CHANGING NATURE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN DELHI

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DECLARATION

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I, hereby declare that the thesis titled, "Changing Nature of the Teaching Profession: A Sociological Study of Secondaay School Teachers in Delhi", submitted by me in the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is my original work and has not been submitted previously, either in part or in full, for any other degree in any other University.

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Dedicated to

My Guru

Prof. Avijit Pathak

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBSE   : Central Board of Secondary Education

CCE   : Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation

DOE   : Directorate of Education

KVS   : Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan

KV   : Kendriya Vidyalaya

MHRD : Ministry of Human Resource Development

NCF   : National Curriculum framework

NPE   : National Policy on Education

PGT   : Post Graduate Teachers

TGT   : Trained Graduate Teachers

PRT   : Primary Teachers

INTRODUCTION

"The teaching profession is the highest profession in the world. Though one acquires very little money out of it I think it is the greatest thing. Really I do. Really think that. It isn't just verbal rhetorical assertion. It's the greatest thing, because in our hands lie the whole future generation."

-Jiddu Krishnamurti

1.1 Profession: Meanings and Attributes

A profession, in a layman understanding, is an occupation that demands specialized knowledge and skills with high ethical standards and in this sense it is above what can be called a 'job' or just an 'occupation'. Sociologically the term 'profession' tries to indicate how within the definite societal structure and dynamics an occupation is viewed in its varied social, political, historical, economic and cultural context. The Teaching profession tries to seek learning activities in the manner whereby the educational needs or goals of the individual and the society as a whole can be realized. Emile Durkheim (1893), the classical functional sociologist explained logically the phenomenon of professionalization in his study of division of labour. He says that over the period of time demographic complexities such as population increase causes growing struggle for survival which further results in development of division of labour as a strategy to raise productive capacity. Improved productive capacity could be viewed definitely as a result of specialization. Thus, this in turn, leads to emergence of specialized occupational groups.

In Indian context, for long teaching has rather been considered as a respectable and noble task. The present research tries to explore different aspects and conditions of teaching and how it changes with time within the whole educational set-up. In the changing scenario of the profession, it becomes interesting to study who are these teachers in recent times who join teaching profession and what are the reasons behind their choice; what is the new link between caste and class category in the neoliberal globalized society and how the teachers themselves perceive this profession vis-à-vis other professions.

Gandhi (1982) identifies some basic attributes that distinguish professions from occupations. To do this first, he isolated some distinct professions such as medicine, law etc. from certain routine occupations in terms of high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; primacy to the community interest over individual interest; high degree of self-control of behavior through ethical codes; a system of rewards as symbols of work achievement and second, he tries to identify various stages through which an occupation becomes a profession such as development of the degree of substantive theory and technique in the practicing of professional and semi-professional activities; degree of external recognition of a profession; degree of organization of a profession or semi-profession.

Parsons (1939) emphasizes, 'the professional type is the institutional framework in which many of our institutional functions are carried on, notably the pursuit of science and liberal learning and its practical application in medicine, technology, law and teaching. This depends on an institutional structure the maintenance of which is not an automatic consequence of belief in the importance of the functions as such, but involves a complex balance of diverse social forces" (*ibid*:467). Emphasizing the importance of professions in industrial society Parsons (1964) regards the professions as the major bearers and transmitters of rational values and the new technological knowledge which actually drives the economy forward both in its integration and differentiation.

Dumus and Beckner (1968) argue that teaching is more than just a job as the 'vital problems of living and learning' are made aware in everyday time spent in the school. American way of life is preserved and improved through education in which classroom teacher plays a very significant role. They highlight, "to be professional in any field requires certain qualifications and attributes. The professional is both liberally and socially educated. He must also be able to use mature, rational judgment in coping with daily problems and activities" (*ibid*:355-56). At the same time they also discuss what constitutes part of professional ethics such as standard of conduct, moral principles and practice and point out that whereas professional such as doctors, lawyers etc. put much emphasis on realizing and following accepted ethical norms as failure to do so would result in expulsion from the profession, but teachers have been rather slow in recognizing

such professional ethics and often lenient in following and enforcing them. This is indeed one of the major causes for yet not achieving the professional status in the eyes of public and other professionals. In America, codes of ethics for teachers were developed by some state teachers' associations as early as 1924 to be observed at national level by all teachers. These efforts were finally came to limelight in 1963 when "the Code of Ethics of the Education Profession" was adopted by Representative Assembly of the National Education Association which later on was widely observed by all the persons who sought membership in the profession.

In preserving American democracy, teaching is considered the most crucial because the functions of all other professions are deemed dependent upon the teaching profession to develop competent new members. Teaching profession deals with preserving the ideas of founders, promoting democratic principles, skills and knowledge required to national survival for which there is no other alternative than teaching. Therefore the importance of the activities of teaching must be realized both at the individual and national level and very often society does not seem to recognize this importance of teaching (*ibid*, 1968 : 368-69).

For some scholars such as Lortie (1969) the teaching profession, as compared to law and medicine can be labelled as a "semi-profession". Until the 1950s teaching was taken up as a short-term work by men on their way to a 'real' profession and by women before their marriage or having children (Rury, 1989; Tyack, 1974). Besides teaching was considered a low-status work in the occupational hierarchy as it was linked to child-care and hence was accepted gradually as women's work (Hoffman, 1981). Fox and Hesse (1984) have pointed out that the female dominated professions such as nurses, home economists, nursery school teachers, typists etc. are sometimes called 'semi-professions' because though they require advanced education and credentials to some extent but they tend to lack the authority, independence and monopoly over a knowledge base that are features of other male dominated professions such as law or medicine. Nevertheless since last few decades especially in the 1960s and 1970s educators engaged themselves with a strong sense on the debate over whether teaching can be regarded as a profession in so far

as features such as emphasis on the specialized training, credentials, modern principles of rational-legal bureaucratic organizations, autonomy etc. are concerned.

Karlekar (1975) argues, "Teaching is a profession in which knowledge is to be administered with tact and understanding. The professionally-oriented teacher is involved in the profession, sympathetic towards her students, and active in the school" (*ibid*: 53). Wilson (1962) says that the chief quality of the professionally oriented teacher is the need for a degree of emotional engagements with pupils.

Ray (1988) observes that the school system in India is a site for playing out the tension between the conflicts that arise between different roles allotted to women teachers. In terms of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation emphasis is put on the actual content of material and thorough knowledge of textbook. Kumar (1986) remarks in this context that the teacher's role in such situations is that of an interpreter of the textbook only where original thought is not encouraged.

The secondary school system in India can be categorized under two broad divisions-Government schools which are established and managed by the State and Private schools which are owned and run by non-government groups and organizations. Again Private Schools can be grouped into two sub-divisions- those which do not receive any government grants-in-aid and those which receive regular grants-in-aid and are also bound by grants-in-aid code (De Souza, 1974). The study will make an attempt to examine the teachers engaged in this profession at the high secondary school level (i.e. VIII, IX, X excluding XI and XII standards).

1.2 Teaching Profession versus other professions

"Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers" which was accepted by the Special Intergovernmental Conference on the Status of Teachers on 5 October, 1966 under United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization defines teacher as "all those persons in schools who are responsible for the education of pupils." It also defines the expression 'status' in relation to teachers as "both standing or regard accorded to them, as evidenced by the level of appreciation of the importance of their function and of their competence in performing it, and the working conditions, remuneration and other

material benefits accorded them relative to other professional groups." The recommendation also entails that Teaching should be regarded as a profession as it is a form of public service which needs teachers' expert knowledge and specialized skills, learnt and retained through rigorous constant study. Moreover teaching also demands a sense of personal and corporate responsibility towards the educational welfare of the students.

Waller (1932) defines teaching as an institutionalized leadership. It is the leadership in the classroom that the teachers possess to control the behaviors of the pupils. Institutionalized leadership persists because of satisfying human beings for its dependence in taking difficult decisions. The school also depends on institutional leadership for its smooth functioning and teachers play a crucial part in classroom leadership where there is a certain sense of 'routinization of the behaviors' between the teachers and the pupils. However there are certain traits that determine the prestige of the teachers in front of their pupils in the classrooms. These traits include personality trait such as age, physical characteristics, social backgrounds, dressing sense, manners, voice and expression on the subject matter, attitude towards students etc. For instance, teachers who are young generally find it difficult to maintain social distance from their students. But it has an advantage also as the young teachers could represent the ideas of current generation more than the older teachers. Similarly social background of teachers can influence deeply on students. Teacher works as an agent of cultural diffusion and therefore he works towards representing the formal values of education reflected through the lens of his community. But the vast important opinion on teachers is made on the basis of his command on his subject matter that he imparts to students and the attitude he has towards the students. Those teachers are in most respectful position who carries an attitude towards students that is respectful, earnest, impartial, as friendly as possible and as little hostile as possible in spite teachers having disciplinary controls in their hands.

Though the teacher gets enormous respect due to his knowledge and expertise, yet teachers may not get that sense of respect when he drags his pupils to a world which is not interesting for the latter. In other words, when teachers impose knowledge upon pupils as part of the curriculum design, it results in the problem of teaching profession. It

is in this context that the role of teacher educators comes to enlighten the modes of teaching with such devising modes that can bring students to learn without sacrificing their interests (*ibid*: 236). Teaching doesnot always require deep memory of his subjects but the way teachers' interest influences the attitudes of the pupils for learning makes teaching a real profession.

Musgrave (1965) argues that the term 'profession' entered for modern usage as an analytical tool only in the nineteenth century social historians and hence questions if a profession is a social fact. He reveals that a professional situation arises when it is characterized by an expert practitioner who consults his ignorant clients who has trust on this practitioner for his advices and the practitioner does not use his knowledge excepting to benefit his ignorant clients. He examines the situations on which the social fact of the professions lies and if teaching fits in those particular characteristics. The factors on which he examines so are: knowledge, control of entry, Code of Professional conduct, Freedom to practice the profession, Professional Organizations, Conditions of service and Recognition by the Public. As far as professional knowledge is concerned determining factor lies in the ignorance of the clients and the professional practitioner must have command on his definite field of knowledge. To practice as a teacher a core of specialized knowledge and a relatively high level of intelligence is required. And teaching, these days, demands technically more advanced teaching mechanisms to deal with students who have access to mass media, radio, films and so on. Knowledge and training together makes any occupation to the status of profession. The trained teachers are registered under a particular regulatory mechanism (for instance, B.Ed in Indian context) which distinguishes them from untrained teachers. Thus prolonged and specialized training constitute distinguishing feature of a profession. In the codes of professional conduct, the most important fact is the trustworthiness and goof character of the practitioner is significant. It is normally the teachers organizations who laid down codes that govern their behaviors in relation to students, their patents, colleagues and other staffs in the school system. Thus suitable qualified people can practice a profession with all its legal sanctions. While exercise teaching as a profession, teachers are also duty-bound to obey the conditions of the State. Professional organizations play important functions in any profession. It has a monopoly power to control the entry into its

membership with the condition of only qualified practitioners' supply. Teachers also do have their associations now-a-days. Service conditions such as secure adequate pensions, chance of promotion, minimum duties for their members determine features of a profession. Teachers associations can pay significant attention to these service conditions. Last but not the least since a profession is a relationship between the practitioner and the client, public recognition of that profession is highly influential. But whether others consider teaching as a profession, the majority of the teachers saw themselves as part of a profession due to its demand on acquiring different skills to teach and as such teaching is considered as a profession. Due to some other attributes necessary to be a teacher, the nature of teaching profession differs significantly from other professions.

1.3 Review of Literatures

1.3.1 Teaching Profession in Western Contexts

Teaching as a broad category includes the teaching at the level of primary, secondary, higher secondary school as well as College and University teaching while 'School teaching' as a category includes only the first three categories of teaching. Again, since the present study concerns only with the secondary school teaching, this section will primarily try to review the existing literatures of secondary education only in the Indian context vis-à-vis Western context so as to make a comparison. Nevertheless some references outside the secondary school level will also be undertaken as per the need.

Mazibuko (1999) in his study of the experiences of 28 beginning secondary school teachers in Swaziland during 1997 found that graduation was one of the immediate criterion for entering into teaching in which rather their status as teachers was validated. Most of beginning teachers' experience especially in their first few weeks of teaching was 'boring', 'daunting', 'difficult'. 'stressful' , 'frightening'. Among other problems they also faced the difficulty in getting to know other teachers in the school especially in large schools where there were many teachers and pattern of interaction was limited. While progress of their students made them joyous and confident, on the other hand there were many factors which became the cause of their frustration such as when students did not respond and learn, when they are very disruptive, also failure to make effective

relationship with other staffs etc. However, all these difficulties were part of their first year of teaching experiences.

Drudy (2001) has highlighted in the teaching profession in Ireland that it always attracted high caliber entrants. But the perception among the students in this profession was found on a much gendered stereotypical fashion when they remarked doctors or engineers as first category professions and more of male centric while primary teaching was perceived as more of female centric that can be ranked second or third.

Punch and Tuettemann (1990) in their study on psychological distress among secondary school teachers in West Australia during 1984-87 found that female teachers were more prone to stressful situation than male teachers for factors such as excessive societal expectations, inadequate access to facilities followed by lack of influence and collegial support, student misbehavior, instruction of social work into out-of-hours time whereas for males the most stressful factors were lack of collegial support and also inadequate access to facilities.

McKean (1967) studied the importance of general education for secondary school teachers in U.S. education system. He noted general education as non-specialized, non-vocational education which should be part of experiences of all well educated people of American culture. He also added that it is similar to the concept of liberal education in so far as it seeks to increase the ability of the individual to live a richer life; attempts to build up perspectives upon which to build later more specialized work; seeks to transmit an essential part of cultural heritage of America; aims to help the youth to prepare for responsible citizenship in U.S. democracy. But the primary goal of general education was to develop understanding of the major ideas and principles of various divisions of knowledge.

Silvernail (1992) in his study of the educational philosophies of 284 secondary school teachers from five high schools from both rural and urban areas in a Northern New England state found more of differences in beliefs rather than belief in any one dominant philosophy. For the study three major subscales were used : 'traditionalism' which included beliefs such as importance of schools in transmitting essential knowledge and

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predominant culture, the value of drill and practice in learning, strong authority roles for teacher and passive roles for students; 'progressivism' which included beliefs such as central role of schools in fostering the intellectual process, the importance of inquiry method in learning, the role of teacher as facilitator, the active involvement of students in their learning; and 'romanticism' subscale which included beliefs such as role of schools as sources of new social ideas and individual self-awareness, the importance of schools as being child-centered, the role of teachers as guides in the natural development of each child. Findings of the study showed differences of views in gender lines in so far as beliefs held by male and female secondary teachers are concerned. Both male and female supported progressivism beliefs but male teachers were more supportive of traditional beliefs while female teachers supported more on romanticism beliefs. Again differences of beliefs were noted among different teachers which taught different subjects. English and Social studies teachers were more of progressivism believers than Mathematics and Science teachers.

1.3.2 Teaching in Indian context

In Indian context, in the school teaching atmosphere it is observed that women teachers are more satisfied with their profession than their male counterparts. Kale (1972) in her study of the career of secondary school teachers in Poona pointed out that 'the teacher's organizational position in relation to the principal, students, parents and colleagues is one aspect of the teaching career. The other major aspect of the career is related to the patterns of recruitment and turning points between career choice and retirement, mobility aspirations and mobility patterns and the problems of work and identity, occupational commitment and occupational socialization'(p.77). In her study she shows the attitude of teaching in relation to positive, negative and neutral notions. The teacher likes teaching if backed by positive orientation and with positive image of teacher in mind chooses teaching voluntarily while for a person with negative orientation teaching career is more or less a coercive activity and is not an activity of special interest. On the other hand, a person with neutral orientation combines both the notions of teaching and in need of a job such person does not hesitate to take up teaching as a career though it is not his/her voluntary choice. She found that higher proportion of women teachers chose the teaching

career voluntarily with a positive orientation to teaching than men teachers. On asked the 'why' question some answered teaching to be a good cum traditionally acceptable career for women in so far as safety, security, better status or more vacations are associated and preferred more than a secretarial or clerical job. The group of teachers in the neutral category includes a handful number of teacher- from both the sex. These teachers had no career plans after their graduation and their main goal was just to get a job. As the job market demanded they spent a year at the training college for teacher training degree so as to include themselves among the trained teachers. While the teachers with negative notion for teaching who join teaching involuntarily included more number of men than women. Women teachers who joined teaching were due to reasons such as financial difficulties of the family, problems relating to debt or death of the earning member of the family while Men teachers who joined teaching had already other careers in police or army or independent business but were forced to give up due to health problem, financial loss etc. Hence in this category teaching was not the first choice but an involuntary compromise. Again, on some women teachers of this category, the choice of teaching career was imposed by parents as a stable, secure and acceptable career for women (p.79-81).

Commenting on the 'Textbook Culture' of Indian school pedagogy Kumar (1988) points out, "Teaching in all subjects is based on the textbook prescribed by state authorities. The teacher has no freedom to choose what to teach. She must complete the prescribed syllabus with the help of the prescribed textbook. Resources other than the textbook are not available in the majority of schools, and where they are available they are seldom used. Fear of damage to such resources (e.g. play or science equipment) and the poor chances of repair or replacement discourage the teacher from using them. Assessments made during the year and end-of-year examinations are based on the textbook" (*ibid* : 453).

Vasavi (2006) in her article *Re-imagining education* has made a critical note that the education institutions have continued to produce and reproduce educational paraphernalia which is largely irrelevant and decontextualized because the education system is just textbook and exam oriented and lack creativity and critical exercise. She observes, "over

the years the agency of teachers/educators has been eroded making them insecure, isolated and insular individuals submissive to structures that determine their employment. The growing distance between teachers and students in which the relationship does not go beyond the mass and generalized teaching needs to be addressed" (*ibid*:17). She also highlights the language divide of school education into English for the elite and the vernacular for the masses and India being a country of 'plural and diverse language' she questions the inevitability of English in the context of neoliberalism. At the same time such re-thinking of the language policy by a democratic state, she argues, in ensuring access of all to the type of education they desire will prove to be the biggest challenge.

Nambissan (2013) on the contrary, in her study of inequality in education points out schooling and the process of learning is inherent in Indian social structure which is discriminatory and creates disadvantages to certain sections of the society especially Dalits. In her previous studies also she found a kind of 'negative' teacher attitudes towards Dalit children and thus tried to explore norms and practices that shape caste relations within an institution like school i.e. the pattern of exclusion and inclusion in schools.

Srivastava (2014) has on the contrary underlies a specific site of learning, the Doon School (one of the private schools) and has justified its relevance in the context of Indian modernity. The school was founded in 1935 by S. R. Das with a spirit of engaging actively with the wider discourses on modernity and citizenship, in short, nationalism in India. For the growth of 'new' Indian personality the school focused on the rational, scientific subject. In other words, the school incorporated a 'scientific' world-view into its representational and educational practices. He points out that many students who were at the Doon School in the opening decades of its existence later played their roles in the public life of the nation as post-colonial intelligentsia such as journalists, editors, novelists, social scientists, cultural functionaries of the state etc. Thus he tries to highlight the reproduction of certain category of class in this type of schools.

Sarangapani (2003) in her study on early childhood education analyzed the nature of teacher's authority and talks of a reciprocal relationship between the teacher and the taught. She says, "Each role exists only in relation to the other. The identity of the student

is structured as essentially an inter-personal condition, realized in the teacher-taught duality. The teacher is a 'meck dictator', whose authoritarianism is derived and sustained by beliefs, perceptions and mores inherent in everyday practice and in the folkloric and cultural inheritance of teachers and students" (*ibid* : 118).

Thapan (1991) in her ethnographic work on the Rishi Valley School (RVS), a contribution of philosopher Jiddu Krishnamurthi ideology has raised several issues on the internal organization and authority structure and the nature and form of the culture of teachers and pupils, the pedagogic procedure and on the various networks of teacher-pupil interaction and has systematically examined the various units involved in the functioning of a school as an institution. In explaining the school in terms of its structure and principles, she has differentiated between the two predominant orders in RVS. These two orders are – 'transcendental' i.e. how the school should function as per JP's ideals and 'local' i.e. as it exists which is also subject to outside pulls and pressures of the school. The interplay of these two orders makes RVS a distinctive institution. In her analysis of the 'teacher culture', Thapan has shown the multiple roles of a teacher concerning management, other teachers and pupils and she explores that the pattern of recruitment in RVS is done on the basis of two different types of teachers, i.e. the 'ideologue teachers' who are expected to be dedicated in their role to inculcate JK's ideology to the students; and the 'professional teachers' for whose the criteria are the recruitment training or experience in the subject to be taught, social background and intelligence. Thus, in RVS teachers are devoted with different sets of ideology. Thapan has also examined that the teacher culture differs from the RVS junior to RVS senior and this culture exists as a result of the institutional factors like staff meetings, seniority and juniority in service; and the interpersonal concerns between ideologue and professional teachers, also social factors like the peer group or informal friendships among teachers etc. An interesting observation made in this regard is that there is hardly any informal friendship found among men, less among women and virtually never across gender groups.

Pathak (2002) on the other hand talks about an alternative search of formal schooling. Formal academic schooling, in his words, "begins with the internalization of a series of

myths. One learns the myth of institutionalized values. In other words, the school tells one that nothing exists outside institutions; knowledge is what 'certified' experts teach at school; there is no such thing as a self-taught man or woman" (*ibid* : 43). In his search for an alternative school he appreciates the functioning of "Mirambika" which is an alternative school located in and run by the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, New Delhi. Mirambika promotes the concept of 'free progress education' unlike the prevalent educational practice which oppresses the child and deprives him/her of the experience of creative joy and inner growth, this school focuses primarily on the child; child's innate potential and his/her ability to unfold it. This is a school that gives the child a happy childhood which is without homework, exams, grades and ranking.

For such a school the teachers needed are qualitatively different and hence being a 'professional' or looking at teaching as a career or holding a definite degree or diploma is not sufficient. The teachers being qualified in these schools require to perceive themselves not as specialist with information and knowledge but as creative agents who can relate to the children in cultivating their sense of learning. Teaching for them needs to be a mission. They also need to be extraordinarily sensitive as they are required to question the existing codified curricula, thereby raising the sense of curiosity, creativity and interest in learning among the children. Here the teacher-taught relationship is characterized by the 'lack of fear of punishment' relation (*ibid*).

Shils (1969) in his study of college and university education system in India highlights a completely different rather an interesting observation. He remarks that the Indian university and college system has suffered from an incapacity to generate a compelling tradition of intellectual work of its own (*ibid*:347). He also analyses that the profession has had little attractive power. India is a society where many young men still take up particular occupation with the guidance of their elders and he has not encountered with even one Indian academic who entered his career under the pressure of the preferences of his elders. Interestingly he observes that albeit parents encourage their offspring to enter government service, medicine, engineering and law, but not university and college teaching. Even Those parents who are already highly educated are aware of the lowly estate of the Indian college and university teacher (*ibid*:350). He investigates the reason

behind such an attitude even towards the college and university teachers and reveals that the majority who teach in colleges not only are required to teach many hours but they often have to seek supplementary sources of income. Despite the efforts of the University Grants Commission to persuade state governments to share with them the costs of raising and standardising the salary scale of college teachers, there has thus far been little success (*ibid*: 357). He also has pointed out that,

> "Indian college and university teachers do feel themselves to be at the unpredictable and inclement mercy of their private managements and of the state governments. Some of their anxiety might be a function of the diffuse animosity which most academics in India have towards professional politicians, particularly those of the leading parties. But some of it is based on actual experience of interference by state governments in university affair. State governments have power over the universities through influence over the selection of the vice-chancellor and therewith over the tone and style of the whole university . . . Thus even though the actual substance of what is taught or investigated is left fairly inviolate by politicians, the administrative framework is much exposed to them, and teachers are very aware of this and often feel vulnerable (*ibid*:354-355)".

However college and university teaching as a category was considered less respected only for a limited period. Later studies such as Chanana (2001) demonstrates how higher level of teaching at the college and university level became a symbol of prestige and were made equivalent to professions such as medicine, engineering etc. but women considerably lacked their presence in such professions. If we analyze school teaching at the secondary level it becomes vivid that albeit literatures are available in the western context but in Indian context it is limited to the extent it serves the learning purpose only. Besides only some literatures show the motivation, inspiration, social relationship mechanism of the school teachers from the sociological viewpoints. Perhaps the issue of lack of teachers' control over the education system is one of the serious concerns which has been pointed out by some scholars. Teachers' agency many a time is limited to obeying the orders from above. At the same time it also becomes significant to investigate whether access to quality education in some renowned private schools has become a privilege of a certain section of class only and how the state responds to it in the context of providing reservation to certain

unprivileged sections in such private schools. In contrast how the teachers from lower caste/class background construct teaching once they enter into it attracts serious attention especially in analyzing how they teach in the school vis-à-vis their own children. This existing literature hardly provides answers to these varied dimensions of school teaching, hence invites a call for further research on school teaching as a profession in the context of changing scenario.

1.3.3 A review on the Caste and Class composition of the School Teachers

While discussing many issues concerning school teaching, a question definitely arises as to who are these teachers at the Secondary School level. Kale (1972) selected 105 teachers from schools of different medium of instruction : Marathi, English, Hindi, Kannada, Tamil, Telegu, Punjabi and 73% of the teachers in the sample were Marathi speaking Hindus, the majority community in Poona. Again of these Marathi speaking Hindu teachers majority of them were Brahmins and about 2% from Scheduled castes. Among others 9.5% were Hindus from language groups other than Marathi such as Kannada and Hindi; 7.6% were Christians, 6.7% Muslims and 2.9% Zoroastrians. She also observes that a significantly large number of the Hindu teachers belonged to Brahmin caste group who "have had a long tradition of learning and teaching" (p.82). Thus in a way she also tries to establish the relationship of caste and occupation citing the instance of the relationship between Brahmin majority and school teaching where the cultural and social capital of the upper castes privileged them to occupy certain types of profession.

Chhibbar (1968) has pointed out that in the Vedic period of Indian history the society was classified into three main classes ; *Brahmana* (the priest) ; *Kshatra* (the warrior) and *Vish* (the serf). Later on the *Sudra* class was also added. As per custom, the *Brahmana* was associated with priesthood, the duties of studying, teaching and performing sacrifices as mentioned in the Vedas. *Kshatriyas* were the nobles, rulers, fighters and protectors of the people; *Vaishyas* (*Vish*) were the cultivators, traders and producers of wealth; *Sudra*'s duty was to serve the above three orders. These four classes were not initially meant to be castes but in the course of time these occupational divisions gave rise to the caste system and with time the occupation of each caste became hereditary. It is out of the third

category i.e. the cultivators whose importance was seen because of his occupation for living that the modern middle classes emerged when new conditions arose in Indian life as a result of European influence. Later on as a result of the influence of new ideas of equality and individual liberty emerged during different movements such as Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj etc. the occupation-caste relationship gradually became more flexible and now more freedom started in the choice of occupation with the requirement of individual abilities as the essential criteria. Thus with the loosening of caste-occupation divisions new professions and vocations also came into existence that required the use of new methods and machineries. In the process of social change the so-called old and traditional middle classes were overwhelmed by the new middle classes[1]. This new social classes emerged in India as a direct result of the establishment of a new economy and a new type of state administrative machinery in the country (*ibid*: 36-45). Different other studies have also emphasized as to how caste in Indian society was linked desperately with certain specific profession for long but over a period of time especially with the growth of new professions and open recruitment to occupations, there has been continuous decline in the unchanging links between traditional occupation and caste (Dube,1996 ; Panini,1996).

It is to be noted in this context that the constitution under Article 16 (4) empowers the State to make

> "any provision for the reservation in appointments, or posts in favour of any backward
> class of citizens". Article 16 (4 A) enables the State to make provision for reservation in
> matters of promotion to any group or groups of posts in the services under the State in
> favour of the SCs and STs. Article 335 states that the claims of the members of the
> Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently
> with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the matter of appointments to
> services and posts under the Union and the States [Basu, 2001 (Edn)].

In 1982, the Constitution came with quota reservation for the SC and ST candidates to 15% and 7.5% respectively for filling the positions in all educational institutes of public

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[1] The connotation of middle classes in India and the difference of new middle class with the old middle classes are discussed extensively in the context of neoliberalism in the upcoming pages.

and government-aided sector for a period of five years after which the quota system was supposed to be reviewed. Nevertheless the succeeding governments continuously extended the reservation quotas without making any revision. The Supreme Court of India guided for not exceeding 50% reservation in Government employment under Art. 16(4). Many critics highlight that the reservation policy on the ground that reservation is confined to only government and government aided sector of services and educational institutions state-run and state-supported sector, whereas more than 90 per cent of the SC/ST population workers are engaged in the private sector ate not benefitted from the reservation policy [Thorat and Senapati, 2007; Thorat (et.al) 2005]. Given this changing scenario it would be interesting to investigate further the link between caste and teaching profession which requires fresh attention.

In so far as socio-economic class divisions are concerned Kale (1972) in her study has shown that Lower Class teachers were 10%, Lower-middle Class-46%, middle class-24%, and upper middle class-12%. She points out that this class distribution supports the commonly accepted notion that teachers usually come from a lower-middle class or a middle class background. Probably it is because of this reason the incidence of social mobility is higher among secondary school teachers i.e. teaching is a secondary alternative which is temporary in nature. For those women teachers who joined teaching career with a negative attitude, teaching career was imposed on them as a stable, secure and acceptable career for women. She showed in her analysis that the percentage of teachers with positive orientation in career choice goes down as the social class level goes up and vice versa. The probable reason she remarks that the attitude of the person with a lower class background in India to whom teaching career signifies upward mobility and a better status and a higher income, especially for male teachers. A certain section from her sample who joined teaching as a secondary alternative due to financial instability, lack of required degree to join other higher profession, inability to gain other chosen profession such as police sub-inspector, salesman, journalist, accountant, chemistry researcher etc. belonged mostly to upper middle class families for whom upward movement in the career was desirable (*ibid*). Next section will try to review the gendered dimension of school teaching as a profession.

1.3.4 Debate over the feminization of the Teaching Profession

Leggatt (1970) in his study of school teaching profession in Great Britain and United States demonstrates that this is an occupational group characterized by its large size with its high proportion of female members but its lowly social class composition. This profession also marked by high rate of turnover of the teachers, their low degree of commitment of work, the low prestige and the disadvantageous stereotype. He reveals that despite its 'general low ranking' status this profession is of high prestige for women. He points outs that though men experience dissatisfied but women are well satisfied with teaching as a career. He referred to the study of National Education Association which also found women to be more satisfied with this profession than men. Collins and Nelson (1968) in their study in the United States found women teachers' morale towards teaching to be higher than men teachers'. Leggatt (1970) again reveals the reason that teaching well fits the life style and work orientation of women because this profession can be carried out by those with 'low career commitment' and women as they 'wish to raise a family at some point in their lives' teaching becomes manageable for them unlike the 'elite professions' where a certain 'period of re-training' is also essential after a prolonged absence from practice. He underlies,

> "The stereotype of teaching as a women's occupation is, then, founded in empirical fact in two aspects : it is an occupation with a predominance of women members and it involves work, at least in primary schools, for which women especially fitted … What is of importance … is not only the fact that teaching is an occupation suited and attractive to women but also the consequences of this. These are profound. The high proportion of women members combining teaching with family life or returning to teaching after leaving it for family reasons involves high rates of turnover and this in association with the large number of teachers results in a loosely organized professional group" (*ibid* : 164-65).

However, in Indian context, Kale's (1972) study shows that of 105 secondary teachers she interviewed 34% (36) were women while 66% (69) were men. She admits here with

the findings of other studies that the proportion of women among secondary school teachers is increasing over time, but men teachers are a majority.

On the similar line Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) released data since 1991-92 shows that there has also been an increasing trend of male secondary teachers along with female secondary teachers. In terms of number male teachers outnumbered women teachers. e.g. As per 1991-92 data out of total 819 secondary teachers, female teachers were 277 as against 543 male teachers with a male-female gap of 266. Though this trend continues thereafter also but the male-female gap is gradually minimizing at a very slow pace. e.g. as per 2011-12 data, out of total 1163 secondary teachers, female teachers were 462 as against 700 male teachers with a male-female gap of 238. Again, the MHRD data further shows that the number of female secondary teachers per 100 male teachers is also rising gradually since 1991-92 from 51 to 66 in 2011-12. If we see this distribution statewise it is evident that among the 35 states and Union Territories almost in all the states the number of male teachers in High/Secondary schools is higher than female except 9 states including 2 Union Territories. These are Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, A&N Islands, Delhi and Puducherry. Of all these only Kerala has shown a remarkable gender gap of female teachers in secondary school at 29914 as against 9333 male secondary teachers.

Karlekar (1975) in her study of professionalization of women school teachers in Delhi argues teaching as the 'single largest profession of educated women in India' by that time. She took out the existing statistics that in 1963, 66.9% professional women were teachers, while it increased to 74.7% by 1966 and this percentage led her to find out why women chose school teacher as a career and in choosing this career how were they involved in the profession. She interviewed with 56 Class X women teachers in six secondary schools in Delhi. In her study she drew a distinction between the government schools without receiving any aid (Group A) and the government and aided schools (Group B) in so far as assumption regarding different behavior of teachers under different working conditions are concerned. She also added, "The service conditions in Group B schools were characterized by security of terms, fixed working hours, rules governing the age of retirement, pension, gratuity and promotion based on seniority. In Group A

schools there was flexibility in the wage structure and age of retirement; jobs were not as secure as in Group B schools; there was no certainty of pensions; and promotions were at the discretion of the principal and the governing body. Further in Group B teachers could expect promotion to 'prestigious' posts in the education department of the local government" (p. 54). To understand the professional interest among the sample she divided various factors into two broad categories- personal factors (such as motivation to teach, job satisfaction, rating of the profession etc.) and extrinsic factors (i.e. those factors which people have by virtue of occupying a particular social status). As a response to reason of working she found that 21.8% from Group A school joined teaching to enhance family income while 43.7% from group B joined to utilize their education while on the question of choice of teaching profession more of women associated teaching with respectability and they thought teaching as respectable occupation for educated women while some chose to teaching because their families thought it as respectable. Again a section of women considered teaching as the best profession for women in modern society.

On the other hand, Liddle and Joshi (1986) studied women from four different professional works in Delhi- medicine, teaching (in higher education), civil service and management and they found that the first two professions so far were considered the traditional occupations for women whereas the latter two were seen as relatively new occupations for women. They pointed out various factors behind such professional division of work such as patriarchy and male domination, religious tradition, social hierarchy of caste, orthodoxy, women's subordination etc. They argued that like medicine especially gynecology, teaching is also considered one of the most acceptable jobs for women because of its possibility to work only with women, in girls' school and colleges. Both the professions represent nothing but 'an extension of women's domestic nurturing roles' (p.132) and these professions were 'opened to women partially in order to maintain sex segregation so that women and girls could receive education and health care from members of their own sex (p.8). Thus, sex segregation made these professions respectable for women. The notion of sex segregation again revolves round the concept of 'marriage' which involves male control over female sexuality in a patriarchal set up like India. Marriage was the reason due to which for many decades even the natal family

of the woman did not allow her to take up any sort of paid work outside the home. Hence women's sexuality was controlled by seclusion; by early arranged marriages with or without the bride's consent and by the ban on widow remarriage. This trend of orthodoxy was more prominent among the patriarchal upper caste communities in India.

Similarly, Chanana (2001) in analyzing the trends of women's employment in India also reveals that only a few while-collar occupations are clustered for women such as teaching, nursing, clerical and related jobs which are either in low status occupations or in the lowest rungs of prestigious occupations. He highlights that the highest proportion of employed women were teachers i.e. 74.7% of them in 1966 while in nursing it was 7.10%, clerks - 11.80 %, typists - 1.70%, physicians - 1.00% in the same period. Again, most of the women teachers were engaged in the school teaching. Within school teaching, 71% women teachers were in the primary level and 21% were in secondary schools. Very few women were in the teaching in colleges and in universities. She observes that the tendency for women to cluster in a few low-paid cum low- status occupations reflects the limited employment opportunities open to women.

In analyzing the career perspective of women Chanana (2001) again investigates into as to why certain low-status occupations such as school teaching, nursing etc. revolve round most of working women's career and observes that within the structural realm of 'marriage alliances' a women's career path is quite different from that of her husband. This is because her career in most circumstances is affected by her husband's career considerations. A man's career follows a steady curve that goes till retirement while a woman's career receives several ups and downs due to child-bearing and rearing. In many cases she has to give up a job because her husband shifts to another job or place.

As far as the professional commitment of working women is concerned marriage acts as an important variable in determining so. It is found in different studies that an unmarried working woman involves with her career prospect as equal commitment as that of men. While marriage makes a difference on the professional commitment level for women but not in the lives of men. This happens due to the dual burden that women have to carry after marriage. Chanana suggests that if adequate familial support and domestic help are made available to women then these women will also make no compromise with their

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professional commitment (*ibid*). Kale (1972) in her study also sought as to how some women teachers joined school teaching not voluntarily but as a choice imposed upon them by their parents. Hence teaching seems to them just an adaptation to the parents' desire as the latter hold teaching as an acceptable career for women.

Thus it becomes apparent from the above discussion that school teaching is seen a desired occupation for women because it is associated with the control of sexuality of women which is considered one of the most important values in Indian society especially in marriage context. It is because of this reason that though it is otherwise a low status occupation but for women it becomes a respectable one. Nevertheless with the opening up of the economy the prospects for other professions also become available for women and it has no longer limited to certain cluster of occupations only in the market. At the same time school teachers have also started taking up other paid works outside the school such as tuitions, coaching etc. at a speedy trend which has changed the values of entire education system in a different direction. This will be analyzed briefly in the next section.

1.3.5 Teachers in Private Tuition

Sujatha and Geetha Rani (2011) highlight the existence of a system of 'private tuition'[2] which go parallel to the formal system of education in India and it is more prominent in the secondary education because students at this level have the pressure of performing better in the public examinations. They categorized private tuitions into four types : home tuitions which are individually arranged; group tuition; coaching centres and private tuition by school teachers for one or a group of students at one place. They collected sample of 6948 students of 49 schools from four states i.e. Kerala, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and found that a large percentage of students take private tuitions in Mathematics, followed by Science and English. It must be noted that in the high class society tuition has become a matter of social identity because parents in

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[2] Sujatha and Geetha Rani (2011) mention private tuition as the supplementation of tutoring and covering subjects which are already covered in the school and it is basically provided by the entrepreneurs for profit making purpose.

absence of their adequate support feel more secure about their children's academic success when they go for tuition.

At the same they also found that around 60% of students do not go for private tuition. While investigated as to why they do not avail private tuition, 47% replied that they do not require it because they understand teaching in school; 20% admits that the cost of tuition remains a crucial factor though private tuition is of help. For some students coaching institutions only aim at making money where students just waste their time and money but learn nothing (*ibid*).

Kumar (2011) in her analysis on middle class child remarks, "middle-classness is defined and supported by the success of the child and destroyed by the child's failure . . . this success is premised on the acquisition of economic, social and particularly cultural capital". She points out that majority of the middle-class children today are in the grey zone between success and failure. They see ensuring the success of their children at school and when they feel inadequate to the task of ensuring their child's success at school then they expect their children to go for tuition and coaching institutes for the subjects learnt in school. Coaching institutes, she terms, are largely the definers of middle-classness'. Originally coaching institutes or tutoring were founded as a 'career option' by those educated young men who faced lack of employment opportunities and it seemed to be a respectable occupation for them. In an interview with a teacher of a coaching centre it is found that the person chose to open the coaching institution as a result of 'lack of choice' which 'today is the most remunerative of professions'. Such a coaching tutor earns 6 lakh per session, i.e. Rs.600000 for approximately eight to ten months. The tutor also pointed out that the failure of many students in spite of joining the coaching is due to lack of their own focused dreams and aims. He also reveals that they even tend to warn the parents if their children cannot cope and manage in the classes, but many a time parents insist that their children will manage. It is found that the base of the students especially in Mathematics and English is very poor. To him the primary schooling is of very low quality which must be improved for the real success of the students and thus the problem is a structural one.

Interestingly, Kumar (2011) has also observes that the education system in different ways is a key site for the transmission of cultural capital and reproduction of the middle class identity what Bourdieu calls 'reproduction of future class'. In other words the education system today seems to be beneficial to a certain category of class only and the success of this class leads to their recruitment in the new economy in different sorts of professional occupations. In the process the education system also produces increasing inequality among different classes. Hence some renowned coaching institutes, well-known public schools where fee structure is too high etc. are the sites for only those classes who can afford it and hence it limits the lower class children in accessing these facilities.

1.3.6 Neoliberalism and its effect on Private and Public sector Employment

Neoliberalism, from anthropological point of view, can be comprehended in two ways – one, as a structural force that affects people's life chances and two, as an ideology of governance that shapes subjectivities. The former views that neoliberalism is the global inequalities that have risen sharply and most people are marginalized, disappointed and disenfranchised because of the structural constraints that limit all sorts of agencies revolving gender, class, race, age and other categories of social difference. The second view talks about subject formation which stems from the ideas of market rationalities and discourses about efficiency, competition, entrepreneurship and individual autonomy. It is the privatization which accompanies neoliberal restructuring of the economy (Ganti, 2014).

Neoliberalism is different from classical liberalism in its belief that a good society is not natural but the result of an intensive political effort and organization. It is similar to classical liberalism in the belief in markets as compared with the state as a more efficient mechanism to communicate information about demand, supply and prices and it also redefines the nature and functions of the state accordingly (*ibid*: 92).

Fernandes (2006) explores that Indian new economy after liberalization has resulted in the expansion of the service sector and of professionals leading to accelerated economic growth of the country since the 1990s. She says,

"White-collar private sector employment has been fundamentally linked with the rise of the new Indian middle class. At a structural level, the new middle class is not comprised of new entrants to middle class status. Rather, it is defined by a change in the status of jobs, which now signify the upper tiers of middle class employment. The socio-economic boundaries of the new middle class are shaped by this shift in the direction of new middle class employment aspirations. In symbolic terms, the cultural and economic standard for the "old" middle class aspire to jobs in a state bank or the Indian Civil Service. Members of the new middle class aspire to jobs in multinational corporations or foreign banks … The new Indian middle class has thus been associated in structural terms with the expanded "new economy" service sectors and private sector professional workforces. These sectors are central areas that have been affected by liberization and associated processes of economic restructuring (*ibid* : 89-90)".

At the same time she also reveals that the effects of liberalization on the middle class in general are characterized by varied experiences wherein certain groups have been marginalized, incorporated and excluded from a structured labor market. Liberalization has especially marginalized the traditional public sector employees in industries such as banking, insurance etc. She analyses the various layers of the middle class ranging from clerical workers to upper level managerial workers and demonstrated that 'the effects lie in between these stories of success and exploitation as liberization has produced a set of contradictory effects for different segments of the urban middle class that aspire to membership within the new middle class' (*ibid*).

On similar fashion Upadhya (2011) also describes that it is the 'new' middle class people who are the real beneficiaries of the neoliberalism especially in so far as software and IT sector is concerned. She correspondingly emphasizes that the 'old' middle class is still dependent on public sector jobs whereas the 'new' middle class has started locating themselves in the rapidly expanding private sector and the globalized economy. Nonetheless she discusses that the new middle class of India is a much larger and diversified class which also includes the category of 'lower middle class' and this section continues to depend on government and public sector jobs.

Singh (1985) points out that it is the group of white-collar-workers which constitute the new middle class and it includes various types of clerks, assistants, civil servants, executives, managers, professionals (such as doctors and engineers and lawyers), working as salaried employees in organizations, supervisors, teachers and other educationists, employees working in various departments of Government, Banks and Commercial firms, and salaried employees other than manual workers, in tertiary industries, viz, hotels, cinema, restaurants (i.e. chain restaurants), advertising firms, travelling agencies, insurance companies etc. He underlies that they all enjoy a salaried status, job security, old age benefits, medical facilities and other perks (*ibid* : 72).

Scrase and Scrase (2009) found contradictory viewpoints among the private and government sector employees of West Bengal with regard to the impact of neoliberal reforms on different works of middle class people. It was found from their ethnographic study that people had opined and experienced both the advantages as well as disadvantages of liberalism. As far as positive views towards government works are concerned many informants emphasized the safety nets provided by government employment unlike the private enterprise which is driven by high profit motive and characterized by insecurity of job, exploitation, absence of autonomy and freedom etc. They see Government organizations as more humane. Whereas pro neoliberalism employee viewed privatization as a good thing because the formal private sector workers feel the ethos of hard work which results in efficiency of work. Employees in the private sector are extolled for the virtues of punctuality, diligence, dedication and enthusiasm unlike the public sector workers which are viewed by them as unproductive because of their lethargic nature, hence leads to inefficiency in the public sector in the atmosphere of no work culture. The pro private sector informants included workers from large private corporations, private school teachers, a small number of highly qualified civil servants and the young people in general. However to many low ranking government employees poor management is the reason responsible for inefficiencies and not workers and therefore they point out that it is the innovative management practices rather than privatization which can help in improving the efficiency in the public sector (*ibid* : 109-120).

There have also been constant changes as an outcome of neoliberal economy which has also divided people into categories such as 'traditional', 'modern' and 'ultra-modern' types and these different tags are attributed to them based on their access and use of new technological items in the realm of consumerist culture of the present era. The youth, today, consider those people as modern who have facilities with the use of new technology, gadgets, access to internet, active on social networking sites and adept in making use of it (Mathur, 2014 : 106).

Thus from students point of view because of smooth access to internet online classroom has emerged as a big contribution of Globalized economy. Today students sitting at home can learn their academic textbook related difficulties through internet surfing. For understanding of such texts, animation related videos are also available online. In such circumstances the question of how the students view their learning experiences vis-à-vis teachers and how they value school teaching as a profession becomes a crucial question of the time. At the same time teachers' own response to such changes over the period of time needs a correspondent enquiry.

1.4 A Statistical Overview of Teachers teaching at the Secondary School Level

Before comprehending the figures it is essential here to discuss the meanings of specific terms of the Teaching profession. The Statistics of School Education 2011-12 discusses these terms in a comprehensive manner which are detailed in this present section. By the term Government means the Central and State Governments. A Private Unaided School denotes a school managed by an individual, trust, society or other private organization and not receiving regular maintenance grant from Government or local body. A school which is in receipt of one-time ad-hoc grant for a specific purpose like building construction, strengthening of library or laboratory facilities, one-time subsidy towards teacher salary etc., but not receiving regular maintenance grant, is also treated as an unaided School.

A school is categorized according to the highest level (as per State pattern) at which it imparts instructions. Thus a school having highest class up to XI or XII is categorized as Senior Secondary School. A school having highest class up to IX or X is categorized as

Secondary School. A school having highest class up to VII or VIII is categorized as Upper Primary School. A school having highest class up to IV or V is categorized as Primary School and Pre-Primary School means schools imparting instruction at a level preceding Class I of the Primary stage i.e. Nursery/Kindergarten, but excludes Anganwadies, run under ICDS and Balwadies run under any other scheme of States Government/Local Bodies or private crèches etc.

Teacher is a significant term in researching on the teaching profession. A teacher is a person who is directly engaged in instructing a group of students. Head of the institution is also counted as teacher. The research guiding staff, demonstrators, tutors and Directors of Physical Education & Physical Training Instructors are considered as teachers. Teachers registered as research scholars are considered as teachers. However, research students doing teaching work are not treated as teachers in the report of the Statistics of School Education 2011-12. Similarly, laboratory attendants, library clerks, game instructors, etc. who do not participate in teaching are not treated as teachers.

On the other hand a trained teacher is one who has successfully undergone a course of training through a recognised teacher training institution. Again, Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) denotes average number of pupils (students) per teacher at a specific level of education in a given school-year.

Table 1.1: Number of School Education Institutions

	Primary Schools	Upper Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Senior Secondary Schools	Total Schools
1950-51	209671	13596		7416	230683
1960-61	330399	49663		17329	397391
1970-71	408378	90621		37051	536050
1980-81	494503	118555		51573	664631
1990-91	560935	151456		79796	792187
1991-92	565786	152077	61576	20171	799610
1995-96	590421	171216	71065	27069	859771
2000-01	638738	206269	87675	38372	971054
2005-06	772568	288493	106024	53643	1220728
2010-11	748547	447600	131215	72046	1399408
2011-12	763370	478756	128321	85389	1455836

Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

In 1950-51, there were 7416 secondary schools out of total 230683 schools. Upto 1990-91, Secondary schools and Senior Secondary schools constitute the same category. Since 1991-92 onwards separate figures were maintained differently for Secondary Schools and Senior Secondary schools. In 1991-92, there were 61576 secondary schools and 20171 Senior secondary Schools out of total 799610 Schools. This figure changed to 128321 and 85389 respectively out of total 1455836 Schools in 2011-12.

Table 1.2 : Percentage Distribution of Schools by Management

Year	Senior Secondary Schools			Secondary Schools		
	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided
1973-74	26.5	57.0	5.6			
1978-79	30.4	57.3	3.6			
1986-87	37.5	44.8	10.0			
1993-94	37.8	37.8	15.2			
1996-97	39.0	36.2	18.1			
1997-98	39.2	34.9	19.4			
1998-99	38.8	34.1	20.7			
1999-2000	37.2	34.0	22.4			
2001-02	36.2	34.0	23.6			
2002-03	34.3	29.3	28.0			
2003-04	35.0	31.2	32.7	32.5	27.5	31.7
2004-05	36.1	31.0	31.8	31.7	28.5	28.5
2005-06	33.4	30.8	34.8	31.6	27.9	31.2
2006-07	33.2	29.7	36.0	30.7	27.2	33.4
2007-08	34.1	30.3	34.4	30.2	26.1	34.6
2008-09	34.0	29.2	36.0	31.5	24.4	35.7
2009-10	42.9	21.1	33.8	31.1	21.4	36.1
2010-11	33.4	26.9	37.3	29.9	23.3	35.3
2011-12	33.1	25.8	40.3	32.7	21.8	37.6

Upto 2002-03,figures for Senior Secondary include Secondary
Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

In 1973-74, 26.5% of secondary schools were managed by the Government while 57.0 % and 5.6% by the private aided and private unaided management respectively. In 2003-04, 32.5% of secondary schools are managed by the Government while 27.5% and 31.7% are

managed by the private aided and private unaided management. In 2011-12 this figure is 32.7%, 21.8% and 37.6% respectively. It shows that while the share of private un-aided schools has increased over the years, the percentage of government schools has decreased.

Table 1.3 : Number of Teachers at the level of Secondary School
(Figures in Thousands)

Year	Secondary			Senior Secondary		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1950-51				107	20	127
1955-56				155	35	190
1960-61				234	62	296
1965-66				368	111	497
1970-71				474	155	629
1980-81				669	257	926
1990-91				917	417	1334
1991-92	543	277	819	337	153	490
1995-96	591	321	912	392	189	581
2000-01	654	352	1006	531	225	756
2005-06	696	427	1123	638	394	1032
2010-11	776	471	1247	766	496	1261
2011-12	700	462	1163	783	520	1303

Upto 1990-91,figures for Senior Secondary include Secondary
Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

During 2011-12, there are 13.0, 11.6, 20.6 and 22.5 lakhs of teachers in Senior Secondary, Secondary, Upper Primary and Primary schools respectively. It is interesting to note that the total number of teachers in Primary schools has increased from 5.38 lakh in 1950-51 to 22.54 lakh in 2011-12 i.e. by more than four times, while the number of female teachers increased by eleven times from 0.82 lakh in 1950-51 to 9.95 lakh in 2011-12. The number of teachers in Upper Primary schools has increased from 0.86 lakh in 1950-51 to 20.57 lakh in 2011-12 i.e. by more than twenty one times, while the number of female teachers increased by 64 times from 0.13 lakh in 1950-51 to 8.89 lakh in 2011-12.

1.4.1 Comparison of All India Figures and Delhi Figures

Table 1.4 : Pupil Teacher Ratio & Number of Female Teachers per 100 Male Teachers

Year	Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR)		Number of Female Teachers per 100 male Teachers	
	Secondary	Senior Secondary	Secondary	Senior Secondary
1950-51		21		19
1960-61		25		26
1970-71		25		33
1990-91		31		45
1991-92	32	31	51	45
1995-96	29	35	54	48
2000-01	31	35	54	42
2005-06	32	34	61	62
2010-11	30	34	61	65
2011-12	32	33	66	66

Upto 1990-91, figures for Senior Secondary include Secondary
Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

During 2011-12, Pupil Teacher Ratio at all India level is 33, 32, 34, 41 for Senior Secondary Schools, Secondary Schools, Upper Primary Schools, Primary Schools respectively while this figure in Delhi is 33, 35, 30, 42 respectively with not much difference compared to the all India figures. Again, the Number of Female teachers per Hundred Male Teachers is also very significant. At all India level the figure is 66, 66, 76, 79 for Senior Secondary Schools, Secondary Schools, Upper Primary Schools, Primary Schools respectively while this figure in Delhi is 244, 226, 525, 255 for the same chronological order. Thus the number of female teacher per 100 male teachers has also increased over the years.

Table 1.5 : Number of Schools in India and Delhi

	India (including States/UTs)	Delhi
Number of Senior Secondary /Secondary Education Boards	48	3
Senior Secondary Schools	85389	1427
Secondary Schools	128321	461
Upper Primary Schools	478756	598
Primary Schools	763370	2581
Pre Primary school	61498	51

Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

Table 1.6 : Number of Senior Secondary Schools by Management in India and Delhi

	Senior Secondary Schools						
	Government		Private Aided		Private Unaided		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Total
India	27497	32.2	21381	25.0	33426	39.1	85389
Delhi	782	54.8	161	11.3	471	33.0	1427

Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

Table 1.7 : Number of Secondary Schools by Management in India and Delhi

	Secondary Schools						
	Government		Private Aided		Private Unaided		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
India	40584	31.6	27035	21.1	46650	36.4	128321
Delhi	181	39.3	26	5.6	244	52.9	461

Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

There are total 1187 Private Unaided Schools and 221 Private Aided Schools in Delhi which include all the levels of Schools recognized by the Directorate of Education of Delhi Government while as per KVS Annual Report 2015-16, there are just 44 Kendriya Vidyalayas in Delhi out of total 1128 KVs throughout the country as on 31st march, 2016. This is to note here that the vision of Directorate of Education is to impart free education to students from Class I to XII irrespective of caste, colour, creed, religion; to provide facilities to teachers for teaching and updating their knowledge; to provide Elementary Education to children.

Table 1.8: Gender wise Number of teachers in India and Delhi at Secondary Schools

	Senior Secondary Schools			Secondary Schools		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
India	783096	520050	1303146	700440	462376	1162816
Delhi	20764	50742	71506	3328	7536	10864

Source : Statistics of School Education 2011-12

The All India figure in case of Upper Primary and Primary Schools is 1178748 and 895245 for Men and Women respectively. In case of Delhi it is 1284 and 6745 for Men and Women respectively for Upper Primary schools; 7867 and 20086 for Men and Women in Primary School level.

The percentage of trained teachers at All India level is 91, 91, 87, 81 and 85 for Senior Secondary Schools, Secondary Schools, Upper Primary schools, Primary schools and Pre Primary schools respectively while the same percentage of Delhi is 100% for all the levels of Schools.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The question as to why a researcher chooses to research on a particular topic becomes very crucial for the execution of research study. Certain reasons are associated with my research topic as well that has motivated me to explore on this line further.

In Indian context, for long teaching has rather been considered to be a respectable and noble task. Different studies show that more of women got into teaching profession (mainly school teaching) to enjoy a respectable position in the society. But a trend has been observed towards gradual shift of women (though limited) to corporate, managerial and other non-teaching fields. On the other hand, men teachers are equally welcomed into the profession (seen in my pilot study as well). In this scenario, it becomes interesting to study who are these teachers in recent times who join teaching profession and what are the reasons behind their choice; what is the professional commitment level of the school teachers depending on how they perceive this profession vis-à-vis other professions and what is the new link between caste and class category in this neoliberal globalized society. Hence, it can give a glimpse of the future of the teaching profession.

Different studies also show that the high degree of autonomy that prevails in other elite professions is lacking in school teaching. Teachers are effective government servants who conform the practices of their institutions to government regulation. In this context what seems interesting to me is to understand the kind of power-dynamics associated with the school teachers that is how authoritative is the principal towards other teachers or how senior teachers respond to a junior teacher so on and so forth. Another aspect that

seems motivating to me is to look at the task differences of the routine schedule among the government and private school teachers and compare and comprehend as to why certain tasks are performed by a particular category of school teachers and why not by the other category. Further, the ethical moral standard of the school teacher towards other forms of paid works outside the school such as private tuition class, coaching etc. is an interesting question that caught my attention.

Similarly, in the context of Economic Liberalization it seems essential to analyze how it affected the teaching profession in terms of better teacher education, salary increment, and security of the profession, timely upgradation of the teachers etc. and on the other hand how teachers are promoting neoliberal ideas such as sex education in the classroom. Again, in the context of reservation of SCs/STs it also becomes necessary to examine to what extent the representation of the underprivileged sections increased/decreased in the teaching profession in the government school in the post reservation era. Besides, it is also true that within the given social structure, different teachers have tendencies to teach with different strategies which has motivated me to understand if some teachers within the structural framework adopt their own alternative teaching strategies to make learning interesting for the children (equivalent on the line of alternative learning system as pointed out by certain categories of schools such as Mirambika).

Studies also show that the reason for women to take up the teaching profession is owing to their attachment with the family responsibility. But the Work-family negotiation has become again an emerging issue of research in 21st century post liberalization era and especially for women. Balancing work and family is seen as an immense challenge. Sen (2005) underlies that unequal sharing of household chores is still a part of Indian family tradition where women are primarily responsible for looking after the home, the children, managing the household and the preparation of food. It is therefore still common in many societies that women are acceptable to work outside the home if and only if they can also engage with their inescapable and unequally shared household duties. In such scenario the kind of profession women take up reveals its utmost significance. Such types of observation by early scholars also fetch my curiosity as to whether still school teaching can serve this kind of balancing task for women.

1.6 Research Objectives

1) To analyze government plans, policies and programmes towards teachers and teaching profession and to examine its implementation level.

2) To explore the profession of teaching at the secondary school level as perceived by the teachers themselves belonging to different caste, age, gender, religions, regions etc.

3) To highlight the major changes in the societal perception of the profession of teaching in the pre and post liberalization in Indian context.

4) To comprehend the perception of power-dynamics in the teaching profession and to examine whether the profession of school teaching is a balancing force between work and family negotiations.

1.7 Chapter Sketches

'Introduction' presents my research problem, the area wherein the present research falls, review of related literature, objectives, significance of the study.

Chapter 1- 'Teaching, Schooling and Education: A Sociological Understanding' discusses the theoretical approaches of different schools of thought.

Chapter 2- 'Methodology: Finding answers through Field Enquiry' discusses the nature of field enquiry for the research. The social profile of the informants, variables used in the research, methods of data collection and challenges in the process of data collection will all be dealt with in length.

Chapter 3- 'Understanding Teaching in India: Historical Roots and Policy Perspectives' emphasizes on the historical roots of teaching in India, different debates on government policies and institutional framework towards Secondary Education in India including Kothari Commission, 1966; National Policy on Education, National Curriculum Framework, 2005 etc. The chapter will also discuss on the implementation of different policies made on school teachers.

Chapter 4- 'School Teaching: Nature, Professionalization and Power Dynamics' emphasizes on the nature of both the schools, description of the nature of work for a school teacher, if there is a changing trend in the teaching practices and the power dynamics in the teaching profession. It also discusses as to whether the profession of school teaching is just a profession and it is beyond a profession.

Chapter 5- 'Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) and Changes in the Teaching Profession' basically discusses the relevance and implications of the recently introduced CCE pattern in schools and looks at as to how it is practically enhancing the teaching-learning environment.

Chapter 6- 'Challenges and Negotiations of Teachers in the Workplace and Family' focuses on the changing nature of relationship between teachers and students, professional and personal lives of school teachers and the level of negotiations made by school teachers with respect to gender, age, marital status and on other grounds.

'Conclusion' shows the major findings of the research and suggest the areas for further research on the study.

CHAPTER 1

TEACHERS, SCHOOL SYSTEM AND EDUCATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

"*Education is not the amount of information that we put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested, all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-making assimilation of ideas. If you have assimilated five ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who has got by heart a whole library….. …. If education is identical with information, the libraries are the greatest sages of the world and encyclopedia are the greatest Rishis*."

-Swami Vivekanand

The present doctoral work focuses on the nature of teaching profession. While engaging with such work one thing that constantly comes in mind is that 'is the so-called teaching profession similar to all other kinds of the profession like the profession of doctor, engineer, administrator so on and so forth?' To my mind, it cannot be similar to these categories of other professions in so far as the very nature of the profession itself is concerned. Teachers perform their actions as agents and also as part of the structure. As agent, they exercise their subjectivities in terms of action and authority through critical engagement. By involving critically teachers can contribute to the school system in particular and for larger educational structure in general. But the question that arises here is as to how much the structure influence the agency of the teacher. Education as 'ideological state apparatus' is utilized from above many a time which is then passed down to the schools and it is the teachers who ultimately have to implement these ideologies in the classrooms in front of the young minds. Therefore when we study teachers or the teaching profession the researcher also needs to look at its various dimensions and vagaries i.e. the location of the teacher in its very profession, within the school system and their role in both imparting and contributing education to different generations of students, hence teacher's relations with their learners.

2.1 Debates over the role of teaching, schooling, and Education

With the constant progress towards capitalism, 'education' has been identified with a new middle-class identity which is associated with the new style of living, values, power and ideologies. In this new definition of education again the sources which play a crucial role are the schools and the teachers. Therefore teaching profession could not be studied in a vacuum rather as integral part of the school and the education system.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers enumerates that the status of teachers should correspond with the requirements of education as entailed in its aims and objectives; it is required to realize that for the complete recognition of these aims and objectives of the education, enshrining proper status of teachers with due public regard for the profession of teaching are of major requirements (UNESCO, 1966).

Sociology of Education involves extensive works on comprehending education and schooling system, from classical sociological context to the contemporary ones, from the notion of objectivities to the subjectivities and the role of the teachers in this shift. In other words, theoretical perspectives are those manifestations which lead a researcher to correspond or deconstruct the existing knowledge system in the light of the empirical data collected for his/her research. Thus, these are a lens to shape the collected data towards proper analysis and perfection.

2.2 Classical Sociological Context

There are different theoretical perspectives in Sociology such as Functionalism, Structural Functionalist approach, Phenomenological perspective, Structural theory etc. through the lens of which the area of sociology of education can be studied beautifully. In the present study of the teaching profession within the Classical Sociological Context, the structural-functionalist approach and critical pedagogical approach will be brought throughout the work as without understanding this important theoretical perspective of sociology, the position of education in the society cannot be comprehended properly.

2.2.1 Functionalist Approach to Education

The functionalists conceive of society as an integrated whole made up of interdependent parts. So Functionalist approach tries to explain the persistence of social life i.e. how does the society persist. And this persistence of society is explained in terms of the contributions of the parts towards the fulfillment of the needs. While Durkheim restricted himself to the societal needs because of his extreme social realism, Malinowski argued that parts of society satisfy both the societal needs as well as individual needs. Functionalist tradition is established in the works of Durkheim, Malinowski, Redcliff-Brown and later on Parsons and Merton.

2.2.1.1 Emile Durkheim on Moral Teaching

Emile Durkheim in his Moral Education focuses on the role of teachers or the meaning of the vocation of the teachers in the accomplishment of the act of transaction of ideas and knowledge, traditions from the adult generations to the younger generations, from the old to the new generations and that is how his ideas become relevant in making sense of social and institutionalized location of teachers. Durkheim emphasizes the moral reality while discussing his views on education. To enhance moral integration of the society he addresses the seedbed for its germinating in the public school and here specifically emphasizes the role of the teacher. To Durkheim, morality involves consistency and regularity of conduct which comes with disciplined life. Durkheim in his *L'education morale*[1] (1925) says, "To act morally is to act in terms of the collective interest . . . . the domain of the moral begins where the domain of the social begins" (*ibid*: 25). Hence his definition of morality is essentially related with the society. Since education is a means to a social end and the teacher is a social agent, so he/she is responsible for cultural transmission to create social and moral beings in the image of a man in the society (Durkheim, 1961). So the question naturally arises what is the teachers' role in their vocation. The larger sensitivity of society is expected in the calling of the teaching profession. In this sense, the self-perception of the teachers seems significant as to how teachers look at their profession. These are some sociological and pedagogical questions.

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[1] Moral Education (1961) is a translation of the original French edition "L'education morale" of Emile Durkheim published by Libraire Felix Alcan in 1925.

Durkheim in his Moral education (1961) argues that role of family members as primary teachers of their children are not sufficient because there is an element of affection and emotion in that environment. The children under such environment cannot develop their own personality as there is also always a feeling of protection towards the children. School in that sense takes the child out of that affective environment and 'excessive dependency' (*ibid*: 145) and moves the child to an impersonal disciplined environment. To be more concrete he argues that the child should be instructed by different teachers in school for the simple reason that he/she could not develop a dependency of instruction from the same teacher but develop a command from the abstract and impersonal rule. The requirement of inculcating such a habit lies in the fact that absence of an ordered life would result in irregularity and once this habit starts taking its root it would be very difficult to undo that habit from the child. He is in view that "to act morally is to conform to the rules of morality"(*ibid*: 146). Now it is the duty of the teacher to exert influence on the children to crystallize the generalized dispositions in a particular way. Familial education though prepares the child for moral life but it especially the small family is inadequate with respect to preparing the child towards the spirit of discipline or the respect for the rule. Therefore morality within a familial set up is a matter of emotion and sentiment which loses its earlier nature of impersonality found in joint familial setup. But the child must learn how to respect for the rule and do his duty in a larger social set up so that social coherence and solidarity can remain intact. This particular task is done in school by the teacher. The teacher first teaches the child to adhere to the school discipline by learning his lessons on time, doing his homework, do well in the classroom practices etc. To inculcate this school discipline is the moral function of the teacher which h/she has to perform not in a simple superficial way for peace and order in the classroom because in that situation children could find these imperative requirements as barbarous and may protest against these kinds of tyrannical regulations. Instead, school discipline should be such that each social group, each societal group could have its own morality. School acts as a miniature society where students from different social and cultural background come together not by any personal feelings or preferences but by general and abstract rules and the teacher has to perform his role of maintaining morality through discipline so that the children now learn to connect with others with reason and not with

feelings and emotions. The teacher in school plays the role of mediator between the affective morality of the family and the rigorous morality of society. By respecting the school rules the child also learns the habit of self-control and restraint which is the first step towards fulfilling the duty in a civilized society and the teacher has to inculcate this habit and so his responsibility is huge (*ibid*: 1961).

A classroom without discipline behaves like a mob and it is usually collective which may result in serious moral danger to the society at large. Therefore to maintain discipline in the classroom the teacher needs to derive its authority towards punishing the undisciplined children and rewarding the disciplined children. When children will have a sense of law beyond their control yet constrains and restrains them, a well-disciplined class will grow to breathe the air of good health and humor and the teacher has to ensure such a well-disciplined class. An undisciplined class, on the other hand, produces confusion among children and it starts gradually flourishing in rest of their life too which proves to be an obstacle to the nation's good governance. But in this process school discipline should not embrace so much to the extent of determining child's way of talking or walking, keeping notebooks etc. that start annoying the child as absurd procedures rather the child should passively submit to this disciplined life without resistance or being a rebel. By hinting at these serious consequences of the abusive form of discipline Durkheim argues, "the teacher is only too easily inclined to commit it; and it is important that he take this into account. Since any uncontained power tends to expand endlessly, without limit, the regulatory power at his disposal needs to be contained. Within the class, the teacher is alone with the children, who are in no position to resist him. He must, then, resist himself, his own inclinations" (ibid: 153). Thus for the 'taste of discipline', the imposition of force is not often desired, but to make the child obey this willingly is more desired and thus if he could feel the moral authority inherent in the rule he will automatically render respect to it. But the question arises here is how to inculcate such a feeling of the moral obedience to law.

It is the teacher, of course through which the rule is presented to the child. The teacher has the authority to familiarize the idea of a law to the children and everything depends on him as to how he invests that authority. Here comes the next question as to what are

those conditions what the teacher must fulfill for that authority to exercise. Durkheim enumerates some personal qualities as necessary requirements. In his words, "the teachers should be decisive, have some will power. Since the imperative character of the rule derives from the fact that it silences all doubts and hesitations, the rule cannot appear obligatory to the child if applied indecisively - if those charged with teaching it to him do not seem always certain of what it should be. However, these are really secondary considerations. What is above all important is that the teacher really feel in himself the authority he must communicate and for which he must convey some feeling. It constitutes a force that he can manifest only if he possesses it effectively (*ibid*: 154)".

It is because of this reason that the source of teacher's authority has a 'moral character and value' and hence the punishment associated with indisciplinary acts by children is regarded as just by them and this makes the fear of punishment different from what is called respect for authority thus making authority legitimate in its true sense. Durkheim argues,

> 'It is not from the outside, from the fear he inspires, that the teacher should gain his authority; it is from himself. This cannot come to him except from his innermost being. He must believe, not perhaps in himself or in the superior quality of his intelligence or will, but in his task and the greatness of that task. It is the priest's lofty conception of his mission that gives him the authority that so readily colors his language and bearing. For he speaks in the name of a God, who he feels himself much closer than the laymen in the crowds he addresses. So, the lay teacher can and should have something of this same feeling…. Just as the priest is the interpreter of God, he is the interpreter of the great moral ideas of his time and country (*ibid*: 155).

When the teacher thus derives authority from an impersonal source he should also possess certain qualities such as not adhering to arrogance and vanity. The teacher for that reason must respect first his role as a teacher and he should entirely bring that sense within himself. It is also after this process that this respect would transmit through his words and bodily gesture from his mind to the children. T is in this way that the teacher can commit to present the impersonal rule completely separating it from his own personal

doing, but as something moral entity superior to him and for his he is just an instrument to transfer and not the authority himself (*ibid*:156).

2.2.1.2 Talcott Parsons on Teaching for Adult-Roles

Talcott Parsons put the structure into functionalism evolving towards Structural Functionalist Approach in which he argues that society is a living entity with a life and structure of its own. Parsons developed a systems approach. He viewed all societies as distinct and self-sufficient systems made up of a wide variety of sub-systems namely organism system, personality system, cultural system and social system through which adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance need of society are fulfilled respectively which parsons beautifully explained in his AGIL model. All these subsystems are interconnected and interdependent (Parsons, 1951). For instance, the economic system is dependent on the education system for the supply of adequate skilled workers; schools depend on family for their supply of future students etc. Structural-Functionalist Approach views society as created by culture. Talcott Parsons, one of the eminent pioneers of this approach opines that social action is culturally shaped. Using his systems approach, he viewed all societies as distinct and self-sufficient systems consisting of some sub-systems but all interconnected and independent. Influenced by the ideas of Emile Durkheim, a functionalist Parsons emphasized on the values and set of norms to make sure perfect harmonization among all the sub-systems and hence to integrate society or to ensure efficient social system. Parsons argued that this could be achieved only by socialization, social control, and role performance and therefore emphasized the importance of morality as the central value system. He portrayed hence the deviant behavior as the result of inadequate socialization (Parsons, 1951).

Parsons identifies change in two forms: structural change and the long-term evolutionary change. Structural changes are important changes in the organization and functioning of a society or its sub systems by which the society moves from one social type to another. Transformations of traditional society to industrial society, feudal to capitalist society or capitalist to socialist society etc. are examples of structural change. Within the sources of

the first category of change lies the variation in the physical environment, changes in technology, changes in personality or cultural values or norms.

Parsons is a functionalist to analyze school system as one of the sub systems within the social system and questions as to how the school class functions to internalize the future adult roles in the minds of the children and then he moves on commenting the school class as 'the focal socializing agency' which play a vital role in 'manpower allocation' on the basis of their achievements. In this process the role of both ascribed factors such as socio-economic background of the child and the achieved factors such as personal achievements based oh child's capacity is influential. Nevertheless the core point of differentiation lies on the line of achievement and this differentiation occurs when a bifurcation happens between the groups of college goers and non-college goers from their high school level. After the familial socialization, the formal education of the child begins in the school where h/she first learns the lessons of sex roles that is either as boy or girl. The family is a socializing agency where the child is rewarded or punished on ascribed position that is sex, age, generation etc. while the school is the first institutionalized socializing agency where the child is rewarded only on the basis of its achievement. The child has to prove him/herself of his differential capacity by qualifying the performance which is set by the teacher who acts as an agent of the school system and not as an agent of family to show special favors to any child on emotional terms. The teacher represents the 'adult world' and s/he relates him/herself to the pupils in the school classroom by systematically evaluating their performances and then either offers rewards or punishments through different means. This reward or a punishment gradually starts signifying the basis for the selection in their future status in the society. Amidst the similar age group pupils and the universalistic form of the school it is quite difficult for the teacher to provide any 'particularistic treatment' to any single child. Parsons argues, "A progressive teacher, like any other, will form opinions about the different merits of her pupils relative to the values and goals of the class and will communicate these evaluations to them, informally if not formally" (Parsons, 1959: 303).

School achievements can be categorized broadly into two: Cognitive and Moral. Cognitive achievement relates to learning the information, skills, gaining empirical

knowledge, mastery over technology while moral achievement relates to learning to be responsible such as respect for teachers, maintaining a cordial among fellow-pupils, inhabiting good work culture etc. A good pupil shows the capacity in achieving on both Cognitive and Moral fronts. Thus socializing function of the school is different from that of family because in school the learning of achievement-motivation 'is a process of identification with the teacher, of doing well in school in order to please the teacher' (*ibid*: 306) and through this process of identification a reciprocal pattern of role-relationship occurs. Parsons argues, "In school the teacher is institutionally defined as superior to any pupil in knowledge of curriculum subject-matter and in responsibility as a good citizen of the school. In so far as the school class tends to be bifurcated (and of course the dichotomization is far from absolute), it will broadly be on the basis, on the one hand, of identification with the teacher, or acceptance of her role as a model; and, on the other hand, of identification with the pupil peer group. This bifurcation of the class on the basis of identification with the teacher or with peer group so strikingly corresponds with the bifurcation into college goers and non-college goers that it would be hard to avoid the hypothesis that this structural dichotomization in the school system is the primary source of the selective dichotomization" (*ibid*: 307). An analytical interpretation of the elementary teacher's role in American society suggests that the teacher-figure is similar to some extent and different to some other aspects from the parent-figure of the pupils and the teacher is an adult 'characterized by generalized superiority. The teacher is nevertheless not related to pupils ascriptively 'rather performing an occupational role- a role' in which the pupils are associated to her services with full 'solidarity'. She is associated with the pupils more universalistically and not in particularistic fashion as happens in family and hence she should be more oriented towards performance and not towards the emotional side of the pupils so that she can see the distinction between high achievers and low achievers (*ibid*).

Merton (1968), an eminent American sociologist and pupil of Talcott Parsons, developed his concept of role model while analyzing his theory of reference group behavior. A role model according to him is an individual whose behavior, instance or success is imitated by others, especially by newer people. The present study would make use of concepts

from these perspectives in order to examine the teaching profession in India. Merton illustrates that individuals relate themselves with the people of that reference who inhabit that social role which the individual aspires. It must be noted in the context of school system that for many pupils, teachers have been seen as their primary role model and a positive reference group. But in the threshold of the changing dynamics whether teachers continues to be a role model for the pupils possess some challenging question that requires further study. School as an organization

2.2.2 Critical Pedagogical Approach

Critical Pedagogic approach is based on the concepts of critical theory and it is used in the field of education. The goal of critical pedagogy is liberation from oppression through an awakening of the critical consciousness.

2.2.2.1 Paulo Freire on Teaching Banking Concept of Education

Paulo Freire in his 'The Pedagogy of the oppressed' (1968) argued his essentially pedagogic exercise of overcoming the culture of silence in which large part of the society is the victim of this culture of silence who lost their languages and all their hopes. But he questions as to how it is possible for the oppressed people to overcome the culture of silence in recreating the world and freeing themselves from the oppression. Here he emphasizes on the pedagogic question. In the context of education he says that it is the teacher who imposes cultural silence on their students through banking form of education in the name of maintaining silence and discipline in the school. It implies that in Teaching environment the teacher is like a depositor who just deposit or fill the accounts of the students that are empty. In other words Teachers fulfill the so considered empty minds of the students with all sorts of theories, facts, information, knowledge, ideas etc. in which students are seemed to be empty without any reflection. Thus banking form of education imposes silence on the part of the learners.

As opposed to this banking form of education Freire talks about problem imposing education or humanitarian education where both teacher and the students are the collective projects and becomes part of mutual exploration and thus the relationship of dialogue is established. This is hence not teacher vs. student relationship, but teacher-

student relationship engaged in the act of perpetual discussion. As opposed to banking form of education, problem imposing education is full of criticality and reflexivity, dialogues, discussions, questions, thoughts. Thus dialogic education can bring a liberating relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. It is the dialogic education which makes us realize that we are not mere objects of the world; we are also procreator of the world. For dialogues to happen communication between the teacher and the students is the basic principle. Without dialogue no critical thinking is possible and without critical thinking education has no meaning.

What concerns Freire more is the bureaucratization of the learning institutions due to which the spirit of the vocation is lost and the mechanical homogenous criteria are replaced. Bureaucratic machinery dislikes charisma and as such it has reduced teachers to a cog in the learning mission. Teachers are too powerless to decide on the content of curriculum, syllabus, mode of evaluation. Everything is already deciding by the centralized codes. Teachers are instructed what ought to be taught or what ought not. Teachers fail into powerlessness also because they have become mere clerks with heavy bundle of copies, files moving fast from one class to another, maintaining records of attendance of the students in the registers, making them involved in Census, Election duty due to which large part of their energy is wasted and as such any kind of critical thought gets a setback.

2.2.2.2 Ivan Illich on Teaching the Declared Curriculum

Illich (1971) said in every education system there are a declared curriculum and a hidden curriculum. Whatever is already planned in the education system is a part of declared curriculum but the process of education by which these plans are brought to action is part of hidden curriculum such as not permitting a child to ask question in the classroom, to control a child through the process of examination, to expect from the child that answer what system wants etc. Thus how the state plans the education system in its favor by imparting that type education to the children they aspire is the hidden agenda of education. In the declared agenda these are then termed that these are for the development of the children, preparing the children for future and to build their bright career ahead.

To have equal opportunity for education is a feasible goal, but schooling has confused this goal by making false promises of salvation to the poor in this technological age. The state has adopted the curriculum that results in more of diplomas specifically for the meeting the needs of job requirements. In such a system of education or schooling where teachers just focus on providing packages of instruction with legal certification actual learning could hardly take place. Learning in schools implies acquiring new skills and insights which would help an individual in his promotion. It means learning needs certification from others that a person has learned so that it helps in getting selection in the job market.

An illusion that Illich is pointing out in such school system of ours is that learning is the outcome of teaching. Illich argues that in certain circumstances learning might take place with the contributions of teaching, but mostly people acquire knowledge and learning outside the school. He feels that learning happens casually from our everyday experimentation and intentional learning is not the outcome of the programmed instruction of teachers. For instance, to substantiate his argument he puts that children learn their languages casually and not in schools, they learn even faster if parents pay special attention to their learning. And those who learn second language they did so due to circumstantial pressures and not due to sequential teaching. Circumstances such as living with grandparents, travelling to different places, falling in love with a foreigner could benefit an individual towards learning a different language other than his mother language.

Similarly fluency in reading is also the outcome of one's engagement in the extracurricular activities. Also in schools those who learn to read with pleasure learn so to discard the illusion or the challenges put on them. Great learning even today happens casually or due to one's involvement in work, leisure etc. Nevertheless it is also not the case that planned instruction can never benefit in planned learning and its improvement. But here also the strongly motivated students can acquire more complex skills due to his/her engagement with old schoolmaster who taught him/her how to read. But schools these days rarely deal with such kinds of rare teaching.

There are many such skills which a motivated student can learn in a few months if taught in the traditional way. This is true in case of learning the reading and writing of the second and third languages, computer programming, learning algebra, and other skills such as wiring, typing, driving etc.

Illich argues that certification of knowledge is only a form of market requirement which is done through a schooled mind. There are teachers who are less skillful in arts and trades and less communicative or there are teachers of French or Spanish who could not speak the language correctly but their pupils learn in a couple of years. Citing the research experiment done by Angel Quintero in Puerto Rico Illich suggests that there are pupils if provided proper incentives and access to tools can prove much better than most of their schoolteachers in explaining things of different issues.

The demand of millions of children's education in schools has created the market for market for teachers. And schools are the space or the institution where it is assumed that learning derives from teaching and this illusion is getting legally established worldwide despite the evidences tells us the contradictory views. Most of us have learned most of our life lessons from outside the boundaries of the school. Pupils also do and learn most of the things without their teachers. Interestingly, majority of the great men who are known to the world today never went to school for learning. Everyone can learn how to think, speak, feel, work, play, love, dance etc. living outside the school. Therefore the argument of Illich lies towards an alternative model of learning by de-schooling society.

2.2.2.3 Peter McLaren on Teaching the Instructional Rites

Peter McLaren has broken new ground in education and is considered one of the architects of critical pedagogy, having been greatly influenced early in his career by Paulo Freire. McLaren in his book '*Schooling as a Ritual Performance*' (1986) emphasizes on the instructional rites imposed on the teachers and the students. He says that possibilities for the resistance and transformation of social life can be can sought through critical pedagogy at both individual and collective, personal and political levels. He attempts to comprehend how wider relations of power are played out in the agential

spaces of classroom and community life but also by engaging in such an analysis. He also investigates how in the everyday lives of students and teachers who operate at the level of common sense actions get structured at the wider level of the economy. This constantly reflects the identities of teachers, students, researchers. He made critical reflection on such connections in the context of wider ground of political action and class struggle. McLaren takes critical pedagogy to such a point of discursive politics that grasps politics as merely a text which can be deconstructed and interpreted again. Instead, McLaren approaches links cultural politics with materiality.

2.2.2.4 Michael Apple on Reproduction of Technological knowledge through Teaching

Apple (1979) argues that school functions for the production of individuals as required by the economic sector. The school enables the manpower capable of allocating positions in different parts of the economy. Thus the school teaches a hidden curriculum to make it suitable in maintaining the ideological hegemony of the powerful classes in the society. In school a certain type of knowledge is distributed among the children which is considered 'legitimate knowledge'. In the context of American society it is thus 'technological' knowledge which serves the interests of the corporate class and therefore this knowledge gets the 'high status knowledge' compared to other knowledge form. In this way the educational knowledge is a study of ideology due to which educational system has both manifest as well as latent functions.

In this process of imparting knowledge the teacher also plays its role within a controlled situation. There are four prime skills that are expected from a teacher that is to make small children learn "to share, to listen, to out things away, and to follow the classroom routine" (*ibid*: 53). In his study, Apple found that the kindergarten students were trained in such a way that they could do things only when teachers permitted for so which reflected that only those students who were quiet and obedient were considered good children in teacher's eyes. In the process of maintaining discipline and internalizing the socialized human behavior at times children learned to grow up with discomfort and ambiguity in the classroom. Both the teachers and the children gradually in this type of education system preferred work over play activities.

In the context of United States and English Apple (1986) argued that teachers had been facing the issue of being deskilled due to heavy technological encroachment into the educational curriculum. The integration of management system with pre-specified teaching resulted in a loss of control to their profession. Thus the restructuring of teaching had put significant implications. Apple is not necessarily arguing that teachers fall into the middle classes only, but definitely fall in between the upper and lower classes and they share the interests of both the petty bourgeoisie class and the lower class. Therefore technological restructuring changed a lot to the class structure of the teachers. Teaching is not only influenced by class factor, but also by gender. Apple argued that an overwhelming majority of teachers are women teachers in primary and secondary school levels but the managerial positions such as principals or head teachers are male teachers which show a clear cut sexual division in the teaching profession. Hence in 1950s and 60s when a strong pressure came from the state force to institute education as per the need of the market, everything that a teacher has to di was also prescribed. As school adopted new technological material as part of their curriculum, teachers (mostly women) did not find themselves sophisticated enough immediately making them deskilled. It separated conception of teachers from execution. It gradually led to the 'intensification' of the teaching profession, that is, most concrete ways of privileges of teachers eroded. Intensification also shattered sociability, leisure time and self-direction of the teachers and the risk of isolation increased. Those not equipped with the technological skill had either to leave or to make them reskilled as per the requirement. Also teaching required constant evaluation of the student's mastery over their subjects and maintaining the records of the evaluations of the students. Teachers thus had to busy from 7.30 to 4.30 in the school and two hours more for different academic tasks at home. It is because of this reason that teachers just wanted to get done with their works without having time to be creative for other academic contributions.

2.2.2.5 Krishna Kumar on Mechanical Teaching of Curriculum

Kumar raises the problem of curriculum and remarks that there is no principle for evolving curriculum. He puts three major questions while discussing the problem of

curriculum, that is, a) what is worth teaching? b) How should it be taught? And c) How is the opportunities for education distributed?

The question 'What is worth teaching?' in itself implies the obvious issue as to how to define 'worth'. How different types of knowledge can be valued to differentiate between worthy and unworthy kinds of teaching Kumar distinguishes between two routes to answering the problem. The first route is determining the worth of what we want to teach from the point of view of the learner. The second is defining worth in terms of the inherent value of what actually is wished to be taught.

From learners' point of view the worth of teaching depends on something we are giving taking the consideration of the receiver's point of view. Kumar addresses, "Education is something that adults want to give to children, so what could be better than judging the worth of what we want to teach in terms of children's own perception of it? The analogy of gift is obvious; when we are about to give a gift, we often choose the gift by considering the receiver's personality, likes, and needs." But the problem arises here is that we as adults might try to think from children's point of view but may not exactly submerge with their feelings.

Kumar articulates three reasons for this difficulty. First, children can develop interest in any form of knowledge depending on the way knowledge is presented to them and their interests keep on changing on and off. So the question of what is worth teaching and what is not worthy are not predominantly appropriate questions from children's viewpoint. Secondly, we cannot expect children to articulate their viewpoints on the worthy of the kinds of knowledge which is abstract in nature as the children are not capable of deciding what they should learn and other things for themselves. Obvious at best children can articulate their preferences or likings. Thirdly, the likings articulated by children keep changing, as they keep growing due to which it cannot provide a consistent basis for making justifiable decisions on the matter of what we should be taught to them.

Now if we go by the route that it is better thinking on behalf of the children rather than going by the route of what they think then one basic question that immediately follows us

is how 'worthy' can be determined. It is worthy to teach anything if the child can learn it. Kumar mentions of psychology and pedagogy is of utmost relevant in this regard especially in effectively organizing and teaching knowledge and skills. Psychology and pedagogy though cannot tell us what is worthy teaching, but it can guide the teacher when and how to teach. Mentioning the recent researches on the pedagogy of learning, he informs that it requires giving encouragement to the children to apply their prior knowledge.

The second route to decide what is worthy to be taught depends on the intrinsic value of the knowledge which definitely has to take into consideration children's perspectives. What is needed ultimately is imparting kind of knowledge that is valuable essentially and what needs to be really learned and such knowledge must find its place in curriculum. The problem with education lies when we treat education as a mundane business because unlike philosophy which deals with the dualities between true and false knowledge, education deals with people, specially people as parents, teachers, as collective individuals which can give shape to out thought process of a particular social context and period.

The school knowledge is generally a reconstruction deriving from the manifold interaction. Interaction consists of construction, categorization, distribution etc. and the economy, politics, culture of the nation all influences the shaping and selection of the process of school knowledge. The school thus supplies people with such knowledge that is reinforced by the country's politics and culture.

Teaching has got a new dimension with the imposition of the bureaucratically controlled system of education. At the time of colonial control, teaching as a vocation had its root in the caste structure and teaching was known to people as a different kind of social activity. Teachers traditionally enjoyed respect in their vocation. Therefore teaching was also often associated with the priestly function. Kumar refers survey by Adam in 1835 of the indigenous schools where teachers used to enjoy autonomy in choosing what was worth teaching and how to teach the pupils. Curriculum consisted of the knowledge relating to

learning of skills which would be useful to the village society. Teachers had the freedom to make choices on the conventions made for them. Nevertheless the new centralized system of official control took away lots of teachers autonomy by denying them any role in interfering in curriculum making. The new system also imposed on teachers the responsibility to complete official routine works such as maintaining daily diary, records of registers of pupils, records of examination results etc.

Kumar here regrets by questioning "had teachers been given a role in syllabus preparation, and had they been given the freedom to choose suitable textbooks, their identity could perhaps compete better with that of other professions, which offered autonomy in professional matters." He therefore is hoping for the possibility of such a nature of the teaching profession where teachers would be granted autonomy only on conditions that is collaborative demand from the teachers or reforms in the educational policy where low salary and status of the teachers must get prime emphasis.

2.2.2.6 Pierre Bourdieu on Teaching for Cultural Reproduction

Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) in their study of *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* in the context of French society argue that teachers act primarily as agents of social reproduction. They claim that teachers are prompted by their entire educational experience to preserve the system of values on which their own cultural capital rests and thus they will tend to exhibit the same values among the pupils. Hence, they argue, teachers will tend to discourage students to exhibit the values of what they are and instead seek to convince the pupils to inhabit the same cultural capital. Their analysis here is relevant by the extent to which teachers commonly believe in the core value of education as they are presenting it which is in fact an indication to the effectiveness of 'the habitus'. Although they make out the importance of education as a provider of life-chances and that some children are already better equipped due to their current position of capital to benefit from the system than others, this does not normally agitate teachers' faith in the core value of what they teach. In this way teachers while teaching in the secondary education system get the access of the power to impact over the pupils and

reproduce the future class. Bourdieu (1996) has dealt with the concept of 'capital' which means to him the actual possible resources that the dominant classes employ in order to reinforce their position in the 'field of power' and there are three major 'forms of capital' as Bourdieu suggests, economic, cultural and social apart of a fourth one, the symbolic capital. Again, by 'field' Bourdieu implies the networks, configurations of objective relations between positions.

Bourdieu (1977) in his *Outline of A Theory of Practice* has again tried to reconcile the influences of both external social structures and subjective experience on the individual through his concept of 'habitus' and Field'. He argues, "The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposition dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor" (*ibid*: 72). He defines habitus as the source of a series of moves which are "objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention- which would presuppose at least that they are perceived as one strategy among other possible strategies"(*ibid* : 73).

2.2.3 Post-Modernist Approach

Post-modernist approach negates the idea of having the ultimate reality or just one truth of this world. Massive pace of globalization and technological influence has been constantly changing those determinants which used to bind society earlier. New relationships of different structures have constantly been replacing the earlier structures. This can be understood well with reference to Giddens' notion of 'structuration' which underlies that within the structures of society, the individual equally has the power and freedom to express him or herself and over time to change those structures for the better

and in this way neither the society nor the individual are all powerful. Social structures such as the family, community, work etc. are created by human action, so also they define and determine human behavior and social life. Social structures and human action do not exist independently of each other; rather they are independent and intertwined. For Giddens, therefore, there exists a 'duality of structure' by which social structure both constitute human agency and create it (Giddens, 1984). Michal Foucault, one of the post-modernist has explained how new dimension of power has replaced the traditional power relation in society and changes impacting the education system.

2.2.3.1 Micheal Foucault on Teaching School Discipline and Punishment

Michel Foucault while talking about 'multi-focality' of power argues that there are two modern forms of power, one, the disciplinary power and another, bio-power. In the pre-modern period sovereign power existed. It is in the context of disciplinary power that the school system and teaching could be understood. Foucault feels that the disciplinary power is the correct means of training for the children. In a school system this disciplinary power operates at different levels. The principal operates power on the teachers and the teachers on students. Thus disciplinary power "trains the moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces into a multiplicity of individual elements – small, separate cells, organic autonomies, genetic identities and continuities, combinatory segments" (Foucault, 1977: 170). The disciplinary power in the schools operates through three mechanisms: 'hierarchical observation', 'normalizing judgement' and 'the examination'.

Through the apparatus of observation, the exercise of discipline is effectively induced on the children or in other words the sense of coercion seems visible on them. Thus it creates a space of 'hierarchized surveillance'. The school building is such a mechanism of training on pedagogical fronts that it makes the disciplining of vigorous bodies and creates obedience by a single gaze of the teacher in the classroom. Thus the surveillance of the children is very much integrated into the relationships of teaching. With the increase of the number of pupils to regulate the activities of the whole class and to regulate the disorder and confusion the necessity of the supervision of the teacher

gradually emerged. In the context of French society of eighteenth century Foucault placed the role of the teacher in disciplining those pupils who indulged in talking inside the classrooms while studying, learning lessons, indulged in other offences etc. Therefore teachers had to play this pedagogical role to in teaching and guiding the pupils properly so that they can avoid mistakes while learning socialized norms and behaviours. Thus teaching, Foucault said, associated with three procedures, "teaching proper, the acquisition of knowledge by the very practice of the pedagogical activity and a reciprocal, hierarchized observation. A relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency" (*ibid* : 176). By such surveillance, disciplinary power gradually became part of the system. Surveillance is operated on individuals through a network of relations from bottom to the top and vice versa and this entire network creates a tremendous power relations that derives from the supervisors. It thus functions 'like a piece of machinery'.

In the process of normalizing judgements, a 'small penal mechanism' works within the disciplinary systems. This penal mechanism helps in defining and repressing the mass behavior through the system of punishment. Foucault emphasizes that punishment is capable of making children free the fault they have made and also capable of humiliating them. In his words, "by way of punishment, a whole series of subtle procedures was used, from light physical punishment to minor deprivations and petty humiliations. It was a question both of making the slightest departures from correct behaviour subject to punishment, and of giving a punitive function to the apparently indifferent elements of the disciplinary apparatus so that if necessary everything might serve to punish the slightest thing. . . . What is specific to disciplinary penalty is non-observance, that which does not measure up to the rule, that departs from it. The whole indefinite domain of the non-conforming is punishable" (ibid: 178-79). Thus disciplinary punishment has the essential function of reducing gaps by making corrections on the part of the wrong doer.

At the same time Foucault also argues that punishment is only one way of ensuring discipline. The teacher must avoid punishing children to the extent teachers can manage with another way of disciplining that is reward system. In the process of training and

correction, the teacher can use the mechanism of rewards more frequently than punishment. The disciplinary mechanism, either rewards or punishments used by the teacher defines the behavior and performance of the children in two divisions, either positive behavior or negative behavior; either good marks or bad marks. In the process of rewarding, the distribution also happens of hierarchical qualities, aptitudes and skills. Disciplinary rewards make the children leaning more towards attaining higher marks and positions. Thus disciplinary power normalizes individual actions.

Examination is another mechanism that combines the techniques of hierarchical observation and normalizing judgments. In words of Foucault,

> "It is normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth. At the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected" (*ibid*: 184-85).

Foucault derives his analysis of power from another source that is, Bantham's Panopticon. Panopticon is the architectural figure such designed that it makes possible for the supervisor or the observer while standing in the central tower of the building to observe each actor inside the cells of the buildings who were alone and perfectly individualized. Thus conscious and spatial visibility works as automatic functioning of power. Such power dynamics is available in the school system as well. Illustrating the school building of Ecole Militarie, a school Foucault explained that it had the same spatial arrangement where the rooms were distributed along the corridor just like the chain of small cells. The supervisor's quarter was placed at a certain interval and he used to observe not only the behaviors of pupils in the dining hall, but also the sitting positions of the pupils in the latrines too as the design of the latrine roomwas made half-doors so that the positions of the heads and legs are visible for the supervisor on duty. It is in this context that present day school system and the teaching profession

can also be analyzed especially with the recent installation of CCTV cameras in the school premises.

2.2.4 Phenomenological perspective

Phenomenological perspective comprehends two basic aspects- one, an object of perception i.e. something we see, feel or perceive through senses and second, a spiritual force i.e. something out of the normal that we cannot yet explain. Of these two the first one is considered by the phenomenologists as the most scientific which holds that the world around us has a reality of its own and we through our senses make sense of the world and in a sense recreate it as per our own interpretations. Phenomenology in other words is the study of human consciousness and the way people make sense of the world around them. Schutz (1967) in his *The Phenomenology of the Social World* attempts to rationally reconstruct the meaningful actions of human conscious beings within inter subjectivity and constructed relationships with the social world based on shared meanings. In understanding so he was highly influenced by Max Weber's 'verstehen' concept and Edmund Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. Phenomenological approach highlights that the social world might have an underlying structure but built around a stock of common sense knowledge i.e. a practical understanding of how the world works and how people relate that is communicated through language, culture and also constantly reinterpret shared meanings. It is the common culture, according to Schutz, that not only binds people together but also forms the basis of social order.

Bourdieu's theoretical lens would be used further especially his concepts of capital, structure, reproduction of class and inequality throughout my research as it seems accommodating most of the significant aspects of the contemporary school system and other related concerns surrounding school teaching as a profession in the context of socio-cultural and economic setting. Nevertheless the field study would take the phenomenological approach as the major methodological tool to explore different cultural interpretations and underpinning for grasping the significance of the profession of school teaching.

2.2.5 Indian Philosophical Context

Within the orbit of Indian Philosophy the present research will focus on Gandhian philosophy of education which essentially relates teaching-learning process by 'learning by doing' maxim. The relevance of the Gandhian approach in todays' school system would be examined in the light of the data collected from the field.

2.2.5.1 Mahatma Gandhi on Teaching through "Learning by Doing'

In Gandhian understanding of education, it is first essential to question what a person wants to do by making himself/herself educated. In general understandings two aspects influence the philosophy of education. The first is what kind of people and society is wished for, is it possible to imagine a non-violent society and imparting the same value in the education system in today's ongoing violent environment. Education no doubt might build an individual's career, might bring other achievements in one's life, but will this education work for that imaginary non-violent society which is being aspired by some philosophers. At this point it seems interesting to see what kind of an individual Gandhi talked for and what kind of society he aspired for. At the same time it is also essential to analysis what kind of education the government and the leaders have legislated so far and whether there is proper implementation of the government legislation. If education is not imparted as per its manifesto then education system can never achieve its goal. The second aspect is that whether the education system gives us a way to understand the contemporary social, political, economic and moral problems and provides its solution. These are two significant aspects to understand the Gandhian Philosophy on education.

As per the first question of Gandhi's aspiration for specific kind of individual and society, he always wished an individual to live in his Swaraj and also aspired for a society which also stays in its Swaraj. Gandhi distinguished between Swaraj of an individual and Swaraj of society. Gandhi fought for independence not only to free India from British control but he also thought for Parliamentary democracy capable of freeing India to move its people towards its own Swaraj. Unfortunately parliamentary democracy has not been able to lead us towards Swaraj, thereby needing to comprehend again

Gandhi's aim towards the process of education. Gandhi coined this understanding of Swaraj as Gramswaraj.

There are certain basic tenants to live in Swaraj. Gandhi says that living in Swaraj needs economic independence along with self-independence. To create hurdle and violence in Swaraj means to create injustice in the Swaraj. As a way out to these hurdles Gandhi takes us to Satyagraha. If education is meant for training the individuals and building up our culture and nation then the aim of education for Gandhi is to train the individuals towards Swaraj and then to train the society. In Gandhian philosophy of education, Swaraj is the aim and to achieve that Swaraj there is need of education. To achieve Swaraj, there are two ways: one, to make people economically independent and second, to train the people to contest against injustice in a just manner. Thus 'Swaraj' and 'Satyagraha' are two main programs of Gandhian education. A Satyagrahi is never defeated; he is defeated only in that condition when he accepts his defeat. Gandhi in his 'Hind Swaraj' explains the meaning of Swaraj as a state (or rajya) of one's own mind and its tools are satyagraha, self-confidence and kind heartedness. Unless people are kind hearted to understand the injustice caused against other people, they cannot contest against the injustice caused to them. It is very normal to fight for one's own self, but one can fight for the cause of others only when the sense of kind heartedness is present in his/her mind which ultimately inspires that person towards Satyagraha.

Gandhi says in *Hind Swaraj* that to adhere the power of Satyagraha it is needed to accept *Swadeshi* fully as *Swadeshi* is a part in the process of satyagraha. Contradicting the English language Gandhiji views that *Swa-bhasha* (one's own language) is an important part of *Swadeshi* without which an individual or society cannot imagine the practical aspect of *Swadeshi*. Language is not means of communication, it is also the means to know and understand one's own culture. By *Swa-bhasha* it is not indicative of Hindi language only or even the constitutionally recognized languages rather it includes all the local languages of our country which represent their respective cultures. It is a matter of great grief now-a-days that more than hundred local languages spoken by *Adivashis* and other local areas have gradually been extinct from India and unfortunately no person exists in our country to speak these languages. A language in the status of being extinct

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does not only mean the extinction of a culture but also all the knowledge system associated with that language. It is hence a big question mark to those who believe that imparting education in foreign language is good for the children's mental health. Scientific study also proves the power of mother-tongue in acquiring knowledge. Gandhi himself felt that it could have taken just a year or two instead of five years to learn the lessons of history, geography etc. for him had he been trained in Gujrati language. Thus it needs to be revisited again as to what kind of a society we are making for. Education must lead to a child's physical, mental and moral development for the progress of an integrated personality and without moral development Satyagraha is not possible.

Gandhi feels that only that society is healthy in which people cooperate with each other and not that society in which people compete with each other. Competition at times brings violence and jealousy which can never be healthy, but cooperation always brings joy and happiness in one's life at all levels. If there is a clash between the declared agenda and the hidden agenda, Gandhi said that education system should work for hidden agenda and not for declared agenda.

Education is a life long journey; it is searching of one's inner self. There is always an inner sound within one's self. By listening that sound when we step in the society we can actually call ourselves trained and educated. Throughout Gandhi's life a message can be exemplified that is we can be successful in the real sense only when we can free ourselves from the false pride. When we can leave behind pride then only knowledge enters into the mind. To search the inner self is a kind of spiritual journey and that the actual religion of an individual lays above all the worldly existing religions. Religion in this sense is that entity which ties up people together. When one is in search of truth, ways automatically comes out which is also the motto of education. Emphasizing the importance of hands, Gandhi says that what one does with the hands will enter into his/her heart and the particular knowledge is produced inside the children. Indian culture is very much associated with such a culture. A teacher who teaches from books, such teaching is not much commendable rather education becomes much fruitful only when it is associated with the problems and challenges of the nation so that the children can internalize these challenges and accordingly start learning and thinking over it. But

today's education has started dissociating from these important aspects. When a teacher takes the help of blackboard or gives certain project works to the children inside or outside the school premises what the children are required to do with their hands, in such situations some sort of internal transformation can be realized inside the children. This leads the children towards the realization of what is called knowledge. And it is through this path that truth can be realized and for realizing that the mind has to be concentrated towards that direction.

2.2.5.2 Non Gandhian Perspectives

2.2.5.2a Jiddu Krishnamurti's Imagination of Teaching the Right kind of Education

Krishnamurti states, "Freedom, not force, is essential for growth". On the connotation of teaching Krishnamurthy feels that it is more of a matter of 'sharing', 'partaking', instead of taught to someone or receiving by someone. He then possesses a question if we can share something that is not presently in the field of time and thought or we have so much conditioned in a structural set up that we are just unaware of what sharing is. Therefore understanding the concept 'sharing' seems crucial here while dealing with the meaning of teaching in true sense. Sharing for him is 'to partake together' or the word 'participating' can be used where there is no division between 'you' and 'me'. Thus in this act of sharing or participation the state of mind of two people is such be serious to that extend that they are ready to investigate something. But this is also true that the nature of their states of mind cannot be similar or identical at the same time. In such case if the students asks a question to get answers of his queries does this create a teacher? Krishnamurty actually denies the idea of direct receiving by students about something on which they know nothing. Teaching happens there where there is no teacher and no taught. Teacher should make the student available how 'to see' and not how to receive. There may be questions among the pupils but that does not mean the person invested with authority whom the people call 'teacher' has to answer these questions being superior in status than the pupils, rather both should explore together the questions that were put in the process of sharing thought and ideas. Teaching is 'where you are, the other is not' or putting a very complex issue in a very simple manner. He compares teaching with the statement that if one puts a stone in the calm water whether he/she sees the water with some ripples or

sees the stone dropping down into the water gently. Similarly he is questioning whether in the process of teaching the mind gets some ripples or the mind sinks information immediately. Then he argues that when the mind is filled with some sort of understanding on a certain issue the mind gets ripples but if the person is empty on a certain issue the minds receives like sinking the stone into the water without any ripple.

Originality or creating something new gives a certain amount of weightage equivalent to authority and this is what an illuminated mind does. It has the capacity to create ripples in the minds of those he is talking and all these have to do with the art of listening. At the same time, knowledge has the tendency to prevent sharing and listening to others, but one thing is sure that time differs the exploration of the same thing because time is thought; time is direction and so on.

Krishnamurti (2008) addresses a significant question on his imagination of a right kind of school and its teachers. He first emphasizes how the very conventional system of education makes it difficult for the people to move beyond the comfort corner in so far as success within the definite system is concerned. Since the education of a child begins with the educator, the latter must first be able to free himself from the established pattern. If the educator himself is imbibed with the mechanical kind of knowledge it would be difficult for him to share the right kind of education. In that sense the problem lies with the education of the educator and not with the child. Being educator if he cannot understand the relationship of him with the child and confuse the child with the same amount of information just to pass the examination, it will not create a very different kind of education system rather a mechanism of further confusion system will be created. Therefore the reeducation of the educator is first essential imperative before taking care of the child's future security. But it is very difficult as we are already patterned in a particular kind of structure because of which the child is taught what to think and not how to think on any issue. Many a time even the parents of the children do not know how to educate their own children and they reach to the teacher with the responsibility of educating their children. In such cases it becomes duty of the educator to train the parents of these children too and discuss with them the confusion issue of mind, the scientific training what we call education has actually not given any freedom to the mankind

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thereby the educator must tell their parents what he is going to do with their child against the mechanical system of learning. Thus in this process the teacher must educate the parents along with himself. Right kind of education is a mutual task among teachers, parents and students. If parents love their children they should understand that Right kind of education should imbibe in children the values of being sensitive, integrated and intelligent rather than running towards the line of becoming more and more successful. The teacher should try to help the child to be creative human being and intelligent enough. For that the teacher himself has to be constantly aware about his thought and feelings; must be free from his own fears because it is only in freedom that self-discovery can be made possible. Compulsion of any kind (including power and authority) is negatively related to freedom and creativity. Therefore the educator first has to free himself from these sense of domination or compulsion and keep these aside and the same has to be shared with the children that they are not to be seeking help or guidance every time for their understanding, otherwise the originality, freedom, creativity would gradually die from their minds.

As all authority is an obstacle the teacher should not try to impose authority over students. Rather the knowledge and strong experience of the teacher should develop such types of assurance in the minds of the children that they are able to feel the sense of sunlight. But most teachers do not treat their students at equal par, they carry a sense of superiority over pupils and keep on instructing the pupils. Such kind of relationship between the two carries only fear and not freedom. Dedication to right kind of education should be voluntary in nature and should not be backed by any hope for personal gain. Teaching has to be treated as a vocation. If right kind of education is not shared, the individual will constantly engage with his conflict the whole life. He feels that there must be ample co-operation among all the teachers in a school of the right kind. In his words,

> "The whole staff should meet often, to talk over the various problems of the school; and when they have agreed upon a certain course of action, there should obviously be no difficulty in carrying out what has been decided. If some decision taken by the majority does not meet with the approval of a particular teacher, it can be discussed again at the next meeting of the faculty.

No teacher should be afraid of the headmaster, nor should the headmaster feel intimidated by the older teachers. Happy agreement is possible only when there is a feeling of absolute equality among all. It is essential that this feeling of equality prevail in the right kind of school, for there can be real co-operation only when the sense of superiority and its opposite are non-existent. (*ibid*: 67)"

2.2.5.2b Rabindranath Tagore on his idea of School and Teachers

Tagore in his *My School* (later published as Personality) elaborates his imagination of the qualities of a school and the teachers who teach in schools. Our childhood should be nourished in such a way in school that the mind could see the human world in relation to the world around him through a sense of deeper love. People can acquire power knowledge, but they can acquire fullness only through sympathy and the highest value laden education does not merely provide us information but tells us how to live in harmony with our existence of our lives. But this education of sympathy is never taken seriously in our schools, rather it is repressed. Knowledge in schools is imparted in such a manner that the real meaning of life towards the highest education is lost in between and we are taken far more from the nature. The intension of today's education system is in opposite terms of God's mystical world. The present system of education works in such a way that it takes away individuality from an individual in the process of maintaining discipline. Children is a phase of humans where we ought to have more freedom to explore the beauty of the nature, playing with the dust and air of nature and other mysteries of the world. Therefore education in school should be such that it can create a harmony with rest of the humans around the world. The objective of the education should be to avail man this harmony of truth. Previous life used to very simple and people naturally lived in complete harmony with other elements of the world. But as the separation of the intellectual elements started happening from spiritual or the physical elements, the school education also started emphasizing more on the intellect part keeping aside the other elements. The school solely engages in giving more and more information without realizing the collaborative relationships that exists between the intellectual, spiritual and the physical lives of human being.

Tagore believes in spirituality and spirituality as an innermost truth is not separate from this world. The world is full of infinite mysteries which need to be uncovered and we tend to ignore such feelings of thought since our childhood itself. But as to how this problem can be solved is the need of time.

India cherishes the memories of the great teachers whose places were neither in the monasteries nor in the schools but at homes. The purpose of the families at home was to see this world as created by God and realize their own existence in him. This is because of the fact that they wete to the society the similar way the sun is to the planets, the centre point from which life and light is received. Thus in such an environment boys grew up completely in a different way relating life with intimate vision of eternity which helped them to enter into the life of householders making them fit for it. Thus in the ancient India the school contained the life in itself. In Tagore's words,

"There the students were brought up, not in the academic atmosphere of scholarship and learning, or in the maimed life of monastic seclusion, but in the atmosphere of living aspiration. They took the cattle to pasture, collected firewood, gathered fruit, cultivated kindness to all creatures, and grew in their spirit with their own teachers' spiritual growth. This was possible because the primary object of these places was not teaching but giving shelter to those who lived their life in God. That this traditional relationship of the masters and disciples is not a mere romantic fiction is proved by the relic we still possess of the indigenous system of education. These chaluspathis, which is the Sanskrit name for the university, have not the savour of the school about them. The students live in their master's home like the children of the house, without having to pay for their board and lodging or tuition. The teacher prosecutes his own study, living a life of simplicity, and helping the students in their lessons as a part of his life and not of his profession. This ideal of education through sharing a life of high aspiration with one's master took possession of my mind. Those who in other countries are favored with unlimited expectations of worldly prospects can fix their purposes of education on those objects. But for us to maintain the self-respect which we owe to ourselves and to our creator, we must make the purpose of education nothing short of the highest purpose of man, the fullest growth and freedom of soul. It is pitiful to have to scramble for small pittances of fortune. Only let us have access to the life that goes beyond death and rises above all circumstances; let us find our God, let us live for that ultimate truth which emancipates us from the bondage of the dust and gives us the wealth, not of things but of inner light, not of

power but of love. Such emancipation of soul we have witnessed in our country among men devoid of book learning and living in absolute poverty. In India we have the inheritance of this treasure of spiritual wisdom. Let the object of our education be to open it out before us and to give us the power to make the true use of it in our life, and offer it to the rest of the world when the time comes, as our contribution to its eternal welfare" (Tagore, 1933).[2]

Thus Theoretical perspectives of different scholars provide a lens and direction to the researchers to look at our own studies in multiples possible ways. It helps the researcher to analysis the new perspectives of the similar phenomenon as per the contemporary needs of the issues. These theoretical ideas are reflected in analysis of the data acquired from the field study for a better reflexivity and understanding of the issues.

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[2] See weblink http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/tagore_myschool.html

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY: FINDING ANSWERS THROUGH FIELD ENQUIRY

There has been lots of research done previously on school teaching profession; nevertheless research on the changing perspective on the profession in the contemporary scenario constitutes hardly any serious endeavor among the researchers. In the present research therefore I emphasize on finding the new meaning of the school teaching profession from the perceptions and experiences of the school teachers of both the genders, school authorities (which primarily include principals and vice principals) from both government and private schools, parents who often connect with the teachers who teach their children and the students who are taught by their teachers.

For this purpose there is requirement for more qualitative study to go in depth of the perceptions that teachers attach with the profession as well as the parents and students have for the profession. The inherent power dynamics that is also an essential component in the profession which exits not always in the visible form is yet another reason to for in depth qualitative enquiry Detail enquiry on different socio-cultural ideologies in the work-family balance among the school teachers also makes it possible to look at the inherent patriarchy and construction of gender identity. Nevertheless the quantitative analysis of the study will also be incorporated by providing sufficient data relating to family, religious affiliations, socio-economic background of the teachers through tables and diagrams so as also to understand the kind of teachers who enter into this profession.

Since the study seeks to understand the changing nature in the teaching profession in recent times on different parameters hence it will be exploratory in nature. In pre 1990s the occupational structure was much more compact but in post 1990 phase it has become more diversified and open. In today's diversified occupational structure of new liberal economy the inflow and outflow of people to different occupations has become a normal trend. More powerful and authoritarian occupations, business elites, political elites etc. are mingled up into the system as interdependent parts. In this given scenario

comprehending the location/ relevance of school teaching requires serious in depth research.

The study hence considers a mixed method approach although it will largely be qualitative in nature following the framework of Structural-functionalist and phenomenological approach. The relevance of phenomenology here is that it will help understanding the construction of the reality with regard to the perception of the profession of school teaching. Weber's way of understanding 'interpretative' view, Schutz' way of understanding everyday social world is used in a different fashion by the researcher. The primary data source for the study includes primarily teachers (and students and some of the parents as well) with techniques such as observation, interview schedule, structured questionnaire, open ended questions followed by in-depth interview. For the research purpose a field notebook and diary is also maintained by the researcher.

3.1 Feminist Methodological Perspectives in School Teaching Research

Harding (1987) summarizes,

> "a methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed; it includes accounts of how 'the general structure of theory finds its application in particular scientific disciplines.'…… A research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence. One could reasonably argue that all evidence-gathering techniques fall into one of the following three categories: listening to (or interrogating) informants, observing behavior, or examining historical traces and records. In this sense there are only three methods of social inquiry (*ibid*: 2-3)."

Feminist researchers argue that the traditional theories such as functionalism, phenomenology, Marxism etc. have not been able to define the 'understanding of women's participation in social life or understanding men's activities as gendered'. The feminist epistemology (or theory of knowledge) therefore questions on 'who can a knower' or in other words can women be a knower which can be legitimized as knowledge; can the 'subjective truths' of women's different experiences constitute knowledge etc. They argue further that the traditional epistemologies knowingly or unknowingly have excluded 'women as knowers or agents of knowledge' and all the history written so far was from the viewpoints of men belonging to dominant class and

race. Therefore traditional sociological epistemology is a male dominated one and in response to it the feminist epistemology proposed legimisation of women as knowers for alternative theories of knowledge (*ibid*).

Sandra Harding (1987) proposed threefold categories of Feminist epistemology: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint epistemologies, postmodern epistemologies. The first one maintains that in empirical enquiries value judgment plays a crucial role in all observations, facts and findings and all the evidences are based on sensory experiences. Thus they question the legitimacy of the truths and knowledge making. The second one views that the world from a particular standpoint that is the perspective from the marginalized or disadvantaged groups and all women regardless of their location or occupation come within this category. They hold that the knowledge must begin with every-day and night experiences of women. Critiquing the views of feminist standpoint, the third classification of feminist epistemology negate women as a unified objective category and affirms it as a subjective category of knowing due to existence of their plurality of experiences and the researcher should take special care of it while constructing knowledge.

Feminist methodologies also present before us similar viewpoints as that of feminist epistemologies. Feminist sociologists began by criticizing the positivist philosophical framework of scientific research which was perceived methodologically problematic due to its basis on men's lives only, male ways of thinking and articulation by men only of women's lives and women dominated spheres such as domestic work, children and other elderly member's caring and rearing etc. It means it imply that a woman researcher can well understand and hence articulate the lively experiences of other women on which research is being conducted. Hence feminists scholars such as Ann Oakley (1981) views that some methods could best serve the purpose of feminist questions and hence these methods can be termed as feminist methods. Nevertheless it was also indicated that such feminist methods can best serve its objectivity when the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is not based on any hierarchical power and the interviewer can draw her own personal identity in maintaining interviewer-interviewee relationship. Since both of them share the same 'gender socialization' their 'social

distance' would be minimal (*ibid*: 55). However later feminists have questioned and deconstructed such a perspective on and off on different grounds such as the notion of equality and mutuality between the two, gender and personal attachment may not be enough to fully know the informants, high possibility of power differences between the two and consequent danger of research towards epistemological construction, potential danger of researcher trying to become over friendly with the informants to gain information on their personal and private lives especially if informants belonging to low-income or third world countries etc. (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007: 39)

School teaching as seen in previous literatures is such a profession in which the number of women teachers outnumbers the male teachers. Therefore the voices of women contribute significantly towards the school teaching epistemology. The family is a primary unit of societal structure even today in which the role of women is still seen crucial over men. The women are expected to manage all the household responsibilities even if they work outside for salary. As such the balance between their family work and salaried work constitutes one of the primary concerns towards their professional growth which is not same with their male counterparts. In absence of regular balancing of household chores with the school works, the male teachers in their profession of school teaching get enough time to devote primarily on their professional growth. Therefore the epistemology of teaching profession differs significantly between male and female teachers which must be observed and analyzed properly in relation to each other's perception so as to draw a holistic perspective on school teaching epistemology. This difference in this epistemological account constitutes an important part of my research on the profession of school teaching. My identity as a female researcher throws light in conducting research on this school teaching profession in so far as to understand and correlate the experiences and comprehension of female teachers vis-à-vis male teachers. In doing so definitely the cautions identified by previous feminists are well maintained especially in so far equality and balancing power hierarchy is concerned. It is because of this reason that these female teachers have become my good friends not only during that period of conducting research but still they are part of my society. And our mutual friendship is well nurtured in each festival, celebration, special occasion such as invitation to any marriage ceremony or other such occasions are concerned.

3.2 Situating the Research on School Teaching

The present research on teaching profession falls within the area of Sociology of education. Reflecting on the pedagogical aspect of ongoing educational process, Durkheim (1956), the functionalist emphasized on the historical and comparative method to understand the social institution, education. He observes that history functions as a source of comparatives cases and contributes to the complete knowledge in terms of its causes and operation and therefore one cannot build a complete new aspect of a phenomenon rather its changes can be observed on the historical basis of existing institutions. In this sense historical and comparative method prove essential to explore and comprehend the changing trends of the education system. Durkheim approaches education as a social fact as there can be as many types of education as of different social milieux and thus education varies from society to society. In his words,

> "for each society, education is the means by which it secures in the children, the essential conditions of its own existence. Thus each type of people has its own education, that is appropriate for it, for that can serve to define it, just as its moral, political and religious organisations…….Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states that are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieux for which he is specifically destined. ….More briefly education is a socialization…of the young generation" (*ibid*, 28).

On the contrary account Illich (1971) argues to disestablish the school education system as it confuses the students especially the poor, the process and substance and "the pupil is thereby 'schooled' to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new" (*ibid*: 3). In his views 'institutionalization of values' results in certain sense of 'psychological impotence' and disestablishment of schools only put an end to the discrimination made against the children. It is the demand for setting the childhood that creates indefinite market for qualified teachers. He states, "School is an institution built on the axiom that learning is the result of teaching. And institutional wisdom continues to accept this

axiom, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary……. We have all learned most of what we know outside school. Pupils do most of their learning without, and often despite, their teachers. Most tragically, the majority of men are taught their lesson by schools, even though they never go to school. Everyone learns how to live outside school. We learn to speak, to think, to love, to feel, to play, to curse, to politick, and to work without interference from a teacher" (*ibid*, 14).

Illich further argues that the schools are mere creators of jobs for the school teachers. School, by its very nature, makes the teacher into custodian, preacher, and therapist and accordingly the teacher acts as a custodian of school ceremonies by imposing rules and regulations on the children. In his words, "Teachers are by no means the only professionals who offer therapy. Psychiatrists, guidance counselors, and job counselors, even lawyers, help their clients to decide, to develop their personalities, and to learn. Yet common sense tells the client that such professionals should abstain from imposing their opinion of what is right or wrong, or from forcing anyone to follow their advice. Schoolteachers and ministers are the only professionals who feel entitled to pry into the private affairs of their clients at the same time as they preach to a captive audience" (*ibid*: 15).

In this in this context the present study on school teaching emphasizes on the relevance and implacability in terms of its professional significance. It is also essential henceforth to explore as to what extent teachers enjoy their own freedom while involving in the learning process or if they are the mere custodian of the institutional mechanism. Thus in between the institutionalization of norms and values of the society on the one hand and the self-creativity among the students on the other hand, how teachers mechanizes its professional duties and responsibilities constitutes a significant part of the present research.

3.3 Research Questions

1. What are the important policy initiatives by the state for the school teachers?
2. Which 'subject' teacher is preferred and reputed more by the people in the society and why so? What is the gender dimension of teaching profession in pre and post 1990s?
3. How technology has changed the nature of teaching profession over time as far as teacher-taught relationship is concerned?
4. How differently teachers from government and private schools perceive teaching and why? How differently do they negotiate with family responsibilities in the private space and other conflicting interests, competitions, politics etc. in the public space?
5. How do teachers perceive the hierarchy of the power relation with other co-teachers in the profession?
6. How far the sense of 'creativity' (innovative work) is involved in school teaching? Do teachers have an agency to act both in individual and collective terms?
7. How far the profession of school teaching fits into the aspirations of the present generation students?
8. How could teaching as an activity be understood in response to different generations of students and teachers' different strategies to deal with this generational gap?

3.4 Universe of the study

The proposed study is conducted in 2 schools of Delhi- one government school i.e. Kendriya Vidyalaya (KV) and one private school. Both the schools are located in the South West part of Delhi, both affiliated to Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and are also co-educational. According to the official website of the KV, "The quality of teaching is kept reasonably high by an appropriate teacher-pupil ratio". As on 30/4/2015 the total students enrolled in this school from class I to Class XII were 874 with a total of 53 teachers in all P.G.T. (Post Graduate Teachers), T.G.T. (Trained

Graduate Teachers) and P.R.T. (Primary Teachers) categories. On the other hand, as per the official website of the private school it is a private institution established under the Delhi Development Authority and is recognized by the Department of Education, Govt. of NCT Delhi and the Ministry of HRD, Govt. of India. The school has approximately 5000 students from Nursery to Class XII with a total of 90 qualified teachers. The teachers in the school are also involved in some other school activities such as House Wardens, Class Reps, Editorial Board, Cultural Department or Sports etc. All teachers also share membership with students on various committees, school houses, and supervise individual or small-group research projects. Thus the contexts of both the schools are a bit different from each other and inclusion of these two different types of schools gives some interesting insights to the problem chosen.

Delhi being a multi-cultural space, being a confluence of tradition and modernity best suit my purpose of the study in analyzing the cultural differences of the samples. Besides since samples for the study would be a heterogeneous group of people where inclusion of influx of immigrants from other cities would also be undertaken Delhi best served the purpose of my study. Moreover, incorporation of secondary teachers from different age group becomes helpful in analyzing the changing notions and attitudes towards the teaching profession. Differences of teachers in terms of their place of original inhabitance, religious background, familial distinction, caste group, class, educational qualification etc. further enhances clarity on the attitudinal differences of the profession.

3.5 Sampling Frame of the Research

The information are collected through purposive and snowball sampling technique from teachers of secondary level-both male and female, students of the concerned schools (between IX-X standard) on their perception on school teaching and parents of some of the students. This ensures the relevance of the study. First of all, two sets of *questionnaires* are distributed as part of initial survey - one for the teachers, another for the students. Questionnaires are distributed among most of the teachers of both the schools based of their compliance to share information, maximum possible pupils of IX-X standards. Among the teachers total of 46 questionnaires were returned and from the

students category 150 questionnaires were returned. In situations where questionnaire seems to be unsuitable, *Interview Schedule* and *Focus Group Discussions* were used. Since this method is greatly useful in extensive inquiries and getting reliable results, it helps the researcher in cross-examination also in order to find out the truth.

From this initial survey by distributing questionnaire, a sample size of 27 teachers is selected for *in-depth interviews* from both the government and the private school. Of these 27 teachers 11 are from the government school, 10 are from the private school and 6 teachers are from other private schools. *Interview guide* is used for the purpose of conducting in depth interviews. In-depth interviews help the researcher to discover the underlying motives, desires and feelings of the teachers and the students towards the profession of school teaching. In-depth Interview across age and gender also elicits the understanding of the lives of teachers in order to compare the changing dynamics of the situation. For the purpose of in-depth interviews those qualified as 'outlayers' from the questionnaire / interview schedule are also selected. Outlayers are those samples who answer the given questions in its extremity and at the same time are best representative samples of the study. The samples are hence collected with respect to their age, sex, caste, class, religion, place or other personal background so as to get a comprehensive overview on the perception of the profession. Also *narratives* of teachers from government and public schools are considered as it helps the researcher better comprehending the lives of teachers and stories about their lives relating to their experiences of school teaching. Those teachers are selected for narrative analysis who are more admired and liked by the students in their way of teaching and other creative works. Four Case studies are also included in the research. Above all, *Observation* as a tool enables the researcher to record the natural behavior of the school environment, the classroom setting and the teacher-taught relationship which proves helpful in verifying the truth of statements made by informants in the context of questionnaire or a schedule. Following snowballing sampling in-depth interviews of 6 teachers from other private schools of Delhi was also conducted in which 3 belong to Delhi Public Schools.

3.6 Insights from the Preliminary Study

I have met a few teachers from both government and public schools while I attended different seminars and conferences in Delhi and other places as well as during my library research period at Central Institute of Education (CIE), Delhi. Interestingly I found some of the teachers very enthusiastic to talk with me. In the casual conversation with some of the teachers I found them interested to share their even normal experiences with me. Some teachers express their happiness knowing the fact that someone wants to research on them. Some even started sharing their problems being there in the teaching profession. One common issue apparent to me while engaging with them is the issue of lack of 'teachers' association' for them in case any of their problem, in the absence of which they regarded themselves one of the most vulnerable sections in the society. At the same time, inclusion of male teachers in school teachers is seen as a welcoming trend after conversing with some male teachers. Even in B.Ed. institutions such as CIE the male and female teacher's ratio is seen almost equal and the reason as said by some male teachers is the complete reliance on the written examination in the B.Ed. Entrance examination and removal of interview procedure from the selection process. Earlier more women were seen because the interview panel used to prefer females in school teaching. But if seen the subject selection the teachers pointed out that more female teachers use to take up Social Science, languages such as Hindi, English etc. and more of male teachers take up subjects such as Mathematics, Science etc. Some other issues as pointed out by a private school teacher are job securities, promotion system etc. for private school teachers and lack of a decentralized Evaluation system with respect to the needs of rural and urban students and as such the evaluation system and syllabus are mostly urban centric and it should change as per time and space.

3.7 Exploring the Field as Primary Source of Data Collection

There are also going to be some limitations in the present study. First of all, the major challenge is the office hour issue in the schools because in the school schedule it would be difficult to communicate with the teachers. The situation gets further complicated when it comes to public school. In the initial phases of my research the teachers from public school, being very sensitive, might mistrust me as a person from his/her school

management to investigate his/her teaching skills or as a media person to investigate his/her school. Besides public schools being highly bureaucratic and authoritarian, they normally keep vigilant eye on their teachers. Therefore it will be time consuming to seize the public school teachers. This would take me to another challenge i.e. negotiating the time and space with the teachers for talk. Thus being aware of these limitations the researcher would enter into the field with alternative management of time and space as per the demand of the situation with the definite objectives in mind and hence I have also decided to meet teachers after normal office hours at places of convenience. Again talking to the other members of the society is another great concern because in absence of any material benefit, to convince these people for sparing their time with me will pose a challenging task for the researcher.

3.8 Selecting Techniques and Methods for Primary Data Collection

Tools and techniques of data collection are the major component for the measurement of any valid research which is essential to comprehend the knowledge of the aspects of social structure in which we live and the persistence and the change of the functions of that social structure. Since my research is a mixed one both qualitative as well as quantitative research tools were used to collect the data.

3.8.1 Techniques

3.8.1.1 Constructing Questionnaires

In general understanding Questionnaire is "a device for securing answers to questions by using a form which the respondent fills in himself" (Goode and Hatt, 1981: 133). The questionnaire is constructed primarily as a structured one although there were certain unstructured or open ended questions as well which implies inclusion of both structured and the open ended questions. Since the present research is an exploratory one, therefore in the Questionnaire along with the multiple choice questions a few open-ended questions are also designed to permit a free response from the informants. This ensures a more complete picture of the informant's feelings and attitudes. The closed ended or the structured questions revolve the basic personal information of the informants. Along with this the questions relating to entry into the teaching profession in case of teachers'

questionnaire and questioning relating to different learning experiences in case of students' questionnaire were also included as closed ended questions. Only a few questions were left open ended so that the personal reflexivity of the informants could be observed relating to school teaching.

In those cases where questionnaires were not suitable schedule was used. The schedule is "a set of questions which are asked and filled in by an interviewer in a face-to-face situation with another person" (*ibid*, 133). In the present research schedule was used for a few physically handicapped category of students only especially the blind students who were unable to fill the questions from the questionnaire. However the questions in the schedule were same as that of the questionnaire distributed among the students.

3.8.1.2 Interview Guide

Apart from collecting certain basic information on school teaching career of the teachers through questionnaire, Interview Guide as a tool of conducting in depth interview was also used with a few teachers from among the teachers to whom questionnaires were distributed. An Interview Guide "is a list of points or topics which an interviewer must cover during the interview" (*ibid*: 133). As such considerable flexibility was also maintained as to the manner, order or the language in which questions were asked. The questions were arranged in such a manner that a set of few questions which are connected logically address to a central problem/problems.

3.8.2 Methods

3.8.2.1 Interview

To fulfill the research objectives of the study, field Interviews were conducted primarily with the school teachers in the field of my study i.e. the school premises. However the interviews with the teachers belonging to other private schools were conducted at places of their convenience such as their residences, at the venue of swimming pool where one of my informants used to come regularly for her child's swimming class, common meeting space etc. With some of these informants from other private schools telephonic interviews were also conducted as per their suitability after 3/4 face to face meetings cum

interviews. Such field interviews were primarily unstructured and in-depth interviews which involves asking questions on different experiences of a teacher's journey into the teaching profession, challenges they face in this profession, interacting experiences with the students while teaching them, their involvements in different extra-curricular activities other than teaching, work-family balance etc. Apart from asking different questions to the teachers other aspects of the interview included careful listening, expressing interest on what they were speaking and being empathetic to any of their words where they expressed their anguishes being in the profession. Thus the teachers' insights, feelings and cooperation were essentially acknowledged during the field interview. The in-depth interviews under study represents samples from both male and female Teachers, Junior and Senior Teachers, Teachers belonging to different categories, Teachers of different native places and Teachers with different religious background.

Each meeting in most cases took approximately 40 minutes since most of these interviews were conducted in the teachers' staff room when they had free periods. In cases when teachers had 2 consecutive free periods interviews went to an hour. However those interviews which were taken outside the school premises went to the extent of 2 or 2 ½ hours at times. The medium of conversation was both English and Hindi depending on the comfortability of the teachers. With a single teacher inside the school premises average 10 to 12 meetings were conducted to complete one in-depth interview. Thus the unstructured, in depth field research interviews with the teachers went long because of the open ended nature of the questions relating to different themes of their profession. At times the flow of speaking between the teacher and the researcher was disturbed/ interrupted when another teacher interferes in between and started telling something related to certain tasks given to them by their higher authority or suddenly the teacher interviewee was called by another teacher for some urgent academic works etc. Hence in such cases when the interview was conducted next time with the same teacher a small briefing of what he said last time was made so that the particular teacher takes interest in initiating and elaborating on other issues. Sometimes these interviews took the turn of friendly conversation as well for some times but as a researcher I had to probe them to turn back to the research topic by slightly changing the topic of discussion.

Since these interviews went for long periods with a single teacher, a good rapport was gradually built with the teachers after constant visit to both the schools. Hence they were comfortable sharing with me all sorts of household stories especially about their children, group pictures in the smartphone if they have visited some places recently, jokes on regional, national and international issues etc. The teachers also kept on sending whats app messages and videos to me on different information, jokes at times, wishes in case of festivals such as Durga Puja, Navaratra, Diwali etc. Most of these teachers who were at their comforts in sharing with me these messages and videos are primarily the female teachers although a few among them are male teachers as well who used to share basically information and festival wishes rather than sending jokes. I also responded them well to their messages. Even I was invited constantly to the marriage party of a female teacher with whom I had a very good rapport. I also invited a teacher informant from a private school who stays nearby my university to my Hostel Night party and she became quite happy being part of my party. Thus even after formal field research interviews a friendly relation with most of the teachers are still intact in the form of different sorts of messages sharing or calls at times.

3.8.2.2 Focus Group Discussion

Since distributing questionnaires in the classroom of the private school was not permitted to maintain the academic discipline of the school, Focus group discussion was conducted among the students of the concerned private school following unstructured interview schedule. Such focus group discussions were conducted inside the school premises with the secondary students of a certain sections of a class usually during their games period. It was observed that during such periods a certain group consisting 6/7 students did not take much interest in going for games and they used to sit at a different place. As a researcher I then approached these students to talk on their academic experiences which usually they took interest in speaking. The time of such focus group was confined only to the games period of 40 minutes with one set of groups. Hence the participants of each focus group discussion every time were different because of the limitation of the space and time. Therefore each time I decided to discuss different themes rather than discussing

the same themes with all the groups. Hence it was very informal and spontaneous in nature.

The type of Focus Group Discussions was overt one in which the students were told about the purpose of my research and the reason for talking with them. Such Focus group discussions were conducted with 10 different students' groups of the school. Of this 3 groups were only with boys consisting of approximately 10 in each group, 4 groups with only girls consisting of 6/7 girls in two groups and 3 girls each in another two groups, 3 groups of 10/12 students where both boys and girls were there. The age group of the students falls within 14-17 years. Though it was an informal focus group discussion but the purpose of the discussion was very strongly served which gives a very clear picture as to what extent the teachers at present constitute the students' role model and how the present generation of students view their teachers and the teaching profession.

An informal focus group discussion was also conducted among the parents of both the schools. The purpose of the discussion as to how the parents perceive the teachers who taught their children was best served through such discussions. Such discussions were conducted with a small group of 2/3 parents of the students generally towards the end hours of the school time in which the parents wait outside the school gates to receive their children. Such parents are usually those whose younger one also studies in the same school and they come to pick both of their children. 2 Focus groups were conducted with the KV students' parents and 2 other Focus groups were conducted with the parents whose children study in the private school. Differences in the opinion of the parents were observed remarkably.

3.8.2.3 Case Study

Case Study is an important method to qualitative research enquiry. To gather a large number of information and to go into greater depth on some specific cases this approach was used in my study. The few selected cases which are being examined specifically to gather a range of information were three cases i.e. two principals of both the KV and the private school and the Vice Principal of the same private school. These three cases under

study has given the details of their lives, culture and all other aspects surrounding their profession.

3.8.2.4 Observation

Observation has been an effective method throughout my research. It helped to comprehend many hidden aspects of my informants. For instance, some of the teachers responded very differently during the course of in-depth interviews from what they responded in the questionnaire distributed to them especially their choice to be in the profession for longer period, practice of tuitions outside the school premises, the power dynamics among the teachers, material and non-material levels of satisfaction of the teachers so on and so forth. Even observation method worked to a greater extent while conducting focus group discussions with my students and parents informants, interacting with the students inside their classrooms etc.

3.9 Selection of Informants

Of the total questionnaires distributed among the teachers 46 were returned and from the students category 150 were returned. In situations where questionnaire seems to be unsuitable (with students from the private school), *Interview Schedule* and *Focus Group Discussions* were used. From the initial survey by distributing questionnaire, a sample size of 27 teachers is selected for *in-depth interviews* from both the government and the private school. Of these 27 teachers 11 are from the government school, 10 are from the private school and 6 teachers are from other private schools. These 27 teachers for in-depth interviews are selected on different grounds. Since my study is focused on purposive sampling frame, the researcher tried to distribute samples in such as way that includes teachers from more experienced category in terms of teaching in schools, very junior category, mid-category and also teachers who were willing to talk and share their experiences comfortably. Apart from the two schools (School A and School B) where formal permission was granted to go inside the school premises, the teachers from other private schools were selected following snowballing sampling and such 6 teachers were selected for in-depth interview on their willingness to speak and share information.

3.10 Sample Profiling of Teachers of Selected Variables

The researcher has used a number of variables to explore the study on school teaching profession. Teachers are the primary unit of analysis though details of students are also included here.

3.10.1 Age

Table 3.1 : Age and Type of School Cross-tabulation

Age	Type of School			Total
	School A	School B	Other private schools	
20-29 yrs	3	7	1	11
30-39 yrs	8	4	1	13
40-49 yrs	2	4	4	10
50-59 yrs	6	3	1	10
60 yrs and above	0	1	0	1
No Response	0	1	0	1
Total	19	20	7	46

The age group considered for the present research includes 25- 60 years. The reason to include such different age group is to compression the profession of school teaching through the ages so that the views of junior teachers could equally be analyzed as that of senior teachers.

3.10.2 Gender

Table 3.2 : Type of School and Gender Cross-tabulation

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Type of School	School A	7	12	19
	School B	5	15	20
	Other private schools	2	5	7
Total		14	32	46

The reason to include both the genders is to bring a holistic picture of the school teaching profession so that voices and experiences of both can be perceived.

3.10.3 Caste

Caste is a unique feature of Indian society. Therefore to understand any professional aspect of Indian society it is essential to analyze whether the reservation policy of Indian Constitution has been implemented or not to upgrade the position of the people from the disadvantaged category. It probes further as to how and why the government and the private institutions look differently into the policy of reservation.

Table 3.3: Type of School and Category Cross-tabulation

Type of School	Category				Total
	General	OBC	SC/ST	No Response	
School A	13	2	3	1	19
School B	18	1	0	1	20
Other private schools	6	1	0	0	7
Total	37	4	3	2	46

3.10.4 Region

The reason to include region as variable to study is to analyze the concentration of teachers across the country into the capital city. In case of women teachers the husbands' native place is considered as after marriage the in-laws place is considered the women's new household in a patriarchal set up like India.

In figure 2.1 it is evident that majority of the teachers teaching in schools in Delhi belong to Delhi itself followed by Uttar Pradesh which is an adjacent state to Delhi. This shows teachers prefer to teach in schools in the place where they stay currently. However the case of transfer of either of the spouse also brings changes to such common patterns.

Figure 3.1 : Region of Teachers
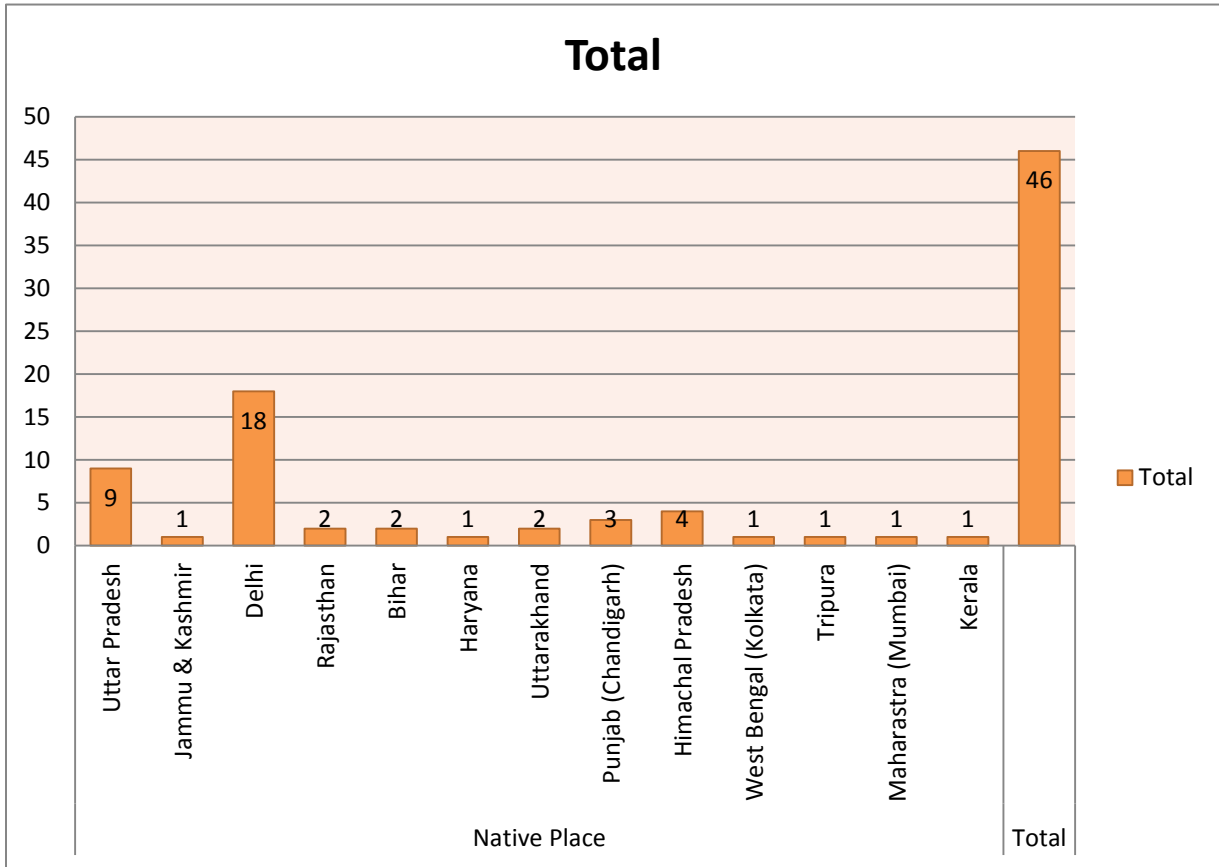
3.10.5 Religion

Religion constitutes one basic identity in the life of an individual as it is associated with the similar belief system, eating habits and cultural patterns of the members from the same religion.

Table 3.4: Type of School and Religion Cross-tabulation

		Religion		Total
		Hindu	Non Hindu	
Type of School	School A	18	1	19
	School B	19	1	20
	Other private schools	7	0	7
Total		44	2	46

Table 3.4 shows the concentration of more Hindu teachers in the profession and only a few in other religions. Sikh is the only religion in my sample of non- Hindu teachers. No other religion teachers are noticed throughout my research. Understanding the Hinduism identity of the informants in the field further reveal belief in the practice of certain festivals such as Karwa Choud, Navaratra, Durga Puja, Shiv Ratri, Holi, Diwali etc.

3.11 Social Profile of Teachers

Social profiling of the teachers will give an identity of the teachers under study. However the personal identities of the informants are not revealed due to ethical issues.

3.11.1 Family History of teaching profession among the teachers

Table 3.5: Type of School and Family History of teachers Cross-tabulation

Type of School	Family History of teachers			Total
	Yes	No	No Response	
School A	7	10	2	19
School B	8	11	1	20
Other private schools	4	3	0	7
Total	19	24	3	46

In the above table it is evident that there is no specific trend of generations adhereing to the profession of teaching. Rather people from different occupations across generations are equally welcomed to this respectable profession.

3.11.2 Economic Background/ Class

Figure 3.2: Monthly Family Income of Teachers
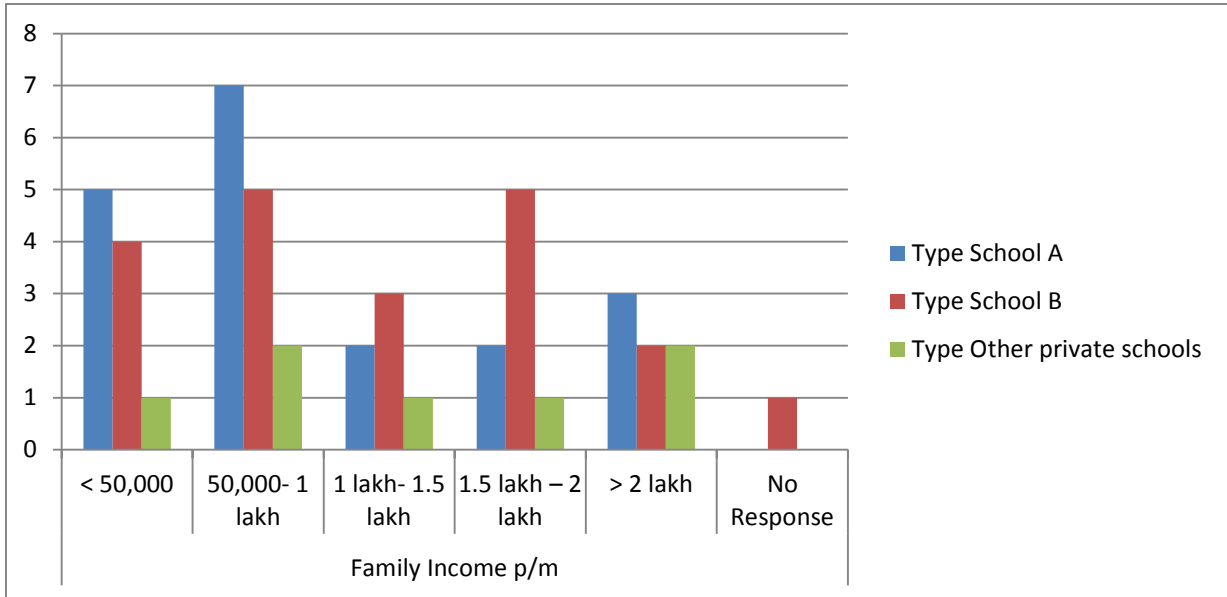
Figure 3.3: Monthly Family Expenditure of Teachers
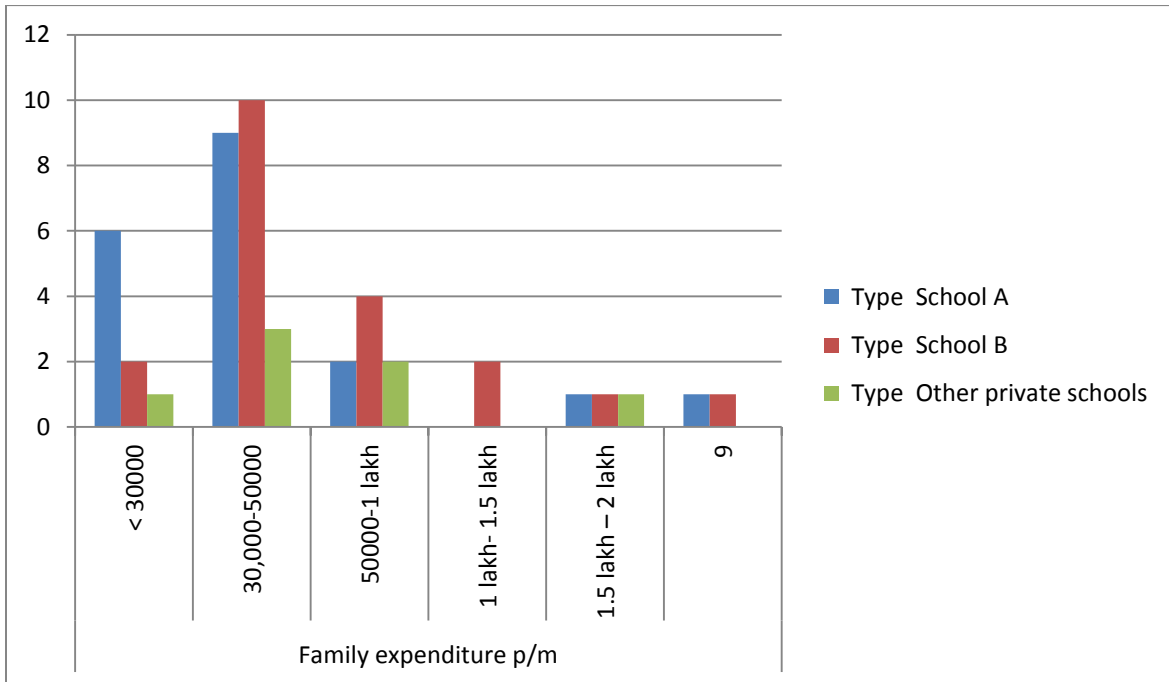
The economic background of the teachers shows their class structure in the social milieu. In both the Income and Expenditure level of the teachers it is seen that majority of the teachers belong to either middle class or lower middle class background. Only a few of them belong to upper middle class or upper class background. In the private school however there is equal proportion of teachers within the upper class category as well.

3.11.3 Social Background of Teachers

Figure 3.4: Spouse Occupation
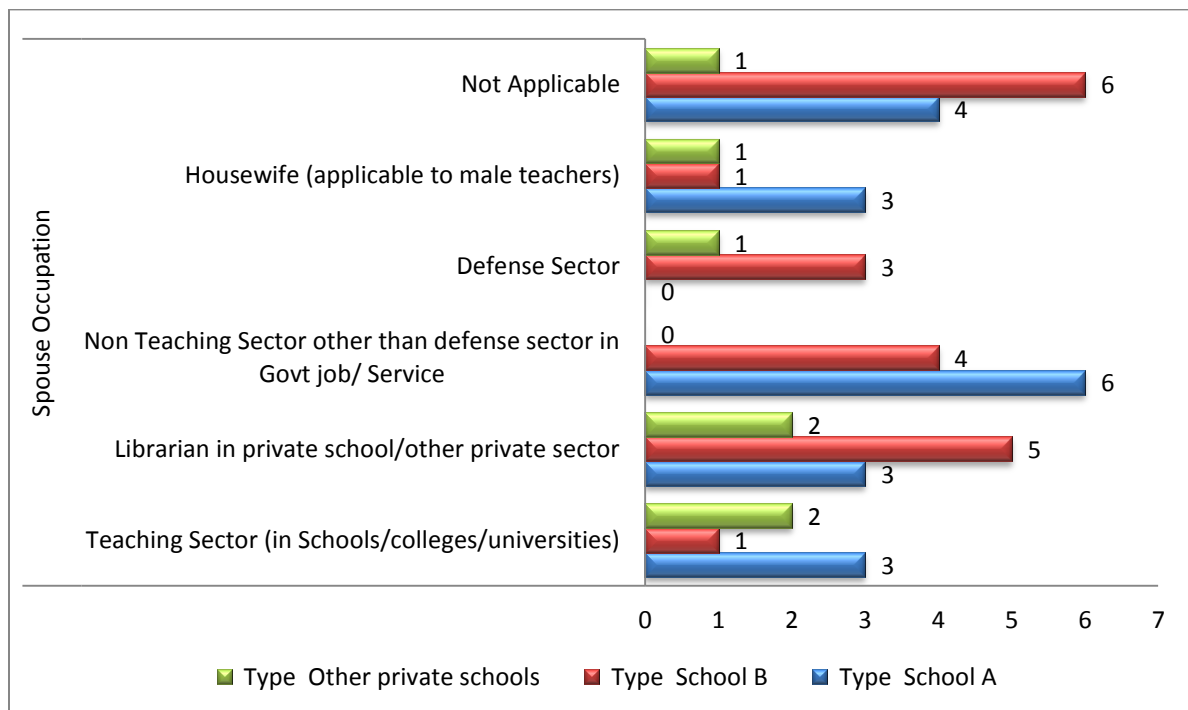
It is seen from above that majority of spouses of the teachers from school A are in the Govt. sector while the occupation of majority of the spouses of teachers from school B are in private sector.

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3.11.4 Type of Household

Figure 3.5: Household Type
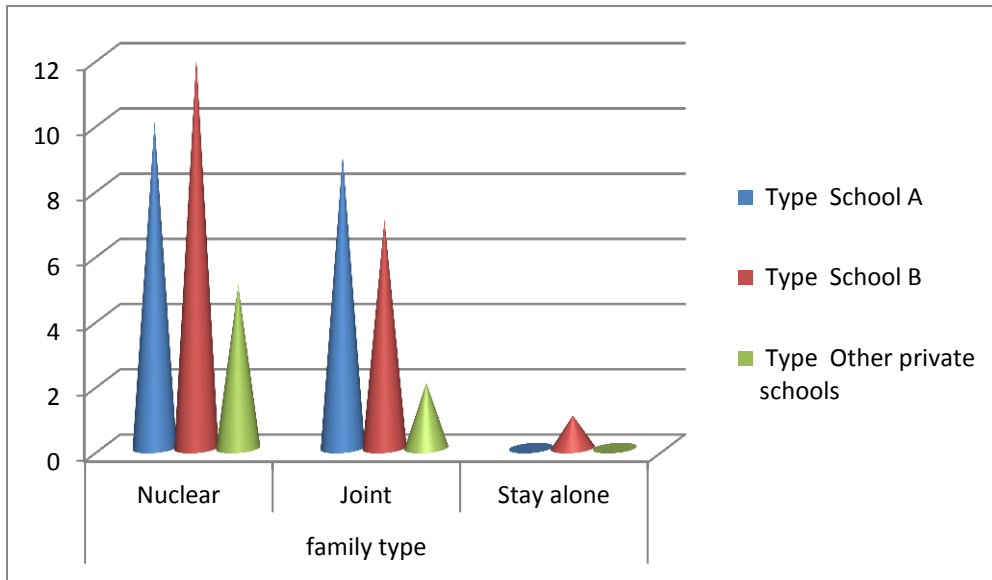
The ideal type of family system in Indian society is the joint family (Srinivas, 1965). However there has been a gradual shift from the joint family system to the nuclear family over the years due to globalization, industrialization and privatization. With the change in the family household structure how it reengages with the family functions, meets the economy of the family in terms of the changing relations of distribution and consumption, looks at the entire issue of marriage seem significant to study. In the above data it is evident that majority of the informants prefer to stay in the nuclear households.

3.11.5 Professional Qualification

Table 3.6: Type of School and Teacher Training Cross-tabulation

Type of School	Teacher Training		Total
	Yes	No	
School A	15	4	19
School B	15	5	20
Other private schools	6	1	7
Total	36	10	46

In table 3.6 it is seen that though majority of the teachers are following the government minimum criteria of qualifying the B.Ed examination still there are some teachers who are teaching in the schools without such qualifications. There are certain conditions under which such teachers are allowed to teach without the degree.

3.12 Social Profile of students

In this section social profiling of students from only Kendriya Vidyalaya was included as distributing questionnaires were permitted inside the classroom. In absence of permission for questionnaire distribution inside the classroom and absence of comfortable atmosphere outside the classroom, in case of the private school focus group discussion was conducted with the students.

3.12.1. Economic Background/Class

It refers to the class structure of the students studying in both the schools. In School A majority of the students belong to either middle class or lower middle class background, the parents of whom are in the jobs like Driver, Govt. service of lower ranks like clerks etc. While the economic class of the School B students is either middle class or upper middle class background the parents of who are in the professions like well to do stationary shopkeepers, lawyers, businessmen etc.

Figure 3.6: Monthly Family Income in Students' Home

Family Income p/m	< 50,000	50,000-1 lakh	1 lakh- 1.5 lakh	> 2 lakh	Total
Family Income p/m	66.0	31.3	2.0	.7	100.0
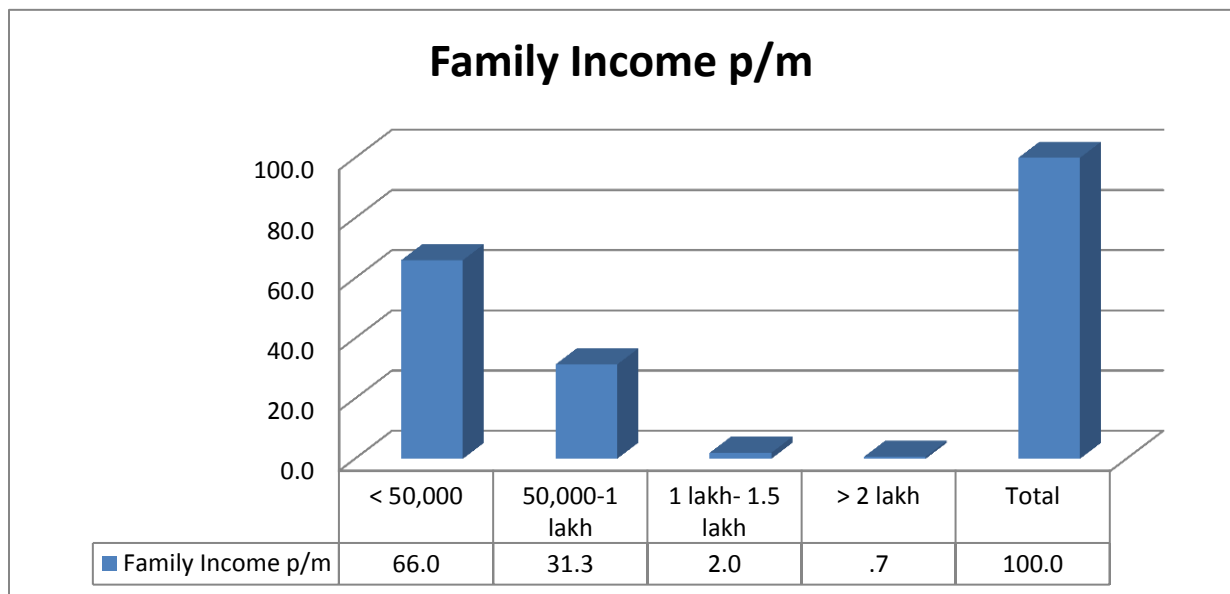
Figure 3.7: Monthly Family Expenditure in Students' Home

Family Expenditure p/m	< 30,000	30,000-50,000	50,000-1 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Total
Family Expenditure p/m	54.0	42.0	3.3	.7	100.0
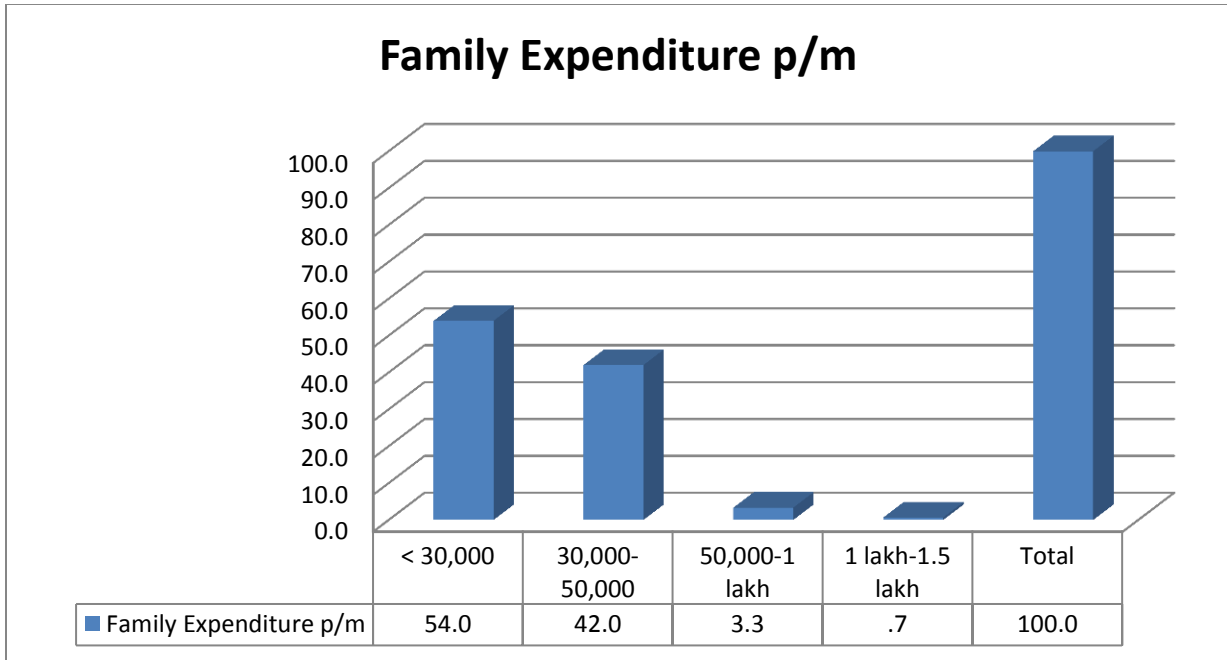
Figure 3.8 : Vehicle Details
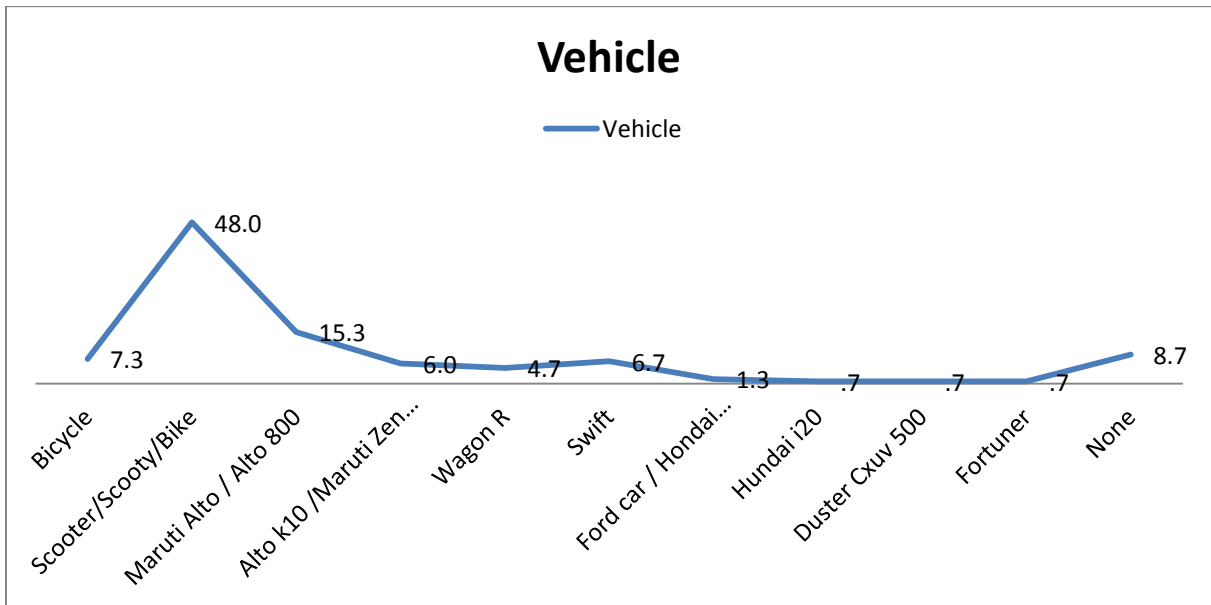
In above, Fig 3.6 shows that the family income of around 66% students is below Rs. 50,000 and as seen in Fig 3.7 expenditure of 54% students is less than 30,000. In Fig 3.8 it is seen that house of 48% of students have two-wheelers such as Scooter, bike, scooty etc.

3.12.2 Social Background of Students

Table 3.7 :Age and Gender Cross-tabulation of Students (School A)

| | Gender | | Total |
	Male	Female	
13 Years	26	16	42
14 Years	43	33	76
15 Years	20	6	26
16 Years	4	2	6
Total	93	57	150

Figure 3.9: Category of Students of School A
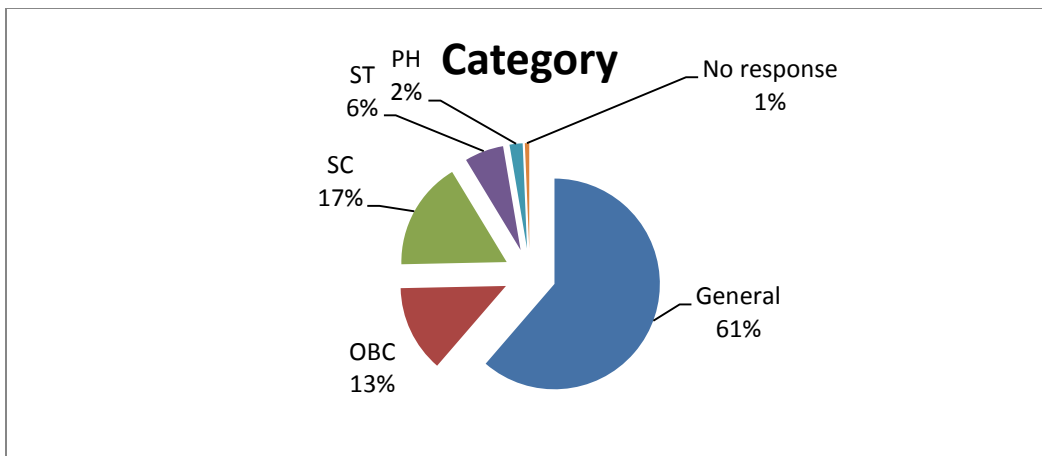
Figure 3.10 : Type of Household of Students of School A
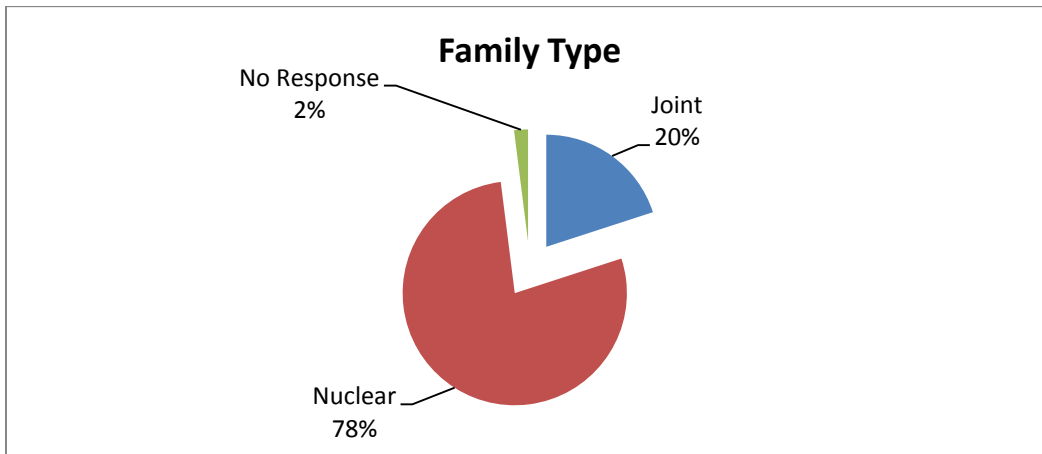
The social background of the students shows that mostly they belong to nuclear household families. The reservation policy is well implemented by giving admission to the so called socially deprived sections. Surprisingly male students are seen overriding the female students.

3.12.3 Religious Affiliations

Figure 3.11: Religion of Students of School A
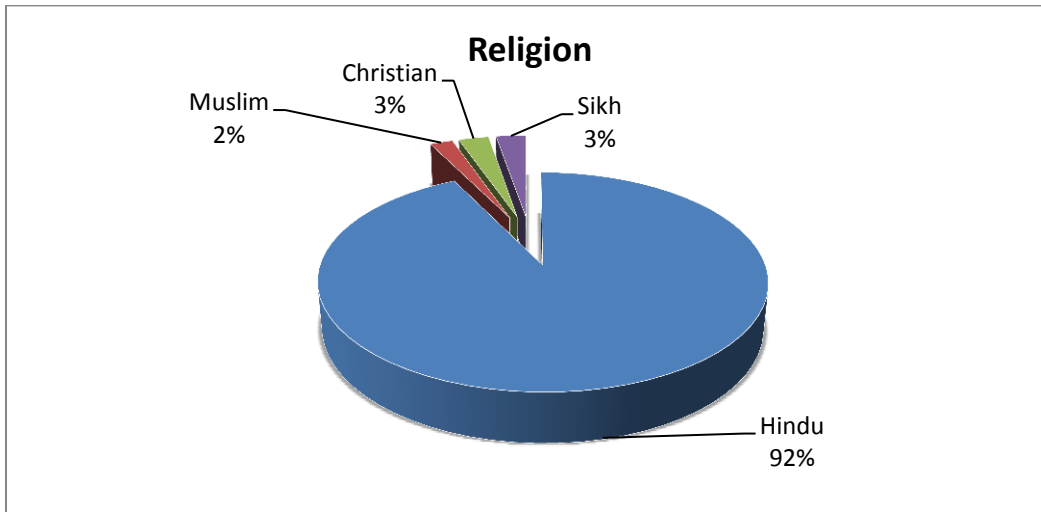
In case of students community also majority of the students belong to Hindu community though a few of them belong to Muslim, Christian and Sikh religion as well.

3.12.4 Occupational Background of Parents

Figure 3.12: Occupation of Father
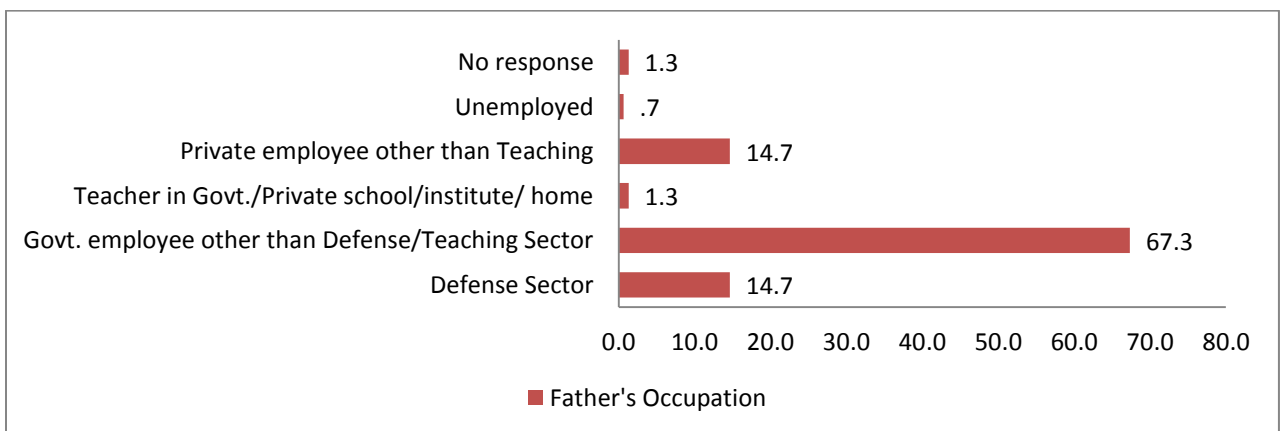
Figure 3.13: Occupation of Mother
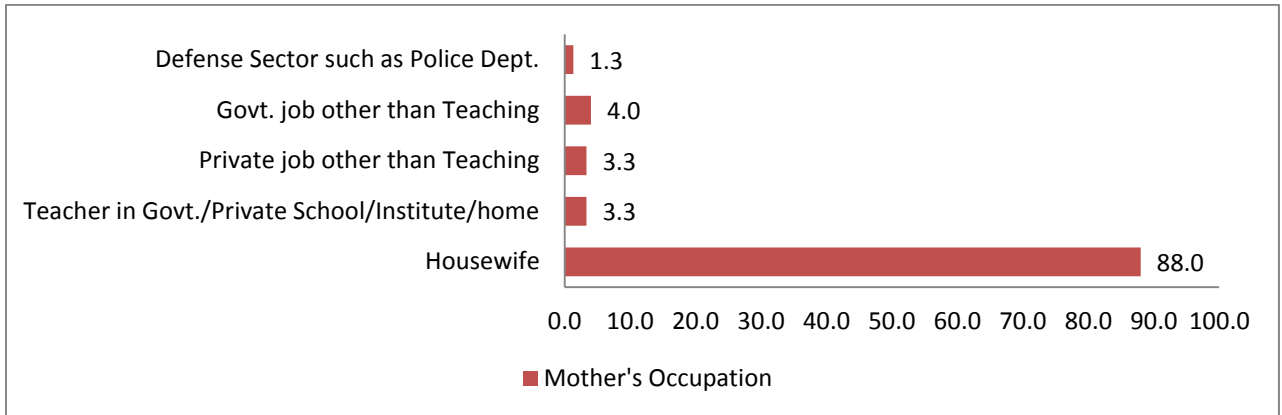
Fif 2.12 shows that students' fathers mostly work in the Govt. sector other than defense sector while in Figure 2.13 it is shown that most of their mothers are the homemakers.

3.13 Secondary Sources of Data Collection

The study includes secondary sources such as books, journals, articles, other researched works, government statistics especially report of Ministry of Human Resource Development on teachers etc. In the process of research, secondary sources are equally important to consider in so far as supplementing macro knowledge or overall trend based on statistical data is concerned. Although most of secondary literatures are specific to western contexts but inadequate sources in Indian context constitute one of the limitations of the study.

3.14 Challenges in the process of Data Collection

Nevertheless, getting the formal permission for my Ph.D. research from the school principals to get access to their schools seemed challenging to me. For accessing the private school I tried initially for a handful number of schools such as Laxman Public school in Hauz Khas, GD Goenka Public School in Vasant Kunj, DPS R.K.Puram etc. Talking to the principals of these schools was the first hurdle because I had to undergo number of formalities such as to write email to the principals with my full bio-data specifically stating the purpose, asking for appointments etc. wherein in some cases I did not even get return response and the process ended thereof itself. In some cases I was asked to contact one or two months later. Despite these hurdles I managed to get a call

from the principal's office of Delhi Public School, R.K.Puram and finally I talked to the principal regarding my research work and the purpose of my research wherein he showed his interest and also granted permission in accessing the school. But later on when the principal transferred my case to the vice principal of the school, she made me run after her for almost 3/4 months calling me on different days. Yet she did not permit me to meet any of the teachers seeking some excuses or the other. It seemed that she was much apprehensive of my entry as a researcher in the school, which I did not see while I approached the principal initially. The conveyed the same to the principal as well. But he asked me to talk to the same vice principal again saying it was her department to deal with these things. The vice principal later on started misbehaving with me, rather her sense of inhumanness gradually became visible to me when I also saw her scolding a teacher acutely for conveying an artist that the school might need him in the upcoming school function which was not even finalized. When the teacher came to talk to her that she found an artist and asking permission from her if she should finalize him, the vice principal became very offended and started shouting her inhumanly in front of me as to how the teacher concerned can even dare to speak to an artist (although not finalized by the teacher) without taking her prior permission. Even when I randomly tried to speak to some of the students of the school it seemed that most of the students were also quite apprehensive because of her ever seen scolding nature. I finally left the hope for this school after running for 3 to 4 months.

I tried other private schools and finally got the permission from the principal of one near Vasant Vihar. Thus I was allowed to enter the school for my research and I started talking to some teachers as well. It went for a month and unfortunately when the JNU February 9 episode became viral in news channels and other print medias the management of the school withdrew the permission granted to me for doing my research in the school. I became downhearted once again. This is also because it was such a period that even if I have tried for other private schools no school would have permitted me being my identity as a JNUite. After I fruitful discussion with my supervisor on this whole issue, I finally tried for some schools following snowballing sampling. And that hit me this time. After facing challenges for another couple of months I was finally given permission in a private

school since a teacher from NCERT who is in the management of the school and known to me approached the principal on my behave.

As far as the selection of the Government school was concerned, I faced problem from the managerial office in receiving permission. I had to run several times to Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan and had to meet Joint Commissioner (Acad), Assistant Commissioner for getting permission to a K.V. school and when all the procedural tasks were over I was finally given the permission to access one Kendriya Vidyalaya in South West Delhi. In the whole process of taking permission from the Sangathan it too nearly 4/5 months since it all involved paper works unlike the private school where only the principal grants permission.

3.15 Methods of Analysis of data

The data collected are analyzed with the help of tables, figures, diagrams and narrating / describing different realities relating to the profession. There were also some of the transcriptions of the interviews the recordings of which were taken at the consent of the informants. Such transcription served a big purpose towards my research.

3.15.1 Analysis through Use of SPSS, Tabulation and Graphic Presentation

The quantitative data from the questionnaires are put in the SPSS software and tables and figures are drawn using that software. SPSS helped in proper analysis of the figures and arriving towards definite conclusions. Tabulation and Graphic presentation helped in quick observation and analysis of the field data.

3.15.2 Narrative Analysis

In simple understanding, "a narrative may be oral or written and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an interview or naturally occurring conversation. In any of these situations, a narrative may be (a) a short topical story about a particular event and specific characters such as an encounter with a friend, boss, or doctor; (b) an extended story about a significant aspect of one's life such as schooling, work, marriage, divorce, childbirth, an illness, a trauma or participation in a war or social movement; of (c) a narrative of one's entire life from birth to the present (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005 : 652). In the present

research, the narratives of the teachers' different aspects relating to their profession were included. Such narratives revolves their stories on getting into the profession, experiences on conducting their tuition classes in the past, transfer of the teachers from one state to another etc.

3.15.3 Maintaining Field Notes for Data Analysis

The field notes were carefully maintained in a field dairy meant specifically for the present school teaching research. Such notes were later used in verifying different cross questions of the questionnaires and the interviews of the teachers.

3.16 Ethical Considerations

The basic information provided by my informants is kept in full confidentiality and the identities of the informants are also maintained with full protection. The informants were provided this information of confidential clause before distributing and taking in depth interviews, focus group discussions. There were also requests from teachers not to mention their identities while they shared with me the need to take tuitions, the working environment in the schools, salary issues of some of the teachers from the private school and the contractual teachers from the government school. With the prior permission of the informants some of the interviews were recorded as well though not all. The teachers are given some pseudo names in places where it was necessary.

Thus Fieldwork experiences have significant influence on our individuality as a being. It transforms a researcher in many ways. At the end of conducting research it is realized by the researcher that the 'field' is not just a space of collecting data or information. Along with this the researcher establishes a human relation which works for the rest of his/her life. In conducting my research as well, a few teachers have become my good friends cum mentors who towards the end of my data collection process used to enjoy my presence in the school. Invitations to their residential spaces at the time of different festivals, marriage ceremony became so normal between us as if this relationship is quite long years old. Nevertheless, the data collected through in-depth interviews from these teachers provide a systematic understanding of their profession. In the succeeding chapters, these data are organized with an illuminating and exploratory manner.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING TEACHING PROFESSION IN INDIA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES

The history of schooling in India can be referred back to the Pre-British period when there was no formal school education like today and there were educational institutions like Vedic Schools, Gurukuls and Pathshalas for Brahminical education; Buddhist Viharas for Buddhist learning; Maktabs and Madrasas for Islamic education. Teachings in all these different sets of learning systems were different. Even variations could be observed in the teachings of the Colonial and the Post-Colonial Period in India. Therefore a brief study of the historical analysis of the teaching-learning process in different periods is essential in order to understand the evolution of the contemporary patterns of teaching-learning process in the schools and to comprehend as to how gradually different policies in the education system of India were adopted affecting the teaching-learning process.

PART I
Historical View of Teaching in India

4.1 Teaching in Ancient India

The history of Teaching and Learning is said to have begun in Ancient India with the Aryan Civilizations. Education among the Aryans coincided with their religion. The religion of Aryans was first assumed to be exposed in the Rigveda orally between 1500 - 1000 B.C. and Yajnas or sacrifices formed the central focus of Aryan religion. Such sacrifices which involved some complex rites and preparation for the slaughter of various animals were made in order to worship deities. It required several well-trained priests to perform the sacrificial rites and ensure participation of offerings by the worshippers. By doing this the worshippers experienced weird ambiances of power which confirmed them that the gods descended to the sacrificial venue to eat and drink with the worshippers and bless them with success in war, progeny, long life and everything they asked for. The sense of supernatural sensations which the worshippers felt was identified with the Brahman in the Rigveda 'by uttering sacred mantras or hymns' and the possessor of this

Brahman later came to known as Brahmana, the tribal priest. Thus the Brahmanas or the priests were the most powerful in the Aryan Society as they were the possessors of a supernatural electrical power called Brahman and they could derive this electrical power by uttering of Mantras and hymns addressed to deities. Therefore composition and learning of these hymns formed the part of Vedic Schools in Ancient India.

The hymns in the Rig Veda are the result of the pursuit of the highest truth and concentrated meditation called Tapas which makes a Rishi or a Seer. The whole creation is conceived as the outcome of tapas of Brahma. Necessary methods were also evolved to acquire, conserve and transfer this highest knowledge built up by the Rishis which was stored in the form of hymns. Thus every Rishi was a teacher who would first impart the knowledge which he acquired personally to his son and this text of the knowledge then would become the special property of his family. Each such family of Rishis functioned like Vedic School which admitted pupils for possession of the hymns. Gradually the number of the Vedic Schools increased in proportion to the increasing number of Rishis composing new hymns along with the increase in the number of successful students as the successful students also set up their own Vedic Schools after returning home.

With the development of other three Vedas, i.e. Sama Veda, Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda by 600 BC the religion of Aryans became more ritualistic which led to the increase in the priests for participating in the sacrifices in each of these four categories. Thus while the Hotri priests were experts in the hymns recitations, the Udgatri priests were particularly dealt with the chanting of hymns which required a distinctive training. Also, the Adhvaryu priests emphasized on the performance of sacrifices and the Brahma priests were trained in acquiring proficiency and knowledge in the whole matter so that they could identify the errors if any in the sacrificial performance thereby correcting its performances at different parts in its operations.

Thus the subject matter of learning in the Vedic Schools by 600 BC consisted of the hymns of all the four Vedas. The striking feature of teaching in the Vedic Schools was that the Vedas were composed orally and were also taught orally by recitation which involved exact pronunciation of Chandas which were made up of different Aksharas or words. The teaching was thus confined only to the continuous inspection of the correct

repetition of the words by the learners without an insight into their meanings. Thus the lip of the teacher who was uttering the hymns was of utmost significance. In short, the Guru used to give the Veda to his disciples by the process of uttering. In this process, uttering the hymns correctly was an important part of training which then only could give their meanings clearly. In other words, the Guru first gives the Chhanda to his pupils, then Vyakarana or grammar and Nirukta or etymology in order to express the meanings appropriately (Ghosh, 2016).

Apart from these the subsidiary studies or auxiliary sciences that in the Vedic Schools were Shiksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha as Aida to the study of Vedas. These 6 subsidiary subjects were therefore known as the Vedangas or the limbs of the Vedas. Since 1000 BC the four Vedas and the six Vedangas constituted the subjects for studying in the Vedic Schools. By the Sutra Age i.e. 400-200 BC, there had been the development of other allied sciences like Philosophy, Yoga, Physiology, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Astrology, Astronomy, Music etc. (*ibid*).

Interestingly the Vedas were always labeled as Sruti which did not appeal to the eye but did appeal to the ear. In the Vedic Schools, the lessons of the Vedas were taught to the pupils by recitation and the pupils had to start the recitation of the Vedic texts every day before the chirping of birds. Thus the students had to spend 12 years of their lives in the Vedic Schools serving their Gurus in lieu of free board and lodging. The pupils during this period were called as Vratacharis or Brahmacharisand the period of their study was called Brahmacharya. As per Atharva Veda, rigorous discipline was also associated with Brahmacharya as he is to undertake two-fold course of discipline- Physical and Spiritual. While the physical discipline included the wearing of the Kusha Girdle and deer skin, letting his hairs grow, collecting firewood and tending the household fire and begging alms; the Spiritual discipline comprised of offering fuel to Agni and worshipping the God of Agni twice every day, controlling the senses and dedicating his life serving the teacher who was variously admired as Yama, Varuna, Sun and Moon as the patrons of light and joy.

The Brahmacharya system also included women for admitting in the Vedic Schools after the performance of Upanayana ceremony. They were given prescribed those courses

which would help them in assisting their husbands in the performances of the rites of sacrifice. It is seen in the above discussion that the hymns of the four Vedas which comprised the courses of the Vedic Schools were composed by the priestly class. Now the immediate question arises as to whether the Vedic Schools were open to non- priestly class as well. It can be mentioned here that the Aryan society was divided into four segments – Brahmanas who were conceived to origin from the mouth of Brahma, the creator; Kshatriyas from the arms; Vaishyas from the thighs and the Shudras from the feet. A study of the Rig Vedas reveals that there was no taboo relating to intermarriage of these four segments, change of occupation and commensality. No such concept of impurity was attached to the Shudra class. Thus to become a Rishi was not the monopoly of the priestly class alone. Even a Kshatriya such as Visvamitra was one of the well-known Rishis. Anyone from the rest of the three non-priestly class could become a Rishi by acquiring supreme knowledge i.e. Brahma through Tapas or Yoga or meditation. Even the Yajur Veda affirms the teaching of Vedic Knowledge to all classes and confirms the equal right of all classes to study the Veda in the Vedic Schools.

However couple of centuries later rigidity in the caste distinctions began to emerge and change of caste became almost difficult. It was at this period that the seeds of untouchability began to emerge which was associated with Shudras and hence they were not allowed to touch the milk or other staffs needs to oblate to Agni or fire god. The power of the Brahmanas increased immensely who started claiming themselves as the gods in the earth. The Brahmanas had also developed a unique system of memory training for transmission of the Vedic tests only to a chosen few and were reluctant upon writing. Thus gradually an era of conservatism and orthodoxy began to exist. In the Upanishads era which is also known as the era of Vedanta or end of the Vedas, a teacher used to impart secret doctrines in a session making the pupils sit at his feet so as to select them towards the end of their study on Vedas. The teacher not only had to instill in the students the mental and moral attributes to receive the knowledge of Brahman, the highest knowledge but also instill external duties in the form of services to the teacher such as begging alms, collecting fuel in the form to perform sacrificial rites etc. The qualities needed in a teacher to train the pupils were possession of the highest moral and spiritual qualifications, well versed in the sacred lore, the Brahman or the Brahmanishtha.

A teacher needed to teach his pupils then truth exactly as he knew so that the truth exits even after him through a succession of teachers called *Guru Paramparya* who contributed to the continuity of knowledge. If any of the teachers thought himself to be unfit to teach a particular subject, he used to send the pupils to a fit teacher as part of his duty and responsibility (*ibid*).

In the days of the four Vedas usually, the teachers were all Brahmanas who belong to the priestly class and attaining the knowledge of Brahma, the divine knowledge a Kashtriya king could elevate to the status of a Brahmana teacher who could later act as teachers even to Brahmana students. These Kashtriya kings acted as Brahmana teachers only when approached by the learned students for acquiring supreme knowledge on special occasions and therefore in normal circumstances the priestly class used to be teachers in the Vedic Schools who offered courses as per the demands of the time. It was hence the Brahmanas who belonged to the priestly class of the Aryans benefitted the most from such study. Therefore the Brahmanas epitomized the intellectual and spiritual interests of the community who were required not only to practice their own culture but also to contribute the advantages of the skills they have either as teachers or as sacrificial priests or as *purohitas* guiding the kings in their administration. The concept of the indispensability of 'teacher' was must for a student in the Upanishad period to acquire the knowledge of the Brahman so that the teacher can explain the empirically acquired knowledge. Those pupils whose fathers were Brahman had acquired knowledge from their fathers otherwise those whose fathers were not Rishis had to search for Gurus throughout the country to acquire this secret knowledge (*ibid*).

The patterns of teachings of the Vedic Schools were challenged later on in the Buddhist Age. Mahavira and Gautama Buddha preached religious teachings based on own their own experiences and they denied the supremacy of Brahma and authority of Vedas. The supreme knowledge for Buddha was the knowledge about the miseries and sufferings of human beings. To acquire that knowledge Buddha renounced the world and took around six years to gain knowledge and hence contributed the four noble/universal truths concerning human sufferings and eight Noble paths to achieve that. The Buddhist system of learning was based on the teachings of Buddha and the nucleus of Buddhist learning

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was the Order of the monks which was thrown open to all the castes though initially was confined to the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas only. Women were also not initially allowed to join the order, but later on, were permitted. Once a person joined the Order he lost all her previous caste identities and only after seeking the permission form the parents the youths could join the Order.

Nevertheless, in the Buddhist system, the pupils had to serve the teacher in a similar way as that of the Brahminical system as part of their education. The pupils had to get up early from bed, give his teacher teeth cleanser and water to rinse his mouth, serve him rice milk in a rinsed jug and thereafter wash the jug and finally sweep the place. The pupils then had to accompany the teacher for begging and in returning the pupils had to get back ahead of the teacher so as to help the teacher with essential things. After serving the teacher if needed the pupils had to assist the teacher in bathing. After bathing, an interval of teaching was conducted in the form of answering questions or delivering a discourse. The pupils also had to clean the Vihara where the teacher lived. In turn, the teacher under his charge had to instill in the Bhikkhu all possible intellectual and spiritual guidance in the form of teaching, putting questions, exhorting and instructing. The teacher also had to help his pupil with necessary things such as alms-bowl and nurse him during illness. Therefore besides intellectual attainment, the teacher also needed to possess qualities such as self-concentration, wisdom, emancipation etc. (*ibid*).

In the Sutra Age (C. 400 B.C.) gradation of teachers emerged in the form of Acharya and Upadhyaya where Acharya was ten times honored than the latter was the chief among all the gurus or the teacher. Aftermath the Sutra age when the civilization further developed *Guru-ShishyaParampara* became prominent in which the method of teaching brings special attention. Under this traditional system of learning the pupil was to stay in his master's house for training especially for most of the crafts work. The master had to treat his pupil like a son and in case of any fault, the pupil was liable to corporal punishment and confinement as well. Only after completion of his mastery over his art of craft within stipulation time and making gifts to his teacher according to his means the pupil could leave his teacher's house or else the pupil could be employed by his teacher after settling his remuneration in which case the pupil could not seek service with others (*ibid*).

4.2 History of Teaching in Medieval India

India was under the rule of Muslim rulers from 1206 to 1757 and by this time Islam entered India. The Islamic system of education the genesis of which is holy Quran was aimed at the procurement of knowledge without any rigor of a Brahmacharinas as was seen in Vedic schools or renunciation of the world as was in a Buddhist Vihara. In Medieval India, knowledge was acquired through three conduits: Maktab, Madrasah and Mosques or Khanqah. These were open to all followers of Islam, whether rich or poor, orphan or destitute. Maktabs were crucial in the Islamic learning as starting the process of acquisition of knowledge was made synchronous with a place where Allah could be worshipped or mosque. The local boys whose parents were incapable to teach them at home sent there for learning. Usually, a maulavi or a religious preceptor was appointed for this purpose of religious teaching. The offerings by the devotees and the builder of the mosque contributed as the maintenance help of the boys and the Maulvi. In the maktab the child was usually brought when he was four years four months and four days old. After done with all initial procedures, the child is first taught the alphabets to be pronounced correctly, punctuation, signs of accents etc. When the child had learnt it, he was taught how to combine these alphabets and form words and then form small sentences. Once the child learnt the correct pronunciation, he was taught Persian grammar and how to learn art of writing. It is essential to mention here that the good art of writing was considered an essential component of all the children educated in maktab. Teachers in the maktab had to make the children leant of poetic works of great poets such as Yusuf, Zulekha, Laila, Majnu etc. and the morals of their stories were explained to the children. Teaching the holy Quran started at the age of seven. The teaching technique focused on memorizing on the part of the students the thirteen chapters of Quran containing the verses of daily prayer and Fatiha and verses required to recite at the funeral. Thus children of Islam were required to it receive their early education from Quran, their first school. Apart from teaching Quaran, basic elementary arithmetic, especially on numerals were also taught at the maktab stage. Thus teaching at this stage was more to instruct the children for memorization and cramming (*ibid*).

Next is Madrasah to which a child is promoted after completing his education in maktab. Here instructions on higher education were imparted. A madrasah was generally attached to a mosque built by a Sultan or a Padshah or any such well-to-do person who then appointed one or a few teachers for training the pupils. The level of learning cab ne compared with a college in pre 1854. The builder or the state usually availed a land or a specific grant as charity for maintenance of the madrasah, its teachers and pupils, at times accommodations were also provided teachers and pupils. Though the main teaching in madrasah revolved round a deep complete study of Quaran and its commentary by prominent theologians, other significant subjects taught were history, geography, mathematics, accountancy, astrology and astronomy, agriculture, Islamic law, art of administration. Critical study of Arabic and Persian languages and literatures were also taught. In the reign of Akbar, madrasah were made open to all religious groups as part of his policy of *'Din-i-Illahi'*. Teaching Sanskrit and Hindu religious texts such as the Upanishad were thus encouraged in his time. Therefore it was evident that a number of Hindus were equipped with Arabic and Persian languages and were in a position to hold significant position in the administration of Muslim empire. It is interesting to note here that years before the madrasah formally made open to a Hindu pupil during Akbar's reign, the learned Muslim scholars used to teach Hindu pupils privately at home who usually came from wealthy sections of Hindu society (as they could effort to pay fees of the teacher for private engagement) including the Brahmins. Thus it could also be emphasized here that the learning the art of administration was not prerogative of the princes and the royal families in Muslim India. And there was freedom on the part of the students to choose any subject they wish to study as per their interests in madrasah under a learned teacher. The duration of each course for which the teacher would instruct such pupils depends on the time the pupil will take depending on the caliber of the pupil till he acquires proficiency. Accordingly it used to be seven years or even more and the teacher would conduct examinations at the end for each pupil to see the mastery of his pupil on the particular subject. If the teacher was satisfied with his pupil's performance, he not had the power to reward such pupils with sanads (i.e. diplomas) or imams (i.e. eligibility to lead prayers in mosque) but also the teacher can recommend his name for holding position in the state administration (*ibid*).

Next conduit through which Islamic education was imparted was Mosques and Khanqahs. Mosques were established by rulers and others while heads of religious orders started the Khanqahs. The celebrated saints known as dervishes used to spread knowledge among people as murshids or spiritual preceptors. Thus the courses taught at maktabs and madrasahs to impart Islamic education though fulfilled the requirements of the rulers, it barely revealed the interests of others religions except Islam. Thus it basically served the interests of the Muslim communities in Medieval India.

4.3 History of Teaching in Modern India

Teaching in Modern India can be associated with the developments made on Teachers by the Colonial rulers. It includes the developments made thereafter too in the post-colonial period. In the post-colonial period after the coming up of the Indian Constitution, there have been lots of developments made in the education sector. After the 1990s we can also see changes in different aspects of the school teaching profession in post-liberalization period. Maucalay's recommendation towards imparting English Education was one of prime contributions of colonial period with which teaching to Indian people started. Next section discusses in great length the developments made on teachers and teaching during the British period and aftermath.

PART II
Educational Policies and State Initiatives on Teachers

This part of the chapter would first discuss different educational policies in general at both international and national level and the policies for the secondary education in India. Then it would also discuss the initiatives taken on the teachers on their growth and development in the context of the school system.

4.4 Policy Initiatives on Teachers in the Colonial Period

Though the history of schooling in India can be traced back to the pre-Colonial period when there was no formal school education, nevertheless for the first time, British Parliament realized the need for introducing education in India although to fulfill their own interests. As far as the history of secondary schools in India is concerned, it can be

traced back to the efforts of Christian missionaries and some private Indians. But prior to the passing of the Dispatch of 1854 4hese schools were under the East India Company or European management. The Dispatch of 1854 gave great impetus to the expansion of secondary education and the number of schools multiplied in India. The Dispatch of 1854, popularly known as Wood's Dispatch clearly outlined the policy of the Government. As far as provisions relating to teachers are concerned, the Dispatch suggested for starting of institutions for the training of teachers and for this purpose it recommended the establishment of training schools in all the provinces of India and these institutions would function as the similar training institutions existed in England. This was done in order to carry on teaching work properly and efficiently in Indian schools. Accordingly, some training schools were established for the teachers. But one of the remarking loopholes of the 1854 Dispatch was that the government paid more emphasis on university and high school education than on primary education and it discouraged private enterprises by increasing its own institutions which were more expensive. The dispatch of 1854 was also a powerful blow to the existing caste privilege of the higher sections of society because it introduced the principle that government should take the responsibility of educating those who could not do so on their own   (Das, 2005; Chhibbar, 1968).

Later on, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, also known as "Hunter Commission" emphasized on these loopholes and among different recommendations, for the secondary education, it suggested for government withdrawal and instead it is to be left for efficient private enterprises through a system of grants-in-aid. It also emphasized on the need for training of secondary school teachers in the method of teaching. Furthermore, to raise the efficiency and standard of education, Lord Curzon, the then viceroy of India, published the Government of India's resolution of education policy in 1904, popularly called as Educational Policy of Lord Curzon where he focused on various practical measures on primary, secondary, collegiate and university education and his policy contained two broad aspects: control and improvement. For secondary education, he emphasized that all secondary schools though managed by either private or public authority, must be recognized by the Department of Education and such schools will receive grants-in-aid

and admitted pupils would hold government scholarships. For improving the standard of teaching, training instructors for secondary school teachers were increased.

Lord Curzon's Secondary Education Policy had a tremendous impact on the secondary education teaching in colonial India. His policy can be divided into two parts that are 'policy of control' and 'policy of improvement'.

The recommendation of Hunter Commission was crucial in order to control the policy of secondary education. In was suggested that the governmental withdrawal from the domain of secondary education and the aspects of expansion should be the prerogative of private bodies. Furthermore, they should be considered for a liberal grant in aid. The number of private schools got enhanced because of this. For the privately managed schools, there was no such prescribed regulation, whereas, the government has prescribed certain fixed norms and regulatory framework for the government aided schools. Later on, it was observed that, they were mostly inefficient and poorly staffed, apart from scarcity of equipment. It was stated in the government Resolution on Education 1904 that, "… Whether these schools are managed by a public authority or by private persons and whether they have received public funds or not, the government is bound in the interest of the community to see that education provided to them are sound."

At that time, the government has given its best effort towards the control mechanism of private schools by resorting to several ways. Proper constitution of managing committee was reiterated and a stable financial condition for the school was stressed upon. Recreational facilities for the pupil and health aspects by the school in an efficient manner were the primary instruction given. Suitable and properly qualified teachers were prescribed too. If required, the government planned to assess all the schools in a particular area. The Director of Public Instruction was entrusted to give recognition to every secondary school that included both government aided and privately managed schools. Education Department recognition was in place besides University recognition if the intent was to make students appear for the matriculation examination, which was to be conducted by the University. Scholarships for the pupil and government grant-in-aid were to be disbursed to recognized schools only. Besides, student transfer to a recognized school from an unrecognized school was prohibited.

In order to improve the policy of secondary education in colonial India, Lord Curzon realized that Government control alone is not sufficient rather provincial governments should also take responsibility in granting financial assistance for the cause of secondary education. On the model of private secondary school, training for government secondary schools was provided. Financial assistance was also provided to the private schools to equalize them with the public schools. It also suggested for increasing the number of teacher training centres so that teachers can be encouraged for receiving training. Accordingly it also suggested for increasing the number of inspectors to bring more effectively on the secondary education. Inclusions of Practical and Vocational subjects along with physical Education were also demanded in the secondary school curriculum. Mother tongue as a medium of instruction up to middle school level was encouraged without neglecting the study English. Moreover improving discipline among teachers and students constitutes one of the areas of Curzon's policy.[1]

On similar lines Hartog committee Report, 1929 also emphasized on the improvement of training of teacher in order to raise the standard of secondary education. Hartog committee which reported the development of Indian education for a decade, that is, 1917-1927 considered education as a means to 'nation building' With regard to secondary education the report found that there were massive number of failures at the matriculation level which indicated great wastage in terms of money, power and energy. The committee therefore suggested appropriate measures to reduce failures at matriculation. With regard to teachers it remarked that teachers played an important part in pupil's development, but the average quality of teachers and of teachers depended on the substantial amount of pay and the service conditions which still low in India but improved considerably in the decade. In any of the provinces the payments to the teachers were not sufficiently given as per the status and demand of their work. In provinces like Bengal and Bihar the payments to teachers were too miserable. The situation was much woeful for a large number of teachers in privately managed schools and schools managed by local bodies where along with less payments, 'insecurity of

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[1] See, Introduction to Lord Curzon's Education Policy, at website
http://www.kkhsou.in/main/education/education_policy.html

tenure' was another crucial issue. Therefore, the Hartog committee strongly suggested for improvement of service conditions of teachers in both economic and social fronts in order to achieve a better quality in secondary education (Ghosh, 2007).

4.5 Initiatives for teachers in Post Independent Period

In this section, discussion would be made on the initiatives made on education in general and teachers in particular at both International level and National level.

4.5.1 An overview at the International level

The initiatives taken at the international levels have some impact or the other in the formulations of the national polices. In Chapter 1, it is already explained how teachers have direct relation with the education system and hence whatever is policy adopted by the government for the education system, it directly or indirectly always impacts the teachers and so their profession. Therefore it is essential to have a look at the influences of the national government before directly moving to the initiatives by national government on teachers and the education system.

i) Convention against Discrimination in Education, 1960

Internationally Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 1948 in its Article 26 provides for right to education for all to be equally accessible to reinforce human rights and fundamental freedom. Guided by UDHR, the UNECO adopted Convention against Discrimination in Education in 1960 which came into force in 1962. Presently 105 countries are parties to this convention. This Convention commits state parties to go for a national policy promoting the equally of opportunity in matter of education. Although these conventions are not legally binding upon all the nations but it definitely provides a common reference for all nations worldwide. Hence its importance cannot be undermined.

There are total 19 Articles in Convention against Discrimination in Education. A few of them may having the effect on the teaching activity are discussed in the table 4.1.

Table 4.1 : Articles and Provisions in the Convention against Discrimination in Education

Sl No	Articles	Provisions
1	Article 1	No persons or groups of persons to be denied access to education on discriminatory grounds such as birth, sex, colour, race, language, religion, economic condition, national or social origin etc. The term 'education' refers to providing all types and levels of education with standard and quality of education under the aforesaid conditions.
2	Article 2	The setting up of separate educational institutions for students of both the sex on equivalent basis is not discriminatory. The requirement of necessary teaching staffs to be provided with qualifications and same standard for this purpose. Setting up of separate educational institutions on religious or linguistic basis, formation of private educational institutes may be provided.
3	Article 3	To nullify any statutory provisions and any administrative instructions and to cease any such discriminatory administrative practices relating to education so as to stop elimination and prevent discrimination. Differential treatment by authorities only on the basis of merit to be permitted. Foreign nationals are to given same access to education.
4	Article 4	The State parties may adopt a national policy as per their national circumstances to promote equality of opportunity in education such as making primary education free and compulsory, making secondary education accessible to all and higher education education equally accessible depending on individual merit, to provide education with appropriate ,methods and for that training for teaching profession without any discrimination etc.

5	Article 5	Education to be directed for all round development of human personality emphasizing on respect towards human rights and fundamental freedoms. Respect for parents' liberty to choose for their children's educational institutions, rights for national minorities to carry on their educational activities with restriction of maintaining national sovereignty etc. are to be provided.
6	Article 7	The State parties shall submit periodic reports to the General Conference of UNESCO on the legislative and administrative provisions and other actions adopted by them including the national policies and its associated hindrances if any.
6	Article 9	Reservations are not to be permitted.
7	Article 15	The states parties have to make this applicable not only in metropolitan territory, but also local, colonial and other such territory for maintaining international relations of a particular kind.

Thus this Convention asserts that discrimination in education is a violation of human rights as enshrined in UDHR and has made attempts to endorse equality of opportunity and treatment for all in accessing education. Other such measure of UNESCO relating to education is "Status of Teachers".

ii) Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers, UNESCO, 1966

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers enumerates that "as the achievement of the aims and objectives of education largely depends on the financial means made available to it, high priority should be given, in all countries, to setting aside, within the national budgets , an adequate proportion of the national income for the development of education" (UNESCO, 1966).

It suggested all educational planning to include provision of training for sufficient number of teachers in initial period itself for each stage provided they are familiar with

lives of the people in their country and is able to teach in mother tongue and hence to make them qualified with full training. Regarding teacher preparation programme it remarked that it should grow in teachers the ability to teach others, a sense of responsibility to contribute by teaching, the quality to improve each student's general education, personal culture towards social, cultural and economic development, to inculcate general awareness towards good human relationships across and outside the country so on and so forth.

On teaching profession it recommended that teachers should enjoy academic freedom to discharge their professional duties, to choose teaching material and teaching methods as they find suitable for the pupils as teachers are considered qualified enough to judge it, right to choose the text books and apply methods as per relevance of the course within the sanctioned academic framework and authorities. It suggested that working hours of the teachers per day and per week should be decided after consultation with the teachers' organization and in teaching hours only works related to teaching should be taken and adequate time to be given to teachers for planning and preparation of their lessons for the next classes and evaluations etc. (*ibid*).

iii) World Teachers' Day (WTD)

Apart from the UNESCO's effort towards Human Rights Education and teachers that impacts them manifolds, the World Teachers' Day celebration is an important event to recognize the teacher achievement and the value of its profession. The aim of WTD is to focus on "appreciating, assessing and improving the educators of the world" for providing opportunities to consider issues related to teachers and teaching.

In the year 1994, UNESCO declared 5 October as World Teacher's Day. It was to commemorate the historic occasion of special inter-governmental conference adopting UNESCO/ILO recommendation made for teachers in Paris, which was convened by UNESCO in collaboration with ILO. The status of teachers was taken forward concerning their rights and responsibilities through this recommendation. Observing international standards related to their further education based on initial preparation along with learning and teaching conditions coupled with employment norms was set forth.

Towards fulfillment of quality education and its interests, it was an important step forward in the direction of guidelines to promote the status of teachers. In the year 1997, UNESCO has adopted the principles of the general conference, which has demarcated the status for teaching personnel in the higher education sector

Thus the World Teachers' Day (WTD) is observed every year on October 5 to mobilize support for teachers and to ensure that the needs of future generations will continue to be met by teachers. The theme of 2016 World Teachers' Day (WTD) was Valuing Teachers, Improving their Status.

Going with the theme of "Valuing Teachers, Improving their Status", is well reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Based on the recommendations of UNESCO and ILO, It is the fundamental principle, which is considered as a basic of the fifty year old agenda. The 1966 recommendation that majorly concerned the status of teachers celebrated its 50th anniversary in the year 2016 in the form of World Teachers Day. Within the purview of New Global Education 2030 agenda of 2015, the world community pledged for a specified education goal. The SDG4 in this regard is committed towards "Ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all". Teachers have a key role to play towards achieving the targets marked in the SDG4 goals. The pivotal aspect of their "professional independence, freedom and tools towards delivering quality education" was also considered crucial in this respect.

The 2017 World Teachers Day carried the theme "Teaching is Freedom, Empowering Teachers". Since 1994, several communities, states, institutions and global bodies celebrate this occasion across the globe. When UN adopted "The 2030 Sustainable Development Goal for Education in SDG4", the emergence of empowerment of teachers was carried forward as a priority area. The aspects of "professional independence and freedom" for them also took into account "the learners circumstances, needs and expectations" as important elements. The undermining factor of freedom and empowerment of them is also associated with certain blockages such as lack of efficient management of states, insecurity of teachers, discrimination faced by teachers at varied levels, financial blockages in the policy decisions etc. Therefore it is a pledge on the part

of global community to provide universal primary and secondary education by the year 2030. The UNESCO institute for statistics calculates that, different states in sum total need to recruit 68.8 million primary and secondary education teachers towards fulfillment of this objective.

For achieving equitable and quality education, teachers are always fundamental. "The Education 2030 Framework for Action" has always emphasized on this fact, which is the roadmap for the new agenda. It reiterates that, certain provisioning to teachers is pivotal in this dimension. They include "adequate training, transparency in recruitment procedures, adequate and timely remuneration with respect to work, proper motivation and support within systems which are efficient, well resourced and effectively governed". Valuing the work played by them and certain motivational factors are to be pinged towards achieving the aspired goals. The supply side is substantial here too. Increase in number of teachers must be a priority for states or policy agencies. It is estimated that, by the year 2030, 3.2 million more teachers are required towards fulfilling universal primary education goals. In the universal lower secondary education domain, the figures are expected to be 5.1 million more. UNESCO with the WTD convening agencies (ILO, UNICEF, UNDP and EI) and the international task force on teachers, dedicate this day to celebrating a unique intergovernmental commitment- the only international standard setting instrument on teachers, and reaffirms its commitment to the value of the profession.

iv) Montreal Protocol, UNESCO

Montreal protocol is another initiative of UNESCO to strengthen the education policy worldwide. In collaboration with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, the UN Centre for Human Rights and UNESCO in March 1993 convened an International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy. It was held in the city of Montreal, Canada. The congress adopted the "World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy". The focal point on which the congress stressed could be pointed out as:

"Education for democracy is an integral aspect of education for human rights. Education for human rights and democracy is itself a human right and a pre-requisite for the realization of human rights, democracy and social justice".

The means by which education can be made effective, comprehensive and global is outlined through the plan. Its intent was to give education a democratic and human rights approach. The main principles of action identified in the plan included:

- Identification of target groups
- The development of appropriate curriculum
- Research into education for human rights and democracy
- The revision of school text books (with aim of eliminating stereotypes)
- The building of networks among educators
- Increasing resources for education
- Designing cost effective and sustainable educational programmes
- Overcoming obstacles in the domain of human rights education.

Taking into account the welfare centric intention of "World Plan on Education for Human Rights and Democracy", The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action is crucial in the direction of encouraging states in the domain of education. Conceptualized in the year 1993, it focuses on both formal and non-formal curricula of education. Within both frameworks, it strives towards eradicating illiteracy, inclusion of human rights, promotion of humanitarian law, absorption of democratic values and rule of law. The programme development side also includes human rights needs for the women. Taking particular account of it, ensuring public information and its wide dissemination is its focus areas.

The proclamation on the part of UN General Assembly beginning from 1st January 1995 as a "decade for human rights education" was on the request made by the Commission on Human Rights. It was derived from resolution 1994/51. The UNGA further made resolution 49/184 which was adopted on 21 December 1994. The ten-year period

beginning in the year 1995, from 1st January onwards was the proclamation by UN as the Decade for Human Rights Education.

The objectives of the decade, which spanned between the years 1995 to 2004 included:

> "a) The assessment of needs and formulation of effective strategies for the furtherance of human rights education at all school levels, in vocational training and formal as well as non-formal learning; b) The building and strengthening of programmes and capacities for human rights education at the international, regional, national and local levels; c) The coordinated development of human rights education and materials; d) The strengthening of the role and capacity of the mass media in the furtherance of human rights education; and e) The global dissemination of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the maximum possible languages and in other forms appropriate for various levels of literacy and for the disabled."

The UNGA appealed to all the governments for contributing substantially with regard to the plan of action and its effective implementation on the ground level. Stress was given on the stepping up of efforts to eradicate illiteracy. To achieve full development of the human personality in addition to strengthening of respect inside the purview of human rights and breaking shackles to achieve freedom in every respect of life parameter was considered vital. Establishment and effectively imparting human rights education on the part of both governmental and non-governmental educational agencies was urged by the UNGA. It advocated for achieving these objectives by preparing and effectively implementing national plans. The UN High Commission for Human Rights was duly requested and given the role to coordinate and facilitate these plan of action.

In December 1994, the "Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy" was established. Twelve high level expert groups comprising members from all the regions of the World were made part of it. The thrust area of its objectives was to "encourage activities aimed at promotion of education for human rights, democracy and peace at regional, national and universal levels".

4.5.2 Initiatives at the National level

This section would deal with the policy initiatives on education sector and teachers at the national level. The Constitution of India came into force on 26th January, 1950. With the enactment of the Constitution, India has adopted new provisions for the development of education. The Constitution of India has provided in the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy the necessary provisions in the field of Education. It has also included necessary amendments in Education related field.

The Constitution of India most significantly has included Right to Education as the Fundamental Right under Article 21A which was passed in 2002 by the 86th Amendment Act. Article 21A says, "The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine." The 86th Amendment Act is very important in so far as Education related developments are concerned. It substituted Article 45 of the Constitution (Earlier said, Provision for early childhood care and education to children below the age of six years)which now says, "The State shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years." Thus till 6 years it is taken care by Article 45 and 6 to 14 years of compulsory free education by Article 21A. The 86th Amendment also added the 11th fundamental Duty under Article 51A (k) which says, "who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years." However after 14 years of age right gets circumscribed by limits of economic capacity of the State.

Besides this, Article 30 provides the Educational Rights of the minorities under Article 30 as fundamental right. It says, "All Minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. (1) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of any educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause 1, the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause. (2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions,

discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

Article 46 provides for Promotion of Educational and Economic Interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections. It says, "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

In 2009 finally the Right to Education Act was passed and it was implemented since April 2010. But the biggest criticism of the Right to Education is that it guarantees for providing free education only till 14 years of age which is equivalent to class VIII standard. But after 8th class starts the secondary education of the children and the Constitution has not included provisions for the promotion of secondary education though the state has provided certain schemes for its promotion at different times.

According to the Articles 14, 15, 16 and 29 of the Indian Constitution, individual citizens are conferred with the rights of equality before law, of opportunity and discrimination is prohibited in any means. The grounds on which these are based are race, religion, sex, caste, employment, language, educational medium, and access to public places. The constitution was amended in 1951 after observation by the government that, these provisions and basis are not sufficient enough to provide the backward classes equal footing with respect to the other higher classes of the society. The mere inclusion of these was not adequate and therefore, states were given responsibility for advancement of educationally and socially backward classes or communities. Reservation policy was applied in appointments; for both institutions and undertakings of government. It carried a rider also. It was earmarked that, the total extent of such reservation should not exceed 50 percent in the appointment procedure, over and above of all the vacant positions.

Casteless and classless society has always remained the vision of Indian constitution. With the specific purpose of upliftment of the backward classes in the education sector, the legislature has enforced the legislation named "The Central Educational Institution (Reservation in Admission) Act 2006". It will be henceforth referred as "The Act of

2006". The major objective of the act is to provide for the "reservation of the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, and the Other Backward Classes". Specifically, certain central government institutions of the education domain are bound with these norms, which are established, maintained, governed and aided by the government.

Section 2(G) of the Reservation Act is demarcated for OBC category citizens in centrally recognized educational institutions with all the benefits and it is defined for "the class or classes of citizens who are socially or economically backward, and recognized and so determined by the central government". The centrally recognized educational institutions which are enshrined under section 2(D) of the Reservation Act could be defined with the parameters which are "an University established or incorporated by or under a central act; an institution of national importance set up by an act of parliament; an institution declared as a deemed university under section 3 of the University Grants Commission Act of 1956 and maintained by or receiving aid from the central government; an institution maintained by or receiving aid from the central government, whether directly or indirectly, and affiliated to an institution referred to in clause (i) or clause (ii), or a constituent unit of an institution referred to in clause (iii); an educational institution registered under Societies Registration Act of 1860."

Recommendations concerning status of Teachers, 1966 suggest that, education is a vital aspect of the national development agenda and a propellant of economic growth. When inclusive growth, economic welfare and social planning is conceptualized, education plays a greater role towards the improvement of living conditions of all the citizens concerned. Its effective and exhaustive integration with national policy planning, in both long and short term measures must be advocated by all the stakeholders concerned in a timely manner.

The 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12) proposed for introducing new vocational schools along with reinforcing prevailing government sector vocational schools. Assistance for this period for Private schools was suggested under Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode along with assistance from repute NGOs as well. Development for Competency based curriculum and learning material was made. Provision was also made for in-service

training to the vocational teachers along with induction training programme for fresh vocational teachers. Planning for establishing a Vocational Education Cell was also made under Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) as a pioneer to the Central Board of Vocational Education (CBVE).

During the Eleventh Plan Secondary schooling received a major push for increasing the support of the Central Government in several folds. For instance, the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan, a Centrally sponsored scheme was launched in 2009-10 at the fund sharing ratio of 75:25 between Centre and States. For Special Category States and NE States the sharing ratio was fixed at 90: 10.

During Twelfth Plan (2012-2017), the main target goals for Secondary Education were to achieve near-universal enrolment in secondary education, with Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) exceeding 90 per cent by 2017; to increasing the GER at the higher secondary level to 65 percent by 2017; to guarantee qualitative secondary education with relevant skills which would include basic competency in Science, Mathematics, Languages and Communication; to lessen Dropout rate to less than 25 per cent by 2017; to implement in all schools across the country common curricula and syllabi of nationally acceptable standards for Science, Maths and English; to develop life skills including skills of critical and constructive thinking, use of ICT, organizational and leadership skills.

4.6 Government Schemes on Secondary Education

The Government has adopted different schemes for the development of Secondary Education, teachers teaching at this level. These are as follows:

i) Vocationalisation of Secondary Education (1988)

Vocationalisation of Secondary Education scheme was launched in 1988 which covered around 10,000 schools with the intake capacity approximately 10 lakh students. As per a study done in 1995-96, about 4.8% students were admitted in the vocational stream of which 28% of Vocational pass outs were either employed somewhere or self-employed

and 38.3% vocational pass outs were pursuing their higher studies. This shows a good data-record of those pursuing education with vocational stream.

The major goal of the scheme is to produce educated, employable and competitive human resource for various sectors of the economy and the global market looking into the prevailing national and international scenario and in consensus with recommendations of various Education Commissions and Committees, National Policy on Education (1986), Programme Of Action (1992) etc.

Vocationalisation of Secondary Education was made a Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) under which provision for financial assistance was given to the State Governments/UTs and NGOs for the remaining period of 11th Plan for the set goals. The scheme involved establishing of new vocational schools, reinforcement of prevailing vocational schools, building capacity of the vocational education teachers, improvement of competency based curriculum and teaching material and development of a management Information System (MIS) for monitoring and evaluation. Under this scheme, while two full-time teachers were appointed per vocational course on a contractual basis for 3 years in the first instance, rest of the teachers or trainers were kept on per hour payment basis at the position of guest faculty. If required other support staffs would be hired on contractual basis for a certain term period

This scheme provided for conducting vocational courses with the help of full-time contractual teachers or trainers and the guest faculties. The qualifications of these teachers/trainers are not fixed and tend to vary as per the requirement of each cluster of vocational courses. Pandit Sundarlal Sharma Central Institute of Vocational Education (PSSCIVE) worked on the guidelines for the selection and recruitment of teachers or trainers to all the States/UT and accordingly set qualifications for appointing teachers or trainers. Those having experience in industry were preferred more for recruitment. It is the duty of the state to select the teachers and trainers in advance before the programme starts. The respective states also need to organize a 30 days induction training programme for all the appointed vocational teachers. Those persons or professionals having Master Crafts in the concerned vocation were asked for conducting the teacher's training and

training the guest faculty for vocational courses thought such trainees may not have formal qualification such as degree, diploma or a teacher training certificate.

Training of the teacher is essential because it is the teacher who actually implements the educational policy in the class room and therefore he is the most crucial person in the system. A separate paper on Vocational Education is also included in B.Ed. & M.Ed. programmes for teacher preparation. The scheme suggested for further expansion of the B.Ed (Voc.) programmes where students of B.Ed. and M.Ed. programme are also to be given internship programme in work place or industry. In every year regular in-service teacher trainers are to conduct training programmes of 7 to 10 days on aspects relating to pedagogy and subject content of Vocational Education. PSSCIVE was entrusted the responsible for developing Pre-service teacher/trainer programme in discussion with with National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE). Proposition for building Teacher Training Colleges, National Institutes of Technical Teacher Training and Research, Universities, etc. were also made for meeting the requirement of vocational teachers. PSSCIVE/NCTE was also responsible for all fulltime and contractual teachers of various fields for making their training package of teaching techniques. The PSSCIVE, Bhopal was to act as the principal coordinating agency for organizing programmes for training these teachers of vocational education.

ii) Model School Scheme (2008)

The Model School scheme aims to set up model schools for providing quality education to talented rural children. The ratio of model school should be one school per block for getting excellency. The objective of this scheme are:

a) To set up at least one good quality senior secondary school in every block.
b) To have a pace setting role
c) To introduce a model in infrastructure, curriculum, evaluation and school governance.
d) To introduce innovative curriculum and pedagogy

iii) Scheme of Incentives to Girls For Secondary Education

This scheme is only for the girls studying at Secondary Education stage. The aim of this scheme is to promote enrolment of girl child within the age group of 14-18 years at the secondary stage, Those who passed Class 8th were encouraged more for their study of the secondary education. The scheme works under Central Government of India for all girls at the age group of 14-18

iv) Rastriya Madhamik Shiksha Abhiyan (2009)

This is another scheme for the development of secondary education which is centrally sponsored and comes under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. Conditions for an efficient growth, development and equity are made under this scheme. The scheme provides for a multidimensional research, funding support, technical consulting etc. RMSA tried to enhance a quality of secondary education by increasing the total enrollment. The scheme provides for global education of all children between 15–16 years of age.

The major objectives of the RMSA are to increase the minimum level of education to class X making universal access to secondary education; guarantee qualitative secondary education with focus on Mathematics, Science, and English; and reduce the gaps between gender, social and regional factors in enrolments, minimizing dropouts and taming retention. For this, RMSA supported interventions such as upgrading upper primary schools to secondary schools, strengthening of prevailing secondary schools, making provisions for additional classrooms, libraries, science laboratories, computer rooms, toilet and water facilities in schools, making provisions for in-service training of teachers, repairment of school buildings and residential accommodations for teachers etc. Though this scheme was launched in the third year of the 11th five year Plan still it exhibited a good progress. It targeted enrollment of approximately 3.2 million students and was able to succeed in enrolling 2.4 million additional students secondary schools during the period of Eleventh Plan itself. RMSA scheme reached overall success in that sense.

4.7 Policies on Teachers at Secondary Education level

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers enumerates that "There should be close co-operation between the competent authorities, organizations of teachers, of employers and workers, and of parents as well as cultural organizations and institutions of learning and research , for the purpose of defining educational policy and its precise objectives (UNESCO, 1966).

In post independent India, the government of India to look at the problem of secondary education appointed a Secondary Education Commission in 1952, also known as the Mudaliar Commission of 1952. The Commission highlighted the defects of the existing system and among various recommendations it emphasized on the dynamic methods of teaching by focusing the importance of vocational education. It therefore suggested better qualified and more competent teachers to be appointed following a uniform procedure. It also recommended for improvement of remuneration and other service conditions for the teachers including adoption of social security measures and every teacher to be entitled for triple benefit scheme i.e. pension-cum provident fund-cum insurance. But among various loopholes the commission was also criticized due to the difficulty of adequate supply of properly qualified and trained teachers for the success of the scheme (*ibid*).

The government of India further appointed an Education Commission in 1964, also known as Kothari Commission to suggest on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all the stages and at all aspects which submitted its report in 1966. The Commission in its Chapter 3 made a systematic recommendation on improving the status of teachers relating to different pay scales for different category of teachers - primary teacher, secondary teacher, affiliated colleges' teacher and University teacher. Chapter 4 dealt with Teacher Education and to make teachers' training effective it emphasized on practice teaching for teachers under training to be carried out in active cooperation with selected schools and the training duration was suggested to be 2 years for primary teacher and one year for the graduates at the secondary level teaching (*ibid*).

Later on, the National Policy of Education, 1986 took up some significant step in the history of education in post independent India. Part IX of the policy deals with the issues of the teacher. Clause 9.1 of part IX says,

> "The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of society, it is said that no people can rise above the level of its teachers. The Government and the community should endeavour to create conditions which will motivate and inspire teachers on constructive and creative lines. Teachers should have the freedom to innovate, to devise appropriate methods of communication and activities relevant to needs and capabilities of and the concerns of the community."

The policy also focused on the method of recruiting teachers to ensure merit, objectivity and conformity with spatial and functional requirements. It suggested to commensurate the pay and service conditions of teachers with their social and professional responsibilities so as to attract talent to the profession. Clause 9.3 of the policy also suggested on the considerable role to be played by the Teacher's associations to uphold professional integrity, dignity of the teacher. The clause further recommended the national level associations of teachers for preparing a Code of Professional ethics for Teachers and to observe thereof. Regarding Teacher Education, 9.6 clause emphasized on the establishment of District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET) to organize pre-service and in-service courses for elementary school teachers and as such to phase out sub-standard institutions. Also the selected Secondary Teacher Training Colleges will be upgraded to complement the work of State Councils of Educational Research and training and a networking arrangement to be created between teacher's education institutions and university departments of education (*ibid*).

4.8 Perspectives on Teaching in Liberalization Era

National Curriculum Framework (NCF) released by NCERT in 2005 reveals among other issues the question of teacher's autonomy and their professional independence. It says,

> "Teacher autonomy is essential for ensuring a learning environment that addresses children's diverse needs. As much as the learner requires space, freedom, flexibility, and respect, the teacher also requires the same. Currently, the system of administrative

hierarchies and control, examinations, and centralised planning for curriculum reform, all constrain the autonomy of the headmaster and teacher. Even when there is curricular freedom, teachers do not feel confident that they can exercise it without being taken to task by the administration for doing things differently. It is therefore essential to enable and support them in exercising choice. As much as the classroom needs to nurture a democratic, flexible and accepting culture, so also the school institution and the bureaucratic structure need to do the same. Not only should the teacher receive orders and information, but equally the voice of the teacher should be heard by those higher up, who often take decisions that affect the immediate classroom life and culture in the school. Relationships between teachers and their heads and principals must be informed by equality and mutual respect, and decision making must be on the basis of dialogue and discussion. The annual, monthly and weekly calendars of activities need to provide time for such staff interactions for reviewing and planning. There is a need to encourage an atmosphere that facilitates collaborative efforts among teachers. There must also be mechanisms for conflict resolution.

Often technologies such as radio and TV are introduced into their classrooms without consulting teachers on whether they would like to have these and what they would like these to do for them. Once these there in the classroom, teachers are expected to use them, when they have no control over what will be delivered, or how it will integrate with their own teaching plans" (NCF, 2005 : 98).

Commenting on the NCF, Batra (2005) argues that this framework has missed an important link, i.e. the agency and voice of Teachers. She argues that any change in policy level works its betterment when the concerned agents are also taken into consideration. Change in curriculum without an effective change on the agency of teachers would hardly proof anything meaningful. The exercise of curriculum would be most effective when there would be equal level of transformation in the teacher education in India. Then only NCF could bring an egalitarian and just social order through its vision of schools. She argues that the profession of teaching has changed its meaning in late 60s and 70s from the time of Tagore or Gandhi when teaching served the purpose of liberating education. She argues the reason for such change as an globalizing effect where school teaching has declined its status to a leased favored profession. NCF though has sections on teachers as well but it has failed to establish a link between the empowered

and empowering individual teachers due to which education leaned towards a mechanical way of education. Batra also questions the agency of teachers in the entire process of designing of curriculum and policy perspectives, current practice of teacher education system etc. She then discusses measures enabling teachers to exercise their agencies in the reforms of the curriculum process and therefore she suggests for educating the teachers first for meeting the imaginative and dynamic requirements in the education system so that a link could be established between the curriculum design and the training of teachers in their different in-service and other training related programmes.

The school teaching in India needs a thorough professional development. The National Education Policy, 1986 and the Program of Action, 1992 have greatly emphasized on these aspects. National Council for Teacher Education is yet another government body set up in 1995 under the National Council for Teacher Education Act, 1993 to formally look after the standards, procedures and processes in the Indian education system and the development and progress of 'teacher education'. But it failed in its objective of overlooking, regularizing norms and processes in teachers' education in India because of lack of formal jurisdiction. Therefore the act was amended further on as the National Council for Teacher Education (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 2006.

Although the government from time to time has been trying to improve the teaching profession on different parameters but adequate attention is yet to be paid in attracting talented and innovative people into the profession to raise the quality of schooling and develop a healthy liberal mindset among the present generation. Even the B.Edprogrammes yet to be organized in such a manner that it caters the actual needs of the education system in a just and fair manner instead of viewing it a mere qualifying degree for entering into teaching profession. Data of Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) on Secondary School Teachersfor 2011-12 also shows that only some states have 100% trained teachers at the secondary schools such as Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Uttarakhand, Delhi and Lakshadeep. Rest states have below 100% trained teachers at secondary schools.

The T.S.R. Subramanian committee was entrusted the responsibility of preparing a new education policy for India who submitted the report to the government in May, 2016 suggesting measures to improve education sector that serves the purpose of over 300 million pupils in the country. The policy takes into consideration some key issues such as revision of no-detention policy, bringing back Class 10 board examinations, promotion of Sanskrit etc. The 43-page document emphasises on addressing gender discrimination, the creation of educational tribunals, and a common curriculum for science, mathematics and English etc.

New Educational Policy (Draft) 2016, has made recommendations for Teacher development and management. For qualitative improvement it focused on capability of teachers and their incentives. Some initiatives have been addressed accordingly to deal with this issue of shortage of teachers at different levels of school education. Some of the major challenges in school education sector as revealed by this draft policy are: scarcity of secondary school teachers in subjects such as Science, Mathematics and languages, improving the quality of programmes of in-service teachers for continuous professional development, improving the prestige of teaching as a profession. To motivate teachers towards their accountability so as to guarantee best learning outcome was another goal of this policy. For that it focused on improving the quality of teacher educators and teacher education institution. Along with these efforts by the central and state governments, the other issues that they need to focus on is to fulfill large number of vacancies in elementary as well as secondary levels by sorting out the difficulties of untrained teachers and lack of professionalism in the institutions of teacher training programmes so that the disparity between teachers' training and their actual classroom practices can be solved. The policy found that a large number of government schools even lack full-time head teachers or principals. Lack of effective leadership resulted in the issue of indiscipline among teachers which resulted in deteriorating academic standards. Therefore to improve the quality of education, it suggested for some policy measures.

The New Education Policy (draft) 2016 in its recommendations highlighted certain important suggestions for teachers and teaching profession. It suggested that for improvement in the quality of education the teachers should be recruited purely on the

basis of merit and it should be formed on a transparent basis in consultation with the state government. For the purpose of merit based recruitment of teachers, principals and other such academic teams, it suggesting for establishment of Independent Teacher Recruitment Commissions by the respective state government. For quality training all vacancies of the Teacher Education Institutions must be filled up and leadership training must be made compulsory for the principals and the head teachers. State government should make proper manpower planning for state wise and subject wise selection of teachers and the aftermath training for the untrained teachers within a definite time period. Accordingly contractual teachers should be replaced with trainee eligible teachers in the sanctions positions.

Teacher absenteeism and lack of accountability have to death with by proper attendance record of the teachers with biometric device. Discipline issue in the secondary education level has to be looked after by the principal or the head teachers. For professional development of teachers emphasis will be put on effectiveness of programmes and accordingly the teacher training institutes, the diploma and graduate teacher's training programmes, structure, curriculum etc. should be reviewed periodically with the changes to update the exiting limitations. It should also be such framed that the teacher can feel the significance of co-scholastic activities such as life skills, physical education, ethical education, arts and crafts in practical sense of the terms so that he/she can institute these efficiently in due process of teaching learning in his/her school. Programmes are to be conducted for improving capacity, motivation and accountability of teachers so that they can deliver quality education in the classrooms. For entry to existing B.Ed courses, a norm should be made that the teachers must have minimum eligibility with 50% marks in graduation. Teacher Entrance Tests (TET) should be made obligatory for employment of all teachers for which the Centre and states should jointly make norms and standards.

A Teacher Education University needs to be established at the national level to deal with teacher education and at regional level the Regional Institutes of Education under NCERT needs to be set up. It should be made obligatory for all in-service teachers to partake in training or the professional development programmes once in every three years. For this purpose adequate arrangements must be made by the Central and state

governments to train all in-service teachers within a period of three years with technological usage and separate cadres for teacher educators in every state must be set up by the respective state governments. It must be made mandatory to have licensing or certification of teachers to recruit in government and private schools with provision for renewal in every 10 years on the basis of some further independent external testing. Beside this for the encouragement of teachers, apart from National level awards, state and district level awards for the teachers need to be introduced on the basis of some set objective conditions.

What is most important for the effective implementation of these recommendations is the financial planning. The expenditure on education should be raised by the government to at least 6% of GDP as a priority without any further delay in time.

Later on, this NEP Draft (2016) was discarded. Educational Policy under J SR Subramanium deputed by the Government of India in 2015 is recently superseded by Krishnaswamy Kasturiranjan. The K Kasturirangan Committee is now entrusted with the responsibility of drafting a new education policy. Subramanium committee report of 2016 has definitely provided inputs for Kasturirangan Committee. Nevertheless Kasturirangan Committee has recently got third extension till August 31, 2018 from the HRD Ministry for finally shaping the draft on new education policy.

Thus in different chronological analysis of the policy documents relating to teachers it is observed that from a teacher centric education system it is gradually shifting towards a child centric education system. With this changing notion of teaching learning environment the power dynamics in the school teaching profession has also changed a lot.

Since the present study is conducted in two schools in Delhi: KV and one private unaided school and the nature of both the schools are different therefore it is necessary here to discuss the policies for teachers in the KV and private unaided school. Among other policies of KVS, the Transfer Policies of the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, maternity leaves, Child care leaves etc. are prominent while in the private unaided school some other policies such as reservation of seats for EWS children, strict monitoring on the

childrens' and teachers' behavior constitutes their school policies. All these policies are discussed in the next section.

PART III

Understanding Policies at Implementation level concerning Teaching Profession from Field Explorations

This section deals with different policies relating to teachers and their profession which are at
practice and teachers were very vocal in talking about implementation of different government policies relating to them. These are discussed below in detail.

4.9. Appointment, Promotion and Salary of Teachers

KV teachers are recruited either through direct recruitment or by promotion through limited Departmental examination with B.Ed in the specific subject. As far as appointment in the private school is concerned, the principal and the management of the school has the final authority to appoint any teacher for their school with or even without B.Ed at the time of appointment. Thus while the professional Degree, B.Ed is compulsory in all govt schools at the time of appointment of teachers, though mandatory these days in private schools as well, but if a teacher doesn't have B.Ed degree he/she is appointed on the condition that the teacher has to complete the same within a definite time provided by the school authority. But for foreign language no B.Ed is required. In other words, while in the KV B.Ed is essential at the time of application against the vacancy itself, in case of the private school teachers do apply without B.Ed. (though the Principal out rightly rejected this when asked), but they must acquire degree within a stipulated time if they want to continue in the school.

An analysis of the B.Ed syllabus under University of Delhi shows that the syllabus consists of two parts. The first part deals with theory and the second part with practice. In Part A, the trainee teacher has to undergo 5 theoretical papers : a) Basic Ideas in Educational Theory, b) Educational Psychology, c) Modern India Education (Its

Development, Recent history, Its organization and practice), d) Methodology of Teaching (two subjects out of 29 has to be selected), e) Compulsory elective (any one from given 19 themes relating to school education such as school evaluation, health & Physical education in India, Education for Mental Health, Peace education, Educational Technology so on and so forth.) In part B, the trainee teacher has to undertake two papers : Practical skills in Teaching, Sessional Practical Work.

In the educational Theory paper, analytical study of Dewey, Gandhi, Tagore, Krishnamurti's discourse, Paule Freire, Buber, Upanishads etc. are enumerated for the entrant teachers. In Modern Indian education paper, development of Indian education from 1800 to 1947, recommendations of different commissions and committees and their implementation in post-independent period, critical study of problems such as Religious and Moral Education, Vocationalization of Secondary Education, Standards in Education etc. are taught. It is interesting here to analyze that about teachers are trained on the importance of vocationalisation of education, but such courses are not there in the syllabus of the students of secondary standards. This is indeed a big gap at our policy level. Students are forced to study the compulsory subjects for which all of them have no interests and they are judged on the basis of the marks they got in their written examinations. Teachers also face dilemmas at times when they see in some sense the difference between for what they were trained and what they have to do in actual classroom set-up. In Methodology of Teaching particular subject, the specific pedagogical requirement needed to teach that particular subject is taught. In the paper education for Mental health, trainee teachers are taught to deal with issues and challenges of Home-School continuity/discontinuity, Government and private schools, Mental Health concerns of the teachers, Anxiety, stress and coping etc. Thus trainee teachers are taught for these papers for total of two years.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers, UNESCO, 1966 suggested that training programme for educating the teachers should normally be full time where special provisions should be made for the older entrants and other such exceptional categories to undertake classes for part time basis as well with a condition that the course content and other standards should be equivalent to the full time ones. As far as the teaching faculty is

concerned they must be qualified enough to teach their discipline at that standard level required and they must have prior experience of teaching pedagogical subjects in schools. Provisions should also be made if teacher-preparation programme towards experimentation in education through research works to be conducted by staffs and students and those who conduct such research must be through with the findings of such research they have undertaken.

With regard to KV teachers, as per government norms, there is 3% yearly increment on the salary of the teachers. If a teacher is recruited at the post of TGT grade, after 12 years the teacher is eligible to get the senior scale which is equivalent to PGT grade. After 24 years of his/her service, the teacher is eligible to get the Selection Grade which is equivalent to Vice Principal grade. However the salary of permanent teachers and different from the temporary or contractual teachers. The latter get almost half the salary of the permanent teachers. As far as salaries of the teachers in the private school are concerned, there is a huge difference among the teachers. Teachers have to constantly negotiate salaries with the school authority for so. While some teachers are recruited at 18,000, some at 20,000, some at 25,000 and also some at 45,000 or so. Promotion in the private school is also time-taking. Even to get the status from temporary to permanent a teacher took more than 10 years and so is also the case with salary increment though on being the school authority admitted the yearly increment of 3% in teacher's salary.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers, UNESCO, 1966 suggest that salary is one of the factors affecting the status of the teachers and it must be properly reviewed seeing the importance of their function and regards for them compared to other professions. It is said on the recommendation,

> "Teachers' salaries should: (a) reflect the importance to society of the teaching function and hence the importance of teachers as well as the responsibilities of all kinds which fall upon them from the time of their entry into the service ; (b) compare favorably with salaries paid in other occupations requiring similar or equivalent qualifications ; (c) provide teachers with the means to ensure are a reasonable standard of living for themselves and their families as well as to investing further education or in the pursuit of cultural activities, thus enhancing their professional qualification; (d) take account of

the fact that certain posts require higher qualifications and experience and carry greater responsibilities. (UNESCO, 1966: 11-12)"

It is also suggested that the scales of teachers salary must be as per the norms decided in the teachers' organization and in probationary period or if a teacher is employed on temporary basis also their salary must not be compromised and must be paid similar scale as that of the permanent teachers. Also the scale of teacher's salary must be reviewed from time to time taking into consideration of factors such as rising cost of living, better productivity, a general increase in wage levels etc.

However, the situation as found in my study is quite different from what the policy makers at the international level talk about teachers. When teachers have to negotiate constantly for their salary being not satisfied with it and for meeting their daily cost of living, what level of qualitative productivity they can produce in the classroom in such circumstances, it can be well imagined.

4.10 Transfer Policies of Teachers

To maintain equitable distribution of its employees, Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan (KVS) ensures that all employees are liable to be transferred in any part of the country. Transfer are of two main types in KVS. These are Administrative Transfer and Request Transfer. The KVS orders the first type of transfer as per the requirements of service and administration while the second type of transfer is based on the request of an employee. Through Administrative Transfer KVS can redeploy surplus staff in excess of sanctioned strength at a location to other location against sanctioned vacancies.

Transfer to a desired location cannot be claimed 'as a matter of right' by KV teachers yet special considerations can be made depending on specific situations of the employees. In normal circumstances a teacher is liable to be employed in Very Hard Stations for 2 years tenure and in hard and North East Regions (NER) stations for a tenure of 3 years. In one station a teacher is in safe zone for 5 years. Seniority of the PGTs come faster than TGTs. But teachers go for request transfer when they approach seniority in a station. When station is changed the seniority is counted from zero onwards in that station. After 3 years

in the request transferred station if any teacher comes back to his/her previous station, his/her seniority starts again from zero. In Normal Circumstances transfer happens as per seniority; For Single Parent Teacher or in case of Death of Spouse, on medical ground, on approaching retirement etc. transfer can be delayed or made stable in one station depending on fulfilling some criteria set by KVS

As far as transfer policy in private schools is concerned, it is more of leaving from one private school and joining another school as per the familial and work convenience of the teachers. There are no specific rules if the nature of private schools is different. But if a DPS teacher wants to take transfer to another DPS then it becomes relatively easier for them.

4.11 Policies relating to Leave, Medical facilities and Children's Education Allowance

Policies relating to leaves and Medical facilities, study leaves : Teachers get reimbursement of the expenses incurred on health under Govt or CGHS Hospitals. As per government rules, a teacher is entitled to get 8 Casual Leave (CL) and 20 Half Paid Leave (HPL).

As far as policies relating to Study leaves are concerned, there are provisions for such teachers in KV who want to go for higher education or for research for 5 years without salary. But it is usually difficult to get such leaves.

Recommendations concerning Status of Teachers, 1966 suggested that,

> "Teachers should be granted study leave on full or partial pay at intervals. The period of study leave should be counted for seniority and pension purposes . (3) Teachers in areas which are remote from population centres and are recognized as such by the public authorities should be given study leave more frequently (UNESCO, 1966: 10)."

Policies relating to Maternity leave and Single parent child care leave are such that maternity leave is provided for 6 months. Recently in 2015/16 for male teachers there is provision for single parent child care leave in case of absence of wife. As far as policies

relating to the Children's Education Allowance are concerned, there can be special admission to the KV teachers' children in KVs even if there is no vacancy. But for all central and all state government employees there is provision for Children's Education Allowance. It says that the employee is eligible for reimbursement up to Rs. 18.000 for children's education expenses in a year per child. It applies for a maximum of two children. The employee is eligible to get this reimbursement even if the child of such employees is admitted in a private school. Such expenses include children's fee in school, dress and books etc. As a central Government employee the KV teacher is also eligible to get Children's Education Allowance. As far as policy relating to Single Girl Child is concerned, there is also provision for relaxation of school tuition for those students who happen to be single girl child of their parents. For Private school teachers, preference is given for getting their children admitted in the same private school where they work.

4.12 Policies relating to the EWS students, Inclusive Education and Remedial Classes

As far as policies relating to admission of EWS students in private school are concerned, the government norm of 25% reservation for EWS category is followed in the private school. Accordingly such children are admitted through a fair process of lottery in public and in the presence of a govt principal who is deputed in the school by the govt.

Relating to Inclusive Education Policy, there are provisions of including the children with different disabilities in the school being government or private. In KV 3% seats of total available seats for fresh admission are reserved for Differently Abled Children as per the provisions of the RTE Act, 2009 read in conjunction with Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995. The same rule is also followed in the private school as well. But interestingly there is no appointment of special educators for such children in KVs whereas there is a special educator in the private school to look at the children with different learning disabilities. She looks at children with three main types of learning diaabilities – Dyslaxia (reading difficulty), Dysgraphia (writing difficulty) and Discalculia (difficulty in calculation). The task of the special educator starts only after the teacher in a class refers a child to her after

observation. After the report of the IQ Assessment Test which is conducted with coordination of the parents, the child is identified with the specific learning disability. Then the special educator starts taking classes for such children. A special educator is expected to have general understanding of all the subjects till classes VIII to deal with these children. But she does not look at the children with physically challenged category such as blind students.

Recommendations concerning Status of Teachers, 1966 suggested for framing the teacher preparation programmes as the requirements of the types of schools, for instance, different frameworks should be made for teaching the handicapped children or for teaching the technical or vocational schools. Accordingly some programmes having practical experiences could also be included according to the need of the school type. Thus a programme for teacher preparation must provide a professional course for skill development.

But this is matter of serious concern that though Inclusive Education policy has been implemented in all schools, the training and expertise of teachers are not made in equal proportion due to which the different abled students at times find it difficult to understand teachers and the teachers too find difficulty in handling and making them learn lessons. The problem arises more acutely for Dyslexic children than visually blind students.

As far as policies relating to Remedial Classes are concerned, the Remedial classes are organized with the weaker students of the school either before the morning assembly hours or after the school hours. The numbers in these classes are relatively less sometimes three or four. In both the KV and the Private school such remedial classes are conducted for those students who score less than average marks/grades in the respective tests. Remedial classes are also much the outcome of the implementation of RTE. As per RTE, children cannot be detained up-to class VIII under any circumstances. Through RTE, the government wants to implement Article 21A of Indian Constitution. But in the process the quality of learning has been compromised a lot. Teachers also have not been able to give their best due to overburden of other works as well in the school.

4.13 Policies relating to late entry of teachers in school

In the private unaided school, if a teacher comes late to the school consecutively for 3 days, his/her one day salary is deducted from her current month's salary. However no such rule is there in the KV school. But the Principal of the school plays an important role in dealing with such cases. He might call a teacher in case he observes a teacher coming late for school regularly for a few days and ask him to be in time.

4.14 Policies on Inspection of Teaching

Generally once in a year Inspector comes to visit the school. The comments of the Inspection can be positive and negative as well. It can be generalized as well. After the inspector comes a meeting is held with the teaching staffs of the school where the princiopal is also present and there he puts these observations. Those inspectors who are generally good in nature they usually speaks as general statements without pointing out any particular teacher so that no teacher is individually hurt. Sometimes such inspections are surprised inspection also. Within positive remarks they speak on the environment of the school, different activities organized by different subject teachers which they liked, Assembly is good etc. while in negative remarks they point out those issues which they feel are lacking in the school and which need improvements such as if there are lots of dust in the classroom, if any class notebooks of the students are not checked. Sometimes they take specific names of the teachers also.

As far as the private school is concerned, the officers from CBSE comes to our school for inspection of academic improvements. They specifically focus on 9th and 10th classes, sit in the classroom and observe the teacher-taught communication. After that they give marks to the school. They also give a feedback of the school to the Directorate of Education. There are also Health Inspection in our school. In it the quantity of water in the school premises are inspected because closed water in a place can lead to breading of mosquitos. They also focus on the cleanliness of the school, inspect the cleanliness of water cooler from which students drink etc.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers, UNESCO, 1966 suggested that any systems of inspection or supervision on teachers should be for encouragement and help of the teachers towards better performance in their professional works and it should not curtail the freedom, initiatives and responsibility of the teachers. In case of any assessment of the teacher's work the teacher should be informed of such assessment beforehand.

Thus all these policies are presently at practice which meant for the betterment in the teaching profession and for a teacher-taught learning environment which can ultimately results in the quality education in the school. But if we observe the differences of these policies between the Government school and the Private school, the former is in much better position in terms of availing facilities such as security of job, proper salary as per norm, medical facilities etc. than the latter.

CHAPTER 4
SCHOOL TEACHING: NATURE, PROFESSIONALIZATION AND POWER DYNAMICS

The secondary education system in India functions through two broad levels; one the Public Sector and the other – the Private Sector. Under the Public Sector, the Government schools are established and managed by the State whereas under the Private Sector, the Private Schools are owned and run by non-government groups and organizations. Private Schools can again be grouped into two sub-divisions – those which do not receive any government grants-in-aid and those which receive regular grants-in-aid and are also bound by grants-in-aid code. The present research is conducted in 2 schools[1] of Delhi- one government school i.e. Kendriya Vidyalaya (KV) which is a Central government school and is regulated by the rules and norms made by the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan (KVS) and one private unaided school in Delhi. Kendriya Vidyalayas are one kind of well-known government schools in the country. Both the schools under research are affiliated to CBSE and are also co-educational. The present chapter is divided into 2 parts. Part I deals with the Nature of School Teaching and the related aspects while Part II will look at the dynamics of power relations that exists among the school teachers. Part III discusses professionalization of teaching profession.

Part I: Nature of School Teaching

5.1 About the School A

The School A which is a Kendriya Vidyalaya is situated in the South Delhi and was established in the year 1978. The area of the School is very cool and calm as no market surroundings are attached with it. After entering the gate of the school boundary and walking for about 50 meters the entrance of the School is visible with the CCTV laying above. The security guard of the school sits in the entrance only and not in the school boundary gate and no record of visitors' details are maintained in the form of any register

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[1] Following Research Ethics considerations the names of the two schools will not be mentioned in writing my thesis.

copy or other sort. Nearby the entrance lies the office of the Principal. In front of the Principal office is the Morning Playground of the students. The place where the morning assembly is conducted is also used as the playground of the students in their respective games periods. Opposite to the Morning Assembly and in the backside of the Rest office of the Games Teacher there is another adjacent playground for the students. Students are seen playing football (especially boys) and badminton (especially girls) during their games period. Many a time students participated in different games competition held at the regional and national levels and there were records to win trophies and bring pride to the school. However there is no space for indoor games due to limited land of the school.

Picture 5.1 : A glimpse of School Morning Assembly Space in School A

Source : Field Study

The School is spread over only 1 acre of land and the infrastructure of the School is therefore very limited compared to other KVs of the city due to limited land resources. While the spread over of land of different KVs varies from 4 acres to 5 cares to the extent of 10 acres across the country, the present KV under consideration has limited land resources in this regard. However the school is a three-stored building consisting of

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ground, first and second floor with stairs connecting the respective floors and with the yellow coloured paintings on the walls. The architecture of the school building is .The primary classes are held in the ground floor while the periods for the senior classes happen in the first and second floors. For each class there are two sections. And this is the reason why there is no Vice Principal in the School. As per the rules of Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan only in those KVs the Vice Principal will be appointed where the sections for each class are more than two. Since the present KV under research has very limited land and resources the requirement for the post of the post of Vice Principal is not sought by KVS. Due to limited space facilities for both teachers and students are compromised unlike some other KVs within and outside the city which much more facilities are provided. For instance to make it more clear facilities such as swimming pool and a big playground are not available for the students and there is no residential quarters for the teachers except the Principal due to lack of land adjacent to the school. Thus teachers either stay in their own houses/ flats or the houses taken on rents in Delhi.

As far as students' admission to the KVs is concerned priorities are given to the children of transferable and non-transferable central government employees; employees of Autonomous Bodies/Public Sector Undertaking/Institute of Higher Learning of the Government of India; State Government employees; employees of Autonomous Bodies/ Public Sector Undertakings/Institute of Higher Learning of the State Governments and Children from any other category including the children of Foreign Nationals who are located in India due to their work or for any personal reasons. KVS also clarifies that only those organizations which are fully financed by the government or where the government share is more than 51 per cent would be deemed to be autonomous bodies/public sector undertakings.

5.1.1 Fee structure of the Students in School A

Within the fee structure of KV students includes five categories of fees: For Admission, Readmission, Tuition Fees, Computer Fund and Vidyalaya Vikas Nidhi. Admission Fee is Rs 25 while the Readmission fee is Rs 100. Within the tuition fee category boys from Class IX and X have to pay Rs 200 per month while this fee is Rs. 300 for Commerce and Humanities Boys and Rs. 400 for boys of Science stream. Tuition fee is exempted for

girls from Class I till Class XII standard. Tuition fee is also emempted for SC/ST students, children of KVS employees, children of officers and men of Armed forces and paramilitary personnel killed or disabled during the hostilities in 1962, 1965, 1971 and 1999 wars, children of parents living below the poverty line up to 2 children and having BPL card. Computer Fund students irrespective of girls and boys have to pay Rs. 100 per month. Within VVN students from both the genders are required to pay Rs. 500 per month which goes for the development of the school. Students pay the required amount quarterly to their respective class teachers and it is the class teachers who keep records of all payment details of each student of their respective classes.

5.1.2 A brief Sketch of Teachers in School A

School A has a good numbers of teachers consisting of PRT, TGT and PGT teachers. The staff room of the secondary teachers i.e. the TGT and PGT teachers is in the first floor while the PRT teachers sit in the ground floor staff room. The PRT teachers are seen hardly interacting with the TGT and PGT teachers unless there is need for some works to be completed. On contrary the TGT and PGTs often talk and discuss some issues or the other if they happen to sit together with or without any specific school tasks. There are also some teachers in the school who are appointed on the contractual basis. The permanent post for these subjects, for instance, yoga, foreign language, Computer instructor, Political science etc. have never been notified by KVS. In table 5.1 the composition of the teachers (details of Designation and Gender Composition) in the School A is shown.

Table 5.1 Teacher Composition of School A

Designation	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
PGT	7	3	10
TGT	2	11	13
PRT	2	10	12
Total	11	24	35

The composition of teachers in Table 5.1 comprised of only the permanent teachers and the contractual teachers are not officially included in the school list of teachers. Although there are mention of the names of these teachers in the school file record. The nature of treating these contractual teachers is also different from those of permanent teachers. For instance, all the permanent teachers have to put their entry and exit timing in the biometric machine while this is not applicable for the contractual teaches. However all the teachers whether permanent or contractual have to make their hand written entry and exit timings in the School Register meant for this purpose. Moreover, notification for the particular contractual teachers in KV comes out every year since the contract lasts for a year only. The selection process of the contractual teachers and the permanent teachers is also different. A permanent teacher is selected after he/she qualifies KVS' all India level competitive examination whereas for selecting contractual teachers the principal of the school after notifying for the post, conduct the interview of the applied teachers and on the basis of the interview only these teachers are selected for a year. Nevertheless the same teacher gets an advantage in the next year's interview as well if he/she wishes to continue in the same school as the particular teacher is already known to the school staff, other teachers along with the principal after working for a year in the school. The salary of the contractual teachers is almost half of the permanent teachers and their payment is on daily basis unlike the permanent ones.

5.2 About the School B

The School B which is a private unaided school is also situated in the South Delhi and was established in the year 1976. The area of the School is on the main road side of the Sufdurjung Enclave area. Nearby the school is surrounded by banks, hospitals, big hotels and other commercial apartments. At the entry gate of the school boundary after entering the details in the visitor's diary in presence of the gatekeeper and walking for about 150 meters the entrance of the School is visible and the CCTVs in all different angles are also seen. The security guard of the school sits in entry gate i.e. the school boundary gate itself. On the left side of the he entrance first the reception office of the school is visible with the land line phones ringing most of the time and behind the reception office lies the office of the Principal. On the right side of the entrance the office of the school photocopy machine is there which is meant for Xeroxing necessary documents relating to

school only. Passing the Xerox office starts the stairs of the school starts connecting first and the second floor. The vice principal of the school sits in the first floor. If one goes straight through the entrance without moving right or left to the exit gate of the other point starts the morning assembly ground of the students along with the big playground attached with it. In the playground boy students are mostly seen playing cricket and football while girls and boys both are seen playing volleyball. Nearby the playground is associated the canteen of the school whereby the students keep visiting for something or the other in their breaks or games periods.

Picture 5.2: A glimpse of Reception space in School B

Source : Field Study

The School is spread over approximately 3 ½ acres of land. This land is hired on a lease for 100 years. The land of the school comes under Delhi development Authority which provided the management on subsidized basis only for establishing school purpose. As the school is established on a DDA allotted land hence the school is liable to certain conditions to meet the development purpose. These conditions include free education or full concession to up to 25% students who belong to Economically weaker sections

category, to follow the regulations of the education department in fee hike, to grant scholarship to meritorious students of each class, to provide scholarships to the toppers of each subject of CBSE 10th and 12th examination. Providing scholarships to the meritorious students again depends on the amount of collected tuition fees. In other words, the tuition fees of the toppers of each class are returned to them in the form of scholarships. The infrastructure of School B is better than school A but comparatively less facilities are attached with compared to other private schools of the metropolitan city. The school is a three-stored building consisting of ground, first and second floor with stairs connecting the respective floors and with the white/off-white coloured paintings on the walls. On the walls towards the Principal office the paintings of great social workers or philosophers were put. In the corridor towards the Principal room lights were beautifully decorated on the roof. The architecture of the school building is a modern one .In School B also the primary classes are held in the ground floor while the senior classes are taken in the first and the second floors. For each class there are four to five sections and hence the need of the Vice Principal post also arises in the School to maintain discipline and look after other academic works and deal with teachers next to the Principal. Unlike some other private schools in Delhi facilities such as swimming pool and a much bigger playground are not available for the students. Among the facilities provided in the school are proper bus facilities to the students who wish to take, Smart classroom, different types of merit scholarship so on and so forth. The students are also trained to participate in different Inter School Competitions, Rastrapati Awards, other Sports and Extra Curricular Activity related Competitions. In absence of any facilities relating to residential quarters to the teachers from the school side most of the teachers thus manage either to stay in Delhi in their own houses/ flats, rented houses or the quarters provided to them from their spouse side.

As far as the admission process of the students in the school is concerned, after receiving the number of application forms from the applicant students in any academic year at first the applications are shortlisted on the basis of area distance i.e. those applicant students whose residence lies within 5 km from the school are given the preference. For long distance applicant students the criteria of convenience of coming to the school is given preference i.e. whether the location of their residence is satisfactory to avail the bus

facility of the bus facility of the school or other transport communication if they do not want to take the bus facility etc. are looked into. Only after examining the convenience criteria of the students, the necessary academic processes are taken into account for admission of the selected students into the school.

5.2.1 Fees Structure in the School

The student fee structure in the school varies for different categories of students in the school. The quarterly fee structure of the students in the school is divided into 4 broad categories. Category I: 1st to 5th Standards, Category II: 6th – 8th Standards, Category III: 9th-10th Standards and Category IV: 11th -12th Standards Students have to pay quarterly Rs. 15,000; Rs. 15,900; Rs. 16624 and Rs 15489 (for Humanities/Commerce) or Rs. 18,614(Science) respectively. Apart from this approximately Rs 2000 extra amount is also charged quarterly for those who avail bus service. Again if the students are taken out for any exertions, picnic places or other academic events either within or outside Delhi, each student of the particular class has to pay the necessary amount depending on the number of days of stay. The quarterly fee structure is determined on the basis of the facilities they provide to the students and there is also state government's intervention in that. Thus the school is under the regulation of the government as it is accountable to present its audit account every year to the Delhi government. This auditing is a compulsory one. The school hires a charter accountant who prepares the balance sheet (i.e. all cash/cheque transactions) of the school for a particular academic year. On or before 30th September of every year the school has to file the written balance sheet online. Failing to file the auditing properly or on delay Rs 2000 is charged on the school as penalty as per government regulation.

There is 100% relaxation of the quarterly fees for up to 2 children of the teachers in the school who are in permanent position. This is hence not applicable for the children of temporary teachers in the school. This quarterly fee structure includes the tuition fees, Gratuity Fund, School Development Fund etc. The teachers of the school are paid from these fees collected from the students. And until last two years the school had the autonomy to increase the fee structure between 8% to 10% (as per govt. rule 10% could be the maximum hike in fees) so as also to meet the annual increment of 3% of teachers'

salary as per government rules. However, since last two a new directive came from the Department of Education that the school cannot increase the fee structure at its own wish without its prior approval. It is also instructed to the school (as also instructed to other private schools in Delhi) to meet the yearly 3% increment of teachers' salary either from the development fund which constitutes 15% of the tuition fee of the students or other funds of the school instead of going for annual increment of students' fees. The school increased its fee a year or two years back but when it got strict instruction from the government it had to return the additional amount back to the respective parents. The parents of the students also confirmed this fact that though they paid the increment fees but the school returned that amount back after the school received certain instructions from the government.

5.2.2 About the School Management

The school has been running through the lineage of a specific family since its establishment and from this perspective it can be concluded that the school is the family business of the management of the school although there are outsider members as well in the management committee who are not from this particular family. Presently the father of the principal is also in the school management committee. It shows that family lineage is accepted is the private school. That is where Indian corporate companies are different from European corporates who are not individual families. Thus the principal of the school in most of the time are from this family lineage. However the School B has set example of selecting outsider person as Principal in the school. The interview Board consists of the School Chairman, any principal nearby any of the government schools and one person appointed by the Department of Education. The School also claims that they follow all necessary rules and regulation of the government in selecting the principal and other teachers.

5.2.3 A brief Sketch of Teachers in School B

School B also has a good numbers of PRT, TGT and PGT teachers. The staff room of the secondary teachers i.e. for the TGTs is in the first floor and for PGT teachers is in the second floor while the staff room for the PRT teachers is in the ground floor. Like School

A the PRT teachers in School B also hardly interact with the TGT and PGT teachers until any group work to be completed together for any school programmes. Though the TGTs are seen interacting mostly among themselves like PGTs yet when it comes to teaching the same class by dividing the syllabus of the subject or checking the notebooks/ answer-sheets of any test they seem to interact frequently. Most of the time the same subject teachers whether TGTs or PGTs are seen interacting more among themselves rather than interacting much with other subject teachers. Among the PGTs, TGTs and PRTs are also some temporary teachers in the school who are appointed on temporary basis for a certain probationary period and on completion of their probation only they are promoted as permanent teachers. Although the probation period on rule is two years sometimes certain teachers were seen working for 6/7 years in probation before they were finally promoted to the position of permanent post. The salary of the temporary teachers compared to the permanent teachers are almost half and teachers have to negotiate with the authority for fixing up their salary unlike School A which is also fixed and there is no room for negotiation. At the time of filling up the form for applying in the School the teachers are supposed to write the expected salary they seek for and depending on that and other criteria of the school, salaries of the teachers are finalized by the authority. Due to this the salaries within the TGTs are not same with each other. Similarly payments of all temporary teachers also differ from each other. Although legally the school authority declares to pay the teachers as per government scale but in reality it depends more on the power of negotiation of the particular teacher who is appointed. Due to this negotiating power some teachers feel economically exploited compared to some teachers. In the following table 5.2 the composition of the teachers (details in terms of Designation and Gender Composition) in the School B is shown.

Table 5.2 Teacher Composition of School B

Designation	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
PGT	2	12	14
TGT	5	19	24
PRT	3	49	52
Total	10	80	90

The school office on being asked states that of the 14 PGT teachers 5 are on the temporary position in which both the 2 male teachers are also included while this number among the TGTs and PRTs are 5 and 14 respectively. Of 5 temporary TGT teachers 1 is a male teacher and of 14 temporary PRT teachers all the 3 male teachers are on temporary post. Moreover in the above table it is seen that the female teachers outnumbered in all three levels, PGTs, TGTs and PRTs. Among these female teachers there are certain teachers (especially those whose husbands are in the defense sector) who left their previous government jobs be it as a government school teacher or as a government administrative officer so that they can support their husbands' transfer from that particular place. Therefore they prefer to teach in a private school so that they can easily leave the present school in case of further transfer of their husbands and join another private school in the new place. In this way some teachers are always in the period of probation because by the time they come close to their permanent post they might go for another transfer and hence they keep negotiating with their family. On the other hand on being asked to the school authority as to why most of the female teachers are chosen from defense background, it is observed that though there are no reservations for such teachers yet the school finds these teachers more educated backed by good English background along with the presence of defense person's locality nearby the school. The school authority also admits that there has been gradual decrease in the number of the defense background teachers over the years which shows that the local people have proved to be more qualified now a days. On the observation of selecting more teachers from the general category the school authority confirms that it does not follow any reservation for any specific SC/ST/OBC category people as it wants a particular standard of the school to be maintained all the time as they are answerable to the public or parents whose children come to this school to study who pay to the school for a quality education. Therefore the school wants more qualified people and whoever comes under this qualified zone the school select them. And in this sense more teachers from the general category means they are with more qualities compared to other category of applicants.

The teachers whether permanent or temporary are appointed purely on the basis of interview where the teachers have to take demo classes with the students in the presence

of the principal and other expert committee members. Unlike the School A there is no biometric machine put in the entrance gate for the record of teachers' entry and exit timings. But the teachers have to go for stay backs for another 45 minutes after the school time gets over at its due time. During this stay back period the teachers engage with different half-done activities such as completing the daily diary record, checking notebooks, taking remedial classes for the weak students of particular classes etc.

5.3 About Some Teachers from different private Schools other than School B

These teachers are approached following snowballing sampling. Most of these teachers teach in Delhi Public Schools and other equivalent or comparatively higher level of school than School B where the rules for the teachers are very strict as far as the result of their schools are concerned. The teachers maintain a friendly but a respectable position on the eyes of the students. The teachers use their own creative tools in the process of teaching lessons to the learners. There is also rule of penalty of deduction of one day salary in most of these schools for those teachers who come for late in the school for three consecutive days.

Part II: Power Dynamics in School Teaching

5.4 An Overview of the concept 'Power' in an organizational structure

In a layman understanding power implies the strength or the capacity to control. In Sociological sense the term power describes the ability of an individual or group to fulfill its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. It indicates the ability to influence or control the behavior of others even against their will. Max Weber, one of the classical sociologists views power as an aspect of social relationships in which there is possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of others. In his own language "Power is the probability that actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests"(Weber, 1978: 53). For Weber power is such a phenomenon which can be exercised in all walks of life

and the power which is derived from an established system is called by Weber as Authority. So there is an distinction between these two terms: power and authority and only the legalized power is termed as authority. On the other hand, a profession, in general understanding, is an occupation that demands specialized knowledge and skills with high ethical standards and in this sense it is above what can be called a 'job' or just an 'occupation'. Sociologically the term 'profession' tries to indicate how within the definite societal structure and dynamics an occupation is viewed in its varied social, political, historical, economic and cultural context. The Teaching profession tries to seek learning activities in the manner whereby the educational needs or goals of the individual and the society as a whole can be realized.

The nature power relations in the school teaching profession is different at different levels, viz, among teachers themselves on one hand and among teacher and taught on the other and the changing dynamics of the power relations in the teaching profession especially after the introduction of CCE in schools. The power dynamics in the school teaching could also be observed in different Educational Policies. This section emphasizes at as to how power relations exists at the practical level at varied levels in school based on my doctoral field research.

At the practical level before analyzing the power relations in school teaching profession I would like to briefly summarize the nature of work that a school teacher has to take up. The teaching profession involves both Teaching work as well as Allied Teaching works. By the term 'Teaching' I here mean only the classroom teaching and within the so called Allied teaching works all other works such as checking notebooks, paper works including different clerical works e.g. preparing the mark-sheets, entry of respective marks and each and every details of each student, stay backs is put. The connotations of these two divisions of works are made taking into account the voices of the teachers. Mention can also be made here that because of this nature of work in school teaching especially in post CCE period (2009 onwards) **w**hether from government school or private school the teachers especially the married women teachers are seen negotiating with their everyday life and career in many diverse ways. With the coming up of CCE system in schools the tasks of the teachers have doubled in all respects. Due to CCE pattern each subject

teacher has to conduct some activities or the other along with normal classroom teaching which adds extra works to their profession. Now there is strict supervision on the activities of the school teachers. A junior teacher from KV, 32 remarks that now the principal of the school becomes directly responsible for providing any information regarding each of the teachers to the immediate higher authority. Therefore the principal constantly put pressure on the teachers for regular and timely completion of the paper works so that these could be placed before the authority whenever demand comes.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers hence suggests that Ancillary staff is to be provided for performing all sorts of 'non-teaching duties' so as to enable teachers to ponder on their professional tasks (UNESCO, 1966).

In the school system the power relations revolve on three main agendas: a) Academic b) Administrative and c) Financial. Academic agenda involves matters relating to results of the school which is considered as the most important function of the school. Within the Administrative function, maintaining the discipline of the school which has become one of the biggest challenges for schools now- a- days with changes in different legal mechanisms. The Principal from the private school has remarked,

> "Growing indiscipline among the children is one of the biggest challenges of the principal. Now there are so many restrictions binding on us. Within the framework whatever we have, how to inculcate discipline has become one of the challenges. As alternative to maintain discipline we have started 'Detention policy' which we have strictly given in the school rules and Model Code of conduct has been laid down. Each child and Parents has signed it."

Besides this matters relating to granting leaves to teachers also fall within the administrative function. For instance, the KV Principal says, "If teachers ask leaves on the same day, the Principal has to administer as to how and when to grant leaves to the teachers." Citing the example of the day on *Karwa Soath*, a Hindu festival the Principal says, "Almost all the lady teachers asked for leaves that day. Then I had to make a practical solution. I asked some of the teachers to take half day leaves before break and some other teachers to go for leaves after break so that the school functioning is not disturbed. Thus there are no readymade solutions for anything. Depending on situations

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different administrative decisions are taken." The third agenda in school is Financial since funds are also involved in running of a school.

5.5 Power Structure between School A and School B through the lens of Pedagogy, Curriculum and Knowledge

The socio-economic background of the students is very important for overall development of a child. Sukanya Suman, 50, KV English teacher emphasizes,

> "Background of a Kendriya Vidyalaya child and a student from public school is totally different. Home environment plays a crucial role in children's personality. The background of most of the children of Kendriya Vidyalaya belongs to lower middle class category where students are used to abusive languages and they practice these words in schools too. While it comes to English learning they find it very difficult to learn because English is totally an alien subject for them which they happen to learn only in the school hours particularly in the English period and back home they speak their home language either any regional language of Hindi. They are not even habituated to speak or communicate in English in periods other than English. They fear English.
>
> But the same is not for the students of the private schools. English is in their air. In school as well as at home children communicate in English. The familiarity with English is not something new for them."

This is also evident in my research while observing the students from School B where students are over smart, carrying a different kind of personality from School A.

The children enrolled in the private schools which the teacher was pointing out belong to the upper middle class or upper class categories that have access to what Bourdieu calls 'Economic Capital' or 'Cultural Capital'. And therefore if the same English lesson is taught to them and the KV children, the later will find it difficult compared to the former due to their inaccessibility to such cultural capital. Thus the education system creates inequality due to such economic, political and cultural power and hence it is erroneous to undertake that school curriculum imparts neutral knowledge.

Apple (2004) argues the close relationship that exists among those having economic, political and cultural power in the society and the ways and means through which education is organized and evaluated. He challenges the assumption that the selection processes in education is neutral and schools focuses on ability. He questions what is called neutral and impartial because schools are influenced by powerful institutions in society that are political, economic and cultural and due to this unequal nature of power schools 'generate structural inequalities of power and access to resources' (Apple, 2004: 61). Inequalities are thus reinforced and reproduced through educational curriculum, pedagogy and evaluative practices.

Freire (1970) questions how the banking concept of education reduces the capacity of the children for critical assessment leading to a situation of cultural appropriation of the dominant culture by the dominated people. He emphasizes that the lack of critical awareness on the part of the oppressed and lack of active response to their social, political, economic domination by the oppressor submerged them in ignorance, a situation Freire calls as 'culture of silence' and the educational system supports and maintains this domination. The way out to this kind of domination, Freire argues, is to adopt the concept of people as conscious beings through devising the learning process on dialogical relations between teacher and student to make learning a two-way process on equal terms instead of adhering to the banking concept of education where teacher is seen as repository of knowledge and students as completely ignorant and grieving of knowledge.

Kumar (1992) raises the basic question as to what is worth teaching or what counts as knowledge. What is that knowledge which can be considered worthwhile and which is worth imparting through educational curriculum? He believes that the knowledge that is imparted through school texts is not sacrosanct as it involves prevailing power structure. The process of selecting one kind of knowledge and eliminating other kind of knowledge is not rational. Prabin Kaushik, 42, KV social science teacher says that the students of 8th and 9th standards find the language of the textbook quite difficult due to which they could not find any interest in reading those texts. But if in a seminar he finds to speak on these issues nobody takes these concerns seriously and those sitting above in the power

hierarchy decides the content and the kind of language that a textbook needs to have. Kumar (2016) hence remarks, "Syllabus-makers, who typically have no experience of working with children, simply do not know what it means to explain something to a child" (*ibid*: 25). Kumar further says, "What counts as knowledge is a reconstruction based on the selection made under given social circumstances" (Kumar, 1992: 8). The selection of knowledge that finds representation in the curriculum in schools is largely guided by the power structure of society. Thus an intricate relationship exists between power and knowledge.

Foucault (1969) too finds complex relationship that exits between forms of knowledge and relations of power. He expresses that through knowledge control is exercised and order is imposed. Foucault questions how normalcy is exercised by excluding, marginalizing, isolating another expression, another articulation and another language. Knowledge is thus not separated from power, power produces knowledge and knowledge produces power. In his book Discipline and Punish (1982) Foucault has documented new forms of disciplinary devices and modes of power-knowledge to make sense of schools and its rituals. He argues that discipline requires hierarchical observation and hierarchical observation requires a detailed work on space, its arrangement, its location and distribution so as also to supervise the conduct of each individual and accordingly to asses and judge it. Thus a school Foucault says, aims at creating 'vigorous bodies' and 'obedient soldiers'. In the present schools under research, the CCTV plays exactly the same role what Foucault says in terms of dealing with a 'microscope of conduct' where students are subject to 'an apparatus of observation' following punctuality and a disciplinary time table. The discipline is further normalized through regular examinations. To Foucault the examination is 'the ceremony of power to establish over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them'. The examination actually is a process of comparing, hierarchizing, grading and ranking pupils so as to restore normalcy eventually.

In the light of these theoretical understanding it would be earlier for analyzing the research data on various dimensions of power relations that exist in the Teaching Profession among different agents which is explored in the succeeding pages.

5.6 Power Relationships among different categories of Teachers, Students and Staffs

5.6.1 Power Dynamics among the Permanent Teachers

As far as formal hierarchy in power relations are concerned, the Principal is the top most authority in the school in taking final decisions in all these aspects. After Principal next is Vice Principal, then PGT Teachers followed by TGT and PRT Teachers. Administrative powers fully rest with the Principal and the Vice Principal. In the absence of the Principal and the Vice Principal the senior most PGT teacher looks at the routine school affairs for specified period only though cannot take decisions. In the KV if principal is out of station for longer period the principal in charge is appointed from outside for the specific period to look at the administrative functions. Financial responsibility is also the prerogative of the Principal in the government school whereas in the private school financial decisions are taken mainly on the guidance of the Managing Committee. Rests of the teachers have only academic power.

As far as the academic powers of the school teachers are concerned different responsibilities are delegated to different teachers by the principal of the school. The teachers are divided into different houses depending on the number of the teachers. In KV the PGT teachers are given main responsibilities such as conducting board examinations in the school, distributing examination duties to other teachers etc. and TGT teachers are usually asked to assist different PGTs in different academic tasks in a systematic way. Those teachers who are accountable or responsible are given the important tasks. The Principal also distributes works depending on the caliber and interests of the teachers on certain works. Nevertheless certain works are given to certain teachers only. For instance, work related to Scout and Guide is given to those teachers only who are trained on these lines. Again, Science related tasks are given to Science teacher only though it is the prerogative of the Principal which Science teacher has to be chosen based on which Science teacher fits best for the specific task. In the Private school too different works are allotted to different teachers by the principal depending on how responsible the teacher is along with if the nature of teacher suited best for the work.

From my field also emerged the Power dynamics that exists within different subject teachers. It has been observed in the study that usually the English teachers are on advantage in handling different public platform of the school. On being asked, the KV Principal justifies that because of better communication skills the language teachers are usually on public fronts in different programmes whereas the private school Principal prioritizes the quality and contribution of a teacher first towards different developmental activities of the school in allocating important responsibilities.

5.6.2 Power relations between Permanent and Contractual teachers

The contractual teachers in both the type of schools are paid less compared to the permanent teachers. In the KV, these teachers are paid on daily basis which is same for all the contractual teachers whereas in the private school these teachers have to negotiate for their payments with their higher authorities. Therefore the payment varies from one teacher to another. Most interestingly in the KV the contractual teachers apart from their other daily works which are also done by permanent teachers are mostly given arrangement duties in case of absence of any teacher, discipline duties during break etc. are also within the purview of the contractual teachers. In the private school contractual teachers are always in a pressure of satisfying the higher authority and maintaining a good rapport with the permanent teachers of the school along with their normal routine teaching and allied teaching works. Security of their job is the prime concern for such acts. A contractual teacher in the private school says quietly,

> "Contractual teachers are not given any farewell also at the time of their retirement whereas the permanent teachers are given proper farewell at the completion of 60 years of age. But most interestingly the contractual teachers are not even called in the farewell programme of the permanent teachers."

This shows the inherent power dynamics that exists between these two groups of teachers. There is no fee for up to two children of permanent teachers while no such rule applies to the children of temporary teachers which also show an indirect and different line power dynamics between these two categories of teachers.

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Anita Choudhury, 31, KV Contractual teacher says,

> "There are different duties allotted to me such as canteen duties, recess duty, stay back
> duties etc. This stay backs are not for all the teachers. I have seen that most of these duties
> are mostly given to the contractual teachers. Satyback duties mean to look after the
> children till their parents come to pick them up. Stayback duties are mostly given to
> teachers rotation wise."

5.6.3 Power Relations between Teachers and students

There has been a changing trend in power relations between teachers and taught in
schools. The connotation of the term 'discipline' has taken a modern form in today's
schools. Therefore maintaining discipline of the school has become one of the biggest
challenges of the administrative authorities in the schools. With the legal legislation of
'No physical punishment' most of the school teachers have turned into a mere spectator
of students' unexpected behavior. The junior teachers in my data have specially spoken
of this as one of the serious issues. They have highlighted that the respect for teachers
have gradually been decreasing from the present generation of students. To handle the
students of Class IX and X especially boys has been pointed out by most of the teachers
from both the schools as very challenging. This is also because now a days the students
have become too vocal to speak openly anything relating to their rights. A teacher, 25
from the private school remarks that one day in her class a girl from Class IX was
constantly inspite of constant warning. When the teacher went to her and rolled her ear
for a second she instantly replied, "Ma'am, you cannot touch me." Many a time teachers
tend to discuss among themselves in the teachers' staff room as to how they faced
difficulties. For instance, a teacher, 34 from the private school says that one day in the
teachers' daily diary she was noting the names of the most disturbing students of the class
inside the classroom and threatened them to give these names to the principal. When she
came out of the class for a while to get something and on returning back to the class she
discovered that the dairy was missing inside the class. After 2 days she found her tear up
dairy thrown in a dustbin and was highly shocked at this behaviour of the students of
Class IX standard.

To the extreme I was shocked reading the newspaper of September 27, 2016 which on the front page says, "School teacher stabbed by students". The reason was enumerated that one of the two boys was recently rusticated because of his prolonged absence from school. When this 50 year old government school teacher was in invigilation duty, the two boys of Class XII entered the room and stabbed him at least thrice. The teacher later died.

5.6.4 Power Relations across genders

A close study of the teaching profession also reveals that there exists an indirect power relation across genders. At the common palace though it seems that both the male and the female teachers are equal, the inherent observation goes beyond it. A female teacher generally has to look after her household duties along with her school works. Therefore she is rest with double work burden. While for the male teachers their wives are there to manage all household works thereby giving a little relief to their profession. As the school teaching profession now-a-days is surrounded by so many works being teaching or allied teaching works, depending on this nature of the profession it can definitely said that male teachers are at the advantageous position. On being asked on this the male teachers themselves confirm that though there are more works but they are able to manage and directly or indirectly they made mention of their wives in manging different household responsibilities.

5.6.5 Power Relations between Teaching and Non-Teaching Staff

In the non-teaching staff there are many clerical staffs who deals with different payment related works of the teachers, monitor any papers to the principal so on and so forth, people assisting in the urgent photocopies of the papers, people at the reception desk (in case of the private school only) etc. There exists a hierarchical relation between these two categories as well in which the non-teaching staffs are basically to assist the works of the Principal in particular and other teachers in general.

5.7 Teachers Associations in understanding the power dynamics

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers entails that Teachers' organizations should be recognized as a force which can contribute greatly to educational advance and which therefore should be associated with the determination of educational policy (UNESCO, 1966). Though in different policy documents of the Indian Government mention was made of strong teachers associations, at practical level the conception of teacher association is present in KV but is not fully working in the true sense of the term while in private school forming any such association is far from imagination. Teachers from the private school even refrain from discussing or commenting anything on teachers' associations.

As far as the KV Teachers association is concerned its task is to take on the welfare of the teachers if any of the guidelines are violated. KVs are scattered throughout the country and a KV teacher's job is a transferrable job. Many a time KV Teachers are weak due to the transfer policy of the KVS. Teachers do not have any administrative powers while administrators have much more power on KV teachers especially relating to transfer. Suddenly a KV teacher can be transferred at any place of India such as Kohima, Manipur, J & K etc although the teacher's home is in Delhi. If suddenly transferred so one can imagine what situation would be on him/her and the family . Therefore KV teachers are very weak (*darpok*) due to transfer policy. If teachers are already under pressure due to transfer policy what they can do in teachers association. A teacher reveals, "*Teachers k upar hamesha talwar latkaye rehte h*" (means there are always challenges and fear among teachers).

Teachers always have to be in time during school arrival and departure. And it is true to all KVs throughout the country. Many a time teachers have to stay in school if some of the works are not completed even after school hours. At times works are taken at home as well if could not be completed in school. As there are lots of works given to the teachers, there involves always a fear psychology among the teachers relating to these works i.e. if anything wrong is done while doing so many works they have to face the consequences. A KV teacher who is a part of the KV teacher association remarks, "*Kuch galti ho jate h to sunna v padta h. Humko daatne ka adhikar h*". (means teachers are scolded and

insulted at times). And when a teacher goes for 20 different works he/she might make mistakes in one or two work(s). If teachers are interrogated and scolded he/she cannot even argue for this basic human nature. Otherwise on being argumentative he/she might be transferred at any other place of the country. And the principal is very powerful in this regard. It is the principal who recommends the transfer for any teacher. Since the teachers are very fearful from inside due to this, in such situation the teacher who is a part of the KV teacher association questions as to where lie the significance of KV teachers association. He also remarks that whoever is in teachers association, especially the leaders are always under pressure in teachers association because "*Bade officers in leaders ko tor mor k rakh dete h.*" Although in associations leaders speak on behalf of teachers, in practice for doing so the officers will find 10 mistakes and start screwing the leaders on the basis of those mistakes. Therefore teachers associations are not at all successful in KVs.

The only way out is either to surrender in front of the administration (starting from the principal to the higher authorities till commissioner level) and sign wherever they ask the teachers to sign. Though there are meetings held once in every three months from teachers association side with the deputy commissioner at the regional level and it discusses the teachers' issues as to what should be done to better the school environment, in reality the voices of the teachers are hardly heard. The leaders representing the teachers are discouraged to speak more and in doing so blamed for polluting the environment of the meeting. Therefore the association of KV teachers means nothing to them. The teachers then narrates,

> Contrary to KV Teachers association, the teachers associations of the respective State Governments are very strong. Thus Bihar Teacher Association, Assam Teacher Association etc. are much more influential which even the state govt. cannot ignore. If all teachers (i.e. approximately 3 to 4 lakhs under any State Govt.) stop coming to their respective schools, the schools will be closed. In KVs history *hartal* did not happen even for a single Day. Teacher will be thrown out of their service by the commissioner even if they try to go for such kinds of steps. Under such a situation the teacher will have no other option but to go to the court next to fight against the system and as to why he is expelled and one knows the situation of court. It will take 2/3 years to get the

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verdict of the court. After that even if the verdict comes in favour of the teacher, the administration will next appeal in the high court and then the Supreme Court because administration is fighting on government money. In this whole process it is the particular teacher who will struggle the most.

Under such a situation of expulsion how a teacher will survive, how will he deal with the expenses of the family for 3/4/ years till the final verdict of the Court. If the case drags, for instance, for 10 years from where the teacher will arrange money to meet the court expenses of High Court / Supreme Court. And what will happen even if after 10 years the teacher wins the case and might get 20 lakhs, what will he do with the money. By the time his/her children future will be destroyed due to poor financial condition and the young age of the teacher will be destroyed. Life will be meaningless. So how association will help in these? Nothing.

The main problem behind such consequence is the lack of unity among the KV teachers in the school. If a teacher points out a certain issue and discusses with another teacher, the latter many a time reports the same to the principal immediately to get his favor. Since this is true to almost every KVs, under such circumstances it can be well imagined as to how the association work will. Therefore whoever is in the teachers association, they have only two possibilities- they either go for full 100% support of the administration or they can destroy themselves by the way to court. But in both cases welfare of the teachers are not enhanced. The purpose of teachers associations which is on paper is to strongly put forward the issues of the teachers and if the leaders of teachers associations are with the decisions of the administration it will not make overall welfare of the KV teachers. Rather standing in support of the administration might bring the particular leaders to an advantageous position because they will get transfer to places of their choice and convenience along with other facilities they ask for. But the cause of the overall welfare of the KV teachers cannot be sought in any way under present circumstances.

As far as teacher associations in the private school is concerned, there is no such organizations. Indeed forming of Teachers Associations is not at all encouraged in the private schools with whom I have come into contact through their teachers.

5.8 Teacher Voices on the Hierarchy of Power Dynamics

The hierarchy of power relations that exists in schools could be understood well through the voices of the teachers themselves. Some of the narratives are given below:

Akansha, 40, DPS reveals,

> Hierarchy of teachers it is the Principal at the top followed by Vice Principals, Head Mistress, Academic Coordinators who deal with 2/3 classes, Reps of each class, Class Teachers. Reps are the teachers only who are given the dutyto coordinate each class; Class X, Class IX, Class VIII etc. Reps can call a meeting with the class teachers, Academic Coordinators can call the meeting of all the Reps. Principal can call the meetings with the all reps and academic coordinators, with the teachers so on and so forth. Issues discussed in these meetings are academic, policies, discipline, actions.

Prabin Kaushik, 42, KV teacher says,

> In the administrative responsibilities of the school, in the hierarchy first comes the principal followed by Vice Principal (if the post is available), LDC and UDC. Overall functioning of the school lies with the principal. Within his authority different committees of teachers are delegated different tasks such as Vidyalaya Maintenance Division, Fees Collection Division etc. The post of vice principal is there in those schools where there are at least 3 sections or more. Because the administrative and financial responsibilities lies with the principal, for academic supervision the vice principal is needed although the ultimate responsibility of academic tasks also lie finally with the principal. In the primary section the Head Mistress (HM) looks after the administrative responsibility. The vice principal looks after the classes from 6th to 12th standards.

> In the Power relations among the teachers in the school the concept is that whosoever is senior is given more importance. In all the government offices this is the rule. Another such rule is equal pay for equal work. I think everyone should be satisfied with whatever he/she is getting.

> Nevertheless this rule varies from Principal to Principal. Principals are after all human beings. In the initial period generally all teachers try to maintain a good rapport with the principal. But ultimately it is the work of the teacher which says more. The principals

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also have to carry on with the teachers at the end. They cannot do all things alone. They see whosoever has the potential to do things, accordingly they keep changing. To carry on the works of the school the principal delegates these to the potential teachers as per the requirement. All teachers though getting the same salary and even in same position, yet they are not equal in their potentialities. The less capable teachers basically focus on their subjects. If some works are given to me I just enjoy doing. I don't compare with other teachers for not giving certain works to them, spending time with students, extra work etc.

He further added,

If a teacher comes late to school in different schools different steps are taken. In some schools, they are shown late-marked, in some schools they are constantly interrogated for coming late while in some other cases the principal used to stand regularly in front of the teacher who comes late. This strategy is different to different principals. If the principals stand regularly for four days at the time of the teacher who comes late, automatically on the fifth day the teacher will come to school on time. Because teaching is a respected post and no teacher wants insult of any sort so definitely he tends to reform himself. So I think there is no need to be very strict, if things are taken care of systematically it can give good results. For example, if a teacher comes late to his late on a regular basis and one day the principal goes to his class and starts teaching in his class, the concerned teacher will automatically feel ashamed and will come to his class on time next time onwards. Thus there are different parameters to deal with such problems. It depends on the principal as to how he/she wants to handle such situations. No need has arisen to deduct salary of the teacher as such till now because of coming late.

Problem arises at times among and between teachers. In most of the cases there are ego issues or else issue relating to holding power, to create reputation in the eyes of the principal, holding issues such as principal asked to me do that tasks now in my bad times nobody including the principal is also not concerned about me at all etc. But things are gradually decreasing. Jealousy among teachers is also decreasing may be 3-4%. But it is more among the female teachers than male teachers.

There has been change in the power dynamics of the school teaching profession at all levels. It is not the so called relaxing profession as used to be thought in 70s or 80s. With

the changing nature of teaching, there has been lots of challenges that come up in the profession which has introduced a new power dynamics in the profession at all levels- be it across genders, relations among the permanent Teachers, between Permanent and Contractual teachers, between Teachers and students etc.

Part III : Professionalization of School Teaching

5.9 Professionalization of the Teaching Profession

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers enumerates that "It should be recognized that advance in education depends largely on the qualifications and ability of the teaching staff in general and on the human, pedagogical and technical qualities of the individual teachers" (UNESCO, 1966). Teaching is considered a profession technically on the basis of the professional training the teachers complete in certain duration. The Bachelor of Education or B.Ed is the compulsory training programme for the teachers in India to enter into this profession. The Statistics of School Education 2011-12, Government of India reveals that Delhi has 100% of trained teachers at all the levels of schooling- Senior Secondary, Secondary, Upper Primary, Primary and Pre-Primary levels.

In figure 4.1 detail number of trained teachers found in my samples is shown.

Figure 5.1 : Number of Trained Teachers
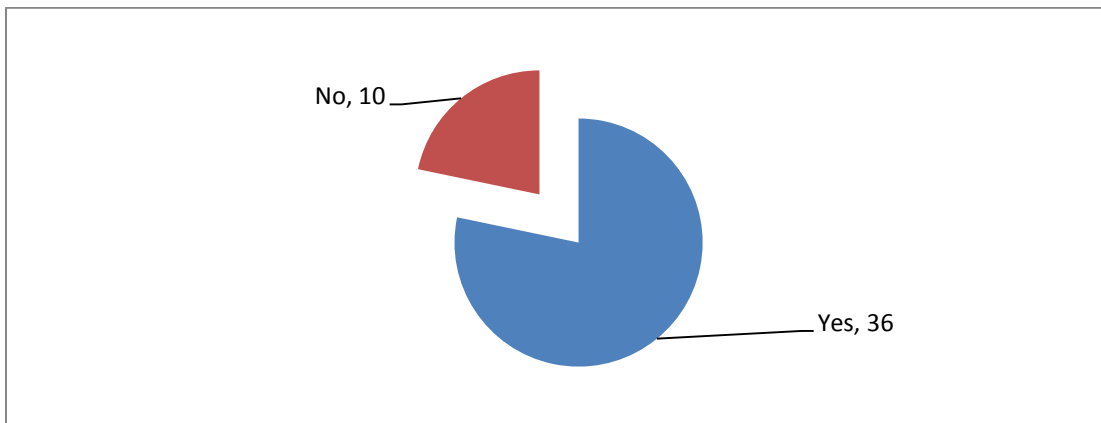
In the data of the present research it is however found that 10 teachers (21.7%) do not have the professional degree. Subjects where compulsory professional training i.e. B.Ed is not needed are Work experience, Physical education, Computer Instruction and Foreign Language courses. In the KV school all the teachers in the mainstream subjects have the professional degree. However in the private school there are 2 teachers in the mainstream subjects i.e. Mathematics and Science who do not have the professional training. Even the Home Science teacher does not have the degree. This shows that the private schools select teachers even without the professional degree. But on being asked to the authority it is found that these teachers who teach the major subjects must have to complete B.Ed within a stipulated period for making their position permanent. On the other hand teachers in KV could not even apply without completion of the professional teacher training.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers (1966) suggest that the purpose of teacher preparation programme should be to create a better society by adequate supply of teachers having intellectual, moral and physical qualities that constitutes the requirements of professional knowledge and skills. Accordingly establishment of sufficient institutions for preparation of teaching programme must be enhanced. It suggested for completion of teacher training programs for those who wish to enter into teaching profession. Before giving admission to teacher training institutes this recommendation suggested certain criteria such as completion of secondary education, possession of personal traits etc. necessary to be in this profession so that worthy members become part of this responsible profession. Such persons who lack some of the formal academic requirements but have good experience in technical and vocational fields should also be made eligible to get admission in the training institutes. Requirements should be made for financial assistance for those undergoing teacher training courses and if possible initiatives should be made for free training of these teachers. Any information required by the trainee teacher and any help with regard to financial grants should be made available to them without any hardship. If a native of a country completes such teacher training programme in other countries, equal and fair consideration must be given to him/her without being judgment. This is important so that teaching profession can be recognized internationally on some international standards. The unqualified inexperienced persons should work under the

supervision of qualified professional teachers first so that such persons can acquire complete qualifications to serve better in the teaching profession.

5.10 Professional commitment of Teachers

Of the teacher sample in my study it is found that as far as professional commitment levels of teachers they can be divided into three main categories: one, teachers who have been in this since the beginning and given a chance not willing to shift to any other professions; two, teachers who have shifted to teaching from some other professions; three, teachers who are presently in teaching but given a chance willing to shift to other professions.

Table 5.3 : Detail no of Teachers shifting from other professions

Sl No		Frequency	Percent
1	No of teachers who shifted from other professions	10	21.7
2	No of teachers who have not shifted from any other professions	36	78.3
	Total	46	100

Table 5.4 : Detail no of Teachers willing to shift to other professions

Sl No		Frequency	Percent
1	No of teachers who are willing to shift to other professions	13	28.3
2	No of teachers who are not willing to shift to other professions	33	71.7
	Total	46	100

In the above two tables it is shown the number of teachers who have shifted to school teaching from some other professions and the number of teachers who are willing to shift to some other professions. This shows the professional commitment levels of the teachers. Majority of the teachers who are in the teaching professions are there out of

their desire to be in that profession. However it is essential to analyze what constitutes commitment to any profession and especially in a profession like teaching.

It is in this context of commitment to any profession lies vocation of the profession. Three terms need to be understood to explain this further: Profession, Occupation and Vocation. Occupation is simply associated with livelihood means of a person without attaching much meaning to what he/she is doing; Profession is much more a sophisticated term which implies professional knowledge and degree to work and Vocation lies beyond these two terms. It is something beyond profession in term of its deeper calling, which gives a fulfillment to life. It is more attached to religiosity.

For many teachers teaching is just a profession with bureaucratic norms to be followed every day and thus they beautifully follow the professional rules, rules that are demanded from them. But for another category of teachers, it is fulfillment of joy and hence when they see a gap taking place between their profession and vocation, they suffer from alienation. Teaching starts becoming mechanical and deep satisfactions starts missing. The nature of teaching job is not just dissemination of knowledge but engagement of deep human relations between teacher and the taught and the time students spend with teachers are not like clients in any other profession spending with other clients as the later kinds of professions are momentary in nature. For example, in banking profession the relationship of the banker with its client ends immediately after the banking transaction is over. They don't even remember each other's face after the task is over. Similar is not the case with the teaching profession. The teacher has lots of influence in the minds of the young children and their relationship lasts throughout their lives. All of us must have remembered out favorite teacher from our days and this is true to all of us. A sense of gratitude for teachers especially those teachers who could impact a positive change in the students' lives always carry a special position in their hearts. And these are those teachers who take the nature of teaching as a vocation, hence committed and something beyond a profession. This kind of lifelong gratitude perhaps is with no other professions.

5.11 Professionalization and Vocation of Teaching

Avijit Pathak (2018) in his *Ten Lectures on Education* has argued beautifully the distinction between these two terminologies. Pathak argues that a teacher in a formal educational institution in a true sense don't limit themselves within the location of school works only rather constantly derive inspirations from extraordinarily gifted teachers like Rumi, Jesus or Krishna. It is in this constant process of learning that a true teacher terminates the gap between the 'professional and the transcendental, occupation and vocation, knowledge and wisdom' and builds a bridge instead. He underlies certain common features of the vocation of teaching which distinguishes it from the formal professional nature of teaching. First, Teaching is an ethical act. This is so owing to it nature of sharing/giving and not possessing. By the act of giving the teacher also gives his/her energy, inspiration, information etc. and by this communicative act a teacher finds meaning to its vocation. Thus a teacher's joy lie not in possessing what he has gathered so far in his/her formal process of leaning, but in disseminating and sharing in such a way that a child of young age can understand from what his teacher is delivering. Second, Teaching is an art of relationship or bond between teacher and the taught which can touch the souls of both the individuals. When the teacher in his job along with earning salary also communicates deep human experiences through the lessons of poetry it greatly affects the minds of the young children and the pupils respond to the vibrations, it touches the teacher. In this constant process of mutual communication, a bond of trust and care is created between the two which gives a different meaning to the vocation of teaching. Third, Teaching deals with both love and authority; freedom and discipline. The teacher needs to carry some amount of authority which helps the learner positively to grow but at the same time this authority is not to brutally punish the learner. Power derives from the ability of care, compassion, knowledge and wisdom of the teacher. Authority without love may turn into brutality and love without authority or allowing freedom without being discipline may result in chaos which may distract the teaching spirit in the classroom. Fourth, teaching as a vocation demands constant learning. A teacher remains student throughout his life due to his perpetual curiosity to know, learn and evolve more and more. The moment a teacher starts thinking that he has learnt

everything and nothing left for him to learn now, he ceases to be a good teacher since that moment itself (*ibid*, 2018).

Thus these four ideal characteristics define the vocation of teaching which essentially differentiates the profession of teaching because the profession of teaching always demands skills and degree on paper. A teacher may have professional degree, but may not have professional commitment level due to lack of his calling towards the vocation of teaching. On the other hand even without any degree a person can be a good teacher due to his passion towards the vocation of teaching.

CHAPTER 5

CONTINUOUS AND COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATION (CCE) AND CHANGES IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The chapter deals with the contemporary patterns of education system which primarily includes the Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) system. The system was recently announced in the schools of India regulated by the Central Board of Secondary Education for students in the standards of sixth to tenth classes with the aim to assess different learning abilities of the children. This system is believed to be immensely helpful in minimizing the one-time examination burden of the pupils which occurs normally at the end of the year. This is because under this new system the children are constantly evaluated on different parameters throughout the year so as to assess learning comprehension of different skills of the students such as critical thinking ability, emotional skill and social skills. Thus the children are judged continuously under CCE. Accordingly different project works and assignments are allotted to the students at definite interval of time. Along with this, some written examinations were also required in specific subjects and finally on that basis grades are allotted to the students. Under the syswatem of CCE more emphasis was put on the project works or activity based learning rather than fully relying on the theoretical bookish learning. The chapter highlights specific repercussions of such a system in the school system and to what extent it is practically helps the children. In analyzing so, the viewpoints of the teachers who are the ultimate agents in implementing the CCE system are included to understand the present relevance of the system.

Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) refers to a system of evaluation of a student in the school that covers all developmental aspects of a student. It is a process to assess the development of the student which emphasizes on two main objectives: continuity in evaluation and assessment of broad based learning on one hand and behaviourial outcomes on the other. The term 'continuous' emphasizes the evaluation of identified aspects of students 'growth and development' as a continuous process which is spread over the entire span of academic session instead of limiting it as an event. The

continuous activities of such teaching learning process include regularity of assessment, diagnosis of learning gaps, frequency of unit tests, retesting and feedback of evidence to teachers and students for their self- evaluation, use of corrective measures etc. The second term 'comprehensive' indicates that the scheme covers both the scholastic and the co-scholastic aspects of the students' growth and development. As the skills such as abilities, aptitudes and attitudes can be manifested in other forms than the written one, the term refers to learning through variety of tools and techniques which aims at assessing a learner's development in different areas of learning such as - Knowledge, Applying, Understanding, Analyzing, Creating, Evaluating, etc. While Scholastic aspects include curricular areas or subject specific areas, the Co-Scholastic aspects include Life Skills, Attitudes, Values Co-Curricular Activities etc.

In contrast to the old CBSE's pattern of conducting just one test at the end of the an academic year, the CCE conducts several. There are two different types of tests in this pattern: the formative and the summative. Formative tests comprise the combination of student's work both at class and home, the student's performance in different oral tests, quizzes and the quality of the assignments or projects submitted by the child. Formative tests are conducted four times in an academic session that carries a 40% weightage in aggregate. The summative assessment is a three-hour long written test conducted twice in an academic year. The first summative or *Summative Assessment 1* (SA-1) is conducted only after the completion of the first two formatives. The second summative or SA-2 is conducted after the next two formatives are completed. Each summative carries a 30% weightage and both together carry a 60% weightage for the aggregate. The summative assessment is conducted by the schools itself. This new Grading system was familiarized at Secondary School level (for Classes IX & X) making it effective from 2009-10 Academic Session. Consequently, CCE was extended in all CBSE affiliated schools with effect from October, 2009.

In CCE pattern, The evaluation of a student is made on the parameters of different Life Skills. Life Skills Education has been introduced by CBSE as an integral part of the curriculum for Classes VI-X. UNICEF defines Life Skills as "a behaviour change or behaviour development approach designed to address a balance of three areas; knowledge, attitude and skills". According to WHO, "Life–Skills are abilities for

adaptive and positive behaviour that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life. They are abilities that facilitate the physical, mental and emotional well-being of an individual Adaptive means that a person is flexible in approach and is able to adjust to different circumstances. Positive behaviour implies that a person is forward looking and finds a ray of hope, solution and opportunities even in difficult situations". UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO and such other world bodies have listed ten core Life Skills. These are Empathy, Creative Thinking, Self Awareness Building Skills, Critical Thinking, Decision Making, Problem Solving, Effective Communication, Coping with Stress, Interpersonal Relationship Skills and Coping with Emotions. These ten Life-Skills can further be categorized into three main groups – Social Skills (Interpersonal-Relationships, Effective- Communication and Empathy), Thinking Skills (Self-Awareness, Problem-Solving, Decision-Making, Critical-Thinking and Creative-Thinking), and Emotional Skills (Managing Feelings/ Emotions and Coping with Stress). Each of these three core categories has specific purposes to fulfill.

For instance, the purpose of inculcating thinking skills is to enhance the flexible, original and imaginative ability in the child. By this skill the child learns to raise questions and think critically, identify and analyze problems. Accordingly the child learns to take responsibility with a well thought out decision. Thus the child learns to overcome weakness and build strength for positivity which makes him/her comfortable with his own self.

Similarly by social skills the child learns to identify, articulate and respond to the emotions of others in an empathetic way. He/She also learns to engage with others without bringing any prejudices. The child also learns to take criticism in a constructive way, reflect with appropriate words and listen actively to others with appropriate body language.

The Purpose of Emotional skills is to enhance emotional skills of the child so that the child is able to handle causes and effects of stress and can identify multi-faceted

strategies to deal with such situations. Enhancing emotional skills helps the child to express and respond to emotions with an awareness of the consequences as and when required.

Under the CCE education system to implement these different Life-Skills, a few activities are attached with it which the particular teacher has to conduct for particular subject. Thus different subjects have different activities to enhance these Life Skills. Most activities have an attached Student Worksheet where the learners are required to do an activity. This is because the Life-Skills approach emphasizes on Learning by Doing. In the next section details of the types of activities for different subjects are discussed.

6.1 Different CCE activities for different Subjects

In Language subjects, students' assessment is made on their the basis of their performance concerning listening comprehension, conversation or dialogue, preparing a speech, written assignments such as short or long question answers, creative writing, reports writing, reflecting on newspaper articles, recitation of poetry etc. Activities on speeches include debates, extempore, recitation etc. In Languages assessment, it is essential to include some activity or the other on Conversation Skills.

In Mathematics exercises such as Mathematics Problem solving, Data handling and analysis, Multiple choice questions (MCQ) on Mathematics, Math Lab activities and project work, Group projects, Peer assessment etc. are conducted. In Mathematics assessment it is essential to include at least some formative assessment on Lab Activities relating to Mathematics.

Picture 6.1 shows School B conducting the Mathematics week. In that particular week, in the morning assembly, every-day for a week the Mathematics teachers of the school had given a short lecture for 10/15 minutes on different achievements of different Mathematicians also followed by students' prepared speech on the developments of Mathematics around the world. In the classroom as well, the Mathematics teachers in their specific classrooms were given more time-periods than usual to focus more on children's problem solving capability on the mathematics subject. In School A, although

no such week is conducted, in the course of completing the syllabus only, the Mathematics teacher different assignment to children to check their capacity of solving sums in Mathematics.

Picture 6.1 : Picture of the Mathematics Week conducted in School B

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.2 : CCE Mathematics activity prepared by a student in School A

Source : Field Study

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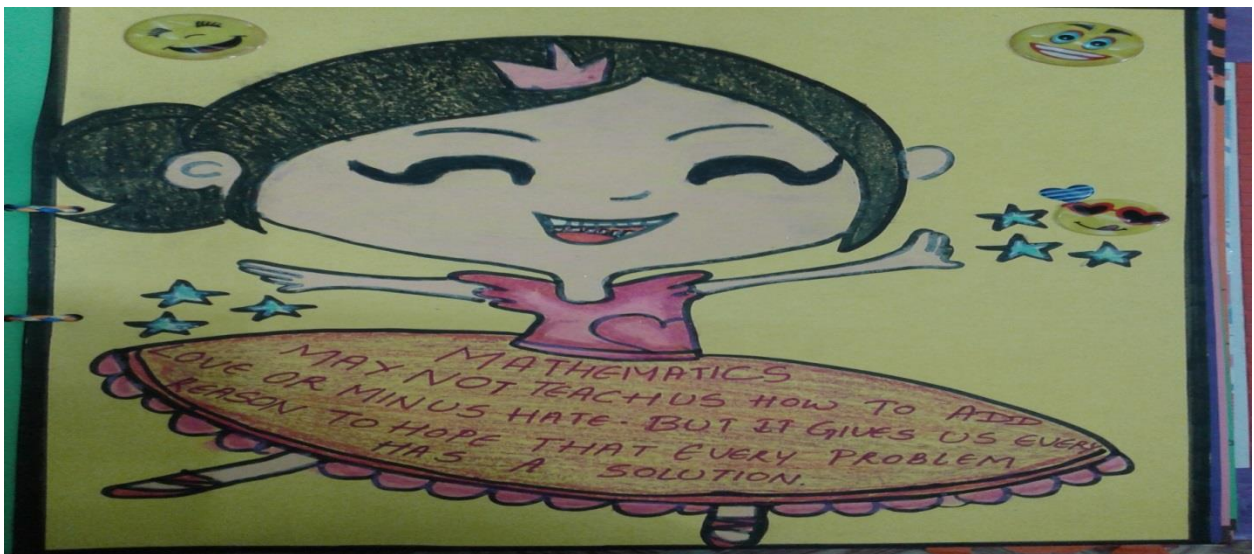
Picture 6.2 shows the picture of an activity done by a student as part of CCE Mathematics activities. Such activities also encourage creativity of art along with learning Mathematics as a subject.

To assess the emotional skill level in Mathematics subject, the teacher usually observes the students throughout the year. The constant observation of the teacher helps her/him to assess the students more clearly as it becomes apparent for the teacher to see which student solves the Mathematics problem in what manner. It was expressed by a Mathematics teacher of School A that in solving Mathematical problems a certain set of students solve these sums being very relaxed and they complete it within the definite time while a certain group of students seem to very tensed and they come with a complaint that the sums given to them are very difficult. Some students also come with the complaint that the teacher should either reduce the number of questions given to them as it has become hard for them to finish the tasks in such a short time period or should give them more time. Thus by giving different levels of sums, the Mathematics teacher can easily find out and judge different students' different level of 'stress management' in solving any problem.

In Science subject, students are asked for writing assignments, MCQ on Scientific facts, organizing Science Quiz and Seminar by the Science teacher, Taking students Science related Field Tour Experimental work asking students to make chemical and other scientific experiments and to make observations, assignments on Planning or designing experiments to investigate properties of different laws or other phenomena and collect data for records; Group work assessment which includes either experimental research work such as making Models of the group or preparing presentations that might include relevance of the use of Information Technology (IT) or other such recent inventions, etc. In Science at least some formative assessments has to be on Experimental work done by students with their hands.

In picture 6.2, it is seen that School A conducted Science Exhibition where the students have prepared different scientific models on how volcanism erupts, town plan to show how to live in a society, model on wind direction and so on. Such type of model making

definitely helps children to reflect on their creative parts. The Science teacher of the specific class takes initiatives to conduct such exhibition.

Picture 6.3 : On the Day of Science Exhibition in School A

Source : Field Study

In Social Sciences students assessment is done usually on written assignments such as short and long answer writing, Commentaries on different social and historical events, analysis of different issues, Projects works asking students to investigative or inform or to deduct conclusions on social issues, asking students to provide any Models and charts on these, Group work such as Presentations with the help of projectors with authentic and primary sources, conducting open book tests, anlysing students by asking them to use secondary sources such as comparison and contrast. In Social Science, at least assessment should be based on group project work of the students under the direct supervision of the social science teacher.

In the English subject, to assess the critical thinking ability of the students, the English teacher asks them to write a story on a relevant topic of importance, to write essay on a topic of their interest or as guided by the teacher, debate on a significant social issue, etc. To check social skill, the students are asked to involve in certain group activities such as speaking on some topics or ideas so that along with social skills, the fluency of speaking of a student can be assessed. At the same time it also helps the teacher to assess how the student is communicating with other students or the teacher himself/herself in the classroom. Similarly, the problem solving capacity of the students are tested by the teacher by giving them certain situations in the classroom and then asking them to solve that problem or issue by instructing them to imagine in that situation.

In Hindi subject, social skill or the critical thinking ability of the students are tested through activities such as Quiz competition on a certain topic from the textbook, organizing Antakshree on Hindi songs etc. A Hindi subject teacher from School A suggested that the activities relating to Hindi or any other subjects should be such that it creates interest among the students. In absence of interests the students are not willing do such activities.

In learning German language, the teacher conducts activities such as quiz competition, asking students to form sentence with German words in specific time etc. Students are also asked to play the roles of different occupants in German language such as teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, etc. By performing different role occupants the students also learns different German words relating to that particular role, thus it becomes helpful for the students to increase their German vocabulary which enhancing the students' German learning capability without much difficulty.

Thus there are two levels of learning under CCE pattern: Co-Scholastic Areas and Scholastic Areas. Co-Scholastic Areas include activities concerning Work Education, performance of students on different Values, Health and Physical Education, Scouting and Guiding, Yoga, Literary and Creative Skills, Scientific Skills, expertise on Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Organization and Leadership Skills of students, Sports activities, NCC/NSS activities, Swimming, Gymnastics etc.

For Classes IX and X, under Scholastic Areas, a Candidate is required to study Languages that is English, Hindi or any other Language other than English and Hindi. Mathematics, Social Science, Science, additional Subject as optional one such as Painting, Music, Home Science, Computer Science etc. Under Co-Scholastic Areas Students are assessed on Life Skills - Thinking Skills, Social Skills and Emotional Skills; Work Education which includes activities relating to Cookery, Preparation of stationery items, preparing paper out of waste paper, screen printing, Hand embroidery, Computer operation and maintenance, Repair and maintenance of domestic electrical gadgets, Photography etc ; Visual and Performing Arts like singing, Dancing, Drama performance, Drawing and Painting, Craft making, etc.; and Attitudes and Values.

6.1.1 Denial of CCE

CCE pattern of system has mainly been discouraged by the teacher community. The teachers are of the view that students are considering CCE very lightly. They have become so relaxed with the introduction of CCE due to many factors. Since students under CCE pattern are evaluated on grading basis therefore, the intense competition which was there in the marking system is now lacking in CCE. Those students scoring 91 and those scoring 100 exist in the same grade range i.e. A1. Teachers feel that there are differences between these two categories of students but under CCE no difference in this case. It is because of this reason that now the competition no more exists among students except among the highest scoring category of students. The average and below average students are taking CCE very lightly and they remain in a very relaxed mood all the time even during examinations.

Commenting on CCE, Pratibha Singh, 55 says that CCE is not helping the students most and it is rather creating double work burden for the teacher as well. She reveals this issue with confirmation. On similar lines Baruah in her study on CCE finds,

> The teacher has to keep on evaluating the students till they pass the written test. In other words if any student fails to get the minimum marks to qualify the written test, the teacher has to evaluate him/her again and again by conducting the re-test. First, difficulty comes in taking the re-test of 23 students in terms of managing time and space. Second, if even after taking the re-test no improvement on the part of the

students simply implies doing the same work again that carries just unnecessary burden. Many a time the students show the same performances because they just do not study. Thus this process of taking re-test will continue till the student finally gets the passing mark. The limitation of such a compulsion on the teacher gives sometimes very negative outcome because at times the teacher finds it very exhaustive when even after his/her repeated efforts to improve the student's learning, the latter could not show the expected result, the teacher finally just gives the passing marks to that particular student irrespective of the student's ability to get the minimum marks. In such circumstances the CCE is actually bringing loss to the students' knowledge although it was introduced with a purpose to benefit the students

In other words, CCE has brought a new system in which the older written examination system is still included in it. Thus it simply increases the workloads of the teachers but actually students are not benefitted from it because they are not taking it seriously. Full burden falls on the teacher on terms of organizing different activities along with their academic works. At the same time students are also performing these activities for the sake of doing as part of their routine works and many a time they are not able to complete the activities in time. Instead of that if fewer activities are given to them it will not only interest them but it will be justifiable for the average students too to complete these activities happily and thus they would enjoy also while doing it (Baruah, 2017: 33).

Most of the teachers also see CCE as nothing but a process of time consuming pattern due to which it has failed at the level of implementation. It has failed specially in a classroom of large number of students. As for example, in a class of 40 or 45 the teacher can hardlypay individual attention to each pupil. So CCE has not served its best purpose in a populous country like India. Therefore, some teachers are also of the view that CCE a quite fruitful system in a classroom where the size is not big. Jagat Singh, 54 from School A remarks that for CCE to succeed the teacher- student ratio should not be more than 1:30 in a classroom.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers (1966) also emphasizes on the class size for successfully imparting education. It suggested that class size should be such that it permits the teacher for giving individual attention to the pupils. With time, it suggested

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for making provisions such as remedial classes for small number of students and provisions of audio-visual aids for comparatively large number of students.

The norm of no detention policy under Right to Education creates further hassle for the teachers. Under RTE no student between VI-VIII will be detained. The teachers see it as a serious issue as many a time, students not having knowledge of the basic things is promoted to the next standard and this category of students are aware of the fact that they would be promoted to the next standard even if they don't study and therefore they generally do not like to study or work hard Due to such thinking of this group of students serious problem arises for the teachers to deal with them at Class IX standard.

Gagan Singh, 54 from School A feels that the government is also somehow responsible behind the inadequate implication of CCE scheme. He feels that behind the introduction of CCE system lies the politics of the government as the government is taking such a step like CCE just to increase the literacy rate at the national level and no other means is associated with it. In the actual practice even the quality of learning has declined a lot. CCE has damaged the strength of the education system and the government has failed to take proper actions at this concern.

Urmila Srivastava, 54 feels that for all round development of children, along with teachers, parents should also be aware of their children's performances. She says,

> It is not only the responsibility of the teachers only to take care of the students. Parents too are equally responsible for their children. It is the collective responsibility of the teacher and parents which works for the students' successful career. But many a time problem arises when parents throw full responsibility on the teachers and they are not at all sincere towards the academic performances of their children and at the end such students are left with no bright careers. This problem becomes more acute when parents are illiterate and leave everything on the teacher.

In CCE pattern, often teaching becomes secondary concern for the teachers in spite of their deep enthusiasm to teach well in the classroom. Baruah in her study on CCE has emphasized,

Teaching becomes a secondary activity because of so much of reports and records to be delivered regularly and hence daily maintenance of teacher's diary including the fee details of the students, uploading the marks of the students in regular interval etc. have become more significant tasks than teaching. A senior teacher in Kendriya Vidyalaya has commented in this context that in her previous school the principal was always particular about the paper works first and often she was asked to come in the middle of the classroom to do on e or the other paper works. The teacher regrets here, "*All our B.Ed. and other teacher training skills would be just meaningless if we can't teach the students properly. We do not get sufficient time to take care of the students fully due to other loaded non-teaching works. Our existence is due to students and if students are not properly benefitted our presence is meaningless*". She thus highlights that in CCE teaching has becomes secondary to other works and worries as to how students will shine in their lives if teachers could not give proper time for their learning upliftment.

One of the social science teachers points out that whatever letter comes from KVS the teacher has to follow and organize these activities in the school. Sometimes letters come for many useless activities as well. But the particular subject teacher cannot defy the instructions. In other words, managing additional paper works along with academic works such as checking notebooks of the students regularly, preparing for teaching in the class etc. seems really challenging for the teachers (Baruah, 2017: 33).

Thus we can see from the above discussion that CC has not been able to prove fruitful in the context of the larger need of the society. However the positive hope with which CCE was implemented in schools cannot be denied at all. In the next section discussion on as to why CCE can be accepted in schools are made.

6.1.2 Acceptance of CCE

In spite of so many shortcomings, the relevance of CCE lies in the fact that the children remain active throughout the year because of their constant engagement with different sorts of academic activities some way or the other. Ajay Kumar, a young teacher, 27 who is working on a temporary basis in School A feels that now-a-days the syllabus is also not that tough compared to the previous syllabus which used to be very tough. As in CCE there are more activities he feels that it helps in adding to the students' personality and increasing their confidence. Under CCE, they have to perform some activities or the other

every-day in the morning assembly such as reading updated newspaper section, speaking on a specific topic in front of all etc. which gradually helps in taking away the fear of speaking in public. This young teacher thus emphasizes CCE as better than the previous system in s far as enhancing all round development of students' personality of the students are concerned.

Picture 6.3 shows a clip of students from School A performing in different cultural activities under CCE. On every Saturday CCE activities are conducted in School A as part of Co-scholastic areas of CCE. The theme of the activity as seen in the picture was 'Talent Hunt' where different students showed their hidden talents in terms of dancing, singing, mimicry, poem recitation etc.

Picture 6.4 : Students performing the Cultural activities under CCE

Source : Field Study

Gagan Singh, 54 from School A reveals that since CCE emphasizes equally on the Co-Scholastic activities such as extracurricular ones along with scholastic activities, therefore even if the child misses out one test in academic performance due to health issues or other reasons but qualifies in other activities then it may ultimately help the

child to pass and to be promoted to the next class. The implementation of CCE if taken in a positive spirit then CCE can definitely lead to an adequate outcome. But for that what is important, he feels, is the positive cooperation of the government because as in CCE a lot of activities are to be arranged and strength of the students is also very large. He says,

> "problem arises because government is showing no will power in providing the needful infrastructure in the schools in order to increase the level of quality learning and organize different activities smoothly. In the present school rooms are not adequate to organize different activities simultaneously for different classes."

Regarding CCE one of young Science teachers Kalpana Choudhury, 30 feels that group activities in CCE is much more beneficial than the individual activity because in a group meritorious, average, weak all types of students work together and even the less creative students get the support of their friends. Therefore they could learn better in a group. This teacher forms a group of not more than 6-7 students for any activity and she frames in such a way that 2 bright students, 2 weak students, 2 average students etc. are equally distributed. The purpose behind framing such a combination of group is to make students learn from each other's activities. She also follows the technique of asking the students to speak on a topic in the classroom. She believes that it improves the habit of speaking in front of others. Accordingly to make the students prepared at home, she tells the topic in a day advanced. If students are asked to speak in front of others they are bound to study at home otherwise they have to be ashamed publicly in front of all in the classroom. Public speaking helps in confidence building, she believes.

She feels that CCE can be much fruitful in a classroom size of 10-15 students only, to keep records of 45 students in a class and in such 5/6 other classrooms is really very a very hard task. Moreover, Government has also not provided any sufficient facilities to keep records of all the events organized inside the classroom. The reality is that every teacher does not have or carry proper standard audio-video cameras for such activities. In short, along with academic works, to maintain other paper works simultaneously seems hard for the teachers.

Thus if CCE is compared with the previous system, it is obvious that in pre 2010, the issues of failure and dropout problem were there, but in post 2010 with CCE failure has

declined technically but as far as the level of learning outcome and the quality of teaching, it has definitely reduced a lot which is a matter of grief factor for us to look at.

Picture 6.4 shows a click of the day when open book examination was held in School A as part of the CCE pattern.

Picture 6.5 : A picture of Open Book Examination under CCE

Source : Field Study

6.1.3 Student Views on CCE

No doubt the opinions of the teachers are very significant in understanding both the positive and negative dimensions of CCE. But whether such a system is appreciated by the students or not is also crucial to examine. In the table below is shown the number of students who enjoy or do not enjoy CCE.

Table : 6.1 Details of Number of Students Enjoying CCE

Sl No	Details of Numbers	Frequency	Percentage
1	No of Students enjoying CCE	108	72.0
2	No of Students not enjoying CCE	41	27.3
3	No Response	1	0.7
	Total	150	100

It is seen in Table 6.1 that 72% of students enjoy different CCE activities conducted in different subjects. However to understand in deeper the long term implications of CCE system I tried to know from some of the students from standard XI and XII from both KV and the private school who said very frankly that CCE is not beneficial for those who are serious learners. It is very much liked by those who are generally fun loving. After getting used to with the CCE system up-to class X, when a students is promoted to Class XI the preparation of the study has to be done as per the requirement of the board exam where the students start facing difficulties. This is confessed by those studying in XI standard. Under such circumstances CCE proves not to be beneficial for the long run development of the children.

6.2 Some Reflections on the work experience class: A Gandhian Perspective of Teaching

Under CCE along with routine curriculum learning students have also to engage with various sorts of extra-curricular activities termed as Work Experience class which was earlier known as SUPW i.e. Socially Useful Productive Work classes . Such activities include various creative learning engagements such as embroidery, knitting, cooking, painting, pottery, bamboo work, various other craftworks etc. through which students get a forum to show their inside talents and creativities. The idea of learning activities through different craft works or the value of work experience in education system was first discussed in the Kothari Commission (1964-66). Such activities which are based on Gandhian educational values also help in developing individual skills among the children. At the same time children also get to learn how to work in a team and engage in

community activities with a practical outlook. With the emphasis of National Policy on Education, 1986 on the promotion of creativity among school children, work experience activities have got a new momentum in this direction. This is similar to Gandhi's emphasis on 'learning by doing' maxim. This section also emphasizes on teachers' approach to involve students in these works from the lens of the school teachers.

Skill Learning or vocational component of learning is a imp part of education. What kind of role should education play in cultivating those skills and how should education train us to make our presence felt? In the domain of work how the skills that we have learned makes sense to the larger society and we contribute to the making of the society? For many of us this is a practical question of what is the relation between education and training of skills in making us meaningful in the domain of education.

In answering this question one thing is sure that certain political philosophical questions cannot be skipped. It is in the domain of work that we come out of our limited self and identity and it is the domain of work that we have related to the larger society. The medium through which a relationship is established between the work and the larger society is what we are perpetually engaged in making and remaking society, its production processes, its needs, its profit, its knowledge tradition.

Thus it is in the domain of work that we see our play of skills. Skill is an expert knowledge in an act of accomplishment in a specific work or a specific craft. So skill is seen as some kind of expert knowledge which is hidden for the accomplishment of specific work or craft. A skilled person is one who has that expertise knowledge which helps one to do work much more meaningfully. Thus certain kind of specialized expert knowledge or the accomplishment of specialized specific work called craft makes sense to all of us. We can see playing of skills and different domain of work in which human beings are engaging with the world.

Thus around the world among so many spheres of work we can see that each of us is trying to acquire certain kind of an expert knowledge or skill. On cannot harvest and nurture a plank the way a skilled gardener does. That requires certain specific knowledge. Therefore the formal education should play in cultivating those skills and

training and the appropriate skills so that they can engage in the society in certain specific craft. For certain skills definite formal institutional training is required. For instance, to become a film maker or heart surgeon, proper training in the field is required. But for some skills one may not need formal educational institutions. For example, skills which pass generations after generations such as harvesting in the field, cooking etc. do not require formal training. On the other hand, certain kills are very concrete and tangible. For example, doctor doing a surgery. The result is very tangible. The profession of a doctor, lawyer is very much tangible, visible and immediately beneficial. But certain other skills such as skill of a poet or philosopher are not tangible unlike the skill of a heart surgeon or software engineer. In other words, formal educational institution can produce a literary critic but doubtful whether it can produce the intangible skill of a poet or philosopher.

There are many specialized skills and crafts for which formal educational institutions need to play a big role. Education need to have a vocational element and cannot skip this element of vocation which is imp for the learner to engage with the larger society and for making and remaking of society.

Gandhi's views on education, English education & home rule seem important to reflect here. Gandhi asks one to look at the farmer and the peasant and he knows how to cultivate land, he has his own sense of numbers, climate when the monsoon will come, the season in which crops have to be cultivated, But one is confusing that education is only learning three R's- Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. He does not think that primary aim of education is learning these three R's only. Nothing bigger can be achieved with the bookish knowledge. Therefore he believes that education needs serious restructuring.

One might criticize Gandhi that he does not want the farmer to change at all. That may be one possible misinterpretation. But the deeper meaning is that the three R's cannot be the substance of education. Education needs something more fundamental. Here he responds to the second question as to whether Macaulay's English education has a great tracery. Isn't it paradox of paradoxes that even to write an application for home rule, writing in English was needed? He says that the essential dependence on this language has enslaved

the minds and it has created a strange kind of duality. Gandhi says that there is also importance of English and argues if we can decolonize English.

As regard to the third question of his suggestion, he not only made his critic of three R's, but also showed his sensitivity to plurality. He imagines a kind of Swaraj and India where everyone irrespective of the provincial language should learn some other vernacular language. By doing sothe hegemony of English can be overcome. It is not also a question of Experimentation.

In his *My Experiments with Truth*, Gandhi shows the experimentation he was talking about. Gandhi said that of course Indian opinion newspaper was published from South Africa but a lot of children and family used to stay there. Children were Muslims, Christians, Hindus etc. Here the question of education became important to him. It was very difficult to hire teachers there because no one was willing to come 21 km away from Johannesburg where Tolstoy firm was established. It was also not possible to pay the huge salary. So they themselves had to teach the children. Gandhi said, it almost became a 24 hour occupation in his life- teaching and engaging with children.

Gandhi said that he learnt one thing in the process of teaching the children. i.e Cultivating the body and the heart. Cultivating the heart is very important. Heart is cultivated if the character foundation is strong. Then everything one can do in life. Then he talks of manual work and physical labour in Tolstoy firm. He says, all now engaged in the act of labour. Lot of hard works such as cleaning, planting and watering, cooking, gardening, scavenging etc. were involved in Tolstoy firm. Labour became a very important part of learning. Children who are not working in the kitchen are now required to work in the garden; children got engaged in all kinds of productive manual activity. All these productive work became the part of educational activities. As a result such kind of constant engagement with certain kind of productive labour in Tolstoy firm, hardly any child fell sick and thus a strong physic or body and thus cultivation of heart.

He also learnt the limitations of text while engaged in teaching. Textbook is a huge barrier. In Tolstoy firm a teacher cannot ask a child to scavenging or cooking or gardening unless the teacher himself does. It is very imp that the teacher and a student

work together in all those activities. An act creates the world where the teacher himself becomes a textbook. He talks of the training of the body, training of the heart, training of the mind and the training of the spirit. Thus Gandhi says that he does not believe in the textbook rather he thinks that the teacher is the best textbook.

In Tolstoy firm thus he learnt all sorts of disciplinary and moral lessons of his life because he was always aware that his students were looking at him and he was a kind of object lesson. If he is not doing how he would be asking his students to do. Then he cannot cultivate among them the kind of training of spirit.

All these experimentation in the Tolstoy firm led to the debate of 1937 Wardha Conference where the question of basic or integrated education was raised. Gandhi's proposals were debated again and again. Gandhi's critic of colonial education as mere intellectual dissemination was discussed. The vital question was asked as to why mind is everything and hands and legs are nothing. Why is it that intellect is everything and the labour is nothing?

Gandhi argues that this kind of intellectual education or learning in a structured classroom through intellectual knowledge of three R's completely creates inequality between intellectual and manual labour which creates a generation of learners who are so weak in their physical persona and stamina that they are completely incapable of doing any physical hard work. Opposed to the intellectual dissemination what is imp is indivisible spirit of integrating the body, mind and spirit which was experimented in the Tolstoy firm. Integration of the body, mind and spirit leads to the introduction of craft centric education, in contemporary language, learning through activity or learning through doing. The very fact that the children would engage with the machine would also invite a lesion in Physics and enable the child to learn the mechanics of machine as to how it runs and functions and that act also would invite a lesson in history i.e. what is the history of cotton, that is, what happened after East India Company came to India, what are the policies of exploitation in the East India Company etc. Thus the very act of working with the craft is not just working with the craft but it is also a lesson in mechanics, physics, geography and environment that led to production of history. Thus it integrates the knowledge of the body, labour, mind and the spirit for productive labour.

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Bringing labour as part of education could be an interesting lesson. Before Gandhi no one tried to bring the cultural capital in such a big manner. It became radical innovation in terms of educational pedagogy and also posed critic to Macaulay's education and Brahminical learning tradition. Integrating intellectual skills and vocational skills, learning by doing, making institution self-reliant etc. were focused so that school can create its own Swaraj.

As part of my research methodology I undertook in-depth interview of the teacher who conducts different Work Experience activity in the school. She narrated in great length the usefulness and relevance of the subject and how it creates a sense of confidence and innovativeness inside the students. She takes work experience for classes VI to X and conducts different activities depending on the suitability of time and interest of the students. Since these activities are meant to train the students of learning by doing and develop their inner potentiality, the activities are conducted in such manners that interest the students. In other words, keeping in mind the relevance of different season or festival period such activities are accompanied inside the class room. It can be illustrated by taking some cases of activities such as preparing drinks during summer season and other cooking related work, cloth related work, electronic work, festival related work, pot painting and other creative exposure etc. with pictures as shown next.

i) Preparing drinks and other cooking related work

Picture 6.6 : Picture of Preparing drinks by students in School A

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.7: Picture of Aloo Chat prepared by students of School A

Source : Field Study

ii) Cloth related Work Activity

Picture 6.8 : Table clothing prepared by a student in School B

Source: Field Study

iii) Electronic work Activities

Picture 6.9 : Picture of a student performing electricity work activity in School A
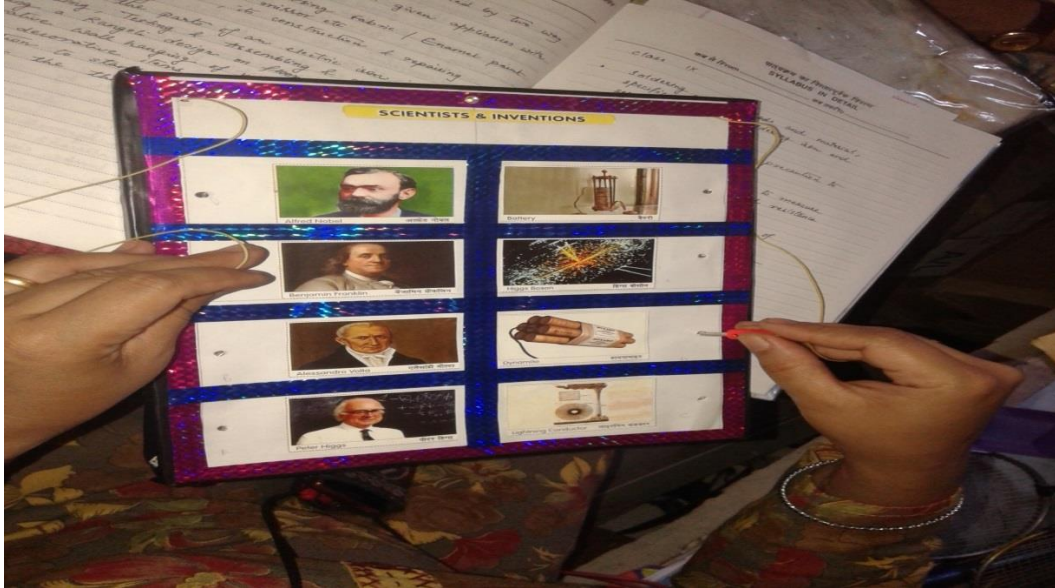
Source : Field Study

iv) Festival related work experience

Picture 6.10 : Painting activity for increasing beautification

Source : Field Study

v) Gardening and other Environment specific works

Picture 6.11 : Students involving in Gardening and cleaning activities

Source : Field Study

vi) Pot painting and other creative exposure

Picture 6.12 : Pot Painting Activity on waste bottles

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.13 : Creativity shown on a waste CD

Source : Field Study

6.2.1 Reflections on Work Experience activities

As regard to the views of students, many a time students take these work experience activities very lightly compared to other subjects. They take these activities more as fun-loving game rather than taking it as a part of their curriculum.

As far as views of parents are concerned they prefer their children to be active in other subjects rather than the work experience. They feel that career could be set by doing well in other subjects such as Mathematics or Science or English. From career point of view most of the parents don't see any usefulness of work experience class.

Views of other subject teachers are also not much different from what most parents think. Even the teachers who teach other subjects like Mathematics, science see work experience as a very light subjects in which students get a chance to enjoy more.

On investigating the views of the Principal of the schools it was found that in School A even the Principal at times ask the work experience teacher to give her class to teachers

of subjects like Mathematics and Science if syllabus are left and examination is approaching, again the views of the principal of School B are much stronger for Science subjects.

Thus it is observed that though work experience class has a good moral value of learning by doing, yet the objective and purposeful world have failed to see its inner power in all round development of the children.

6.3 Teaching for Physical Education and Yoga

Physical Education and Yoga are the integral part of the school curriculum and students have specific periods for it. Physical growth is considered equally important for a healthy mental growth and therefore schools have these subjects in their curriculum.

12th Five Year Plan (2012-17) says, "Physical education, games and sports should be made an integral part of the curriculum and daily routine in schools for the holistic development of children. Provision of infrastructure for these activities should also be made in the Twelfth Plan in convergence with SKA, the principal scheme for broad basing of sports and developing a sports culture in the country. The Schedule to the RTE Act mandates that all schools shall be provided play material, games and sports equipment. Since many urban schools have inadequate facilities of sports on their own, other neighbourhood schools with such facilities in the public and private sectors and also municipal parks and public play fields should be opened up for children of such schools during school hours on nominal maintenance costs. Building on innovative approaches undertaken during the Eleventh Plan, teachers must also be trained to lead quality and inclusive physical education sessions as part of both their pre-service and in-service training."

It is seen in my study that every-day in the morning assembly the Yoga teacher makes students do some yoga or the other. Generally '*Anulom Bilonom'*, *Kapal Bharti*, N*eck Rotation* etc are practicsed by him/her. The Physical Education teacher also makes the students practice some arm and leg movement exercises which could be done easily while standing itself without much effort.

Picture 6.14 : Students participating in Chess Competition at Inter School level

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.15 : Students participating in Outdoor Games Competitions

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.16 : Students performing Yoga as part of Classroom activities

Source : Field Study

6.4 Impact of No Detention Policy on teaching

It leads to extreme relaxation in the minds of the students till Class VIII and arises as a serious problem when they are promoted to Class IX and now find it difficult to cope. The teachers' equally find it difficult to teach such students who even lack the basic knowledge of the subject. The teachers are compelled to promote such students to the next standard who do not have even the basic knowledge of the lesser standard of his/her class. No doubt the no detention policy has increased the literacy rate of India but in actual practice it is not leading to any qualitative improvements due to which a revision on this policy is asked by the government for fulfillment of the genuine purpose of the educational training to the students.

6.5 Implications of New Form of Punishment and Discipline Scenario on Teaching

In absence of physical punishment now the students are asked for stay-backs in the school if they are found guilty for any misconduct or don'ts of the school. The students of the School B are shown Yellow cards in case of no-compliances of the rules of the

school. These cards work as the warning for the student. Every day in School B the parents are informed about their children's presence in the school by 12 o'clock so that the parents come to know in case their children move out of the house and do not reach the school. Foucaultdian sense of discipline is vivid in maintaining school discipline.

Anita Choudhury, KV Contractual teacher says,

> Activities in Science are usually given as group work. So, even the slow learners manage to work in the group. Students do take interest in activities. Most students do not take interest in Science. However it varies from class to class. Out of 40/45 students in a class average 15/20 students take interest in Science, of the rest some just keep sitting in the classroom but do not disturb the class. Whatever tasks are given to them they will do. Only 5% to 10% in the class (7/8 students) creates disturbances. Of these 7/8 students also if I scold them some of them maintain the silence, still 4/5 students remain uncontrollable. It doesn't make any difference to them no matter how much I tell them, scold them or whatever way I try to convince them. They will keep talking in the class. So discipline related problem arises mainly because of this category of students as I cannot give physical punishment to them, cannot scold much also or even cannot speak to in such a manner that may lead to demoralize the students as per the instructions from the school. Counseling is the only way to deal with the students. But counseling is also not helping much to overcome indiscipline in the classroom. I am definitely not on favour of beating the children, but I think there should be some mechanism to control the students so that at least some sense of fear exists in the minds of the students. That fear might be from the parents' side also but definitely there should be some sense of fear. Otherwise at this stage children will be spoiled automatically.

6.6 Technological Implications on Teaching

Teaching has changed from traditional way of teaching to technology based teaching now a days. Technology occupies the prime position in teaching today. It has emerge as alternative way of teaching. Smart board is used to make teaching interesting for the children, hence the importance of visualization in the learning process. In the words of Prabin Kaishik, 42, KV Social Science ,

In Social Science we can use technology in a better way. Some topics can be taught with clarity through pictures in SSt. Maps can be shown in a perfect way. Topics such as how earthquale happens, volcanic eruption happens can be shown through videos. TGT teachers have to teach all the sections of SSt be it Geography, History, Econimics from 6th to 10th standards. It is only at the PGT level that such specific sections are taught as a complete subject. Though we cannot use smart board everyday but at least twice a week for every class we try to teach using smart board. The main purpose of using such technological usage is to create interest among the students. The teachers can make teaching interesting through such different parameters.

Teacher even make whats app group of the whole class and in case of any information to deliver, she/he uses whats app. Thus the interpersonal relations are gradually dying out. Some teachers also express grief that with the popularity of internet the reading habit of the students are also dying out. They are more involved with their gadgets. The trend of cut paste has emerged as a serious concern which has made the practice of writing among students very poor.

Pooja Sharma, 37 narrates,

Very few students are using technology to their advantage. Otherwise more of it has become a thing to be punted. It has to be guided by their parents also. It is there but it has to be used in such a way that we can learn something. You grow with it. This is not that it is taking you to the other part. It should not happen.

Now all have what's app groups in our class. As a class teacher of IX B standard I have created a group where I can put important messages. Hence I created that group that very day itself I put that this group has been created to inform you about important instructions or notices so no messages, no jokes besides that should be shared. And time and again I have to keep on reminding them this warning. When I get much busy and don't get time to turn on my wifi connection to turn on my whats app, these children wheneven I open I see long conversations/jokes and it is the class group and they are aware that I am also there. And imagine what they would be doing in other groups. As a teacher when we go to the class we can see and we can sense. Even in a PTM I told the parents of a girl that she is absent often and destructed from her studies. As a teacher I couls see that. So I asked if she is much in the social networking sites. Her mother

replied. "*madam jyada kuch nahi bus ek ghanta facebook kar lete hai.Wese kahi jati toh hai nahi*" I said, That one hour could be used for her work. I discouraged her as she is thus wasting her precious time on these social networking sites.

Jaydeep Bhalla, 26 remarks,

There are smart boards. Sometimes it helps. But many a time it is wastage of time only. Generally we use smart board when we need to show the students something visually. For example, when I was teaching human eye it shown be shown in a 3D manner. If you draw the human eye on the blackboard that #D effect would not be visible. So that's how such lessons are taught in the smart board.

I don't suggest the students to study from internet. Because most of them jist copy and paste if they take anything from interest. And all the notes in their respective copies are same. Most of the time they don't listen carefully in the class and when they have to finish their works at home, they find this copy paste technique easier.

Therefore Google Workshops are conducted in the private school time to time to make the students aware of the safe usage of internet, conducting quiz competition, special assembly programmes during specific period such as Durga Puja, Janmasthami, Christmas as part of learning curriculum, taking the students for different exertions etc.

Picture 6.17 : Google Workshop conducted in the School B

Source : Field Study

6.6.1 Learning through Internet Sources

Though there is exposure to internet learning through google and other sutes yet most of the teachers feel that only 20% children can learn from youtube and through other internet facilities. Internet can never replace the importance of chowk and dusters. Internet can never replace teachers.

In the table below it is shown how many numbers of students use internet in their day to day life

Table 6.2 Internet usage of Students

Sl No	No of Students using Internet	Frequency	% age
1	No of Students who uses Internet	144	96
2	No of Students who do not use Internet	4	2.7
3	No response	2	1.3
	Total	150	100

It is seen that almost 96% of the students use internet. But it is important here to show again how many of them use internet for study purpose through google search or Wikipedia. It is shown in the next table.

Table 6.3 Internet Search by students for Study Purpose

Sl No	Details of No of students using Internet for Study Purpose	Frequency	%age
1	No of students who use Internet for Study Purpose	131	87.3
2	No of students who do not use Internet for Study Purpose	19	12.7
	Total	150	100

In the above data 87% of students claim that they use internet for searching study related matters. When it is confirmed from the teachers as to how the students use internet for

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learning the feedback was not much in positive sense. The teachers in most cases affirm that they just copy and paste from internet if any task relating to surfing of internet is given to the students. The teachers also claim that internet use of students means just surfing the social networking sites in many cases.

6.7 Teaching and Personality Development

The socio-economic background of the students is very important for personality building of a child. Such background of a Kendriya Vidyalaya child and a student from public school is totally different. Home environment plays a crucial role in children's personality. The background of most of the children of Kendriya Vidyalaya belongs to lower middle class category. For instance, students are used to abusive languages. The biggest question is if the school does not teach such abusive languages, how do they learn these words?

On the question of personality development of the children Sunita Suman, 50 remarks, "Pictures of Private schools and KVs are totally different. In private school they are more into personality building. We KV teachers are not much on personality issues but we want to teach the children."

6.8 Students Respect for Teachers

Now a days students respect for teachers is not the same. Students do not want to be insulted by their teachers. Even they take a simple scolding by the teacher to their ego. When asked to the students on this respect issue, they clearly told me "*ma'am sach bolu toh hame sab teachers k liye respect nhi aate h. Jo teachers hame respect dete h hum v unhi teachers ko respect dete h*" I was quite surprised at such statements. But these are the changes in teacher taught relationship now a days which we can clearly see.

This shows that the relationship between teacher and the taught is not just the subject learning, but it is to have the right kind of relationship. To quote Krishnamurti,

> "In teaching, what is important is not the subject, but the relationship between you and
> the teacher. If there is right relationship between you and the teacher, then what he

teaches has a much deeper, non-mechanical meaning … right relationships means I care for you."

6.9 Teachers and Private Tuitions

Due to private tuitions the space called school has become a place of meeting friends and enjoying with them rather than a place of study. As such it is gradually destroying the school culture of learning. In the following table the number of students in school A who go for tuition classes are given:

Table 6.4 : Details of tuition going children

Who takes tuitions?	Go for tuitions?		Total
	Yes	No	
School Teachers	4	1	5
Other than School Teachers	107	1	108
No response	0	37	37
Total	111	39	150

It is seen above that it is clear that of the samples taken around 74% of the students go for private tuitions after school hours. However most of them (around 71%) are seen going to tuition classes to teachers other than to the teachers teaching in the same school. This is because as per the government guidelines irrespective of govt. or private schools, the teachers are instructed not to take tuitions for profit making beyond school hours. It is more strictly followed as far as taking tuitions for the same school students are concerned. However it is also important to analyze here the subjects for which students go for tuition most frequently.

It is observed in the bar diagram Fig 6.1 that students go for private tuitions for almost all the subjects. But the frequency of students going for subjects like Mathematics and Science are comparatively more than other subjects which is around 47%. Of the samples 5% of them go for tuitions for all the subjects.

Figure 6.1 : Subject-wise distribution of students going for Tuitions
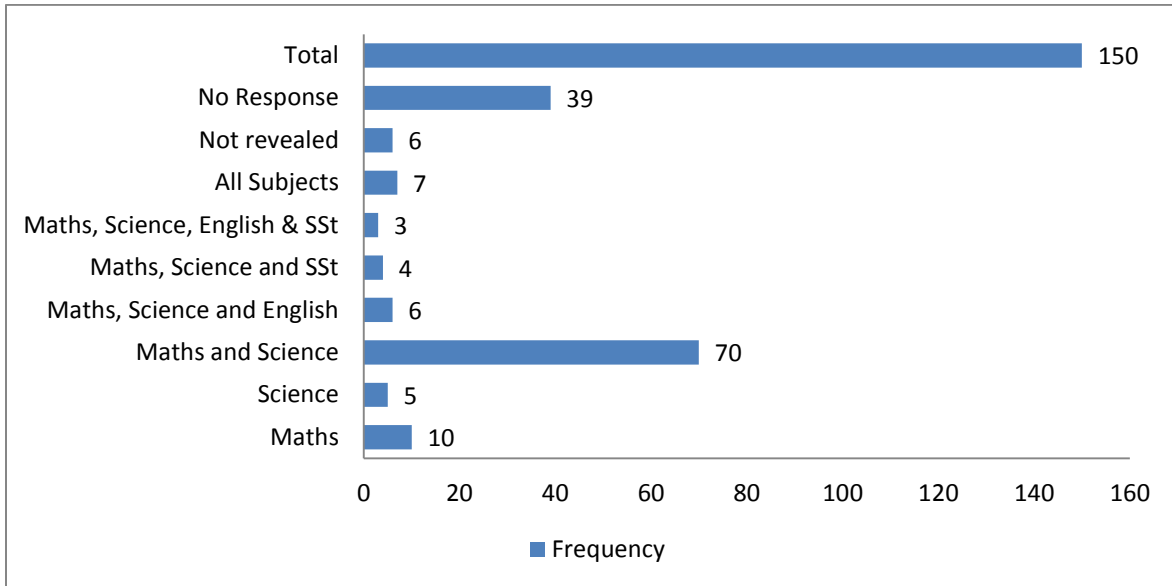
Prabin Kaushik, 42 observes,

Tuitions means some special attention. But suppose a child is studying in school in a group of 40, again in tuition in a group of 25-30, what is the benefit of tuition then. I don't see any benefit in it. Whosoever is extra ordinary they might get some advantage. But others or 90% are not benefitted from it. That's my personal opinion. Those who can effort to get private tutor at home to get personal attention they might get benefitted from it. Personal attention is helpful. In group I don't think it benefits more. This is the situation anywhere. There is some kind of perception in society which parents also feel that if a child is sent to coaching centre special attention will be paid and he/she will be more benefitted. But I don't think that. Parents must pay attention may be for half an hour or an hour. That is more important.

And for higher classes there is a different story. But in metropolitan parents donot have time. That is the main problem. If they look after and concentrate on the things taught in the class no need of tuitions. Because they don't yave time they send their children for tuitions.

Urmila, a KV teacher, 54 says,

Tuition has become a fashion these days. It has become a status symbol as well. Self-study is very important because revision is required of whatever has been learned.

Tuition leads to wasting of time upto class X. School learning is enough till class X and teachers need to inculcate this habit in the minds of the children". She also made many students leave tuitions. She communicated to parents of such children that even after going to tuition the performance is the same. It is resulting in just wastage of time, money and energy. Instead of that if the habit of self-study can be inculcated it would serve a better purpose. What is needed in self-study is that the child should not be distracted to other things and for that an environment should be provided by parents along a proper arrangement of sitting place.

Thus the teachers feel that if students study seriously in school there is actually no need to take private tuitions for the students and back home go for self-study.

6.10 Functional Importance of different subjects teachers

Different subjects have different relevance of study. But even though all subjected should be treated equally there is a perception of viewing some subjects as more important than a few others. It can be analyzed with the following narratives.

Urmila, a KV teacher, 54 narrated,

> A student who is good is generally good in all the other subjects. A student who is good in Maths generally his/her analytical and reasoning capacity is better. A good student in Maths is also good in logical dealings. Such children are usually more intelligent than other students. She read somewhere that intelligent students usually fall less sick because they have good understanding of body metabolism and they follow that properly. It is important to analyse body metabolism. The very nature of the subjects such as Maths, science is that students get to know all these. Generally a good student in Science can manage public dealings in a better way and their skill is better because they have acquired those skills in that very subject itself which gives them a better analytical power.

Prabin Kaushik, 41 explains,

> This is society's misconception that if a person is an engineer society he is eligible for more appreciation. Special privileges come with being a doctor or an engineer. This perception is there in the society that my child should be doctor or engineer and gives the maximum expectations towards Maths or Science subjects. But I think this

opportunity is there in all the subjects now a days. It depends where the interest of the child is. If the child is very well in Science he/she should carry on. If the child is not very good in science till class IX, it becomes very clear. Sometimes the parents give these subjects to their children by force. It creates problems. Parental pressure comes from societal pressure.

There is parental pressure behind giving maximum importance to subjects like Maths or Science. So children are not left with much time to give time to the units of Social science or Hindi. These subjects are neglected from home. In school also students say that they are capable of reading these subjects only at the time of examinations. Therefore we force them to study in the class line by line. We just try to make justice with this subject because I know very well that they are not even going to take the book out from their bag and read at home. In Social Science, Hindi and English students are seen taking less interest. Students say that they do not have time for that and there is always parental pressure towards Maths and Science subjects. That is the reason I go line by line, stanza by stanza.

Thus it was seen in my study that a teacher of a particular subject sees his own subject not less than a Science subject. However some teachers whose subject is not Science or Maths have seen these subjects meant for intellectual children only and hence they feel one who is good in Science subjects are also good in other subjects.

6.11 Counselors and Special Educators in School

Personal Counseling, in its present form, is a recent development. Educational Institutions, industries and business establishments are becoming increasingly interested in counseling and its potential for improving interpersonal relationships. Wren observes, "Counseling is a dynamic and purposeful relationship between two people who approach a mutually defined problem with mutual consideration of each other to the end that the younger or the less mature, or more troubled of the two aided to a self- determined resolution of his problem."

It is observed that trained Counselors are present in the private school to deal with different psychological and behavioral issues of the students while no such counselors are appointed in the KV. This is one of the serious concerns found in School A. As teachers

are not trained enough to deal with such students, many a time they either get irritated or just ignore such students. One blind student of school A from class IX standard says that he does not like to study Science because he could not understand Science practical. As far as Mathematics subject is concerned, he afraid of asking his doubt to his teacher because he could sense that the Maths teacher gets irritated by his inability to understand. He takes tuition of Mathematics in a institute where all blind students come and study.

Thus mere implementation of Inclusive Education does not serve any fruitful purpose. Proper training of the teachers is essential component for successful implementation of any educational policy initiative.

6.12 Students and Teachers performances in different Events

Now a days along with students teachers also have to all-rounders to take part in non-academic activities as well e.g. in singing, dancing, dramas conducted in different events of the school. This is specifically true in case of private school teachers.

Seema Karkun, 50, a teacher in private school 2 remarks,

> As a school teacher a person should supposed to know everything - writing, dancing, clerical work at times along with looking after then children and everything in the school. In our school those teachers are selected who have not joined the profession just for money but because of their love for children. This is because it is believed that if you don't love children, you cannot communicate with the child. It is told in our school that 'your boundaries does not stop in the class itself. We are supposed to treat the students as parents, even more than that. This is because today more and more children have psychological problems.' Thus our school looks for teachers who are multi- faceted and not just a subject teacher. Our school looks for teachers who are versatile, good in dancing, environmental problems or anything which is out of their subjects.

Thus all round teachers are of more demand in private schools now-a-days. Though teachers in school A also were seen participating in different cultural activities, it was as per their expertise skills only limited to a particular activity.

Picture 6.18 : Students performances on the Republic Day

Source : Field Study

Picture 6.19 : Teachers Performances on The Children's' Day

Source : Field Study

6.13 Parents as the second teachers of children at home

Parents play a very important role in actual learning of the children. This is because the child is there in school for just 6 hours and stays maximum hours at home. Therefore the home environment, initiatives of the parents seems significant. In the focus group discussions with the parents they spoke on different learning issues of their children inside and outside the school premises.

6.13.1 Issues concerning the children's learning in the School Premises

An informal discussion with a group of parents who were waiting to take their children outside the private school was conducted. Some of the issues concerning the children's learning in the School Premises on which all the parents agree on was the amount of homework the children are given, the overlapping of tests of certain classes etc. One parent from the group says, "There are lots of homework given to the students in this school because of which their children do not get time to prepare for the tests or examinations." Another parent added, "There were consecutively three unit tests in a day because of which her child could not study even one subject properly. Later on when I asked to one of the concerned teacher she said that had she been informed before she could have postponed her subject's test for some other day. So you can see there are such kinds of mismanagement in the school."

6.13.2 Issues concerning the children's learning outside the School Premises

Most of the teachers' concern for the students is that most of the parents just sent their children to school and do not actually provide them that environment in which they can learn. While some parents are very reluctant in properly looking after their children at home, some parents are quite aware for their children's learning process. I met a Driver parent whose children is admitted under EWS quota in the private school and it seems that this person really understands the value of real education in life. He says,

> I cannot teach my child, but keep on telling him the requirement of education. I tell him, see otherwise you will lend on becoming a driver. Do you want to be a driver? *Nahi na*? I can spend on your tuitions for better studies. But don't ask me to spend on your birthdays.

Later when I asked the school teachers about this student who is the son of this driver I got a very decent review of him. I got to know that this EWS student has mingled very well with everybody because he is giving performances or results also. In other words, when results come, confidence also increases and then such EWS students easily participate and talk with other students who belong to effluent families without any hesitation of class inferiority.

Sukanya Suman, 50, KV teacher says that once a boy from class VIII standard came to her and starts expressing his feeling about his parents,

> My father drinks everyday and when he comes back home he starts beating us like anything. I have been constantly bean up like this for last one month. Now I could not tolerate this at all. In very few days in the coming period I am going to commit suicide as I need relief from this daily beating act of my father.

The teacher got shocking after listening to such a precarious statement of the student. She was at a loss for some moments but after a few minutes she starts counseling this boy and spends a good amount of time with this boy in the school because she did not want to leave this boy alone which could otherwise bring negativity of such sorts in his mind. As a teacher she therefore expresses the utmost concern on home environment for children's physical and mental health.

6.14 Views of the Teachers on Parents in Cultural Reproduction of values

Parents are those *gurus* at home who transfer the family and cultural values to the younger generation through different socialization process that is what Bourdieu said as 'cultural reproduction'. It is the school teachers who observe the students every day and could sense the particular cultural values they are drawing from home.

Sukanya Suman, 50, KV says,

> Remedial system of KV is not that very strong because if a child is not disciplined there is no strong steps or guidelines to reform. Lack of counselors in the school in proportion to the strength in the classes, lack of teachers in proportion to the strength of the students, lack of reformation strategy and policy are some issues. If a child steals we

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just go and bit the child. Is this the way to reform the child? I feel it so bad when such children are beaten up. There is some problem somewhere or it is a disease. Lack of any system which can establish a good contact with the parents is another issue. We cannot teach anything to the parents. There should be some counseling sessions for the parents as well. Parent Teacher Meetings are just for sometimes only after the tests of the students are over which is not enough to interact with them. Parents need counseling because they are the first generation learners. If my child shouts at me I just keep silence at that time because I know there is some problem somewhere. Therefore I don't strike back. When my child becomes cool and calm then I ask why did you shout that time? Here some parents beat their children if their children shout at home for anything. That's how children become revolutionary. Therefore parents also need counseling because they are first generation learners who transfer their attitudes and behaviour to their children intentionally or unintentionally.

Ajay Shastri, 37, a temporary teacher in the private school narrates,

No doubt the students are intelligent today, but they are much naughty and having less respect for teachers now a days. They will do such kinds of bullying which you can't even imagine. Two boys were playing balls inside the classroom one day. As soon as I entered they just kept the balls at their feet. I think somehow parents are also responsible for it. They should give attention to their children. I sometimes feel that parents may not be having time to look after their children in their blind effort to earn money more and more. I have also observed that those parents who keep strict with their children they are relatively less naughty than those whose parents even don't give attention. So, family pressure and control on the children matter a lot in inculcating certain values inside them.

A few days back I was showing some Science experiments in the practical class in class X. A boy came and was trying to slacken my hand repeatedly. Out of anger I just slapped him quite mildly. He immediately replied, "*Tere himmat kaise hui mujhe haath lagane ki*?" (how dare you to even touch me?) I was surprised what to tell him now. I then called the principal and said the words the boy used for me. The principal then scolded the boy and then left. What will happen if such mild punishments are given to such mannerless boys? I then told the boy, 'if you are not interested I will not make you

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do any experiments, let me do experiments for other students of the class. My work is to teach. If you do not want to learn I can't do anything'. This is an incident a week ago.

I also know a boy who uses so abusive language for his own elder sister that I just got surprised listening that. I was just thinking how can he utter such derogatory words for his own sister. I got really shocked. Somehow he must have learned these words from his family itself.

Suman Aggarwal, 45, temporary teacher from private school 1says,

In 90% of the cases home atmosphere molds students' behaviour a lot. 95% students' parents are such who don't care what their children are doing outside home. And children after been promoted to Class IX feel like becoming Heros. Such boys should be terminated from the school because they then spoil other boys of the class. Same is also seen in case of girls. I think if not terminated there should be separate sections for such students who are bullying to a larger extent. Such things must also be raised in different meetings of the school. We don't understand what to do with such children. We don't speak much to these students because they have the habit of answering back at which we feel humiliated and insulted.

Vandana Deshwal, 25 teaching in the private school says,

I am surprised from where this idea comes to children's mind that we pay school fees and then teachers get salary? How such a big thing comes to their mind? Somewhere parents must be repeating this at home that 'how can a teacher touch you in school we are paying fees at your school regularly from which they get their salaries'.

Some students use very abusive language in the classroom at times. From where have they learned these words? It is definitely from their family members or other relatives. In some families these words are very common and so the students in school also use these words in a very normal way. We can't even tell these words to you.

If we analyze these narratives one thing is eye catching that learning through a dialogical relationship what Paulo Freire hinted while critiquing his Banking concept of education is gradually going away between teachers and students in the contemporary period. It is because of this missing dialogue that a student has misinterpreted the words of his teachers as not being moral and they just reply their

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teachers just as they behave with their friends in the classroom. Dialogue helps not only in academic learning but also in understanding deep human relationships. It is the lack of this dialogue between the two which is one of the reasons in gradual decrease of teacher's respect in the eyes of the students and decreased perceptions of good students in the eyes of teachers.

6.15 Views of the students on teachers and teaching profession

The views of the students on teachers and teaching profession were taken following the focus group discussion. In this informal group discussion there were groups where only girls were there, groups where only boys were there and also groups where both boys and girls were there. In one of the girls' group consisting 7 students, discussion were put on the kind of teaching process of the teachers they like. One girl in the group starts saying, "*Teachers job book se parhate hai tof accha nahim lagta* (When teachers teach us from book, we don't like that.) We don't like our Science teacher because she starts teaching immediately after entering the class from the portion she left in the last class. At least she should give a small revision of the previous class. Because I don't remember what she taught in the last class, we cannot connect with the present class and this is what she does continuously. So we lost the interest of her class. If teachers give a brief revision of the last class we also develop interest in the subject."

Another girl in the group added, "Teacher should first clear the basics of the subject she/he teaches. Our Science teacher assumes that we know the basics and she starts her lesson from a certain standard in the classroom. Since we are poor in the basics we cannot understand what she is teaching in the class. Teacher should teach with examples. With examples we understand more."

Then another one speaks, "Some of the teachers' expression is such that if you go to them asking some doubts, they simply asks, '*tumko aaya nahi ye*?' (Haven't you been able to learn this?). *Fir hame lagta hai kyo aaye puchne* and we finally say to the teacher that *ha hamko sab aate hai*. We don't feel like going to this kind of teacher for clearing any doubts in future. *Nahi v aate hai toh v jane ka man nahi karta hai fir*. (then we feel like why we came to this teacher to ask and finally say to the teacher that we know this. Even

if we have doubts we don't feel like going to this teacher)." Then a girl adds, "Some teachers do partiality with some students. We don't like such teachers at all."

When teachers interact with us we enjoy a lot. I don't know about others. But I personally enjoy a lot. When many students are there teacher just focuses on finishing up the syllabus but when students are less, teacher could give individual attention to all the students. But in countries like India it is not possible because here the population is so much. I go to tuition also. In my tuition class there are 11 students. I face problem thee also because I need individual attention. Majority keep saying something else. I have different thing to say. So if the doubt is not of majority of the students it will not be cleared by the teacher usually. A very simple thing might be known to rest of the students but if I don't know about it how will I be able to understand what the teacher is explaining. But practically it is not possible also to clear doubts of each students because there is time factor also. So what I feel is that teacher should start from basics to avoid such problems."

As far as the aspirations of the students to become teachers the following figure will reveal its realities.

In the figure 6.2 it is seen that only 9 students out of 150 students aspire to become teacher which is just 6% of the total while only 1.3 % want to go in College or University Teaching. The craze for becoming Engineer is the highest among the students in the sample which is around 23.3% followed by the aim of Doctor (19.3%), IAS/IPS/IFS Officer (15.3%), Football Player/Cricketer/Badminton player (8.7%) and the aims like Model, Fashion designer, Photography, Choreographer, Air hostess, Actor, Dancer, Playback Singer which together constitute around 8%.

Figure 6.2 : Aim of Life of Students in School A
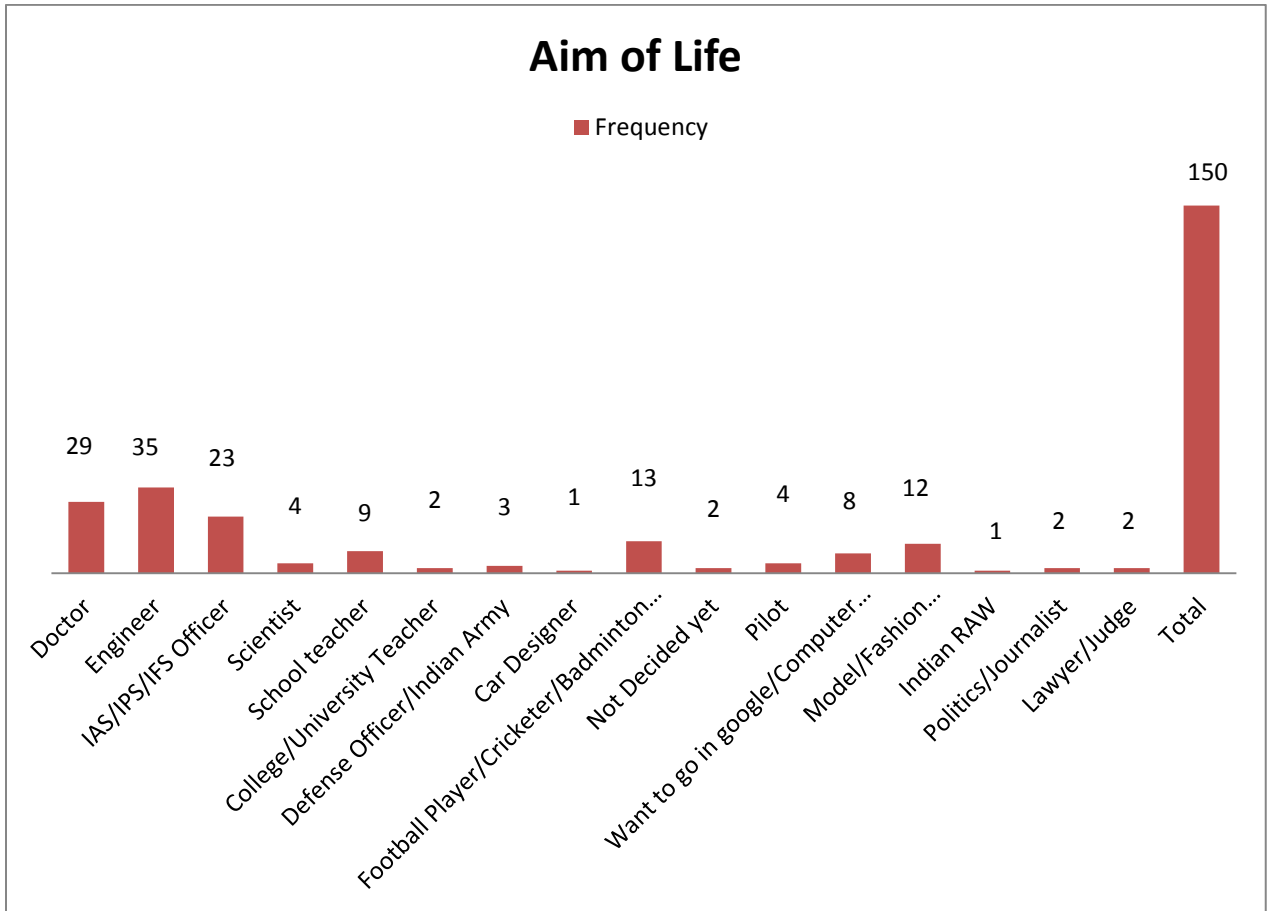
In the table 6.5 below is shown the number of parents who even advice their children to be in the teaching profession.

Table 6.5 : Parents advice in teaching career

Sl No	Details of No of Parents advising to go in teaching career	Frequency	%age
1	No of Parents advising their children to go in teaching career	26	17.3
2	No of Parents not advising their children to go in teaching career	123	82
3	No Response	1	0.7
	Total	150	100

This shows the majority of parents do not encourage their children to be in the teaching profession in future. Most of the students in the private school wish to go in teaching profession only in case of their failure to their first choice they aspire for.

Thus, if we compare the schooling system of 1990s and of today a huge change has come up with the changing pattern of school education. As the post-modernist scholars have reflected in their studies and seen in this present study as well, with the advancement of technology a new meaning is added to the schools in which not only it encroaches within the school but also outside its premises. Along with it the relationship between teacher and taught has drastically been changed. Tuition has specifically changed the meaning of school learning as the students now see the space of 'school' as a meeting ground of peers for enjoyment. It is however noteworthy to mention that CCE was the pattern of learning while field research was conducted in the period 2015-1016. Due to difficulties in following smoothing this pattern of learning in a bigger size of classroom and difficulty on the part of the teachers to conduct different activities with individual attention to each pupil the CCE pattern got replaced by 'Back to Basic' pattern of education 2016-17 academic sessions onwards.

CHAPTER 6
CHALLENGES AND NEGOTIATIONS OF TEACHERS IN THE WORKPLACE AND FAMILY

The question of equality between the sexes has always been a universal concern of every society. Surrounding this universal fact is associated the specific ideologies, socio-structural arrangements that vary from culture to culture, the adjustment of which is constructed within the so-called 'cultural norms' or 'values'. Due to such kings of cultural construction it is the women who are always devalued. Therefore understanding the deeper assumption of the culture and ideology is trivial to comprehend the inherent unequal status of gender leading to subordination of women by the men in a patriarchal set-up of the society. In such patriarchal structure division of work has also been gradually constructed especially in the 17th century in which men are associated with the productive activities i.e. works outside home and women are associated with the household activities i.e. rearing up the children and managing the household works resulting in clear-cut private/ public split. According to Feminist such as Sherry Ortner (1996) the social construction of the analogy of women being similar to nature and men to culture has actually resulted in actual devaluation of women.

The functionalist school has separated family from the analysis of forces and relations of production, class relations etc. According to Durkheim (1893), with the advance of society i.e. with the societal transformation from mechanical to organic solidarity there exists a specialized division of labor in which one of the sexes takes care of affective function and the other of the intellectual function. Talcott Parsons (1951) while elaborating on the functions of family argues that men were looking after external needs while women were taking care of affective needs. He further suggests that men in the family would perform the instrumental role while the women the expressive one. He feels that this division of labor is justified as these roles must be kept separate in order to avoid conflicts and tensions between the occupational structure and kinship system. Nevertheless, the functionalist has failed to show through such sexual division of labor

the question of domestic labor as the material basis of subordination of women and the pattern and the politics of relations within the family.

7.1 Patriarchy and Sexual division of labor

Patriarchy has been referred to as the main factor behind the inequality between the sexes across cultures. The meaning of the term patriarchy evolved mainly in the writings of radical feminists who treat patriarchy as tool of systemic male dominance. For radical feminists, patriarchy is a universal system of political, economic, ideological and psychological structures through which men subordinate women. Patriarchy generates sexual politics which is operated by molding personality structures in terms of sexual categories through socialization of definite role and status. Sylvia Walby defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. According to her, patriarchy is composed of six structures viz, patriarchal production relations in the household, patriarchal relations within paid work, male violence legitimized by state by refusing to intervene, patriarchal relations in sexuality and cultural institutions. She claims that these six structures have causal effects upon each other but they are relatively autonomous (Walby, 1990).

Domestic work or the family work within the home is the production values of the labor power for direct consumption by the family members. The unpaid work especially done by women at home are also associated with works which are not directly to do with the house, for instance, visiting sick relatives, giving moral support to rest of the members of the family etc. Therefore along with being productive work, domestic work is also emotional work. Hence work in the family involves practical, emotional, sexual and procreative along with productive work.

In a patriarchal society there exist a gendered division of labor in the family between the sexes which is considered to be natural and both the male and female members of the society are expected to perform their assigned roles. Of the different roles assigned to both the sexes, the role of being a mother seems integral in a woman's life. Looking after the family and rearing of the children are primarily assigned to women over any other salaried work she goes for. However, this difference between man and female which is

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seen as natural is questioned by feminists such as De Beauvoir (1953) and Oakley (1972) critically. Thus gender seems to a central of male and female experiences in a patriarchal society.

7.2 Structural Adjustment of women between State and Family vis a vis Men

Gender Equality and emancipation of women have always been the focal concerns of the state before planning for any policy initiatives. The State makes policies in this regard to bring the productive labor of women outside of the family so that women could gain equality in the family in particular and society at large thereby leading to the emancipation of women in the broader sense. Although state strives for women's empowerment by providing them to participate in outside productive labour, in reality, women's emancipation is not an easy phenomenon. To understand this phenomenon it is essential first to explain the meaning of women empowerment as perceived by the state agency as well as the scholarly experts. The third international women conference held at Nairobi in 1985 defined women empowerment as 'redistribution of social power and control of resources in favor of women'. The process of women empowerment is multidimensional which allows women to realize their full potential in all spheres of life. Empowerment is thus a process in which people acquire more influence over factors that shape their lives such as economic, political, social etc. and it tends to be primarily applied for disadvantaged groups of people to associate them towards more equal living conditions in the society. In a general sense the concept refers to empowering women to become self-dependent by providing them access to all the freedoms and opportunities which they were denied in the past because of their status being women and in a specific sense, women empowerment refers to enhancing their position in the power structure of the society (Suguna 2006:1). Nevertheless, empowerment in this context is rather a wrong perception that women win their freedom simply by seizing control in the family since because of this wrong idea or a false myth of women, lots of fruitless quarreling among husband, wife, and in-laws takes place. The lack of understanding on the relationship between raising women's position in the family and women's gradual participation in the workplace outside the family many a time brings disruption in family harmony.

The state therefore while bringing policies and initiatives for women emancipation, it more often tries to bring those opportunities by essentially not breaking their family ties. One such effort is best expressed in the education sector especially in the role of teachers. In the school teaching profession, it is seen in different studies that the number of female teachers is comparatively more than male teachers (Karlekar, 1975; Liddle and Joshi, 1986). Interestingly the number of female teachers declines as it moves from lower level of teaching to the higher level of teaching. Following the nature-culture debate, if carefully observed on the cause as to how more number of women teachers are selected in the lower classes who are to associate with teaching the small children, the role of the female as care givers comes in the front which pulls the women teachers. On the other hand, the institution of family pushes the women to select those professions which allow them to manage with their family responsibilities.

Amidst this same pull and push, in and out of the institution of family, the agency of women teachers exists. The women are also made to believe that their primary task is their household family responsibilities; their occupation is just of secondary importance only. The figure below shows the reflection of this statement as seen in my data.

Figure 7.1 : Reasons for Family's support in Teaching Profession

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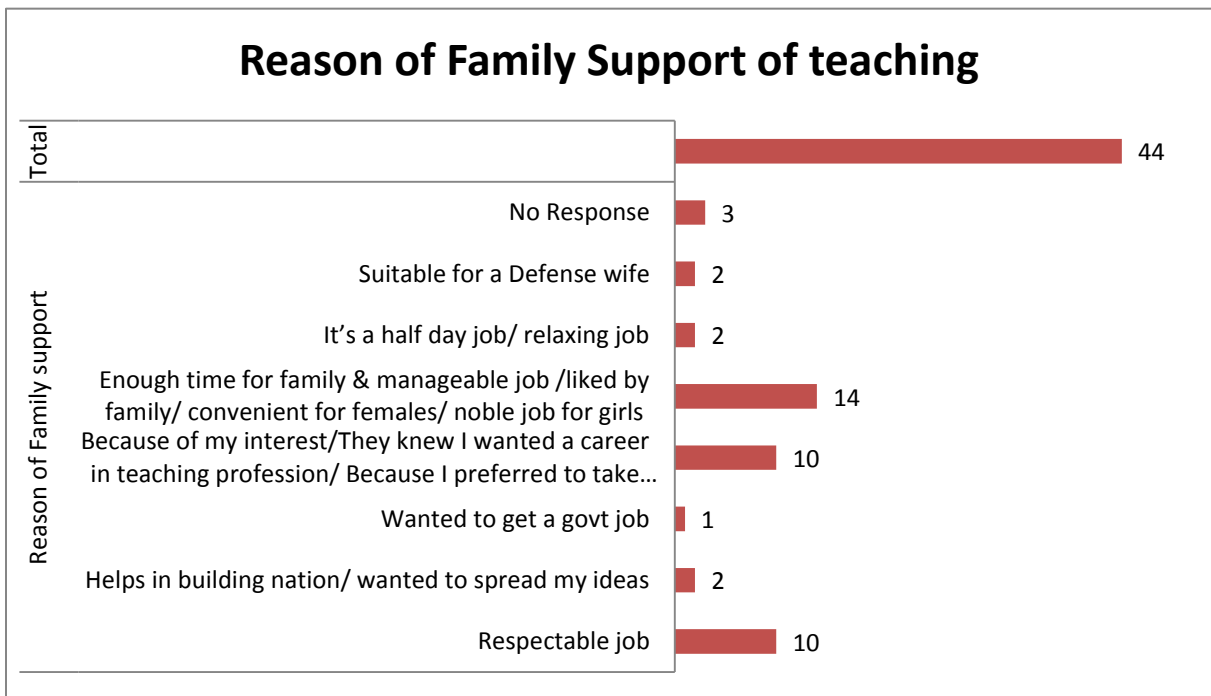
In the above figure, it is seen that out of 44 teachers (2 teachers' family did not support their teaching profession career) maximum 14 of them were supported by their family because this profession is seen by their family members as carrying a balance between family life and professional life. Interestingly 14 of them are female teachers from School A, School B and Other Private schools. For maximum 5 male teachers, the reason for their family support to their profession is the societal perception of teaching as a respectable profession.

Figure 7.2 : Reason for individually choosing Teaching profession
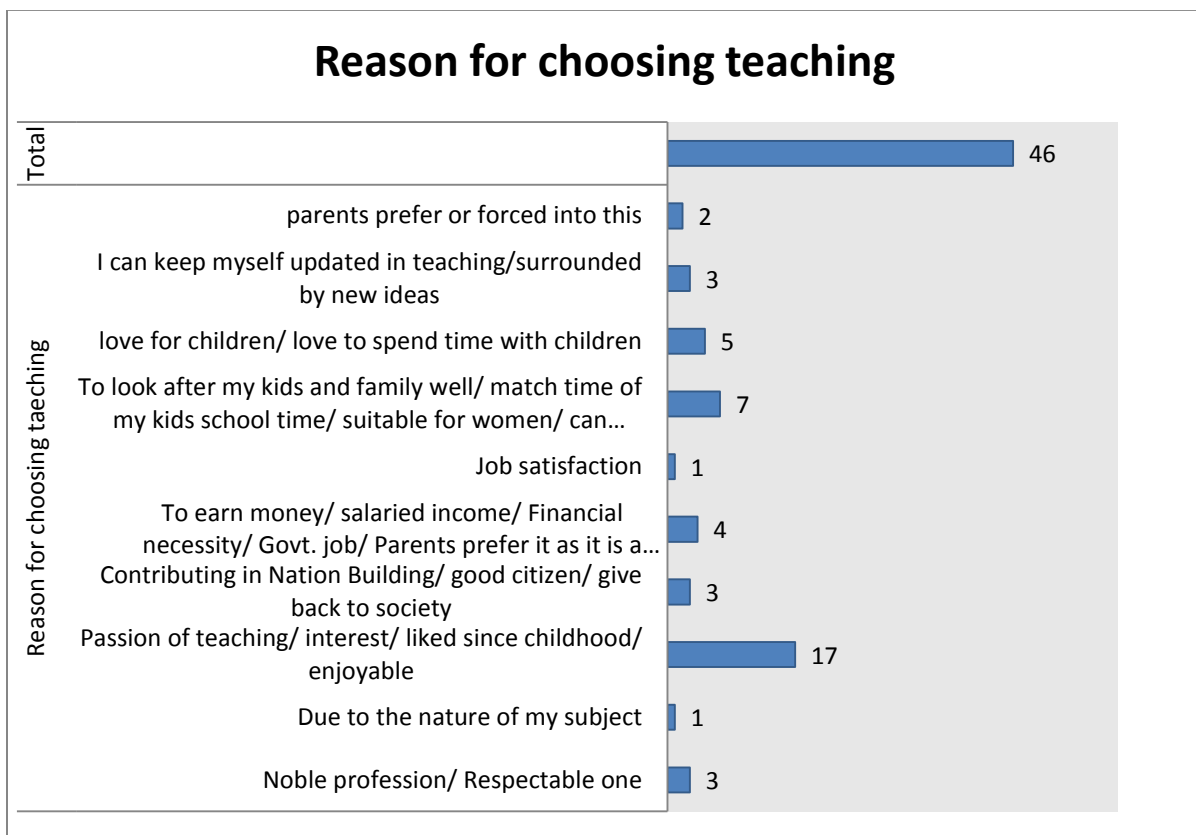
In the above figure, maximum of 17 teachers of which 14 are female teachers have stated their interest or likeness for teaching as the reason for staying in the profession. In case of maximum male teachers, twin reasons are observed for staying in the teaching profession, first their passion for teaching and second the financial necessity or being in the government job.

7.2.1 Nature of Work at the Structural level

It is observed that economic development and gains in education have increased opportunities for well-paid jobs, particularly for urban women. Today's women view themselves as equal and want to engage in all activities similar to men and therefore do not want to be labeled or associated with household work only. This distinction has changed quite remarkably as women are now active in several domains such as teaching, medicine, business, engineering etc. As the women take on the role of working professional in addition to their traditional role of the homemaker, they are under great pressure to negotiate their work and personal lives. Women professionals find it difficult to fulfill demands of the family and society and at the same time do justice to the demands of their profession at workplace where most of the familial roles are gendered. Men still tend to hold the power positions, but this is slowly changing. Shah (1989), says that "the male members have right of ownership and inheritance, while the female members have only right to maintenance". Despite women's entry into the labor force they continue to do most of the household chores. "All Indian women were expected to aspire to the position of middle-class stature, where she could be an educated career woman but whose primary role remains that of a mother, wife and daughter" (Sarkar and Sarkar, 2008).

Thus any profession or work that a woman decides to take is essentially associated with her family life and responsibilities. This is because it is primarily the women who need to carry out all the 'domestic obligations'. Childcare obligation of young mothers is one of the primary concerns in this respect. Therefore choosing on a profession becomes more crucial in a woman's life especially in post-marriage period. Many a time (though not necessarily) women shifts to another profession just to fulfill her family responsibilities. This is especially significant in the context of those women who take up school teaching as a career. Balancing work and family is seen as an immense challenge especially for women and hence work-family negotiation has become again as emerging issue of research in the 21st century. Amartya Sen in his *Argumentative Indian* has beautifully revealed that unequal sharing of household chores is still a part of Indian family tradition where women are primarily responsible for looking after the home, the children,

managing the household and the preparation of food. It is therefore still common in many societies that women are acceptable to work outside the home if and only if they can also engage with their inescapable and unequally shared household duties.

7.2.2 Nature of Work at the Form level

The present chapter emphasizes on the challenges that the school teachers face in the changing scenario of teaching profession especially after the introduction of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) in the schools. Since CCE evaluation pattern covers all the developmental aspects of the students with two-fold objectives : continuity in evaluation and assessment of broad based learning and behavioural outcomes, it involves regularity of assessment, frequency of unit testing, diagnosis of learning gaps, use of corrective measures, retesting and feedback of evidence to teachers and students for their self- evaluation to fulfill the first objective and covering both the scholastic and the co-scholastic aspects of the students' growth and development to fulfill the second objective. Since abilities, attitudes and aptitudes can manifest themselves in forms other than the written word, the teacher needs to apply variety of tools and techniques (both testing and non-testing) for assessing a learner's development in areas of learning, like - Knowledge, Understanding, Applying, Analyzing, Evaluating, Creating. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the Scholastic aspects comprise curricular areas or subject specific areas, whereas Co-Scholastic aspects contain Life Skills, Co-Curricular Activities, Attitudes and Values.

Nowadays school teaching profession is no more associated with the so-called 'relaxing' and 'easy-going' profession. CCE has made teaching more challenging in the sense that now teachers have to engage with more paper works along with the so-called 'teaching'. There are always some clerical works which teachers some way or the other have to take on and many a time engaging with these paper works such as maintaining the daily diary, preparing the lesson plan in advance and to be forwarded by the principal, preparing softcopy of the marks/grades of each student of each test (FA1,FA2,SA1,SA2 etc.) for record by the teacher concerned for all the classes she/he teaches, maintaining the record of all the other activities conducted by the teacher concerned etc. have actually reduced teaching to the level of secondary concern only. The nature of such system often makes

teachers carry lots of paper works at home which makes it difficult especially for women teachers to draw a line between their personal family life and professional working life.

It seems more fascinating when comes the question of a teacher's own career in terms of her promotion that reveal her position per se and the very profession itself in general. Whether from government school or public school mostly married women teachers are seen negotiating with her everyday life and career in many diverse ways. At the same time, women are not considered at per the male earners of the household. In other words, there is a general perception (as seen in my data) that women are the additional earners of the family, they are not seen as the main or even as the equal contributor in the financial need of the household. It is also shocking to see (found in my data and as revealed by a female private school teacher) that many a time the earnings of women are spent on luxurious expenditure and not for the essential items of the household because the expenditure of the latter is carried out from the husband's income. This also shows as to how the patriarchal mindset flows through such activities.

7.3 Family Life Style of Teachers: A Brief Overview

In this section the life style of the teaachers are detailed in their own words through their narratives. It gives an overview of the present day school teachers' life style, their dailky work routine which constitutes a part of their profession.

Pooja Sharma, 37 narrates,

> I start my day at 4 in the morning and when I reach home it is around 3.30 and then I have my food and then I want to lie down for 10 minutes or some more times because I need that. There are so many things to be taken care of. I have to take care of my father-in-law as he is undergoing chemos. He is diagnosed with Cancer and his stage is a quite critical 4th stage. He has lived with us. And I lost my mother-in-law 7 years back. There is nobody to look after him. So I have to take him for chemotherapy often. Then I have to look after the children also; they have so many queries also. My son is in Class VIII and daughter in Class III. Their grievances also have to be taken care of. Even if I have somebody to work for me it is after all my home. If I am not interested nobody is interested. If I am not interested in the next day menu the maid will do whatever she

wants. So I have to plan the menus or have to see what is being cooked. Although these are minor things, all these have to be taken care off.

Akansha, DPS, explains,

My Day starts at 5 or 5.30 for everybody. Then go to school and come back very tired by 3 or 3.30. Then you need some rest because you have been running and running throughout the time. 7 hours you have been running. After you rest you have to give some time to your home also. I have part-time maids. At around 11.30 or 12 I go to bed. I finish my dinner by 9.30 or 10. After Dinner is the right time to work for school. Because then everybody is free.

Anjali Nayak, 39, DPS narrates,

I get up in the morning at around 5 or quarter to 5. Then I cook launch boxes, Tiffin for my husband also. My husband is a businessman and he goes to Nehru Place. He goes out at 10 and be there out till around 7 in the evening. Children only take banana and milk while going. But I prepare three launch boxes. Mine one I packed at night only. I take *sabji* and *roti*, children do not take that. They want Burger or (with a smile on her face) something fascinating. So I make their tiffin boxes and my husband's tiffin is made which is *dal*. I have to cook *dal* every day in the morning, *taza dal*. That's it.

It's a hectic schedule. I have to leave at 7 o' clock in the morning because you have to reach school by 7.30 am. In kitchen I take around 1 hour 20 minutes. I have to basically cook *dal* only for my husband. But it is not just *dal*, but also packing of the *dal*. Then my husband likes coffee. I prepare coffee also for him. That's how it takes me around 1½ hours. I have to pack launch before the maid comes. Maid is there, she comes once in the morning at around 9.30 am. She has to come from other houses also. So she takes her time as she works somewhere else also. She makes *sabji* for launch, *roti* etc. I don't have to cook after I come back from school. *Dal* was already cooked by me in the morning, *Sabji* is also already cooked by her. Another type of *sabji* she cooks for the dinner also. Some days in between she cooks chicken also. Anything very special she does not know, of course, then I have to take over. *Dal* in both the time is cooked fresh which I cook. I go to bed around 11.30 or 12 at night.

The weekend I deal. Though maid comes, my father-in-law has a very different taste. She cooks for him. But him it is always a different vegetable because he needs very

special food. So she always ends up making 3/4 vegetables, two for us and two for my father-in-law. We pay her around 3000 per month. She takes lots of holidays also, around 6 to 8 holidays per month on different grounds. Now we have stopped asking her and also stopped paying her for those days. For twice it is allowed, beyond twice we cut the salary.

Sukanya Suman KV, 50 also narrated as to how she has to manage her school works with her familial responsibility aptly as a single mother. Her spouse died 10 years back and since then he is rearing up her two daughters single handedly. She also reveals that she has to conduct private tuitions (she teaches English till class 10th standard) for maintaining a smooth livelihood and giving her best to her children. At the same she also reveals that he takes tuition for free for those who are poor children and are not capable of paying fees. She allows to sit these children in any of the groups looking at the size of the tuition class. She is very much concerned about the financial stability of her family as she knows that she is the only earning source in the family to fulfill all the requirements of her family. She aspires to educate her elder daughter abroad as her elder daughter is very much interested to pursue higher studies from abroad. She thus has to take wholesome responsibility of her family.

From the above narratives one thing is evident that school teachers are early risers and not later sleepers. The nature of their profession demands such a sleeping habit of teachers as along with school tasks they have to equally keep an eye on their domestic chores. They thus manage beautifully their personal life with their professional career.

7.4 Views on the Work-Life in Teaching: Voices from the Teachers

In this section, the work life in the teaching profession is depicted through the voices of the teachers in their own words. The sense of the profession can be best comprehended in the narratives made by the teachers who are there in the profession since the very beginning and also by the teachers who have shifted to teaching from other professions.

7.4.1 Voices of the Teachers who have been in Teaching Profession since the beginning

As already detailed, 36 out of 46 teachers in my study have been in teaching since the beginning of their career. The narratives of a few of those are enumerated below.

Pooja Sharma, 37 teaching in the School B said,

> Once you go home, there are so much to be done at home. There is also planning for the next day. And of course, your relationships take a bad shape. My husband says, "I have become your last priority". I don't have actually any time left. At the end, your relationship with your spouse suffers. I am a snail in fact as far as these corrections are other works are concerned. I am very slow, so I carry things at home something or the other. And when nobody is around I do these school works or sometimes in late nights. But normally I go to bed early because I believe in starting my day early. I don't mind getting up early but I want to end my day early. I try to go for bed around 9.30 at night. I need that 6 hours of sleep. Otherwise, I will not be able to give 100% to the school. After getting up early in the morning I do my reading tasks. For example, I am doing Julius Cesaer in Class X standard. Though I have taught it earlier also but Shakespeare is such a wider that every time you read you discover something new as a teacher also. As I want to share as much as possible so I keep on brushing things as much as possible. Whatever I have to do I do it early in the morning. It may be for 20/25 minutes but definitely, something relating to my lessons to be taught I do in the morning. I told my husband that this is the problem so I need to keep a maid. I am also aging and I am not a young girl of 20/25 years. And I have two kids also to be taken care of. Now he understands that I have other things also. Though I try to cover up that also by making a cake or by giving them Aloo parathas on Sundays, and the breakfast is entirely my baby. I take care of it. I prepare everybody's breakfast. Lunch and Dinner are taken care of by maid.

Akansha, 40 from Private School 3, feels,

> When I joined teaching, at that time I was very young. So you follow your parents' advice. Parents are the ones who kind of shape your future. If my parents would have asked me to study further, may be I would have studied further. But personally, also I was tired of 5 years of French at a stretch. I also wanted a break. So I began teaching.

After 1 year of teaching, I got married. Then it just goes on and on and on. The break does not come after that. My parents mainly my father thought that time that it was a very reputed job for girls because they get family time also. I also liked interacting with the children, I liked teaching gradually.

But for 10 years teaching became difficult school teaching is no more teaching. There are lots of administrative duties, so it has not been at all easy. People think that teaching profession is very easy, but according to me, it is a very difficult profession especially in the school, not even in the universities. In the university set up, registration and other administrative tasks are done by the office, centre office is there. But what are the teachers' duties? They are coming, teaching and going.

A school teacher has to take care of the discipline, her class, if a class teacher then class responsibility, the decoration of the class, the discipline of the class, the behavior or the misbehavior of the children she has to report, she is under an authority whoever she reports to. All administrative and clerical purposes are also done by the teacher for 40 students in her class. Earlier the fee collection or other money collection for some competitions or some events or photographs of the children everything the teacher will do. So it is a lot of work apart from teaching. You have 35/40 minutes in a class. Will you teach or do all of these. So slowly and slowly, of course, this was less. With the coming up of the pay commission, the perspective of the authorities have changes that they have to give teachers more work, make them stay back for teaching, for doing something, so on and so forth.

Especially after 2009 CCE has been introduced, the lives of the teachers have been horrible. So there is no way that I in my conscious mind school teaching to anyone in my life. Because I had gone through the phase which was little easier, I have gone through the phases which it started becoming little difficult and I am teaching in CCE phase also. I will not recommend school teaching to anyone. As a profession, if you like teaching do it, enjoy it for sometimes. Yes, If there is a financial need in the family then take up this profession. If the love for children is much more than anything then you take up this profession. But remember never do have any dissolutions that teaching will give you time at home. No time at home.

People say that teachers should read and bring new changes and developments it is a bull sheet. Nobody has time. Really I am telling you. I don't know how many of

teachers you are interviewing and their perspectives. But I wonder if anyone of them gets time at their house for reading. Even the newspapers you can't read sometimes. We don't have time even for the newspaper. Forget reading a book or something. Summer holidays have also been reduced. Earlier it used to be for 2 months. Then 1 and half months. Now it is barely 1 month. This is because of the pay commission. When we were children it used to be for 2 months. when I joined it became 1 and half months. I remember some times back it used to be 1 month and 2 or 3 weeks. But now it is not more than 1 month and 1-week maximum. Sometimes ven less than a month. And the school has the authority to call you in the holidays also. There is this competitive examination, this and that. I have heard that govt. schools are equally bad in this sense.

When I was in R K Puram one teacher left this private school to go to a government school because there was no pressure of work in government schools at that time. At that time govt. schools let the teachers do whatever they want. I have also heard that "*log matter kharid ke school mei chilte hai, sweeter bunte hai*" But in private schools, we can't even open the cap of the bottle to drink water from 7.30 to 2.30 sometimes. I am not joking. No time at all. You are just running from one class to another just for collecting copies. There are Monday tests. So you have to distribute the copies also. If you don't distribute, parents will come. If the syllabus is not completed parents will come and complain. Sometimes I open my bottle in the bus at 2 o' clock. Now I can drink water. It is so bad.

In the off periods there are corrections; sometimes the principal calls you for a meeting. This or that always. There are lots of meetings as a class teacher, as HOD, as subject teachers, as a class teacher of class X, so many things. This is subject to all subject teachers. Foreign languages have a dual loss I would say. We are working for the school. Because we are foreign language teachers embassy needs us to promote that exam and train the children. Embassy organizes workshops so we are to take the workshops sometimes and sometimes only attend the workshops. So it is not the only school but lots of roles for embassy also. So you are involved in the embassy for teaching, for learning for progress, the embassy will send you scholarships if you are more active. They send a teacher to French, to Germany for workshops. I have been in such workshops for 2 times which was related to the teaching of a foreign language. They have their courses in workshops.

Prabin Kaushik, 42, KV teacher says,

> I look after my children's studies at home. They are in DAV public school. I manage to give time with my brother also, find time for works related to my wife. When you enjoy works you will not find it as a burden. If you feel it as a burden then it definitely becomes burdensome. I enjoy these things. And in the school, I learn students' psychology after meeting them directly or after meeting with their parents. I make it sure that these problems should not come with my kids.

> Nowadays evaluation work is going on in the school that cannot be completed even after you leave the school. You have to carry out. Many a time you have to face the problems when children have their exams. So I have to give time to that work also. Once their exams are over again I will give time to this unfinished work. You have to basically manage at what time what work to do. At this time I am not focusing on this evaluation work at home. Although I am taking this work at home, it is not possible. I am just taking the things in the bag, but actually not doing the work. I am focusing whatsoever is important right now i.e. my children's exam. After the 4/5/7/8 days I will be free from their side, then I will shift here. Once their exam is over I will give 100% to this unfinished work. Then this work will also be completed. This is part of the planning as to how you are deciding what to do. Everywhere management is required.

Anjali Nayak, 43, teaching in private school 3 (one of the DPS) seems very passionate about teaching in spite of much work in the profession. She mentions that love for children is the main reason for her to be in the school teaching profession. In her words,

> Teaching is all about bringing newness to your profession. If you expect the children to pay attention to your teaching, you should not be continuing in the same way, else teaching becomes monotonous. DPS in this sense gives lots of freedom to the teachers the way they want to teach. They just say that we want results, whatever way you want to do, that's yours.

> Being a foreign language teacher when I started teaching this year, I thought that I would not introduce poems because I am getting the feel that poems are becoming boring to the children. Instead, I introduced songs because language can very well be learned through songs. Songs add glamour to the language. After I introduced this in my class, it has got such a beautiful response from the children. We started our classes

with a song. I had given them two songs and said, 'let's master over one, then we will master the other one. Then I will give you the third one.' After that the moment I used to enter the classroom after saying good morning, everyone says, 'Ma'am…song song' and then I just start singing a song and they join me. And the regular noise of the classroom converts into a productive sound. That strategy can also be thought off.

All Departments in our school have their HODs. Once in a week, we have Departmental Meeting where we all discuss our various strategies and finally the HOD finalize that 'I like this one'. Teachers can go with this, of course with some flexibilities because every teacher has their own way of teaching. So I discussed my strategy with the HOD that I am doing in my class which is really working well. If the HOD will like it she will pass on to other teachers and ask them to try because there is no harm in trying new things which can make teaching-learning interesting.

After I come back from school, I have lunch and then teach my little one because the elder one is on her own. She is big enough. After teaching him I leave the house at 5 or 5.30 pm for some activity classes or the other. Then I go back home and go again to the kitchen. The maid is there, but she comes once only in the morning. My children don't or my husband does not like everything she cooks. For instance, my husband does not like the way she cooks *dal*. No matter how many times you tell her she still makes it in her style. So *dal* is something I cook of my own. And Fridays and Saturdays are to be special days for the children, you know. Friday night is a weekend time, Saturday is a holiday. So they don't want *dal*, *roti*, *sabji*. They want pasta, pizza or something. Then again, I make. *Sabko aate h ye banana* (everyone knows these staffs to make), so its ok, not sort of big deal (again with a sweet smile on her face). At around 9.30 or 10 o'clock at least my younger one goes to sleep.

Then I start doing my school work. After 10 o' clock definitely I sit for these works such as preparing question papers etc. I avoid doing correction at home as I cannot these at home, find a little difficulty in that. So I try to finish it in school. But something or the other is always left for home. For instance, to reply to some emails, to reply on different competitions held in the school because there are various organizations which keep conducting competitions in French, to update CCE booklets and lots of other such works. That work only begins after my children go to sleep. Before that it is not possible only. So it goes on till around 11.30 and it depends. Sometimes it goes till 12

also. But I could not work beyond 1½ to 2 hours because I start getting sleepy after that. I have to go for sleep now. I can't help it because I don't get sleep in the daytime. But mostly it becomes 12 when I go for bed.

The above narratives show that there is a gap between gender lines in so far as work life of the teachers is concerned. The male teachers have to basically focus on their professional work that is school work whereas the female teachers have to devote equally on both professional and domestic fronts.

7.4.2 Voices of the Teachers who shifted to Teaching from other professions

It is also mentioned earlier that 10 out of 46 teachers in my study have shifted to teaching from some other professions. The reasons as to why they have shifted to teaching and not to any other professions seem interesting to investigate here. A few of their narratives are given below.

Arunima Banerjee, 50 from School B narrates,

> I used to do management jobs before. Then after my marriage, I had to switch. After two years of marriage also I was in that job. Then I had children and all and then I joined a school. After my daughter was born I taught in a school for a year. I switched to teaching because at that time doing a job and rearing up the child simultaneously was very difficult. I was aware that my husband was an engineer, so I did MBA also; because I knew that he might be posted anywhere. So soon after my MA, I did not do B.Ed. I did my management before doing my Master Degree. Actually, I did my Master and MBA at the same time. So I got the offer soon after I did MBA. I was working in the corporate sector. After two years of marriage also I was still working. Then I realized that I had to switch back because I was pregnant and could not do it.

> Then what I did, during that time only I did my B.Ed from Calcutta University in 1995. That was my pregnancy, my daughter and all those time brought me to B.Ed. Nobody advised me for doing B.Ed. But I had this in my mind that my husband might be transferred and I had to follow and go, then I cannot keep on continuing my corporate job. Combing the responsibility of Rearing up a child, going out for the job; my in-laws and my mother all were worried also. Then I was also worried that I might have to move anytime. So it is not possible for me. But I wanted to do a career. So I had

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immediately in my mind that an alternative to this is B.Ed. because I am still here. My in-laws and my mother were all there. They can take care of my daughter. So let me do it. And my cousins were also very very active. They also encouraged me to do it. That time teaching means you will come back by launch. Corporate job is from 9 to 6 and I used to come back by 7.30 or 8. Keeping this time perspective also in mind I decided to change my profession.

Jaydeep Bhalla, 26, teaching in school B says,

Earlier I was an Engineer. I left my job to follow my passion for teaching. Earlier also I taught for 1½ years in a private institute and also at my Home. Then I applied for French here. So initially I was teaching French. But today my 1 year is completed. I joined in the last year in December 2015. Now the school authority has given me Science (Physics part) also and so I teach two subjects now. These two subjects are different and so I have to teach them two different teaching strategies. When I teach French I teach in a very friendly manner because that is a language. And Physics means you have to use your logical part of the mind. So I have to teach in a very different manner which changes my personality a lot because if I become friendly with them they will not study. So I have to be very very firm and strict. So I follow sometimes strict, sometimes ok ok type and sometimes friendly teaching strategy as per the requirement of the situation. In French, I have 20 students in one class and in another class I have 18 students. In Physics class I have around 40/45 students. I have 4 sections of Physics, in each average 40 students are there.

The reason for which I am passionate about teaching is that I am practicing Buddhism though I am a Hindu on paper. Like any Buddhist follower's mission is whether you will land in that place. As a follower of Buddhism, I have no problem if students shout in the class or whatever they do because I hardly get much angry. I never beat children. Very very rare it is in fact; when you need to show your authority then only you have to adhere to it.

I am working here as a temporary teacher, permanent they make only after so many years. This is my first school. Earlier I was teaching Maths and Science in an institute. After leaving that job I did that French course. I had no problem as such with my previous job. I used to just cram that so much of work, so much of stress. It was a normal job. The people were good, the company was excellent. The pay was also good.

No problem was there. But still (with a pause) I don't know….may be I have inclined towards this (teaching) profession. So I used to cram in my previous job as to why I am doing this work. Though I used to do my work nicely I used to cram also at the same time why I am doing this, so much of work to do. So I didn't like that and I left that job. I was teaching one/two students at that time when I was doing my earlier job also.

Gagan Singh, 54,from School A describes,

As far as my journey in teaching is concerned I started with temporary teaching first in a KV in Ghaziabad in 1984 for 3 months on ad hoc basis. Then I joined UP Government Group 1 officer service what I got selected through merit and interview-based competitive examination. I was there in that service for some 11/12 months. I did not like the corrupt practices in the system. This has influenced me to go back to teaching and from then onwards I never ever wished to go back to any other profession.

Aashish Kumar, 38, from the private school 6 narrates,

I taught in this school since 2009. Before this school, I used to teach in my village also for 3/4 years. I belong to Bihar. I have been in teaching since 1997 in total till 2015. In 2015 I got in the Railway sector which is a government job. But if I get the opportunity to teach still I teach children. So I am not away from teaching 100% now also. I teach Maths and Science. I completed my B.Ed in 2012-13 from Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak. I did B.Ed quite late just to follow the norms of the school so that at least you have the professional qualification.

As to how I came to teaching profession has a family history. Actually, my uncle was in the teaching profession. Uncle had so many tuition classes. He could not handle all the classes alone. So as soon as I cleared my 12th in 1994 my uncle started giving me 2/3 classes from his tuition. Because of Uncle's profession, I used to get a chance in teaching. After that, I started getting classes in between continuously. In Bihar most of the families expect the educated people to be associated with the teaching profession so that they can continuously engage with the study purpose. Otherwise, after 12th people start searching so many jobs and in the job market not many choices are there. We were expected to continue in teaching because of the simple reason that our gathered knowledge should not reduce with times.

Ankita Banerjee, 52, private school teacher4, explains,

> I have been in teaching profession since 17 years. Before DPS I taught in the Army School of Gorakhpur. Since 2003 I have been teaching in DPS. I teach English. When I joined the Army school it was my first experience as a profession. After I got married, I came back. For a very short period, I also joined a Publishing House. But I find that job little difficult because it was a 9 to 5 job and I could not take care of my family with this schedule. So I left that job and got through the profession of teaching again. So Time factor is one reason and secondly, I also like interacting with children. Teaching was there in my family also. My father was a teacher. So somehow I also got influenced towards this profession finally or you can say I was inspired by my father's profession.
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> Those days when I was teaching in the Army school I really liked it. But as days over the years passing by somehow I feel that I am not interested in my work because of so many other works and other pressures. Nowadays teaching is not just about imparting instructions to the students, it is much more than that. Other allied works are in fact more than the teaching work. In fact, we realize that we are not able to concentrate more on teaching. Earlier academic teaching was more result oriented. Now the result is glamour for the school. So somewhere we don't feel satisfied.

The narratives of the above few cases show that the problems associated with their previous professions have attracted them to take up teaching as their alternative profession. But one aspect is certain in all the above narratives that they were not willing to move to any other profession as they have found the sense of life fulfillment now with teaching which make them passionate to teach. Teaching in that sense has become a sense of vocation for these teachers.

7.5 Working Environment of Schools

Work-Environment plays a vital role in any professional setup. A healthy working environment is expected by everyone who works for salary. It is said that a healthy mind can result in better productivity. Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers enumerates that "Working conditions for teachers should be such as will best promote effective learning and enable teachers to concentrate on their professional tasks"

(UNESCO, 1966). The narratives of a few teachers would reveal the work environment under which teachers are working nowadays.

Anjali Nayak, 39, from private school 3 opines,

> As far as politics is concerned, that's everywhere. Some teachers are there to please the HOD only. There is another one in our Department who does not get well with us, God knows why!! So keeps on finding faults on our question papers and carries it to the HOD. But our Departmental HOD is very wise. She generally does not get trapped by any teachers' words. In that way, she is very wise.

Pooja Shama, 37 from School B says,

> I think politics is there. But I don't get involved in it. Things keep on happening. I just get busy with my own works. These days lots of politics are going on in the school. I have never become a part of it. I do my work and come back. And this is what I like. It depends on you whether you don't want the glass half full or half empty. I just want to see that the glass is half full.

> I think senior teachers should be magnanimous, generous to the junior teachers. Because we all have started from somewhere and we should not forget that. Instead of criticizing somebody it would be really nice if they share their experiences with them or guide them provided the other person is also ready to learn. But I have seen lots of criticisms by the senior teachers, "*ye toh aise hai, wese hai. Ye sab karte rehte hai.*" Instead of criticizing, the teachers should be generous to each other.

She also commented on the harassment she faced in one of her previous schools she taught. In her words,

> I have worked in KV for a year in West Bengal when my husband was posted there because there was not much option around. I as a teacher, felt sexual harassment through some verbal comments. One of my colleagues were there and he used to harass me through his comment. It was his birthday and I wished him, "Happy Birthday Sir". He instantly replied, "wish me a good happy night too." Once I was sitting in a classroom and correcting papers and he came to my room singing a song "*Ring badan able badan like that*" and I had to report to the principal. There were girls also reporting against this teacher and once such an episode came into limelight that only gave me the

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courage to report to the principal. Comments like "ma'am you are looking very beautiful" were very common. You don't you talk about my work? why are you talking about the looks? After the report went to the principal she too action and after that it stopped. The principal threatened to report in the police. This is one reason that keeps discouraging me to join in the govt. school.

Akansha, 40, from private school 3 narrates,

There is no Teachers Association in private schools because it is not considered positive. In DPS Mathura there is Teachers Association, but not in our school. We have staff representatives but it is not very easy to voice the opinions of the staffs to the authorities because the authorities do not like it. Grievances of the teachers are very personal. With everyone it is different. So it is not easy. You have to sort out the problems at your personal level only and there is no association. Nobody even thinks of forming an association because there are so much politics involved that if you start talking about these report will reach to the higher authorities. So it is not feasible. In every human organization, there is politics. Favoritism is one of that. Preferential treatment is the same.

Favoritism and Preferential treatment always happen from the school not amongst us. Relationships between the teachers are very personal. It depends on how you are. But there are people who are very difficult to get along with. There are all types of people. You should remember that when you going to work, your work will come back. Otherwise, people are nice who have friends or like-minded people. But you have to find. Sometimes when things cross a limit then you can go to the authority (principal). If the authority judges to intervene they can otherwise they can say ok fine. I can't do much about it. So in that, I can gently tell the other person. Vice Principal is supposed to be more active and close to the staff, but in our school, the principal is more active.

Prabin Kaushik, 42 from School A narrates,

I have seen politics going on in the school also in many of my previous schools where I worked. Such politics resolves around the issues such as to go inside the office of the principal and aggravate him against other teachers which I have seen in some schools. Some principals run the school administration with some selected teachers of his choice only while some others go along with all the teachers of the school. In most cases, I

have observed that the principals use their own mind as well after listening to such things. It remains in his/her mind somehow that I am in the topmost position of the school and I should not do wrong to others which is applicable to 92-95%. But 5% you cannot say who do not use their sense of mind and gets aggravated on listening from others. This is also gradually decreasing as importance has been given to competition nowadays for the post of principal instead of promoting on a seniority basis. Those who come through competition, definitely the sense of mind would be present in them. They might scold sometimes but that is momentary only to maintain the discipline. If a person becomes biased being on that post definitely that person cannot become a good administrator.

Commenting on the views of the teachers and specifically experience of working with different principals, Kaushik, further shares his experiences with private school principals he previously worked with:

It is a human nature that every principal works differently because the work style of every individual is different. I have met such principals also who wants to create terror and fear among the teachers. I have seen 12/13 principals in my life. Some principals just close their rooms so that others could not enter and creates such terror so that fewer teachers could approach them and disturb them less so as to run the smooth administration of the school. Some principals were very flexible also who used to ask other teachers also of their opinions. Some principals wanted the teachers to sit and work with them. Generally, those teachers who take interest in working are given more works. And in the process, those who are less capable of doing works are ignored at times. Sometimes some principals used to ignore those teachers also who create unnecessary tensions through unnecessary complaints. Such problem creators also revolve around the issues such as asking proofs for every act of his conduct he is asked for, asking for that amount of money in the seminar for which they have not had food for which there is no provision. Thus these segments of teachers do nothing but create administrative hurdles by making two groups fight among themselves.

As far as the gendered notion of the Principal is concerned, the Female principals I met were much egoistic. When I was working in the private school in the initial years of my teaching the principal was a female. I was a new teacher at that time. The home in Bihar to reach used to take around 48 hours. So I used to plan before to go for home during

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vacations and used to take the tickets beforehand. If the principal assigns some work during vacations as well just because you are a new teacher this hurts. Generally, it is assumed that new teacher does not know much about the school regulations and so it is easy to dominate them. So the principal wanted me to send in some sort of study training at that time when my wife was pregnant and there was a problem at home. I even gave in writing to the Principal in advance that I might go for leave because of this family issue. I realized thereafter that it will not work peacefully and I have to show my aggravations. The principal reacted very badly on my oppose but I did not care much. In spite of giving in writing my problem, if she wants me to send for training and that too during vacations I felt this was not okay.

She used to give me a lot of works in the working hours too. Many a time I used to work till 5/ 6 pm also in the school. I requested the authority to give me relaxations for half an hour or an hour on those days when I needed to go home. Many principals understood that easily also that a teacher who works so much for the school and asks to go early on some days that request can be accepted. To accept the request of such sorts for just 2/3 days is not a big one when the teacher works hard for the rest of the days in the month. But the lady Principal did not understand that and she did not want to compromise with the schedule of the school at all. She also used to talk very rudely to the teachers.

Otherwise the other principals I met used to maintain a cordial and understanding relation with the teachers. We don't want any rewards from the principals for the non-teaching works we do in the school. We just expect a minimum level of understanding from the principal. And with most of the male Principals, I have observed that their understanding is better. They do not give much importance to the unnecessary issues and emphasis more on the things that need attention. Although I am not a gender-biased person but being an administrator I have observed from my experiences that male principals are better in so far as understanding level with the other teachers is concerned. There were also male principals who got angry at those teachers who keep standing and talking on the floor or do not perform their works efficiently. There are ego problems with male principals also but comparatively less than female principals. In short, the role of an administrator matters a lot.

Thus these narratives describe the working conditions in which teachers work in schools.

7.6. Professional and Personal life of School Teachers: Challenges and Negotiations

While talking about various challenges and negotiations of school teachers from government and public schools it is important to look at the management in their professional and personal life. It is found in the field that generally different tasks are allotted to different teachers based on their competency and here being a senior or a junior teacher is not placed as essential criteria. Generally, those teachers who are responsible for their works are given more important tasks. Due to CCE pattern, each subject teacher has to conduct some activities or the other along with normal classroom teaching. It adds extra works to their profession. Many a time they have to bring much paper works at home which they could not complete at home. In such situation, it becomes difficult to demarcate the line between their personal and professional life. And sometimes professional life rules their personal life. This situation also comes when teachers have to meet some deadlines regarding some work. And as such, they have to sacrifice time from their personal life. Nevertheless, teachers do try to their best to complete most of their works in the school itself so that they can engage with their family or other household chores in their non-school hours. As a researcher, I could also observe that the teachers use to be busy always in some work or the other. Although there are free periods in the routine practically they are always busy in works such as checking notebooks, preparing question papers for the next test, making entry of the previous test of each student, preparing students for some activities, discipline duty etc. As a researcher also it was so difficult for me to find time to talk to them as they are so busy with different sorts of works.

7.7 Challenges and Negotiations of Female Teachers

"Work-family" is complicated as along with professional work negotiations with the family are also important because there is bonding between husband-wife and mother-child which makes negotiations of roles mandatory and complex. With the growing economy in India from the 1970s, the Indian family has undergone rapid and enduring change, and more women have entered the workforce especially in urban India which might result in the assumption that the expectations of motherhood and wifeliness have shifted. Desai argues that while employment for women increased rapidly in the 1970s

outside the home, there was little change at home management. The division of roles between husband and wife are culturally conditioned and socially gendered. There is a strong construct of masculinity and feminity inculcated as a result of a patriarchal system of society. "Motherhood as per traditional patriarchal definition is a nature and role of the mother which is associated with reproduction and nurturing the children. The assumption is that she stays at home and cares for her family, produce sons and obey her husband. She is assumed to take these duties willingly and enjoy them and should believe that motherhood is her nature or faith as the society always expects from her. She should not complain and should love her duty and position. It is only with motherhood that she comes into her own as a woman, can make a place for herself in the family, in the community and in this lifecycle" (Kakar 1981: 82). In this context it is crucial to understand in research the challenges faced by working women in their strategies to negotiate personal & professional aspirations because women's traditional family burdens necessarily create pressures to adjust outside work to family work and their accepted primary social identity as wife and mother helps perpetuate traditional attitudes concerning women's inferiority as workers in social production and make women a flexible labour force. At the same time, women find themselves bearing a heavy double burden.

7.7.1 At Professional Level

Compromising with the promotion level is yet another area where women teachers in the government KV school use to negotiate with their family life. Especially the TGT teachers are not willing to apply for PGT post because at the PGT level their seniority is accounted faster than TGT and are most likely to be transferred very fast at any place of the country. To avoid transfer they negotiate with their promotion policy. Similarly, in the private school too I talked to a good number of teachers who either taught in government school or served in the administrative post in different places, but left their jobs because their husbands are in defense sector which is a transferable occupation and these female teachers can easily join a private school whenever their husbands go which is not possible in case they teach in a government school. It is also found in my field that a female teacher is quite happy working as a part-time teacher in the private school

because she has a six months old baby and it becomes difficult for her to stay maximum hours in school, hence part-time teaching is preferred by the teacher to look after her baby and the family. Thus we can see as to how women school teachers whether from government or private school use to negotiate and face different challenges differently depending on different situations of her work-family life.

Divya Bharti, 32, from School A (KV teacher) explains,

> KV teachers have to perform many clerical works including the fee deposits tasks of each student. The private schools at least are better in this sense that they have special clerical assistance to take the fee deposits of the students. Teaching profession becomes interesting only when a teacher is asked to teach and we as teachers enjoy teaching and not other clerical works. Lots of paper works create serious disturbances in teaching.

Anjali Nayak, 43 from private school 3 significantly underlies,

> "I don't want to grow professionally. I am not ambitious. For me, it won't matter. Even in the present school many times my Senior Mistress, my Principal herself called me up to ask me if I would like to take up the representative responsibility for my class called 'Repship'. But I always refused because I don't want to go to administration. My world is my children. It is only limited to the children. So in that case even if I go to government school it will again be for teaching the children over there, not for my professional growth at all. So for me it does not matter. Professional growth is more applicable for those teachers who want to be principal in near future. I am not interested in it at all."

7.7.2 At Personal Level

Thus gradual increase in the workloads of the teachers sometimes creates a hassle in their personal life as well. The domain of cooking is still considered the area of women whether working or not. A private school teacher says that her children use to get angry with her because she is busy most of the time with her school works. Children want to have dishes prepared by their mother. Another female teacher from the private school says her relationship with her husband suffers because cannot give much time to him. She takes the help of a maid. But Breakfast preparation is always her responsibility. In fact, most of the female teachers whether having maids or not prefer to prepare breakfast for

themselves, their children and husband. Thus whereas some women teacher manages kitchen work for a specific time in a day, some women teachers take the help of maids for household works and sometimes for preparing food. Indeed most of the women school teachers have helping hands so as to help them in their family chores. Yet there are some women teachers who do not keep maids the reason being their husbands do not like maids' works. In such situations, women teachers have learned to manage a lot of works in less time. We can see here as to how patriarchal structure runs here.

They do not even get sufficient time to spend with their neighbors. Pooja Sharma, 37 from School B narrates.

> I don't have much time to mingle with my neighbors. Because of the work we don't have much time to mingle. But whenever I come across them I try to be as warm as possible. They also understand that life in Delhi is so hectic as it is. People understand. Ours is a very different kind of life. We move to different stations every 2 to 3 years. Being in Delhi or not in Delhi we have lots of relatives around. Somebody or the other keeps coming. So there are days when we pray to god that there should not be people visiting us.

She further added,

> My husband's nature of the job is one factor that I don't want to join any government school. And I do not want to adhere to a school for long because I feel that once the teachers become seniors or permanent teachers they stop giving their 100%. They start taking things for granted. They start indulging in corrupt practices likes getting their works done by children. This is what I feel as of now. My thinking might change also. Let me underline that also. Therefore I do not adhere in one school for long. And every school has something different to offer. I just want to go and enjoy that feast. As it is I know I cannot adhere to one school for long. Had my husband's nature of job been different my thinking might have been different because your family circumstances decide your thoughts.

> My husband is ok/happy with my profession. He helps me with my work. But there are days when I am very stressed and he also gets irritated then. You know the male psychology that you should look after the house as well. There are days when he will

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pass out comments like "*tum school ka frustration ghar mein nikalti ho*." That happens sometimes.

Akansha, 40 from private school 3 says,

It is very difficult. We are always giving more time to our work. We don't have time for family. Even at home, it is work. There are so much of works at the school that you have to bring some corrections or the other. If you don't work then tomorrow there will be more works. So every day you have to give 1 ½ to 2 hours at home also for your school work. So Family Life gets suffered. That gets foot back. So we need to have helping hands. Otherwise, you need to look after so many things. Even after the maid has come, you need to prepare dinner and need to get something or the other done. My children become very angry sometimes. They say that you are always doing work. You don't have time for us. My husband is used to it now as he knows that I have corrections, paper works and other lots of works. But by seeing the amount of work a teacher has to do or bring at home they are irritated.

Anjali Nayak, 43, from private school 3 narrates,

My husband goes for sleep quite late say 1 or 2 because he has to go at 10 o'clock in the morning. Sometimes he goes to sleep around 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning also. It is like his time to sleep and my time to get up. Our timing does not match at all because our interests also do not match. He is a very big TV watcher and I don't like television. I can go and sit with him. But I have not much time to sit. If I go and sit with him then my work will suffer. Definitely, it is not so easy. Somewhere you are sacrificing your relationship with your husband also. Definitely!! Definitely!! At least I really have.

I have two children. Elder one (daughter) is in class XI and the younger one (son) is in class V standard. I have to pick my daughter also from Janak Puri now. She has gone for her coaching class. In the morning my husband drops her for the class when he also goes out for his work. Thus we divide the works as such that it goes on smoothly. I have to deal with picking up and down the children most of the times for both of my children. And out of the two of us, my husband is the main bread earner. With my earning I will not be able to manage the house at all. You cannot be such a feminist that everything you do. So you have to compromise here. Its ok. I mean I cannot ask him to compromise on his work because that's where the main money is coming from, that's

where the house is running. My money is mostly saved. I am either spending on myself or for luxury items and all. The basic things are all coming from the business only. So how can he be asked for other works?

Anjali, however, feels that teaching profession is better off than a person who is working in an MNC because she says,

MNC person does not get enough time for their children. She will not come before 6 o'clock in the evening. They will be extremely tired and will not be able to take care of their children, believe me, and your children are left on the tutors and all. I don't want to do that at an early stage of the children. Teachers are there, but parents even if they are tired, at least children will be in front of their eyes. Children go with you and come back with you. I think till certain age children do need certain supervision. There are so much of exposures these days. You imagine leaving them alone at home with maids and television where you can watch different channels. You can surf any channel. Then gadgets are there, if there is the internet, you can do anything. Every time you cannot lock the internet because then you are depriving the child. But if you are there in front of me, he keeps on sitting and playing games. If I am lying then also he knows that *Mamma* is there. So the chances of leading astray are less. And as such imagine somebody who comes at night only.

The only secret, I think, to manage whole of your personal and professional affairs of work is that you should not get tired mentally because the moment you start thinking that you are tired you will get tired physically. So it should be kept in mind that 'keep going on and on and on till 10 o'clock at night'. That can only work and it is the only secret I can tell you, not beyond that. It is like determination. Yes, there are lots of politics in the family also that also disturbs a lot at times. But you learn through experiences, its ok. You have to stop being petty first of all. You can't let everything affective. Because when you think that your children are your priority and you are living for them then a mother has to be happy. If a mother is not happy she cannot bring up her children well. This is a very straightforward thing. And you can be happy only by not being petty on small small matters first of all and second by being very strong mentally. That's it and that's how I try to manage things. It gives you encourage and really makes you strong because you have no option.

Anita Chaudhury, 30, from School A (KV Contractual Teacher) narrates,

I have a small son of 4 years and he is in Airforce School, Subrata park in New Delhi. I stay in Sector 10, R K Puram not that far from my school and to reach my son's school also it takes around 15/20 minutes from home. After I am free from my school I reach home at around 2 o'clock or at 2.15 pm depending upon the situation and my son's bus comes at 2.30 pm which let my son get down just outside the gate of our home.

In those situations when I have to be in school such as examination duties after school hours as has been happening these days, then my husband comes home during the launch time only and stays with my son till I reach home. My husband's office is nearby Rashtrapati Bhawan. Though it is a little far yet he has to come, what to do no other way. At times I call my mother also who stays in Vasant Vihar who then comes and looks after her grandson.

As far as cooking food and other kitchen works are concerned I do it myself, I have no maids as my husband does not trust maids' works. Often they do not wash their hands before cooking, utensils are not properly cleaned even after these are cleaned by maids and such other minor issues are with the maids which we do not like. Even after the maid does works with such insincerity ultimately I have to do the same work again. I also want neat and clean works. So I prefer to cook myself.

I get free at around 3.30 after I go back home. Then I make my son sleep. I also sleep along with him and take rest. I get up at around 4.30/5 pm. My son gets up at around 6 pm. Till the time my son gets up I look at the topics which I am going to teach on the next day. This is the best time because once my son gets up I cannot be in that position to look at my next day's teaching topics. After that, I go for dinner preparation and also prepare the food for next day morning. My husband returns home at around 6.30/7 pm.

I go to bed around 10.30/11 pm. I get up in the morning at 5 o'clock/5.30am. After getting up in the morning I prepare breakfast for all, pack tiffins for all and also cook for the launch time. Husband takes lunch, I also pack my launch. My son also takes launch. After I go back home I usually take tea because I don't feel that much hungry at that time but I give my son a proper launch. I prepare fresh *khichri* or *dal* for him after I go back home. It doesn't take much time to prepare also as I have also become habituated now. Maximum it takes half an hour to prepare. I have gradually become fast

in cooking now but still slow in checking papers and all. But in all these, my husband helps a lot. For example, he helps in feeding dinner to our son and that time I use in checking papers, he helps in getting our son's homework done, he presses son's school uniform at times etc. He also helps me in my kitchen works sometimes, for example, he prepares *parathas* at times. He even prepares dinner in those days when I am very busy with my school works. My husband also takes care in bringing *sabjis* and other rations of the households from the market. Thus the household works are going smoothly so far.

I used to take tuitions before I joined this school. Students usually those residing in our building used to come to my home for tuitions. Neighbors become friends after sometimes and thus they come to know that I used to teach Science in my previous school and thus they send their children to me for taking Science tuition. But after I joined the school managing tuition along with school and household works become very difficult to manage. My son is also very small. So I cannot manage tuitions now. Once my son grows a little old I will start taking tuition again. Still after Parents-Teachers Meetings of the school are over, lots of parents approach me for taking tuitions for their children. But I refuse to take as it is really difficult to manage tuitions now for me.

These narratives are self- exploratory to tell the life styles of our school teachers in Delhi.

7.8 Challenges and Negotiations of Male Teachers

7.8.1 At Professional Level

As far as the situations of male teachers are concerned, the case is totally different. They even have time to maintain social relation, help their children in their studies and manage outside chores as well. Some male teachers go for private tuitions as well whereas I could find only one female teacher who teaches Germany in the government school and takes home tuition. Probably her status as unmarried helps her to take tuition classes. Also her confidence in riding scotty added advantage to it. Else I could not find even a single married female teacher whether from the government or private school to take tuition classes. In the following figure, the data comparing the conduct of tuition classes by both the genders are represented

Figure 7.3 : Teachers conducting private tuitions
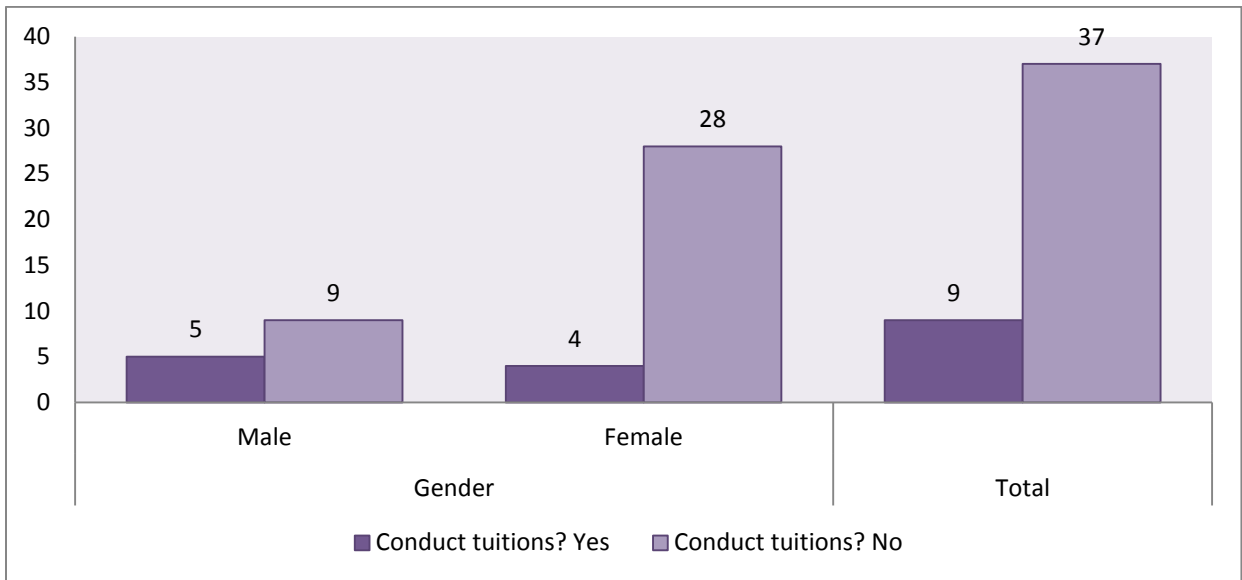
In the above figure 7.3 out of 9 teachers who conduct tuitions 5 of them are male teachers who all are from the private schools whereas all the 4 female teachers who conduct tuitions are from the KV school. Economic factor seems essential in my data for all the male teachers from the private school behind taking tuitions. Apart from this constant engagement with the knowledge is yet another factor. The 65-year-old male teacher of the private school conducts tuition just because he wants to circulate his knowledge of Mathematics to those who need it. He has a scooter and goes to different houses where he takes tuition. It is thus observed that those who conduct tuition outside the school premises have their own two-wheeler vehicles to move from place to place to conduct tuition classes.

Prabin Kaushik, 42, from School A however, expresses similar concerns with regard to his professional career as that of female teachers when he narrates,

> I joined initially as a primary teacher. After that, through promotional examination, I became a TGT. PGT is due which I can get through examination. But right now my utmost focus is on my children. I cannot take posting outside Delhi leaving my children here. Because in the initial years of your joining as a PGT there is a high chance of transfer outside Delhi. My aim at present is to make my children successful in their lives. So I cannot leave Delhi. Had I tried before it would have been different, but not

right now when my children's career is in the height. It will be a huge loss to them if I will not be able to look at their studies in case I am posted outside Delhi after becoming PGT."

7.8.2 At Personal Level

The situation of work-family negotiation of male school teachers is different from that of women school teachers. This is also because their wives are there at home to manage the family chores and even if the wife is also working it is basically the lady who manages the family works and hence male teachers can utilize this time in some other works.

Mukesh Sharma, 32, from School A, (KV) says that his wife is quite ambitious to go for the job. But he and his father asked her not to go for a job right now because the children are very young and his family allows her to go for a job once the children grow and start going for school. This indicated nothing but a patriarchal mindset which flows everywhere. Indicating his work-family balance he says,

> You need to balance both by proper management. After almost 8 hours of your work, I have to give at least 2 hours of time with my children. I have 2 children, a son of 4 years and a daughter of 1½ years. I play with them. After going back home first I have food. My wife looks after the curriculum related written staffs of children's study whereas I look after the extra works of the house such as the correct pronunciation of the words which is verbal or repetition of words are concerned. I also tell me a story daily on any themes such as kings or queens, animals or birds etc. Every such story has a moral lesson at the end. I try to tell that value through these stories to my children so that they learn good values. These stories are not from any books rather I use to build these stories suddenly whatever comes to my mind. I really enjoy telling stories to my children. My wife looks after the house. All the marketing works are done by me such as to bring necessary staffs for home etc. whenever needed. On Sundays mostly I prefer to spend time with children and play with them. My wife prepares food usually except those 3/4 days on which days I cook. Today also I have prepared my tiffin myself and packed myself.

> My wife is a housewife. She is a graduate. She wished to go for a job. But for the rearing of the children, I told her not to go for a job now. At least till 4/5 child needs

extreme care and the care which a mother can provide can never be provided by any other person. I told her 'if you really want to go for a job, let our children grow a little then you can go for the job'.

Prabin Kaushik, 42 from School A says,

When I stay with the kids, my wife also stays with them. When kids are studying we can go outside also. We have distributed our family works. My work is school works and providing educational work for the kids. I was a Science student till 12th. I prepared for engineering for sometimes. I did my computer learning after that. As per government policy, two courses are not possible to be done at a time. So I did BA pass course through correspondence simultaneously. Then I completed MA in History, MSc in IT. I had knowledge of many fields. I did my B.Ed in History. I was also involved in competitive preparation for a very longer period of time. It enhanced my capabilities also and it provided my strength also. As I am good till 10th level in all subjects, therefore I enjoy teaching my kids. I can teach even Mathematics to my kids. I have good command over all the subjects. My kids also see the perfection of me in all subjects and they are also very happy with me.

Other affairs are handled by my wife. My wife is friendly with my children, helps in the entertainment of the family; but she does not teach them in their studies as I always kept teaching my children in my hand from the beginning itself. She is also working in a private firm. But I never forced her to go for any job. Just for refreshing her mind she is working. Otherwise, she could not have gone for it. Although she works in a private firm, she generally does not go 2/3 days in a week for work. Because we have decided that family and our children are our first priority. My wife is a graduate of Home Science. We thus get enough time for other works. Here also requires proper planning and management except for emergency situations. In emergency situations everyone has to do whatsoever is required.

7.9 Satisfaction of teachers in Teaching Profession

7.9.1 Payments of Teachers

Payment or salary paid to the teachers is a significant economic factor to measure the satisfaction level of the teachers in the school teaching profession. This satisfaction varies

depending on class, gender, age factors of the informants. The proper management of the economic resources or transfer of ancestral property is also an important factor that goes along with these factors.

Prabin Kaushik, 42 from School A says,

> My family background is very good. There is income from agricultural sector also in Bihar. Whenever I need money there is no problem as such. And whatever basic requirements are needed everything is there. We have a home, food, children's education which these are managed easily. There is no such limitation. If one wants to go to 5-star hotel that is of course not possible. We are living in Delhi since 1991 and we have our own home in Mehrauli. I have taken our own Flat later on. I saved some money, some money I invested also and there is nothing wrong in making investments. That's how managed to take my flat.

> I got sufficient time for my personal work when I was teaching in the private school in 1994. As far as salary is concerned everyone knows in private schools teachers are signed for a different salary and actually given different salaries. Thus it went on. After school hours I used to engage with my personal works including preparing for competitive exams and all. I also talked with the school administrators and director for it that whenever you give joining I have no problem, but you will not detain me after school hours. After school time my time will be over.

Anita Chaudhury, 31, temporary KV teacher from School A says,

> As my son is very small now this time is very crucial for him and I want to give time to him. At this time children use to have a deep emotional attachment with mothers and so I don't want to divert my attention. I don't need much money. Whatever I am getting here in the school I am satisfied. My husband is a junior scientist. He earns well. So I have no issues with money. But definitely I didn't want to sit at home idle, so joined the school. Also to circulate my knowledge I joined the school. A little busy schedule gives you happiness also. I am now happy as I am engaged in work now instead of sitting at home idle. I like teaching also.

Akansha, 40 from private school 3 says,

Promotion is nil, salary is comfortable. Interaction with the children is the best part and nothing else. Interaction with the colleagues is ok/nice because it depends on you and the persons.

Promotion is nil because Foreign language is the least important for the school. They suffer a lot because there is no future. First of all foreign language teachers do not have to do B.Ed. So first thing comes is oh you don't have B.Ed. so you can't become headmistress, you cant become principal. And anyway the mentality is such that they think that foreign language is not a mainstream subject so they don't promote. I am probably among the very few foreign language teachers who have become PGT. But the majority of the foreign language teachers are TGTs. I am very senior in the school. Foreign language teachers are given the last opportunity. The principal was not willing to promote my designation, but later he agreed. Foreign language teachers are given an opportunity at the end that means the foreign language is not a worthwhile subject. Sometimes it may vary from principal to principal also. Sometimes principals promote foreign languages. Every years' there uses to be some increment that's a different thing. This increment is not much, approximately 2000-3000. Otherwise, there is a scale nearby which the salary of the teachers lies. It is different from TGT to PGT. It also depends as to how many years you have taught. I don't go much into the accounts. I work and get salary and don't know much as to how they calculate the payments. But there is grade. If you are a TGT at present after 10 years you will be promoted to the PGT grade. It happens like that.

In the narration of all the cases above it is evident that class no doubt plays a very significant factor. But management of the economic resources is also important. In the first case though it is a male teacher (his family income falls within 50000- 1 lakh) his management capability including investment in different sources proved enough in having their own flat. In the second case though the salary of the contractual female teacher in KV who is 31 years of age is half the permanent teacher still she is satisfied because she thinks that her husband earns well. Here again, class factor matters where family income is same as the first case. In the third case though she is a female teacher in a private school above 40 years and her husband also earns (family income falls within 1

lakh- 1.5 lakh), satisfaction in the profession is not just the salary but also the promotion that goes with the salary.

7.9.2 Other Assigned Duties outside School Premises

Prabin Kaushik, 42, from School A says,

> Teachers are called for Election Duty, Census Duty. But I never went for it. If teachers are called for such duties definitely classes are disturbed and students studies suffer a lot. There are orders from High Courts also in some places that teachers should be asked less and less for such duties. After that, some teachers denied going for such duties quoting this High Court order. There is this hidden assumption that teachers can very easily handle such works. There is not much economic output for such duties. Teachers are not taken very seriously also in assigning these duties.

> These are not many big works. Even students of 10th -12th can also do such works. There are many such 12th pass children who belong to poor families and they are willing to do such works happily and most sincerely. Such 2 students came to me once asking if I have some works for them which I can assign to them. And there is nothing to feel proud on the part of the teachers for such duties. Sometimes such duties are conducted even after school hours, but if a person continuously works for 10/12 hours it will definitely affect his productivity for the next day.

Sukanya Suman, 50 from School A feels,

> Teachers should not be given these duties. Besides that it is a below dignity job for the teachers entering the houses of the people, entailing the pulls in the election. I think teachers are not professionally made to deal with these things that too public dealing of low standard. It is very difficult and the major problem is students are affected for 1 or 1½ months. But Census Duty they generally keep it during vacations. Census department has their own employees. They could be involved in such public dealings. Why are teachers entailed for it? And in teaching profession, I feel 80% of the teachers are female. It is very difficult for them to deal with such public dealings. Sometimes you become speechless to discuss these issues. It is pathetic to deal with these below dignity public dealings. Sometimes Census Department asks the teacher to find out what kind of tiles the people are using in their houses? These are technical matters. Is it

possible for the teachers to deal with such technical issues? There should be some persons from the Census Department to deal with such things. And during elections, it is a political affair. Goons generally rule the areas. And it is difficult for the teachers to handle the situation and carry the ballot boxes and all. The government of India should advertise menial posts for such activities. There is nothing intellectual work is involved in it. It is just about collecting data and I feel others can also do it efficiently. Of course, I admit the fact that the persons who are involved in such acts should be a person of integrity. But it not necessarily that teacher can only be appointed for such acts. A clerk can also do the same efficiently who just need to collect data.

Thus we can see that teachers are not happy with works which are given to them outside the school premises and these duties can be assigned to other clerical level people or unemployed people who are searching for jobs. Teachers do feel these duties as below dignity works which do not require any intellectual involvement.

7.10 Work-Family Balance of those heading the School Authority

While denoting 'School Authority' here I will be discussing the topmost authority of the school, i.e. the Principal and in some schools the authority of Vice Principal. In the private school where research was conducted presence of both the Principal and the Vice Principal was recorded while in the KV school in absence of the post of Vice Principal, all the authoritative responsibilities are handled by the Principal of the school. An interview was also conducted with the present CBSE secretary. These four cases namely present CBSE secretary; two Principals of both the schools and one Vice Principal of the private school are detailed in the next section.

7.10.1 Case 1: Present CBSE Secretary

The present CBSE secretary was formerly a principal of a government school. So it has been tried to understand from him his differentiated roles as School Principal and as present CBSE secretary. As School Principal he performed two major roles, one Administrative Performance and another Academic Performance. He explains that in a school education system the principal is the highest authority. The school principal has two prime roles. One is administration where the principal requires to look at the

administrative requirement that includes infrastructure, building, recruitment, financial setup, public interaction. As an administrator in school, the principal has the school set up, school staffs, financial staffs to help him out. The second role of the school principal is academic up-gradation which is related to classes, lesson plan, preparing timetable, participating in the teachers training, participating in the parent-teacher meeting (PTM) for academic welfare of the students, curriculum related issues.

As he played his academic role as a principal he had to monitor all the academic issues. To monitor so, first he has to look at if all teachers in the school are trained or not and if any teacher is not trained he had to make arrangement for making them trained. He also monitored if teachers are properly making their lesson plans and are regularly going to their classes every day, the learning outcome of the teachers in their respective classes, whether children are learning anything or not, if children are becoming creative or not, whether students are enjoying in the classes or not, whether students are gaining knowledge or not etc. Similarly he also used to monitor the examination pattern i.e. the midterm, unit tests etc., completion of syllabus, the indiscipline of the students, the safety and security of the school, if the extra-curricular activities are performed in the schools or not for physical development of the children i.e. to monitor the physical education classes, sports teachers if performing well or not, to what extent the cultural activities such as dancing, singing, quiz etc. are inculcated in the school. and to what extent children are participating in these activities, to monitor as to what extent children are participating in different national and international events of the school son on and so forth. Thus he as a principal tried to grow their children in the extra-curricular activities.

As CBSE Secretary he has to look after all the schools that come under CBSE. He narrates that there are approximately 20,000 schools under CBSE out of which 16,000 schools are independent private schools and around 4000 schools are government aided schools which includes Kendriya Vidyalaya, Navodaya Vidyalaya, Army School, Railway schools etc. The major role of CBSE is to conduct examination of 10th and 12th standards, evaluation and certification. These three functions are interlinked with academic teaching because these will give better results if teachers conduct classroom teaching properly. First CBSE affiliates schools before evaluation. There are certain

conditions while affiliating a school with CBSE. Affiliation by CBSE is not permanent, it is only for 5 years. Among the norms of CBSE includes maintaining the specified ratio of teachers to run a specified number of sections in the classroom, to maintain a specified number of students, teachers should be trained with B.Ed degree, specified amount of land, CCTV etc. There are different norms relating to lands as well. If schools are situated in hilly areas then less amount of land is required. Generally, the norm is there is a requirement of 2 acres of land. If you have 2 acres of land then schools can be initiated in any place of the country. But in hilly areas with 1.5 acres schools can be initiated. There are 5/6 norms related to land. Even with 1 acre of land permission can be granted after fulfilling specified norms. These are different requirements to affiliate a school with CBSE. If all the conditions are fulfilled according to CBSE then affiliation of schools are extended further. He informs that 9th and 11th exams are conducted by the concerned schools only. Then Exam evaluation of 10th and 12th standards and certification is done by CBSE. As the secretary of CBSE it is his responsibility to look after all these functions.

He also explains that many a time complaints are also initiated against schools, sometimes by teachers or parents and as such investigation is initiated. If the school is found guilty then the particular school is disaffiliated. Otherwise, the complaint is dismissed. If complaints come of not fulfilling any of the norms set by CBSE, then also investigation is initiated and if found guilty the school is disaffiliated. He further informs that CBSE is an autonomous body that comes under MHRD. It is a semi govt organization. All other boards do not come under Indian government. Like ICSE comes under a society. The state can run their own boards. There CBSE boards also run on a parallel basis. But CBSE does not interfere with the internal matters of the schools. Only the norms required should be fulfilled. If norms are not fulfilled, complaint comes, then only investigation will start and CBSE will disaffiliate. Once a year, CBSE conducts the exam. Students fill forms online, CBSE send admit card online, school centres are decided by CBSE after examination copies are evaluated. Then results are out online. He said,

"We enter school with examination purpose, not academically like monitoring classroom teaching, teacher appointment, teacher training and all. KVS has its norms with regard to teaching the way private school management looks after their own teaching. We only interfere for examination purpose."

Generally, no inspection is conducted by CBSE for schools. The secretary informs that only on the condition of any complaints raised, the inspection is done specifically for that school. If a letter comes to CBSE from any school to train a particular teacher/s then also CBSE takes the responsibility to conduct that training. For rest all the issues schools are responsible. As far as managing with his familial tasks are concerned, he has personal servant at home provided by the government to look after the household tasks.

7.10.2 Case 2: Principal of School A

The Principal in School A joined as this position in 2012. Before Principal he had to see particular aspect, now he has to see all aspects of the school starting from institutional planning, sessional planning, annual planning, infrastructural planning etc. for the development of the school. He follows 3/4 types of strategies; some are short term strategies and some are long term strategies such as if he wants to make the school infrastructurally sound, long term planning is required- period wise, month wise and yearly. Before principal he was a PGT English teacher in his previous school. Then he qualified the All-India level examination for the post of principal in 2012 at the age of 40/41. Till 2012 he already had 12 years of teaching experience. He feels it requires lots of dedication and hard-wok to qualify an all India level examination. He feels promotion takes a lot of time but by qualifying examination he has saved lot of years of his life. Thus in KV, both by qualifying examination and promotion one teacher can reach to the position of Principal. However the rules of KV are not fixed. It changes from time to time, he feels from his experience.

He describes that there is no readymade solution if teachers approaches him with different sorts of problems. He said,

It depends on the person. It is like going to take medicine from a doctor. Doctor gives medicine as per the requirement of the disease. Similarly, teachers being educated or

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learned are very sensitive as well. They have to be given counseling if required for any problem. And as far as any issue with any teacher is concerned, what I do here is I try to maintain through body gestures. For example, if any teacher comes late and it starts becoming a regular habit of that teacher, what I use to do is I reach school 10 minutes before than my usual time and I use to stand in the school entrance gate observing the arrival time of students and teachers with a certain sort of body gestures. After some days situation become normal automatically.

The principal has many administrative powers for smooth functioning of the school. He uses his own method of smoothly running the school and dealing with the teachers such as body gesture as mentioned above, counseling of the teachers as per requirement, issuing official written letters as principal if situation demands, appreciating teachers for their work, discouraging teachers for some other sorts of works etc. Thus the behavior of the principal differs according to the situations because he feels he is dealing with human beings and he best tries to solve problems through counseling to the extent possible.

When he was a PGT teacher, he used to handle the administrative tasks as well under the supervision of the principal of that school who was a very strict principal. This principal used to scold teachers in public places what the teachers did not like. Teachers were of the opinion that in case they were wrong the principal could have done the same thing in his cabin also separately instead of scolding in public. So this principal from School A has learned the things that teachers do not lie and he does not apply those with the teachers of his school. He has also worked with a few good principals who do things very easily without scolding or much noise, from whom he has learned how to do well with others and what are those things through which matters can be easily handled.

As far as balancing the profession with the family responsibilities are concerned, what the principal does is he prioritizes his work. When his family responsibilities become more important, then he prioritizes his family responsibilities first and when his professional works demand more then he gives priority to his professional work. And he feels that it is a very challenging task to be in the post of Principal because here he has to manage people especially teachers. Handing people and handling machines are different. And teachers are very sensitive people. So he usually is very careful while talking to them.

Thus he makes a balance between his work and family life. No doubt there is maid at home to look after the works, but wife and children are also there. Therefore he has to make a balance and to make a balance is little difficult at times. He thinks that if one thinks of balancing both then it is a problem. One should rather know that work and family is an imbalance and proper balance is never possible. One should always keep this in mind and as per priority work should be carried out..

7.10.3 Case 3: Principal of School B

The principal of the school who is a woman aged 50 feels that growing indiscipline among the children has become one of the biggest challenges now-a-days. And being Principal of the school it is her biggest challenge to check the educators as well as learners for maintaining discipline in the school. At the same time she also feels that there are so many restrictions now-a-days from the government on them and therefore within the approved framework whatever is possible, the principal tries to inculcate discipline. For instance, the school management has taken alternative policies to maintain discipline. One such policy is 'Detention Policy' by which if a student creates indiscipline is detained in the school in the form of punishment for 45 minutes to 1 hour and a teacher in-charge would engage him in some studies for that period. Besides this, the school in order of the principal has strictly adopted certain school rules and 'model code of conduct' and each child and parents need to sign that. As per one rule of that model code of conduct, if a child is late to school for three mornings consecutively he/she will be sent back home.

The Principal has a 27 years of experience in that school. Earlier she was a head mistress and then she became vice-principal in that school and now she has been promoted as the Principal of the school for last 2½ years. Thus her responsibilities changed from one position to another. As a principal she delegates some of the duties to the vice-principal of the school apart from two other in-charges who work under her. The division of these three positions is such that the primary classes are looked after by one in-charge, middle classes are by another and the 9th to 12th classes are by the vice-principal. The principal takes the overall responsibility of the school, of different activities and programmes conducted in the school. For instance, a week before she was interviewed, Mathematics

week was celebrated in the school which was planned by the principal after consultation with the Mathematics teachers. As the school is privately run, the principal informs that there is a management committee in the school. Quarterly decisions are taken on the guidance of the Manager of the school. The principal takes short decisions on certain matter such as day-to-day functioning of the school for which she has authority. She also takes all major decisions of the school for smooth functioning of the school.

On the criteria of recruiting teachers in the school, principal has admitted that they follow the system of demo class in which subject expert and she herself use to be present to observe the applicant teacher who has B.Ed degree. The feedbacks of the students are also assessed. After teachers are appointed the school conducts different kinds of workshops from time to time for training purpose of the teachers similar to in-service training programmes of the government schools. As far as giving special position to any teacher such as to be principal, what is preferred is the seniority of the teacher and contribution of that teacher to various programmes of the school over the years. As such, there is no such favoritism that only language teachers specially English teachers can go to the position of principal. After retirement if any talented teacher applies to this school when the school really needs such a teacher, on the basis of positive medical fitness certificate such teachers are appointed in the school on contractual basis only.

The principal looks more of the academic and administrative responsibilities. To look after the financial matters, there is a team who look after these fanatical responsibilities. The principal conducts quarterly meetings with the school staffs and teachers on a regular basis to discuss on the academic improvements of the leaners. Besides the principal also has to look that the syllabus for every class is complete on time. If any teacher could not complete by chance and lack behind, the principal arranges extra classes for this teacher cutting the classes of physical education or yoga.

She feels that installation of CCTV is a positive step in favor of maintaining ooverall discipline of the school. Since many thefts cases are in there, installation of CCTV has proved to be a real help. She said,

We caught some mysterious children on CCTV. And in certain time when things got lost in schools, CCTV is a big help. Teachers are also comfortable with it because we do not put CCTV's in their personal space such as the staff room. This is basically for monitoring the children.

The Principal nevertheless feels that there are a few very naught children in some classrooms. Though there is Detention Policy in the school, in extreme cases the school has to follow 'Yellow Card system' as well by which parents are called in the school and warnings are given to their children in front of them and depending on the severity of the cases. Suspension order can also be issued. The school also follows an 'SMS Alert System' under her guidance. By this system, every morning between 9 am to12 pm the teachers record the names of the absentees and send SMSs to their parents. By this system the school has caught 3/4 such students left home for school in the morning but actually did not report to the school.

Hus, the principal feels that maintaining Discipline in one's life is a must which is a growing issue these days. She feels that if we also want to balance out work life we should also follow the rule of discipline in our own lives. Then managing everything becomes easier.

7.10.4 Case 4: Vice-Principal of School B

The vice- principal aged 59 from School B is very passionate about my teaching and she feels that she will continue with this effort of mine every time. And discipline is a very important concept in learning. Unless and until one is disciplined he/she is not be able to concentrate on his/her studies. Problem she feels is because of so much distraction: TV internet and others and parents have a very loose hand to the children. They themselves are not respecting the teachers. That is why students have becoming indiscipline. Some parents come and challenge the teachers in front of their own children and students learn from it. She said,

> I still remember my husband was a professor in IIT. He could have challenged any teacher or person in DPS where my daughter studied. He always tells me 'you are a teacher, I am a teacher but the teacher of our daughter is the guru of us. Whatever they

say we have to listen.' How many of our parents know about this concept? But I know that though I am a Vice Principal here I will never open my mouth when I will go to my child's school.

Very proudly she confirms that her daughters are doing their best today on the international platform. This vice principal used to be strict with her daughters and she knew at times they found her very strict and disliked her behavior. But she was always supportive and attached to them. Their father was non interfering and a very loving person. But she was very strict and disciplinary. She wanted to give them a disciplined life. She feels whatever she has given to them they still realize that '*had Mama not been disciplined we would not have reached here'*. Her husband is into Computers and she is into Arts and so both of them have infused these two in their daughters.

Personal-Profession work balance is really very difficult, she feels. Initially she used to look after her family members when she stayed in a joint family. Her father-in-law was sick and mother-in-law was suffering from cancer. At times she used to sit till 12 o'clock, at times, morning time reached. He at times got sleep of just 2/3/4 hours and had to complete her school works as well, complete her corrections, had to look after her children's problems, also attend her own parents. So she had to do a lot of balancing acts with a very small sleep. As far as managing household works are concerned, she loves to cook. She has even cooked for 20/30 people. She used to sleep till 12 at night and she used to complete her school works also with sleeping for just 2 to 3 hours only. She went through this almost every day and that is why she feels that she has so much courage and she loves challenges. No doubt, she has maids at home at present for help, but when her mother-in-law was there the whole cooking had to be done by her only. Now the maid looks after all these. But even today if some guests come to their home she only goes for cooking. For example, she was narrating the story of her sister-in-law's daughter who is an Engineer and was leaving for abroad,

> She called me up as she had to leave for the US and said, "*Mami you get me sattu ka paratha.*' I came back from school at 4 o'clock. Immediately after having my food I started preparing the *parathas* for her. I packed 13/14 *parathas* and went on. I was

definitely tired. But its ok. My husband is not into cooking and all. His whole life is on studies only.

In today's time also she used to get up at 3.30 am or quarter to 4 in the morning. She then starts working for her school tasks. She plans a lot of things. For this, she has a lot of cooperation from my husband. She comes from a background which is quite into academics. Her husband is a professor in IIT as mentioned above, he has 3 sister-in-laws the eldest one is the Doctor, the second one is a Scientist and the third one is also a professor. Thus all of them are in great professions and her father-in-law was a Gandhian, so a person who has taught very good values in the family. Her own father was an IAS officer and was a Gold-Medalist in Mathematics. Her own mother looked after the house, she was a very spiritual lady, so lots of *puja-paths* she used to carry, but a very bold lady she said. She has quite a number of brothers and sisters; therefore, she feels that politeness, tolerance, working together, team spirit etc. came from the family values.

Love for Aesthetics and Art is something which is always dear to her. Till date also if teachers make some charts and that does not appeal to her she can immediately make out where the problem lies. Being vice-principal of the school she handles all other administrative responsibilities next to the principal only. Meeting up teachers and parents of different children, instructing every other staffs of the school, monitoring all are the duties of her in the school.

Thus it is observed how the person holding the authority positions balance their work and family life. Interestingly for one of the male authorities balancing itself is a utopia as there cannot be the perfect balance of family and work and a problem arises when one tries to balance an unbalanced phenomenon. He relies mostly on dialogic interpretation of learning and management as explained by Paulo Freire. In the other case other male authority he mostly follows rules and regulation for managing his work as Illich talked in terms of declared curriculum where an agenda set is to be implemented by the authority. The female authorities feel that through discipline balancing work and family is absolutely a practical phenomenon. Foucauldian sense of 'discipline' is seen followed by these female authorities which they follow even in their personal lives. They think it gives meaning to their works by being disciplined in life.

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CONCLUSION

The study on profession has always attracted long lasting debates among scholars in distinguishing it from an occupation or job or vocation. Though much of the studies on professions are carried out in western contexts, they can be relevant to Indian context also with some variations. An occupation is a work for which is payment is made and it is thus a means of livelihood in a person's live. When this occupation adds certain features in the nature of its work such as formal qualifications followed by examinations which then give the person a monopoly right on his/her skills. In other words, training on skills gives an occupation the status of a profession. Talcott Parsons, eminent classical functionalist has emphasized the significance of professions more in the industrialist society. Functional perspectives on professional study asserts that professional knowledge is crucial for smooth functioning and welfare of the society and therefore significance of professions must commensurate with high rewards which might include both material rewards or non-material rewards such as prestige and status in the society. There has been debates among Sociologists and other scholars as to whether the occupation of teaching can be regarded as a profession in the similar fashion as that of other professions such as the profession of doctors or engineers etc. Though there are perspectives among scholars to consider teaching as a semi-profession, there were also scholars especially belonging to functionalist school who considered teaching as a full-fledged profession due to teacher's fundamental societal function which is associated with quality care of citizens in a nation. It is in this sense is very different from all other professions.

The present study on "Changing Nature of the Teaching Profession: A Sociological Study of Secondary School Teachers in Delhi" was undertaken with four main objectives; 1) to analyze government plans, policies and programmes towards teacher training and to examine its implementation level, 2) to explore the profession of teaching at the secondary school level as perceived by the teachers themselves belonging to different caste, age, gender, religions, regions etc. 3) to highlight the major changes in the societal perception of the profession of teaching in the pre and post liberalization in Indian context and 4) to comprehend the perception of power-dynamics in the teaching

profession and to examine whether the profession of school teaching is a balancing force between work and family negotiations.

8.1 Methodological and Theoretical Approaches to understand Teaching Profession

Research produces an impact to both researcher and the researched. Therefore the relationship between researcher and the researched cannot be separated strictly even after completion of data gathering process. It is due to this relationship that feminists scholars such as Ann Oakley (1981) viewed that research could produce more valid and objective account when a female researcher deals with women questions or problems and issues bothering women because as a woman the female researcher can explore and articulate women experiences through her method of interviewing and investigation. The present study combines a mixed method approaches although primarily it is qualitative in nature. The methods of observation, focus group discussion and in-depth interviews have enabled to construct knowledge on the profession of school teaching and the contemporary changes into this profession. Available literatures provide knowledge to a limited extent which lack in including the contemporary changing perspectives. Research on the other hand tries its best to include these perspectives objectively from the subject's viewpoints although there is a whole debate among sociologists between objectivity and subjectivity in research. For instance, Durkheim saw society as a 'social fact' to be studied objectively as out there while Weber saw society as full of 'subjective interpretation' where the researcher cannot make him/herself dissociate completely from his/her own subjective interpretations. Use of questionnaire tool helped in quantifiably analyzing facts on my informants (teachers and students) while use of interviews, focus groups methods helped in understanding the deeper meaning and perceptions of the informants.

With the research objectives of study in mind, the research was conducted in the field i.e. the two schools in Delhi, one is the Kendriya Vidyalaya School and another one is the private unaided school. Teachers teaching in the secondary school level are the main agency of this present research. Some of the teachers from other private schools are also my informants to the study. Functionalist analysis (e.g. Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons etc.) helped in understanding the existence, significance and role of teachers in a school

set up towards the preservation of societal moral values while critical pedagogical approach help in understanding the autonomy and freedom of the agency of teachers in relation to their profession, curriculum and syllabus formation, policy perspectives of the government. For instance, Paulo Freire's Banking Concept of Education, Illich's Declared Curriculum, Apple on Reproducing structuring Inequalities of power, Krishna Kumar on Curriculum framing etc. have looked at critically the nature of teaching and the whole formal education system as opposed to the functionalist framework.

8.2 Profession of Teaching in India

Historically the nature of teaching had varied from Ancient India to medieval India to Modern India. In Ancient India teaching was highly religious in nature and the well-trained priests performed the sacrificial rites and ensured participation of offerings by the worshippers. Teaching was associated with uttering sacred mantras or hymns and Brahmanas or the priests were the most powerful that time. During Vedic period, teaching reflected on making the pupils good listeners first and to make them experts in oral learning. So the lessons of the Vedas were taught to the pupils by recitation and the pupils had to start the recitation of the Vedic texts every day. In the Buddhist system, teaching was conducted in the form of answering questions or delivering a discourse and the pupils had to serve their teachers in every aspect. In medieval India the Islamic system of education derived its genesis from holy Quran and knowledge was acquired through three conduits: Maktab, Madrasah and Mosques or Khanqah. In modern India, introduction and teaching of English education served as the chief contributions of the Britishers in colonial India.

Recently in post independent era, teaching in a commonsensical parlance was often been considered as a very easy going and relaxing profession. In different studies from 1970s or 80s it is seen that school teaching attracted many women for its being such a nature that it could easily balance their family life and work. It is due to this nature of this profession that teaching is often been associated with a feminine profession. Women's role is associated mostly with care giving which they do both at home (with their own children) and at school (with the children of other parents). Sexuality of women is another issue due to which the family members of the women either prefer or force their

daughters to go for teaching. This constitutes a methodological question in my present study. Marxist feminists have specifically questions the double work burden of the women who work outside for salary, but their primary task remains the household works in a patriarchal structure. It means whether they work outside or not, women cannot go away with the domestic works of the household under any circumstances. This poses another question as to how gender relations exist across the teaching profession and which gender possesses more power in the so called 'feminine' profession. Is it the male teachers again? A reflection on this note is made in this present work.

8.3 Policy Perspectives on Teaching Profession

In post 1990s liberalization has opened up the economy for many other professions. People got attracted to many private sector jobs especially in management and IT sector. In school teaching profession also the number of private unaided schools have increased manifold compared to the government schools and the private aided schools. It also attracted a good package of payments to them. In post liberalization period has there been some changes from public sector jobs to private sector jobs or has it to do something with the teaching as a profession also concerns my research. In this context the professionalism of the teaching profession finds significant importance. Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) is the professional degree which qualifies for the teaching work in schools. It is a postgraduate course for professional training to those interested in pursuing their career in the field of school teaching. The B.Ed degree is specifically made mandatory for teaching at the secondary and higher secondary classes. The duration of B.Ed is for two years in which for a semester the students have to come to any of the school for internship. The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) regulating body for teacher training courses throughout the country. With the compulsory training programme the professionalism of teaching has got a new meaning. The government is trying to 100% teacher training all over the country though in some states 100% teacher training is yet to achieve. Delhi has 100% teacher training record as per Statistics of School Education 2011-12. However when sought in the schools under study, it is observed that there are some teachers in the private school who do not have B.Ed. degree at the time of their selection but they are instructed from the school authority to complete the training course within a stipulated period. Nevertheless all the teachers of KV had

already completed B.Ed. programme even at the time of applying for the teaching post. In case of Foreign languages however no B.Ed or any other professional degree is required in both the KV and the Private school.

There are also certain other significant observations relating to teacher training such as though there has been teachers' training programmes for the improved contributions of teachers in teaching the children, some of the contemporary needs in the training process to meet the needs of the inclusive education is yet to be included. The government has definitely provided the policy for inclusive education where differently abled students are equally welcomed to come and study with the so called normal students, however their way of learning is totally different. Teachers at times find difficulty to deal with such students as they could not reach to their level of learning. As such this group of teachers finds these students irritating at times. For such group of teachers even the differently abled students (mostly blind students) take a negative note because somehow they also could not connect with them. In KV such students find it specifically difficult to learn Science subject especially practicals are relaxed for them. They go to blind schools after normal school hours to cope with their way of learning. Such students in the private school are however exempted from taking Science or Mathematics whatever they find much difficulty to cope. At the same time there are also blind students who are very good at studies and top the classes and teachers appreciate these students a lot. It is hence found in the research that the teacher training programmes do not cover training the teachers to deal and teach the differently abled students as part of their training. As such in teacher education the purpose of training the teachers has failed to some extent due to which the government policy of inclusive education has also not been implemented in its true sense.

It is however important to understand here vocation of teaching as well. As already discussed in Chapter 4, the nature of teaching profession is very much different from all other professions. The relationship between teacher and the student is not of 5 or 10 years relations, it is a life- long relation which means a lot to the teacher and taught and hence apart from knowledge the teacher also requires to have a good sense of deep human relations and this is what makes teaching profession beyond just a profession.

8.4 Teacher Composition in the Profession and their perceptions

As far as the composition of teachers in both the schools is concerned, it is found that there has been persistence of upper castes teachers in the school teaching profession. However the reservation of OBC and SC teachers are fulfilled in the KV though not such reservations are followed in the private school. The argument of the authority of the private school is that they prefer merit and whoever comes in the merit they make the selection. As the parents pay a lot for their children the also expect a good quality of education from the school. And if the school could not fulfill their expectations the will take away their children from the school and get them admitted in other private schools. So to maintain a qualitative level of the school efficient and eligible teachers are needed and whoever fulfill that criteria are welcomed by the school authority. If the people from SC or OBC category also fulfill these criteria they will also be preferred, but preference will not be given because of their category as it will lead to a compromise with imparting the quality education in the school.

In the classroom observations too it is found that though students from different categories are there teachers are seen not pointing out any student or behave differently with students belonging to different caste and religious background. Teachers definitely point out those students who are not performing well in the examinations, not sincere in their studies, come to school without bathing, for dirty cloths, for not being neat and clean etc. Students who are naughty or always do some kind of unexpected acts some way or the other are also always in the eyes of the teachers. I have also observed the teachers belonging to different caste belongings as regards to their customs, rituals and other different practices. Of this marriage within the same caste seems more prominent for most of the teachers especially teachers belonging to higher castes and they are even strict with their children as far as this practice is concerned. As far as food habits and religious practices are concerned caste divisions are observed in this also. But different caste beliefs and practices of different teachers have not been seen influencing the classroom teaching in so far as students belonging to different caste and religious backgrounds are concerned. It thus seems that schools especially in urban capitals like Delhi have become a secular or a modern space where different caste or religious backgrounds of teachers hardly influence the classroom teaching.

It is also found that the teachers of 25-30 age group face much difficulty in handling the students especially of Class IX and X standards than comparatively senior teachers. The young teachers feel that students want to treat with them in a friendly manner even when they are teaching in the classrooms. It becomes very challenging for these teachers then to maintain a disciplinary environment and as such they always treat these students with a distance. However this problem is not much with the senior teachers. Students maintain silence also in the senior teachers' classes though at times try to create indiscipline. Generally boys create much indiscipline in the classrooms than girls. Mostly boys keep talking among themselves, ask permission from the teacher to go out for toilets and keep laughing many a time which distracts the teacher. At times it becomes necessary for the teacher to behave rudely with students as the teachers cannot give physical punishment to the students. Even the hard words of the teachers go in waste for a group of students who create troubles and disturbances in the classrooms.

Female perception of teaching thus varies with age and also with marriage status. It is seen in my research that unmarried female teachers have more time in the profession than the married female teachers. Unmarried female teachers exercise their own freedom of space in many times. The Sikh unmarried female teacher aged 27 from the KV takes home tuition and she goes by her scooty. There is another unmarried female teacher who takes yoga training to the older people at their home. While not even a single married female teacher is seen taking tuitions after school hours. For married teachers family becomes their main priority than earning more money. Within the married female teachers also there is variation in the perception of school teaching. Those with small children within 30-40 years are seen working more efficiently in the profession than those teachers above 40 years. They balance both their family and professional life in such a efficient way that do not create much hurdle. However in most of these cases either their native families look at their kids or in-laws stay with them. But they are found more energetic and happy for being in teaching. They also have adapted themselves easily to accept the technological or other changes in the school teaching. They have agreed to face any challenge that comes in their front. On the other hand female teachers above 40 years find it more difficult to adapt to the new changes in which teachers have to work a lot in the new system called CCE.

Although there has been increasing number of male teachers seen in the teaching profession in India in general yet the female teachers outnumbered the male teachers in Delhi. For most of the teachers' easy family management was the main reason for their family's support to their profession. They think that they can give time to their family and hence can manage both family and career in this profession. They also see this profession as respectable, noble and suitable for females. Most teachers in the private school join teaching in the course of their family responsibilities, some joined because of the transfer of their husbands, some joined school teaching because the time matches with their children's school time. For some female teachers, parents are the biggest motivator to see their daughters as teachers because they see it as respectable for women. While for male teachers their reason to come in teaching profession lies in their ruthless experiences in other professions they took up, overage to go for other professions, stress in other private sector professions etc. and all these cases the significant reason is that it was their own choice to come in school teaching to which their families agree while in case of most of the female teachers their parents took the decision for them either by either forcing or by convincing that teaching is a respectable profession for females.

For most of the female teachers teaching in the private school, there is ample opportunity for professional and personal growth as lots of work are there in the private school which is not there in the government school. However male teachers are seen more relaxed than female teachers being into the same profession. Transfer policy of KV is mostly feared by almost all the female teachers due to their family issues but it is welcomed by some of the male teachers as they get a chance to roam different places and experience new environment and new challenges.

Majority of the teachers follow Hinduism as their religious practice. As practicing Hindu they celebrate different Hindu festivals. In the school which was most prominent is the *Karwa Chaut* because it is the day on which almost all the teachers go for half day and the principal has to exercise very efficiently so that the normal functioning of the school do not get disturbed.

Most of the teachers belong to the capital city of Delhi only which is 39% in my data although there is also concentration of teachers across the country. It is followed by Uttar

Pradesh which is adjacent to Delhi. It clearly shows teachers' preference to teach in schools in the place of their stay. It is also seen in the data that with the change of place of husbands' transfer to a new place the wife generally leaves her old school and joins a school in the place where the husband is posted now.

8.5 CCE and Teaching Profession

CCE is introduced in the schools in 2009 which has brought significant changes in the profession of school teaching especially in the increased workload of teachers and a relaxing and non-competitive learning environment for the students. CCE has changed very nature of teaching profession. With large number of students and improper teacher student ratio the system has not been able to serve its purpose, at the same time creating a lot of work burdens for the teachers which even the teachers do not enjoy.

As far work family balance life is concerned women teachers are seen managing both the lives without compromising to their traditional responsibility of looking after the household work. And this is the reason why most of the female teachers choose school teaching as their career. While the male teachers are much relaxed as far as looking after the household works are concerned. Transfer of schools across the country is not that a big issue for the male teachers of KV unlike the female teachers of KV. While the female teachers of the private school are seen compromising with their professional career so as to manage with their husbands professions.

8.6 Power Dynamics in Teaching Profession

In teaching profession the teachers are engaged with different agents in the school. These relationships can be categorized as administrative, academic and relationships with colleagues and others. These days in schools teacher's tasks are not only purely teaching, but they have to look at some allied works and all teachers are related to the Principal of the school more for administrative tasks of the school. Teachers have to follow the administrative and authoritative norms of the school, routines of daily lessons, time of arrival and leave etc. set by the higher authority that is the Principal or management of the school. However, to look at the overall academic performance of the school is also the responsibility of the principal and therefore he/she conducts meetings with teachers

for academic improvements of the school. The Vice Principal is related to other teachers both administrative and academic purposes regularly on the instruction of the principal. The teachers are mainly associated with students for academic purpose and hence are responsible for providing moral lessons and also inculcate moral values among them. But the irony of the fact is that teachers are hardly consulted in making of the academic syllabus meant for the children. Teachers are merely instruments to disseminate the textual knowledge to the students. This is criticized significantly by Krishna Kumar and other scholars in the academic works.

The relationship of teachers with fellow teachers determines another level of relationships in their working environment. Among the permanent teachers PGT teachers are followed by TGTs and PRTs and they hold more important and responsible tasks of the school than the other two. Similarly wity regard to distribution of work tasks by the principal, there is differences between permanent teachers and contractual teachers. A different nature of power relations also exists across genders.

8.7 Work-Family Negotiation in Teaching Profession

Now-a-days though economic development and gains in education have increased opportunities for well-paid jobs, particularly for urban women, this new role of women as working professional is only an addition to their traditional role of the homemaker. It is because of this reason that they are always bear a great pressure to negotiate their work and personal lives. Women professionals find it more difficult to fulfill demands of the family and society and at the same time do justice to the demands of their profession at workplace where most of the familial roles are gendered where men still tend to hold the power positions. Thus despite women's entry into the labor force they continue to do most of the household chores. Childcare obligation of young mothers is one of the primary concerns in this respect. Teaching is in fact such a profession which the women preferred to choose for various reasons especially in post-marriage period. In mu study too a few women teachers have shifted to teaching from their previous profession just to fulfill her family duties. Balancing work and family is seen as an immense challenge especially for women and hence work-family negotiation is an emerging issue of research in the 21st century. On the other hand the challenges of male teachers in my study is

different they are more towards their professional growth and exploration into their profession they the household tasks are often managed by their wives.

8.8 Triangulation of Teachers, Students and Parents

Teachers in the private school view that Parents don't listen to them at times and most of the time parents are unaware that their children are indiscipline. Parents think that their children are very cool and calm and they think if their children do not do any such naughty activities at home how can they do in the school. Thus in the eyes of these teachers these parents are simply unaware of the activities of their children at school. One parent told a teaher, "*Mere bacche to itna bhola bhala hai ye toh aisa kar hi nahi sakta*". In schools when teachers see these children they are the worst in creating indiscipline. They create disturbances in the classes by talking so much. They don't pay attention.

Parents whose children study in the private school view teachers that they give a lot of home-works to the students because of which their children do not get enough time to study at home. Although they have tried to communicate a lot to the teachers it did not give much results.

Even the Students in the private school feel that their teachers give a lot of home-works to them. They observe that all their time go out with the homework only. Though their parents ask them to study but they could find little time for the same.

When the same was asked to the school authority they remark that they have a certain rule as to how much of home-works to be given to the students in a week and in each subject and they just follow that rule and they feel that the home-works are not as much as the students are actually complaining about.

While seen this triangulation in the government school, parents were not seen of being too defensive for their children. They used to listen to what teachers are complaining and accordingly ask the particular teacher opinions for its improvement. These are not much educated parents but they have trust on what teachers are saying of their children.

Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers brought that teachers should be free to make their own evaluation tool for students' progress without causing any unfair

implications to any student and authorities must take into consideration of the teachers' suggestions for course designs and related matters meant for suitability of the pupils. It also suggested that efforts should be encouraged for the cooperation of teachers-parents for children's growth in learning, but at the same time teachers should be protected if they adhere to any unfair practices towards any teacher. If any parents have any complaints against any particular teacher first discussion should be made available of the parents with that teacher, still if the parents wish to for any further complaints, it must be in written form to the higher authority and the copy of the same to be forwarded to the concerned teacher, also during the time of investigation teachers should be allotted fair chance to defend themselves without any further publicity of the same (UNESCO, 1966).

If these recommendations are taken seriously in Indian context for smooth functioning of the parent-teacher-taught relationships in school system much positive outcome could be generated towards students' learning growth. But one thing is certain that a child's development in all round personality requires the care of not only the teachers but also of their parents. It will make teaching even more meaningful.

8.9 Areas for Further research

Back to Basic system was introduced from the new academic session of 2017-18 as the previous CCE system seemed likely to be failed in Indian school system considering the teacher-pupil ratio in the classrooms. Hence to what extent the new system could generate adequate learning environment in the schools needs to be looked for further study. However what are the new changes that are going to add in the profession of school teaching in the changing scenario of Back to basic system needs further enquiry. The present study has left an ample opportunity for a researcher to explore the significance of this new system and make a comparative analysis of teacher-taught relationships, teaching-learning outcome, stress and emotional engagements of both teacher-taught etc. Also there are different policies discussed in this present work. The detailed exploration of each of these policies such as how Inclusive Education is really helping the differently abled children in the mainstream education system, how the upcoming New Education Policy which is supposed to be out by August, 2018 is actually going to change the present relevance of the teaching profession and the education

system in different dimensions can be explored in further research works. Further studies could also be engaged on other missing dimensions of the present work such as the aspirational study of the pupils to become teachers in future, if gendered role would be continuing in teaching in upcoming days as well, further dimensions in the power relationships in the other types of schools such as Novodaya Vidyalaya or schools under state boards, schools at the village levels which would require in-depth exploratory research to follow.

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APPENDIX 1 : DETAILS OF TRACHERS DATA (with pseudo names)

Sl No	Pseudo name	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Religion	Category	Family Type	Edu. Qualificatn	Designation	Spouse occupataion	Family Income p/m	Family Exp. p/m	Native Place	School Type
1	Gagan Singh	54	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	PGT Maths	Housewife	> 2 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Uttar Pradesh	KV
2	Sujanya Suman	50	F	Widow	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT English	NA	50,000-1 lakh	30000-50000	J & K	KV
3	Manoj Kumar	39	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	PGT Hindi	Pvt Job	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	KV
4	Mukesh Kr Sharma	32	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Above PG	TGT Hindi	Housewife	50,000-1 lakh	50,000-1 lakh	Rahasthan	KV
5	Prabin Kaushik	42	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT SSt	Pvt Job	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Bihar	KV
6	Dhanesh Kumar	34	M	Married	Hindu	SC	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT SSt	KV Primary Teacher	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Haryana	KV
7	Priyanka Singh	42	F	Married	Hindu	SC	Nuclear	Graduate	TGT WE	Engineer	< 50,000	< 30,000	Uttar Pradesh	KV
8	Pratibha Singh	55	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT English	Civil Engineer	<50,000	<30,000	Uttar Pradesh	KV
9	Kalpana Choudry	30	F	Married	Hindu	OBC	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT Science	Teaching	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Rahasthan	KV
10	Amiya Tokas	59	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT Physical Edu.	Service	<50,000	30,000-50,000	Delhi	KV
11	Divya Bharti	32	F	Married	Hindu	SC	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT Maths	Govt. Servant	>2 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Delhi	KV
12	Urmila Srivastava	54	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Above PG	TGT Maths	Service	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	50,000-1 lakh	Uttar Pradesh	KV
13	Dr. Roma Singh	57	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Above PG	TGT Physical Educatn	Teaching	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Uttarakhand	KV
14	Lalita	32	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	PGT Pol Sci Contractual	Teaching & Supervisor	>2 lakh	<30,000	Punjab	KV
15	Vivek	28	F	Married	Hindu	OBC	Joint	Post Graduate	Computer Instructor	Housewife	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	<30,000	Delhi	KV
16	Ajay Kumar	27	M	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	PGT Pol Sci Contractual	NA	<50,000	<30,000	Delhi	KV
17	Anita Choudhury	31	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT Science Contractual	Scientist	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Himachal Pr	KV
18	Pallabi	34	F	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	Yoga Instructor Contrat	NA	<50,000	30,000-50,000	Delhi	KV
19	Arshpreet kaur	27	F	Unmarried	Sikh	Gen	Nuclear	Graduate	German Teacher Contrat	NA	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	KV
20	Anurima Banarjee	50	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	PGT History (SSt)	Pvt Consultant	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Kolkata	Pvt Scl1
21	Deep Kr. Sharma	52	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT Hindi	Housewife	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Himachal Pr	Pvt Scl1
22	Minnati Chanda	5	F	Married	Hindu		Nuclear	Above PG	HOD English	Private Firm			Himachal Pr	Pvt Scl1
23	Mitushi Jindal	40	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT SSt	Software Engineer	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
24	Suchitra Bhasin	5	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Graduate	TGT	Advocate	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
25	Pooja Sharma	37	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Above PG	TGT English (temp)	Defence sector	>2 lakh	50,000-1 lakh	Punjab	Pvt Scl1
26	Vandana Deshwal	25	F	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT Science	NA	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
27	Sapna Bhowmick	34	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Stay Alone	Post Graduate	TGT English (temp)	Assist Professor	<50,000	<30,000	Tripura	Pvt Scl1
28	Ritika Arora	31	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT Maths (temp)	Defence sector	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	50,000-1 lakh	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
29	Neha Ahuja	28	F	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT Science (temp)	NA	<50,000	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
30	Jaydeep Bhalla	26	M	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Graduate	TGT Foreign lang.(temp)	NA	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
31	Pranita Dua	25	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	PGT Home Sci(temp)	Chartered Accountant	>2 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
32	Seema Arora	27	F	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT SSt (temp)	NA	50,000-1 lakh	50,000-1 lakh	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
33	Kailash Sharma	65	M	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Graduate	TGT Maths (temp)	Pvt Job	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	Uttar Pradesh	Pvt Scl1
34	Suman Aggarwal	45	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Graduate	Sci Lab Asst.(Temp)	Manager	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
35	Barsha Verma	25	F	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	Counselllor (temp)	NA	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	30,000-50,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
36	Gunjan Yadav	24	F	Married	Hindu	OBC	Nuclear	Post Graduate	Spe. Educatoor(temp)	Software Engineer	50,000- 1 lakh	<30,000	Delhi	Pvt Scl1
37	Seema Karkun	51	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Above PG	French Teacher	Teaching	> 2 lakh	30,000-50,000	Maharastra	Pvt Scl2
38	Anjali Nayak	43	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	TGT French	Business	50,000-1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Punjab	Pvt Scl3
39	Ankita Banarjee	45	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	PGT English	NGO Counsellor	1.5 lakh- 2 lakh	50,000- 1 lakh	Uttar Pradesh	Pvt Scl4
40	Archana Arora	48	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT English (temp)	Defence sector	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	Himachal Pr	Pvt Scl5
41	Neha Pandey	45	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	TGT English	Professor	> 2 lakh	50,000- 1 lakh	Uttar Pradesh	Pvt Scl6
42	Prabin Rajput	29	M	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Graduate	TGT Maths (temp)	NA	50,000- 1 lakh	30,000-50,000	Uttar Pradesh	Pvt Scl6
43	Aashish Kumar	38	M	Married	Hindu	OBC	Joint	Graduate	TGT Sci (temp)	Housewife	50,000- 1 lakh	<30,000	Bihar	Pvt Scl6
44	Ruchi Deo	46	F	Married	Hindu	Gen	Nuclear	Post Graduate	PGT English	Defence sector	1 lakh-1.5 lakh	50,000- 1 lakh	Uttarakhand	Pvt Scl1
45	R thomas	45	M	Married	Christian	Gen	Joint	Graduate	Sci Lab Asst.(Temp)	Govt. employee	< 50,000	30,000-50,000	Kerala	Pvt Scl1
46	Ajay Shastri	37	M	Unmarried	Hindu	Gen	Joint	Post Graduate	Sci Lab Asst.(Temp)	NA	<50,000	30,000-50,000	Uttar Pradesh	Pvt Scl1

The basic purpose behind this questionnaire is to understand the changing nature of school teaching profession from the lens of school teachers. Kindly take out few minutes to fill this questionnaire. The personal details provided by you will be kept 'highly confidential' and the information will only be used for my 'research purpose'.

A. *Basic Information*

1. Full Name : _____

2. Age :_____

3. i) Gender :   a) Male b) Female c) Third gender

   ii) Marital Status : a) Unmarried b) Married c) Widow/ Widower d) Divorced / Separated

4. i) Religion (specify) _____

   ii) Category :   a) General   b) OBC c) SC   d) ST   e) PH

   iii) Caste (specify) _____

5. Type of your Family:

   a) Joint   b) Nuclear c) Any other (specify) :_____

6. Educational Qualification:

   a) Graduate   b) Post-graduate   c) Above Post-graduate

7. Your designation :_____

8. Husband's/Wife's occupation :_____

9. i) Monthly Family Income (Tick the relevant) :

   a) < 50,000 b) 50,000-1 lakh c) 1 lakh- 1.5 lakh d) 1.5 lakh-2 lakh e) > 2 lakh

   ii) Monthly Family Expenditure (Tick the relevant) :

   a) < 30,000 b) 30,000- 50,000 c) 50,000-1 lakh d) 1 lakh- 1.50 lakh e) 1.5 lakh - 2 lakh f) > 2   lakh

10. Is there anyone in your family throughout generations who is/was a teacher? a)Yes b)No

    (Tick the relevant). If yes, your relation to him/her_____

11. a) Present Address :_____

    b) Resident since when:_____

    c) Name of your Native place :_____

    d) Your email-id :_____

e) Contact no. :_____

B. *Understanding Teaching as a Career*

1. Did you undergo any teacher training programme before entering in this profession? Yes / No

   (Tick the relevant).

   a) If Yes, which one, from where & which year? _____

2. How long have you been in the teaching profession? _____

3. Which subjects do you teach in the school ?_____

4. Did you shift to teaching from some other profession? Yes / No

   a) If Yes, from which profession? _____

5. Was your family supportive of your career choice as a school teacher?   Yes / No

   a) If yes, why? _____

   b) If no, why not? _____

6. What was the most important reason for you to choose school teaching as a profession?

   _____

7. Given a choice, would you like to move to higher level of teaching jobs (e.g. college or University level) ? Yes / No.

   a) If yes, why ? _____

8. Given a choice, would you like to move to any other profession?   Yes / No.

   a) If yes, why ?_____

9. How do you perceive yourself as a teacher vis-à-vis your other co-teachers? (Tick the <u>relevant</u>/ can tick <u>multiple</u> options)

   a) Junior Teacher

   b) Senior Teacher

   c) Team player

   d) Better managing skills than other teachers

   e) Better teaching skills than other teachers

   f) Still Need to work on my skills.

   g) Prefer to work alone

10. Besides classroom teaching, what other activities do you perform in the school as a school teacher?_____

_____

_____

11. Do you follow school guidelines on teaching or devise your own strategy?_____

_____

12. Have you received / been nominated for any national/state level awards? Yes / No

   a) If yes, which award and in which year? _____

_____

13. How would you look at student participation? (Tick the relevant from both 'A' and 'B' category)

 A. a) They ask more questions, even unnecessary ones.

   b) They do not ask questions.

   c) Sometimes they ask questions.

 B. a) They complete their homework.

   b) They do not enjoy their homework, but still complete it.

   c) They do not complete the homework on specified time.

   d) They do not do the homework and are willing to be punished.

14. How often do you carry your school works such as checking notebooks / answer sheets, setting question papers etc. at home?

   a) Normally

   b) Sometimes

   c) Never

15. Do you conduct separate coaching / Tuition classes for students of your school as well as other schools outside the school premise?   Yes / No.

   a) If yes, which subjects do you teach? _____

16. Do you think your gender being a male or a female has certain advantage in school teaching profession? (Tick the relevant/ can tick multiple options)

   a) It helps to manage my family chores easily.

   b) It is a stress-free and tension-free profession which is simply manageable.

   c) It helps to manage my outside work in time.

   d) I find leisure time in this profession for myself.

   e) It helps to spend time with my children, to look at their studies and to spend time with

      other family members.

   f) If anything else, please specify_____

APPENDIX 3 : QUESTIONNAIRE TO STUDENTS

The basic purpose behind this questionnaire is to understand the changing nature of school teaching profession from the lens of school students. Kindly take out few minutes to fill this questionnaire. The personal details provided by you will be kept 'highly confidential' and the information will only be used for my 'research purpose'.

A. *Basic Information*

1. Full Name : _____

2. Age :_____

3. Gender (Tick the relevant) :   a) Male b) Female c) Third Gender

4. i) Religion (Tick the relevant):

    a) Hindu b) Muslim c) Christain d) Sikh   e) Jain   f) Other (specify)_____

   ii) Category (Tick the relevant): a) General b) OBC c) SC d) ST e) PH f) I don't Know.

   iii) Caste (Specify) :_____

5. Type of your Family (Tick the relevant) :

  a) Joint   b) Nuclear c) Extended d) Other (specify) _____

6. i) Your present Class & Section: _____

7. i) Your Father's occupation :_____

   ii) Your Mother's occupation :_____

8. i) <u>Monthly</u> Family Income (Tick the relevant) :

  a) < 50,000 b) 50,000-1 lakh c) 1 lakh- 1.5 lakh d) 1.5 lakh-2 lakh e) > 2 lakh

  ii) <u>Monthly</u> Family Expenditure (Tick the relevant) :

  a) < 30,000 b) 30,000- 50,000 c) 50,000-1 lakh d) 1 lakh- 1.50 lakh e) 1.5 lakh - 2

    lakh f) > 2   lakh

  iii) Which type of vehicle does your family have?   (Tick the relevant)

   a) Bicycle b) Bike c) Scooter d) Maruti Car e) Swift Car f) Wagner Car g) Nano car

   h) None i) Else, please specify_____

  iv) How often do you go out for visit / trip with your parents? (Tick the relevant)

   a) Every weekend b) Every month c) During school vacation d) Sometimes e) Never

9. Is there anyone in your family throughout generations who is/was a teacher? a) Yes b) No (Tick the relevant) If yes, your relation to him/her? _____

10. i) Present Address :_____

ii) Name of your Father's Native Place and State: _____

   Name of your Mother's Native Place and State:_____

iii)Your email-id :_____

iv) Contact no. a. Father :_____

                b. Mother :_____

                c. Personal :_____

B. *Understanding School Teaching Career*

1. Do you **enjoy** studying?   Yes ☐ / No ☐   (Tick the relevant inside the box).

2. a)Do you like your Teachers? Yes ☐ / No ☐ (Tick the relevant inside the box).

   b)Do they teach well?   Yes ☐ / No ☐   (Tick the relevant inside the box).

   c)Which subject do you like **the most** & Why ? Who teaches this subject?_____

   _____

   d)Which is the subject that you **do not like** & Why? Who teaches this subject?_____

   _____

3.i) **What is 'teaching' in your understanding?** (Tick the relevant inside the box).

   a) Studying books throughout life.   ☐
   b) Boring exercise. ☐
   c) Only to transfer knowledge to students. ☐
   d) Self learning exercise which is interesting.☐
   e) To educate people. ☐
   f) I don't know. ☐

  ii) Do you like 'teaching' ? Yes ☐ / No ☐(Tick the relevant inside the box).

4.What is your **aim** in life ? (Tick the relevant inside the box)

   a) Doctor ☐
   b) Engineer ☐
   c) IAS/IPS/ IFS officer ☐
   d) Scientist ☐
   e) School teacher ☐
   f) College/ University teacher ☐
   g) If anything else, please specify._____

5. **Why** do you want to pursue this particular career? (Tick the relevant inside the box).

   a) My parents want me to pursue this career. ☐
   b) My teacher wants me to pursue this career. ☐
   c) Such a person is in our family / neighbor / in friend's family whom I see as role model. ☐
   d) I want to serve the people by becoming so. ☐
   e) If anything else, please specify._____

 6. i) Which teacher do you like **the most** in your school? What is his/ her name?_____

   _____

ii) **Why** do you like this teacher a lot? (Tick the relevant inside the box).

a) He/She is not at all strict. ☐
b) He/She does not give much home work. ☐
c) He/She is very patient and understanding. ☐
d) He/She teaches very well in the class. ☐
e) I like his/her look and facial expression very much. ☐
f) If anything else, please specify._____

iii) In which class / classes has this teacher taught you and which subjects?

Class(es):_____ **Subjects** _____

7. Do you go for **tuitions** after school hours? Yes ☐ / No ☐ (Tick the relevant inside the box).

a) If yes, for which subjects?_____

b) Who takes the tuition? a) School teachers ☐ b) Different teachers, not from this school ☐

8. Do you know how to use **internet**? Yes ☐ / No ☐ (Tick the relevant inside the box).
   i) If yes, how often do you use internet? (Tick the relevant).
       a) Daily b) Weekly c) Monthly d) Sometimes e) in urgent hours only.
   ii) Do you use 'google search' for your study purpose? Yes ☐ / No ☐

   iii) Where do you go to use internet? (Tick the relevant).
       a) On my computer b) On my latop c) On my phone d) Cyber café

   iv) Does your school library have sufficient books required by you?   Yes ☐ / No ☐

9. What kind of **teaching process** do you like? (Tick the relevant inside the box).

a) Only Lecture by the teacher. ☐
b) Active participation of the students during lectures. ☐
c) Moral Teaching periods. ☐
d) SUPW / Work experience / Craft work. ☐
e) Physical Education / Yoga class. ☐
f) If anything else, please specify_____

10. Which group of teachers do you **usually** like? (Tick the relevant inside the box)

a) Those teachers who are Funny and Entertaining. ☐
b) Those teachers who are Serious and Organized. ☐
c) Those teachers who complete the course in time. ☐

11. Do you like and enjoy different **CCE activities** given to you by your teachers? Yes ☐ / No ☐

12. Will you enjoy **only taking examinations** without any activities in the class? Yes ☐ / No ☐

13. How do you learn your lessons from your textbooks? (Tick the relevant inside the box)
    a) Try to learn in the school. ☐
    b) Try to learn in the tuition. ☐
    c) Try to learn through internet. ☐

d) Parents teach me. ☐
e) I discuss with friends. ☐
f) My elder brother/sister or other siblings teach me. ☐
e) If any other, please specify._____

14. i) If you are asked to become the teacher in your class for one day which subject would you like to teach and why? _____

_____

ii) What would be your reaction after teaching for a day in your class? (Tick the relevant inside the box).
a) You will enjoy a lot. ☐
b) You will be scared to speak in front of so many students. ☐
c) You will not like it as you do not enjoy teaching. ☐
d) Else, please specify_____

iii) Will you miss your classes/teachers after you leave your school? Yes ☐/No ☐

15. Do your parents advice you to be in teaching profession in future? Yes ☐ / No ☐

a) If Yes, why? _____

_____

b) If No, what do they want you to be in future and why? _____

_____

16. Which stream would you like to join after 10th Class (Tick the relevant)

a) Arts b) Science c) Commerce d) Not decided e) Else, please specify _____

APPENIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

1. What are different govt. policies in favors of school teachers? Your views on govt. policy initiatives on school teaching? Is it sufficient or new things to be added?

2. Use of technology and school teaching ?

3. a) Implications and relevance of CCE system in school

   b) Do you think this system really enriches students' creative ability?

   c) Comparison between CCE system and Earlier exam system? Which one is better in your opinion and how?

4. Sense of creativity or innovativeness in school teaching- scope to write some academic papers or books and whether time and the very nature of the job permits that? Are you interested to write some academic papers?

5. Power structure in school teachers- who engages and which post/ activities on what basis?

6. Work-Family negotiations in school teaching (especially for female teachers) and for male teachers does school teaching helps in managing with outside households works of the family?

7. Satisfactions in teaching profession in terms of salary, promotion, choice to be in that/ other professions

8. a) Your views on the working conditions under which u teach in the school.

   b)What is your opinion on 5/ 6 teaching periods in a day and other non-teaching works in the school?

9. What are other activities of the school teachers besides teaching in the classroom? How do you see your engagements even during election time? Do you feel proud that government gives you these tasks to school teachers as responsible people in society rather than giving it to some clerical level employees?

10. Importance of some specific 'subject' teachers in school teaching and why and how so.

11. Relevance of coaching / tuitions institutions for school teachers.

12. a) How are you dealing with Disabled students and students from poorer, marginalized/ weak students in the class? Are there any special efforts by School authorities for improvements of these categories of students?

   b) Any special teacher with adequate skills who deal with such students? Did B.Ed teacher programme have any training to deal with these students?

13. How far library facilities help the teachers and students? Are necessary and required books available there?

14. When inspectors come to school what kind of comment they usually pass on you as a school teacher?

15. Do you think you being a government school teacher is better positioned compared to a private school teacher? How so? Do you want to shift to higher level of teaching job if get a chance? Why so?

<center>Or</center>

Do you think you being a private school teacher are better positioned compared to a government school teacher? How so? If no, do you want to shift to government school?