noon (Mon/Wed/Fri), 4-7 pm daily (independent practice), 9 am to 2 pm (Tue/Sat)	10 am to 7.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
C	Full time	Full time	7.10 am to 4 pm (Mon-Fri)	8.30 am to 9 pm (Mon-Fri)
D	Full time	Full time	8 am to 2 pm, 4 pm to 9 pm (Mon-Sat)	10 am to 9 pm (Mon-Sat)
E	NA	Full time	NA	9.15 am to 8.30 pm (Mon-Sat)
F	Flexible	Full-time	Flexible, nothing fixed	9.30 am to 8 pm (Mon-Fri)
G	Flexible	Full-time	Flexible, nothing fixed	8 am to 7.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
H	Flexible	Full-time	10 am to 4 pm (Mon-Fri)	10 am to 8 pm (Mon-Fri)

I	Full-time	Full-time	8.30 am to 5.30 pm (Mon-Fri)	9 am to 9 pm (Mon-Fri)
J	NA	Full-time	NA	8.30 am to 6.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
K	Flexible	Full-time	9.15 am to 2.30 pm (Mon-Fri)	9.30 am to 7.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
L	Flexible	Full-time	9.30 am to 12.30 pm (Mon-Fri)	9.30 am to 7 pm (Mon-Fri)
M	Flexible	Full-time	8 am to 2 pm (Mon-Fri)	9 am to 6 pm (Mon-Fri)
N	Full-time	Full-time	9 am to 5 pm (Mon-Fri)	7.30 am to 5.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
O	Part-time	Full-time	9.30 am to 2.30 pm (Mon-Fri)	9.30 am to 8.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
P	NA	Full-time	NA	9 am to 8 pm (Mon-Fri)
Q	Flexible	Full-time	10 am to 12 noon, 5 pm to 8 pm (Mon-Fri and on weekends)	9 am to 6.30 pm (Mon-Fri)
R	Part-time	Full-time	4 pm to 6 pm (Mon-Fri)	7.30 am to 8 pm (Mon-Fri)
S	Flexible	Full-time	9 am to 12 noon, 5.30 pm to 8.30 pm (Mon-Sat)	8 am to 8.30 pm (Mon-Sat)

T	Flexible	Full-time	Flexible, nothing fixed	10 am to 7 pm (Mon-Fri)

*'Full-time' refers to regular working hours, 'Flexible' refers to the independence that the mother has to shift between her professional and family commitments, 'Part-time' refers to the mother working only during some specific hours of the day in order to focus on her family commitments.

Table 6: Details on family support structures

Family	Form of family	Details on extended family	Details on household help
A	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, paternal uncle and family in Delhi	One full-time maid, one part-time maid for cleaning
B	Nuclear	Some extended family in Delhi	A niece helps in household work
C	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal aunt and family in Delhi	Two part-time maids who help in cooking and cleaning
D	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal aunt in Delhi	Two part-time maids who help in cooking and cleaning
E	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, one paternal uncle and family in Delhi	One full time cook, one part-time maid for cleaning
F	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, paternal uncle and family in Delhi, maternal aunt and family in Delhi	One full-time maid and one part-time maid for cleaning
G	Nuclear	Maternal grandmother residing with family temporarily	One full-time maid and one part-time maid for cleaning
H	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal uncle in Delhi	Two part-time maids who help in cooking and cleaning
I	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents in Gurgaon and paternal grandparents in Delhi, maternal aunt and family in Delhi, paternal uncle and family in Delhi	One full-time maid and one part-time maid for cleaning

J	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents in Gurgaon and paternal grandparents in Delhi, maternal aunt and family in Delhi, paternal aunt and family in Delhi	One full-time maid and one part-time maid for cleaning
K	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal aunts with their respective families reside in Delhi, paternal uncle with family resides in Delhi	One full-time maid and one part-time maid for cleaning
L	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents reside in Delhi	One full-time cook, one part-time maid for cleaning, one part-time maid for washing and ironing of clothes
M	Extended	Maternal grandparents reside with the family	One part-time maid for cooking and one part-time maid for cleaning
N	Extended	Paternal grandparents reside with the family	One part-time maid who helps in cleaning
O	Nuclear	Both sets of grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal aunt and family resides in Delhi, paternal aunts reside in Delhi	Two full-time maids for a range of chores and one part-time maid for cleaning
P	Extended	Paternal grandparents reside with the family. Maternal grandparents reside in Delhi	One full-time maid for cooking, one part-time maid for cleaning and other chores
Q	Extended	Paternal grandmother resides with the family, maternal grandparents reside in Delhi	One full-time cook, one part-time maid for cleaning and one-part-time help for the pets
R	Nuclear	Maternal grandparents reside in Delhi, maternal aunt and family reside in Delhi	One part-time maid for cleaning and one part-time maid for washing and ironing of clothes
S	Extended	Paternal grandfather residing with the family, maternal grandparents reside in Noida, maternal uncle in Noida	One full-time cook and one full-time help to take care of young son
T	Nuclear	No extended family in Delhi	One part-time maid for cleaning

Table 7: Expenditure on children

Family	Children enrolled	School expenditure on child/children* (past year approx. in Rs.)	Other expenditure on child/children** (past year approx. in Rs.)	Total (past year approx. in Rs.)
A	1	48,000	62,000	1,10,000
B	1	1,05,000	6,000	1,11,000
C	1	72,000	33,700	1,05,700
D	1	79,000	6,000	85,000
E	2	2,00,000	1,99,200	3,99,200
F	2	2,66,000	1,27,200	3,93,200
G	1	61,000	41,200	1,02,200
H	2	1,11,200	88,000	1,99,200
I	2	1,74,000	2,25,600	3,99,600

J	2	1,00,000	74,400	1,74,400
K	2	1,06,000	38,200	1,44,200
L	2	1,00,000	46,500	1,46,500
M	2	94,000	1,48,000	2,42,000
N	2	47,000	18,000	65,000
O	1	72,000	66,200	1,38,200
P	2	1,11,400	1,04,200	2,15,600
Q	2	2,59,200	95,400	3,54,600
R	2	48,000	2,13,200	2,61,200
S	2	1,28,000	45,600	1,73,600
T	1	80,400	20,500	1,00,900

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Total	33	22,62,200	16,59,100	39,21,300
Average expenditure on one child (varied age group: 4-14 years) for the past year			118827.27	

*School expenditure: A: School tuition fees (STF), **B:** Admission fees (AF)+ STF+ Extracurricular School (ExS), **C:** STF + Outings/Trips (O/T) +ExS, **D:** AF + STF, **E:** STF+ExS, **F:** STF+School Books (SB)+School Stationery (SS)+ExS, **G:** STF+SB+SS+Development Fund (DF)+Annual Charges (AC)+Food Charges (FC), **H:** STF+ Computer School (CS) +O/T, **I:** AF+STF, **J:** STF+ExS+O/T, **K:** STF+O/T, **L:** STF, **M:** STF+CS, **N:** STF+Transport (Tr), **O:** STF, **P:** STF+ExS+O/T, **Q:** STF+ExS+O/T, **R:** STF, **S:** AF+STF, **T:** AF+STF+ExS

Other expenditure: A: Extracurricular (Ex)+Books (B)+ Videogames (V), **B: Toys (T)+ B + Stationery (S), **C:** Ex+B+S, **D:** Ex+T+B+V+S, **E:** Ex+B+S, **F:** T+B+S+Ex, **G:** Ex+B, **H:** Ex+T+B+S, **I:** Ex+Outings/Trips (Family) (OTF)+Tuitions (Tu)+T+B+S, **J:**Ex+T+B+S, **K:** T+B+V+S, **L:** Ex+T+B+V+S+OTF, **M:** Ex+OTF+T+B+S, **N:** T+B+S, **O:** Ex+B+T+S, **P:** Ex+B+S, **Q:** Tu+T+B+V+S+Ex, **R:** Tu+OTF+Ex+B+S, **S:** Tu+T+B+S, **T:** T+B+S+Ex

Table 8: Fees as stated by schools in the sample

School	Class(es) of students in the sample	School fees 2011-2012 Details as mentioned by school in the sample*	Approx for a year
Amity International	Class III	Rs. 46,000 for a year	Rs. 46,000
Amrita Vidyalayam	Class VII	The school refused to provide details on fees. The school was contacted through phone and in person.	-
Birla Vidya Niketan	Class VIII	**Tuition fees Quarterly**: Rs. 18,120	Rs. 54,360
DPS Vasant Kunj	Class I	Rs. 85,000 for a year	Rs. 85,000
DPS East of Kailash	Class III, Class I	Rs. 85,000 for a year	Rs. 85,000
KR Mangalam World School	Class VII, Class III	**Tuition fees for three months**: Rs. 24,000	Rs. 96,000
Mirambika	Class II, Class VII	Rs. 80,000 for a year, Computer fees: Rs. 1,500 per month	Rs. 98,000
Modern School	Class VIII, Class III	**Tuition fees Quarterly for Class VII**: Rs. 38,765, **Tuition fees Quarterly for Class III**: Rs. 33,945	Rs. 1,16,295 for Class VII, Rs. 1,01,835 for Class III
Mothers International	Nursery, Class II, Class III, Class VI	Rs. 56,000 for a year	Rs. 56,000
Ramjas School	Class I, Nursery	**Tuition fees per month**: Rs. 3,500	Rs. 42,000
Sanskriti	Class III, Class I	**Civil Category**: (**Admission fees**: Rs. 200, **PTA Charges**: Rs. 200, **Development charges**: Rs. 11,178, **Annual charges**: Rs. 10,285, **Tuition fees for one year**: Rs. 74,520), **General Category**: (**Admission fees**: Rs. 200, **PTA Charges**: Rs. 200, **Development charges**: Rs. 14,283, **Annual charges**: Rs. 14,762, **Tuition fees for one year**: Rs. 95,220)	Civil category: Rs. 96,383; General category: Rs. 1,24,665
Shri Ram School	Class VI, Class X	Rs. 1.75 lakhs for a year	Rs. 1,75,000
Springdales	Class VI, Class IX	**Admission charges**: a) **Registration fee**: Rs. 25, b) **Admission fee**: Rs. 200, c) **Security (Refundable)**: Rs. 500 **Monthly Tuition fees**: Class VI: Rs. 2610, Class IX: Rs. 2680 **Annual Charges (For Sports, Medical, Insurance, Supplementary Reader, Co-curricular activities/Annual Day, School Publication and Work Experience**: Rs. 1300 **Development Charges**: Class VI: Rs. 4700, Class IX: Rs. 4820	Rs. 37,320 for Class VI, Rs. 38,280 for Class IX

Tagore International	Class III, Nursery	**Admission charges:** Rs. 200, **Annual charges (once a year):** Rs. 4,400, **Development charges (once a year):** Rs. 6,480, **Tuition fee (per month)**: Rs. 3,600, **Stationery (once a year):** Rs. 2,200	Rs. 56,480
The Indian School	Class I	**Tuition fees Quarterly:** Rs. 24,021	Rs. 72,063

*Some schools provided bulk figures of school fees for a whole year without indicating the break-up of charges. Other schools provided a detailed account and even had links for the same on the school's official website. Only 'Amrita Vidyalayam School' did not provide details on fees.

Table 9: Pre-school and Private school links

Family	Details on children				Admission criteria: Interview/Exam (I/E) or Point-system (PS)		Pre-School	School attended
	Age	Class	Age	Class	Child 1	Child 2		
A	8	III			PS		Toddlers Train	Amity International
B	12	VII			I/E		Cannot recollect	Amrita Vidyalayam
C	12	VII			I/E		Kids Paradise	Birla Vidya Niketan
D	6	I			PS		Tender Feet	DPS, Vasant Kunj
E	8	IV	6	I	PS	PS	Learning Tree, Kangaroo Kids	DPS, East of Kailash
F	12	VII	8	III	I/E	PS	Step by Step	KR Mangalam World School
G	7	II			PS		Navakriti, part of Shri Aurobindo Educational Society	Mirambika
H	12	VII	7	II	I/E	PS	Green Valley	Mirambika
I	13	VIII	8	III	I/E	PS	Kids World, Little Pearls	Modern School
J	7	III	7	III	PS	PS	Learning Tree	Mothers International
K	11	VI	6	II	I/E	PS	Shishuvan, Kangaroo Kids	Mothers International
L	11	VI	4	Nursery	I/E	PS	The Playschool, Navakriti	Mothers International
M	11	VI	7	II	I/E	PS	Circle, Navakriti	Mothers International
N	7	I	4	Nursery	PS	PS	Tender Feet	Ramjas School
O	8	III			PS		Banyan, Learning Tree	Sanskriti
P	8	III	6	I	PS	PS	Julia Gabriel Singapore, Kangaroo Kids	Sanskriti
Q	15	X	11	VII	I/E	I/E	Little Pearls	Shri Ram School
R	14	IX	11	VI	I/E	I/E	Shishuvan, Kinder Care	Springdales
S	7	III	5	KG	PS	PS	Learnium	Tagore International
T	6	I			PS		Saksham	The Indian School

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Table 10: Education and professional profile of grandparents

Family	Maternal grandparents				Paternal grandparents			
	Maternal grandmother		Maternal grandfather		Paternal grandmother		Paternal grandfather	
	Edn	Prof	Edn	Prof	Edn	Prof	Edn	Prof
A	BSc Home Science, BA Sitar, BEd.	School teacher	BSc, BE Mining	NTPC Coal India, Videocon Power	BA	Home maker	MBBS, MD Dermatology	Doctor
B	Not literate	Home-maker	Class X	Army	Not literate	Home maker	Class X	Army
C	BA, MA Music	Home maker	BE, MBA, Other Diploma courses	Worked at Embassy of Tunisia in Belgium	BA, MA English	Home maker	BE	Director, Coal Mining
D	BSc Maths (Hons)	Home maker	BE, ME, PhD	Engineer	Class XII	Home maker	BA	Business
E	BSc Home Science	Home-maker	BE (BITS Pilani)	Manager	BSc, MSc, PhD Mathematics, BEd.	School Principal	BE	Chief Engineer, MCD
F	BA	Home-maker	BE	Engineer	BA	Home-maker	BA	Trading and Textiles
G	BA, MA Economics, BEd, Accounts courses	School Principal	BSc	Accounts	Class XII	Home-maker	BA	Leather business
H	Class XII	Home-maker	Class XII, Paramilitary forces	Commandant	Class XII	Home maker	BA, MA	Gazetted Officer
I	BA, MA, BEd	School teacher	BA, IMA (Army)	Army	BA	Home-maker	BA, MBA (FMS, DU)	Manager
J	BSc, MSc Zoology	Home-maker	BTech, MBA	Textiles business	BA	School teacher	BALLB	Lawyer
K	BArch	Architect, Teaching in architecture college	BE (BITS Pilani)	Engineer	BA Hindi	Home-maker	Defence (NDA), Management course	Air Force
L	BA, MA History, B.Lib.Sc	Librarian	BE	Electrical engineer	BSc	School teacher	BSc	Bank
M	Class IX	Home-maker	BA	Air Force	Not literate	Home-maker	BSc Maths	Army

N	BSc Chemistry	Home-maker	BCom	Business	BA	Home-maker	BCom	Accounts, ITDC
O	BA, MA English (LSR)	Social Work, Delhi Commission for Women	BA, Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration (IAS), MBA (Leeds University, UK)	IAS	BA	Home-maker	National Defence Academy (BSc)	Army
P	BSc (Hons), Textile designing	Fashion designer	BA (Hons)	Naval Pilot	BA (Hons), MA	Home-maker	BA (Hons), MA History, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy (IPS), PhD	IPS
Q	Class XII	Receptionist	BA Eco (Hons) (St. Stephens, Delhi)	Sales and Marketing, DCM (Shri Ram Group)	Class XII	Telephone Operator	BSc	Army
R	BA, MA Music	Home-maker	BE, MBA, Other Diploma courses	Worked at Embassy of Tunisia in Belgium	Class VIII	Home-maker	BCom	Joint Secretary, Food Corporation of India
S	BA	Home-maker	BE	Engineer	BA, BEd	School Principal	BAMS	Ayurvedic doctor
T	Class IX	Home-maker	BE	Engineer	Class X	Home-maker	BCom	Retired Income Tax Officer